

The Concise Encyclopedia of
DEMOCRACY



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The Concise Encyclopedia of **DEMOCRACY**

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PREFACE

As a new century dawns, democracy seems to be gaining a foothold throughout the world, yet it remains fragile in all but a handful of nation-states. Understanding democracy is an essential part of nurturing its often tenuous hold on people and countries. In a world made small by swift transportation and instant communication, such an understanding is increasingly important as competing ideologies inevitably come into conflict.

The Concise Encyclopedia of Democracy seeks to provide a broad overview of the complex subject of democracy for the student and general reader. Some of the almost 300 articles in the encyclopedia have been taken from the more scholarly four-volume *Encyclopedia of Democracy*. Many are new or completely reworked to meet the special needs of our audience.

The Concise Encyclopedia of Democracy includes five types of articles: biographies; regional and country profiles; topical analyses; historical overviews; and discussions of important documents, speeches and U.S. Supreme Court decisions. In presenting a topic as broad as democracy, some choices had to be made in determining the topics included in each of the five categories.

The Concise Encyclopedia offers the reader biographical sketches of individuals significant in the development of democratic theory or in the implementation of democracy in the major nations of the contemporary world. Included are philosophers, political theorists, activists, dissidents, revolutionaries and leaders. The biographies span more than 2,000 years—from Plato to Wei Jingsheng. And they span the globe as well. Nelson Mandela of South Africa, Margaret Thatcher of the United Kingdom and Sun Yat-sen of China are among those profiled. Political leaders and theorists are included only if they contributed to theory or furthered democracy. Thus, Kwame Nkrumah is here because of his role as a leader of the movement for independence in Africa—even though later in his career he became a dictator. Surprisingly, Karl Marx has an entry because he, too, developed a theory of democracy.

The treatment of countries and regions in the *Concise Encyclopedia* is based on the importance of their democratic experience. With the exception of very minor countries, all independent nations of the world are covered in regional articles, which contain tables outlining the type and structure of government and summarizing recent political conditions. These articles enable readers to compare democratic development in particular areas of the world. Those nations with a unique or significant democratic tradition have separate articles discussing their political system and experience in depth. In addition, the *Concise Encyclopedia* presents articles on important nations such as China, in which democracy has become an international as well as domestic issue.

Topical articles focus on institutions, mechanisms and processes to illustrate how democracies work in practice, as well as on the fundamental assumptions upon which democracy

is based—freedom of press, speech, assembly and religion. In addition, readers will find articles that investigate democracy's links to nationalism, to religion and to civil and human rights. Still other topical articles address political ideologies and broad philosophical movements. The presentation of some ideologies, such as communism, totalitarianism and absolutism, at first glance may appear odd. These have been included because they have presented a theoretical and practical challenge to democracy.

Because of the needs of our readers, *The Concise Encyclopedia of Democracy* places special emphasis on the American experience. It includes articles on the historical development of U.S. democracy and its institutions as well as some significant challenges to its democratic tradition. The Supreme Court has played a major role in the development of the concept of American liberty in the 20th century, and so the *Concise Encyclopedia* includes discussions of important Court decisions as well. Still other articles describe the evolution and workings of the U.S. shared-power system.

What exactly is democracy? How has the concept evolved over time? Where does it occur, and under what conditions? How does the concept differ among countries? How have nations implemented their understanding of democracy?

Readers will find the answers here.

The Editors

The Concise Encyclopedia of
DEMOCRACY

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A

ABOLITIONISM

The political and social movement aimed at eliminating slavery.

In Great Britain and the United States, abolitionism was closely associated with other movements toward democratization. The organized movement to abolish slavery began only in the last quarter of the 18th century. Prior to that period, social, political and religious institutions generally accepted and accommodated slavery. Throughout most of history, slavery was a fact of life, not an issue for debate. Even early democracies such as ancient Athens did not see slavery and democracy as incompatible. Athenians thought democracy dependent on slavery because slave labor freed citizens to participate in government.

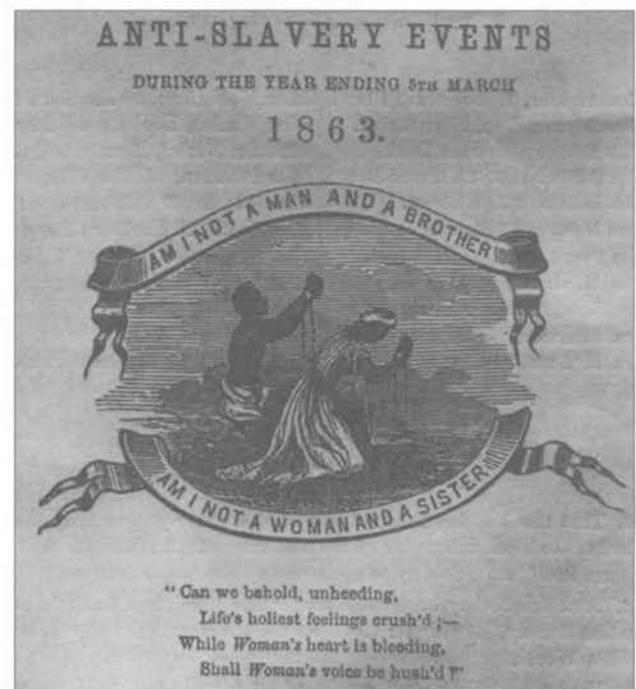
Great Britain

The organized abolition movement began in Great Britain, where Parliament banned the keeping of slaves in 1772, following legal arguments that all persons residing in Britain should enjoy personal liberty. Nevertheless, Britain owned extensive colonies, particularly in the West Indies, in which slavery was a vital part of the economy, and while keeping slaves was considered inappropriate in the British Isles, it was tolerated in distant territories.

In 1787 and 1788 evangelical Anglicans, led by William Wilberforce, and Quakers launched a major campaign to abolish the African slave trade in the colonies and radically reform, if not end, slavery. Powerful West Indian interests and fears engendered by a slave revolt in French-controlled Haiti slowed the campaign. However, continuing public agitation led to a ban on the slave trade in British possessions in 1807. Britain banned slavery in 1834.

From its inception, the abolitionist movement in Britain was associated with the movement for other democratic reforms, such as expanded suffrage and women's rights. The cause politicized women and religious dissenters who previously had not been a part of the political process. It also provided an organizational shelter for class, gender and religious protest during the first decades of the 19th century.

Britain had long seen itself as the standard-bearer of liberty, a position put in question during the American Revolution. Abolitionism gave the nation an opportunity to reassert that status. Between the late 1780s and the early 1830s, the abolition movement helped democ-



Cover of the Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society's 1863 annual report

ratize public organizations and public rhetoric. Through their pioneering use of petitions to Parliament, abolitionists legitimized the concept of public opinion as a factor in the legislative process. Subsequent movements for workers, religious minorities, child labor laws and women's suffrage all drew on the model provided by abolitionist agitators.

United States

Democracy and abolitionism first converged in the North American colonies during the struggle for independence. Attacks against British "enslavement" of the colonies were often linked to attacks on slavery. Many of the men promoting independence—Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Paine—opposed slavery, and Thomas Jefferson included a criticism of slavery in his original draft of the Declaration of Independence. Yet the Continental Congress was forced to omit the criticism in the final draft in order to preserve colonial unity.

The political philosophy expressed in the Declaration had a significant influence on antislavery actions in the early years of the republic. Slaves in the North petitioned for freedom using the words of the Declaration, and the egalitarian ideas of the Declaration were embedded in some free-soil constitutions of the Northern states. The U.S. Constitution, however, sidestepped the issue, again to maintain national unity. As part of the "three-fifths compromise," which stated it would take five slaves to equal three free persons for purposes of representation, Congress was barred from legislating on slavery until 1808.

In the North, emancipation went hand in hand with the expansion of democracy. By the early 19th century all Northern states had enacted legislation granting gradual emancipation. During the same period, they were ending restrictions on white male suffrage. In the South, on the other hand, the expansion of democracy proceeded in tandem with the strengthening of the institution of slavery.

Antislavery advocates attracted few followers during the late 18th and early 19th centuries because the great majority of individuals believed that there was no way of abolishing the institution short of revolution. Most thought slavery was not subject to federal regulation and that the Constitution obliged them to tolerate it in areas in

which it existed. The political battles of the period were fought over the extension of slavery, not its elimination.

Abolitionism emerged as a militant crusade only in the 1830s as other democratic reforms spread across the nation. Spurred on by the growth of Jacksonian democracy and the Second Great Awakening, a massive religious revival in the 1820s that preached a moral imperative to end sinful practices, antislavery reformers began a campaign for immediate emancipation. The movement was led not only by white males but also by blacks and women who eventually linked the crusade for African-American emancipation with the struggle for women's rights. The abolitionists denounced the "sin" of slavery and called for a total reform of society to end racial segregation and discrimination. In early 1831 radical William Lloyd Garrison began publishing *The Liberator*, which became the leading organ of the abolitionist crusade. In 1833 reformers founded the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS) to mount a national campaign against slavery. They held rallies, distributed emancipation tracts and petitioned legislatures, demanding action against slavery.

The widespread, and frequently violent, reaction to the crusade led to serious disagreements in the movement over policy and tactics. Moderates in the AASS believed that abolitionists should become active in politics, while Garrison refused to work through a government "corrupted" by slavery. The moderates also objected to Garrison's growing advocacy of women's rights and his insistence on equal participation of women within the movement. Unable to wrest control of the AASS from Garrison, in 1840 the moderates formed the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society which focused on antislavery agitation. Ultimately, advocates of direct political action joined the Republican Party after its formation in 1854.

In the 1850s radical elements of the abolition movement turned from suasion and political reform to violence as the sectional crisis grew over the extension of slavery into the territories. Following the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, which gave settlers the right to decide the issue of slavery, civil war broke out in Kansas between pro- and anti-slavery supporters. One of the extremists, John Brown, killed five pro-slavery settlers. He later staged the raid on Harpers Ferry in an effort to foment black insurrection.

Ultimately abolition was won by war rather than democratic process. The abolitionists supported the Union during the Civil War and championed immediate emancipation in Southern areas under Union military control. Many, including Garrison, left the movement following ratification of the 13th Amendment outlawing slavery in 1865. However, the American Anti-Slavery Society remained active, insisting that its goal would be accomplished only after black men received the vote. The society disbanded after the adoption of the 15th Amendment in 1870.

Other Nations

Continental European and Latin American governments tended to move against slavery in response to international pressure, such as British diplomacy, or demands created by slave insurrections. Abolition was not generally associated with the expansion of democracy. Only in France was there a small abolitionist movement, and that had no connection to internal movements toward democratization. In the early 19th century the abolitionist demands fueled by wars of independence in Central and South America resulted in emancipation without an abolitionist crusade. The new South American nations generally freed their slaves very gradually and without political democratization.

In Africa and Asia, the process of emancipation usually was fulfilled long before the development of political democracy.

See also Douglass, Frederick; Slavery.

ABSOLUTISM

A form of government, traditionally a monarchy, in which the ruler has unlimited power.

Modern absolutism developed in Europe toward the end of the 15th century and with the emergence of the nation-state. During that period monarchs crushed the power of both the nobles and clergy and consolidated it in their own hands.

The monarch ruled as the supreme executive, legislator and judge. Only he or she could exercise sovereignty; no other body had the fundamental right to power. Sovereignty was indivisible. Although the monarch was sovereign, he or she did not have the right

to act as a tyrant. Monarchs had to act in accordance with divine or natural law and with the fundamental laws of the land. In practice the power of the absolute monarch was also limited by tradition and entrenched privilege. Absolutism played a significant role in European history in the 17th and 18th centuries. It was best exemplified by the reign of France's King Louis XIV (1643–1715), who declared "I am the state."

During the 18th century a new form of absolutism emerged—enlightened absolutism, or enlightened despotism. These were monarchies in which sovereigns used their power to reform society. Guided by the philosophical ideas of the Enlightenment, they designed programs to enhance the economic power of the state, improve living conditions and ensure religious and social tranquility. Among the most important of these monarchs were Catherine the Great of Russia (1729–96) and Frederick the Great of Prussia (1712–86). Beginning with the Glorious Revolution in England (1689), a series of revolutions during the 18th and 19th centuries forced European monarchs to yield their power to parliamentary governments.

In the 17th century absolutism was justified on the basis of the divine right of kings. God was the ultimate source of the monarch's power and provided a model for the monarch's rule. Just as God had absolute authority in the universe, so the monarch was absolute in the nation. God the father of all was mirrored on Earth by the monarch, the father of his people. The rule of the monarch reflected the natural order God created.

In the mid-17th century, English philosopher Thomas Hobbes abandoned a justification of absolutism based on religion for one based on rational philosophy. Hobbes had a negative view of humanity. He reasoned that people in a state of nature were "brutish" and continually at war with one another. Out of a sense of self-preservation people formed governments giving coercive power to sovereigns who could protect them. For Hobbes absolutism was a practical matter. Undivided power was necessary to prevent the formation of warring factions and the outbreak of civil war. As the 18th century progressed, most philosophers abandoned their support of absolutism and called for a limited monarchy or representative government.

Today absolutist regimes are generally described as authoritarian. These regimes still exist in several areas, most notably the Middle East.

See also Despotism; Divine Right.

ACCOUNTABILITY OF PUBLIC OFFICIALS

The ability to determine who in the government is responsible for a decision or action and the ability to ensure that government officials are answerable for their actions.

Accountability is a critical concern in a democratic society. Voting someone out of office is the most obvious way to ensure the accountability of, at least, elected officials. But there are other strategies to address the accountability of all public officials—elected or appointed—and to make sure that they act in a responsible fashion.

While the ballot is the most basic way to ensure the accountability of elected public officials, there are inherent problems in this process. Many voters are uninformed, or vote for candidates for reasons other than issues or past performance. Voters often vote for a party, not a candidate, and therefore the party is held accountable rather than the individual. In addition, the policy-making process is often so complex that voters find it difficult to determine who did what.

One alternative method for holding elected and appointed officials accountable is the public opinion poll. Officials look to polls as a gauge of their performance and as a measure of their popularity, influence and legitimacy among the citizens. A government official whose conduct generates popular controversy can become the focus of official scrutiny.

There are ethics laws that set standards for conduct and provide mechanisms for punishing ethical offenses. Many governments have policies regulating the investigation of alleged misconduct and punishment for proven offenses.

In a recent development, many governments have passed freedom of information acts that enable individuals and groups outside government to get personal and job-related information about public officials. Whistle-blowing by someone within government, motivated by public concern or personal outrage, has occasionally been a way to quickly bring the conduct of a public official to the attention of citizens and may lead to official action. Many governments have sophisticated policy analysis and auditing agencies, which determine how well government programs work and what can be done to improve them.

The methods commonly relied on by democratic governments to supplement the ballot in dealing with undesirable officials are the recall of elected officials, the popular referendum or citizen initiative and impeachment.

A large and complex government is, by definition, more difficult to hold accountable. But the ability of people to hold officials responsible for what they do remains the truest measure of a democracy.

See also Referendum and Initiative.

ADAMS, JOHN (1735–1826)

Revolutionary theorist and leader who served as first vice president and second president of the United States.

The descendant of Massachusetts Puritans, Adams graduated from Harvard in 1755 and began practicing law in 1758. During the next decade, he became one of the leading lawyers in Massachusetts. Adams was an early opponent of British revenue measures in the colonies, supporting the idea of no taxation without representation, but did so as a moderate, never becoming a blind partisan of the colonies' cause. His belief in individual rights and equality before the law prompted him to defend the British soldiers accused of murder in the Boston Massacre of 1770. Britain's imposition of the Intolerable Acts of 1774, designed to punish Massachusetts for its continued resistance to parliamentary rule, prompted Adams to call for independence, a radical step at the time. Adams led the campaign for a formal declaration of independence in the Second Continental Congress. Neither an adept politician nor an orator, he persuaded members through legal argument and his own passion. Thomas Jefferson later called him the "colossus" of independence.

Adams served as a diplomat in France, the Netherlands and England from 1778 to 1788. With John Jay, he negotiated the Paris Peace Treaty in 1782 that ended the American Revolution. He was elected vice president under George Washington in 1789 and again in 1792. He served as president from 1797 to 1801. Adams's presidency was marred by fear of war with France and by unpopular policies such as the Alien and Sedition Acts (1798), which, among other things, made it a crime to



John Adams

criticize the federal government. Adams did not propose the acts, but signed them into law. In 1800 Jefferson defeated him for a second term. Deeply hurt by what he thought was a public rejection, Adams retired from political life. The two political enemies were later reconciled and developed a correspondence that many now regard as a monument to American intellectual life. Adams and Jefferson died on the same day, July 4, 1826, 50 years to the day after the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

Political Thought

In his books on the principles of politics, including *A Defense of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America* (1787) and *Discourses on*

Davila (1790), Adams contended that human beings are driven by self-interest. This self-interest can be ennobling but can also lead to conflict and abuse of power. He therefore championed a federal system of government that would limit power through an internal system of checks and balances.

To prevent the domination of a single political leader, Adams endorsed the limitation of the powers of the executive by those of the legislature. However, Adams was also concerned that the legislative branch might be dominated by an aristocracy, which could become an oligarchy. He supported the establishment of a bicameral legislature under the Constitution but would have preferred a structure in which the upper house was reserved for “the rich, the well-born and the able.” He wanted aristocrats segregated not because he favored an aristocracy—although he was frequently accused of this—but to protect the interests of the middle class represented in the lower house. Like many of his day, Adams favored limiting the vote to those who possessed at least some property because they would have a vested interest in the community. Nevertheless, he wanted a broad electorate and supported policies to promote widespread ownership of land.

ADENAUER, KONRAD (1876–1967)

First chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, he played a decisive role in the creation and development of West Germany as a constitutional democracy.

Adenauer served as mayor of Cologne from 1917 until 1933, when he was abruptly dismissed by the Nazis. In the following years he was periodically arrested by the Gestapo and marked several times for execution. For most of the Third Reich, he lived with his family in seclusion in a village south of Bonn. Following the war, Adenauer created and led the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), which became one of the principal political parties in the three western zones of occupied Germany.

Adenauer was elected chair of the Parliamentary Council, which convened in 1948 to draw up a constitution for a West German state. He used his authority to help engineer a broad consensus among the delegates on



Konrad Adenauer

the legal and institutional bases for the new Federal Republic. At the same time he gained domestic and international visibility for himself as an astute politician. In 1949, at 73 years of age, Adenauer was elected chancellor and assumed executive responsibility for the rebirth of German democracy.

Adenauer's Catholicism and antipathy to communism determined the course of his domestic and foreign policies during the formative years of the Federal Republic. He established a political rapport with fellow Catholic leaders in France, Belgium and Italy. His distrust of Protestant East Germany was due to its traditions of Prussian militarism and radical socialism as well as to the difference in religion. This lack of trust underlay his determination to lead West Germany into a firm economic, political and military alliance with the West, even at the cost of deepening Germany's postwar division.

In rapid succession, Adenauer negotiated the lifting of Allied restrictions on economic recovery, German membership in postwar regional economic and political organizations, and the restoration of West German sover-

eignty. He helped launch the West European integration movement through treaty agreements to establish the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951 and the European Economic Community in 1957.

Ultimately, Adenauer's advancing age and increased resistance to domestic and international change undermined his parliamentary support. He reacted hesitantly to the erection of the Berlin Wall in August 1961. In October 1962 the involvement of senior government officials in an unconstitutional raid on the office of one of Germany's leading news periodicals triggered a cabinet crisis. The following year he reluctantly stepped down as chancellor. Adenauer continued to serve as CDU chair until shortly before his death in 1967.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Programs designed to provide historically disadvantaged groups special consideration or preference in areas such as education, housing or employment.

Supporters of affirmative action programs argue that they are necessary to redress the effects of past discrimination that gave one group advantages over another and that continue to be a barrier to equal opportunity. Some opponents fear that affirmative action will overlook individual merit and achievement as the basis for admission to schools and jobs, making industry and universities less competitive and government less efficient. Others, who want to build a bias-neutral society, maintain that benefits allocated on the basis of race, gender or ethnic identity are a form of "reverse discrimination."

The term *affirmative action* originated in the United States in the 1960s. Although other countries (for example, Canada, the Netherlands and Switzerland) have adopted elements of affirmative action, the most extensive and comprehensive affirmative action policies in place other than in the United States are in India, Malaysia and Sri Lanka.

United States

Affirmative action in the United States began as a product of the civil rights and women's rights movements. Although the civil rights movement originally had pushed for "color-blind" laws to end past discrimination, by the 1960s many women and members of mi-

nority groups had come to believe that these types of laws could not sufficiently remedy the effects of past discrimination or change societal attitudes that limited opportunity. They argued that legal equality had not translated into actual equality and pushed for action that would force the integration of those institutions and fields traditionally closed to them by discrimination.

Affirmative action began in 1965 when President Lyndon B. Johnson issued an executive order requiring federal agencies to give minorities a slight preference in the awarding of government contracts. Over the next few years the program expanded, and the federal government issued "guidelines and timetables" for federal contractors to employ minorities in proportion to their presence in the workforce as a whole. In the early 1970s the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission went a step further to establish quotas, or statistical goals, for the employment of certain minority groups. Gradually the program spread to state and private institutions, with colleges and universities as well as some businesses establishing affirmative action policies.

Affirmative action and quota programs were quickly challenged in the courts, with confusing results. During the 1970s and 1980s the Supreme Court struck down about half the programs it reviewed but approved some affirmative action criteria in job training and college admissions. In its most significant decision on the subject, *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978), the Court ruled that racial quotas were illegal but that schools could consider race, gender and economic background in determining admissions.

Affirmative action remains a highly charged legal and political issue. During the late 1980s and 1990s, an increasingly conservative Court moved to limit its scope, declaring that affirmative action may be used only where the program is "narrowly tailored" to redress specific, demonstrable discrimination. In reaction, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1991 to strengthen anti-discrimination laws. Affirmative action also came under attack at the state level, with state voters and courts, most notably in California and Texas, moving to end or bar its use in university hiring or admissions.

India, Malaysia and Sri Lanka

Even before the United States introduced affirmative action programs, India in its constitution of 1950 pro-

vided for the establishment of reservations, or quotas, for former untouchables and "scheduled" tribes (tribal groups racially or culturally distinct from the mainstream Indian population). These groups were given seats in parliament and in other elected bodies in proportion to their numbers in the total population. Quotas were set for their admission into colleges and medical and engineering schools and for their employment in government services. In all, nearly half the admissions in higher education and government service were set aside for these groups, which constituted an estimated three-quarters of the total Indian population.

In Malaysia and Sri Lanka, affirmative action programs were put in place to benefit majority communities who regarded themselves as disadvantaged in relation to minorities. In Malaysia, the Malay-dominated government argued for "special rights" for the Malays, who constitute a bare majority but make up a large proportion of the poor, rural and uneducated. Since the 1970s preference has been given to Malays in admissions to universities; arrangements have been made to expand Malay equity in firms; and land settlement schemes, agricultural credit programs and price supports have been designed to benefit rural Malays.

In Sri Lanka a Sinhalese-dominated government has set up programs that give Sinhalese speakers, who make up 75 percent of the population, an advantage over the Tamil-speaking minority. Admission to universities, medical schools and engineering schools is in proportion to each group's percentage of the total population. As merit-based opportunities for Tamils declined, resentment grew, and young Tamils soon turned to arms and called for the creation of an independent Tamil state.

Affirmative action policies have had significant costs. They generate conflicts between beneficiaries and nonbeneficiaries; strengthen identities on the basis of race, religion, language and caste; encourage individuals to assert group claims; and generate demands by various groups for inclusion under the system of preferences. Affirmative action can be a policy to improve the position of disadvantaged minorities, but it can also be an instrument to enable a numerically dominant social class to exercise its political power against high-achieving minorities.

See also Civil Liberties and Civil Rights.

AFGHANISTAN

See Asia, South.

AFRICA, NORTH

The four countries—Algeria, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia—on the northern coast of Africa bordering on the Mediterranean Sea.

All four nations are predominantly Islamic and share more of a kinship with the Arab states of the Middle East than with their African neighbors to the south. None has had practical experience with democracy. Algeria's tentative democratic reforms were halted in the 1990s when clashes between the military regime and Muslim fundamentalists led to civil war; Libya is a dictatorship under the control of Muammar Qaddafi; Morocco is a monarchy in which the king controls political life; Tunisia is a presidential republic that for most of its modern history has been a virtual one-party state.

Historical Background

The original inhabitants of North Africa were the Berbers, still the largest ethnic group in the region. Following invasions by the ancient Romans, the Vandals and the Arabs, in the seventh century the region was incorporated into the great Moorish empires that eventually extended across North Africa to Spain. Most Berbers converted to Islam while continuing to resist Arab political rule. A series of Spanish crusades against Muslim power gained Spain a foothold in North Africa at the end of the 15th century. Portions of the region were ruled by the Ottoman Empire from the 16th century, but effective political power remained in the hands of local rulers.

In the 19th century, France became the principal outside power in the region. France formally annexed the

territory of Algeria in 1834 and declared Tunisia a protectorate in 1883. Morocco managed to remain independent until 1912, when it became a protectorate divided between France and Spain. Except for a period of independence from 1711 to 1835, Libya remained under Ottoman rule until 1911 when it was annexed by Italy, which made it a colony in 1934.

Algeria

French rule in Algeria produced sporadic rebellions by Berbers and Arabs who resented European domination of economic and political life. Muslim Algerians, although French subjects, did not have political rights, and during the 20th century calls for independence grew. In 1954 the nationalistic National Liberation Front (FLN) led an open revolt against the French, during which one million Algerians died and more than two million were interned in camps before France finally granted independence in 1962.

In 1963 a civilian government headed by Ahmed Ben Bella, a hero of the independence struggle, was established and the FLN became the sole political party. Ben Bella consolidated power by suppressing political opponents and assuming leadership of the party, government and military. His increasingly dictatorial policies led to a bloodless military coup in 1965 by his defense minister, Colonel Houari Boumédiène, who suspended the constitution and ruled via the National Council of the Algerian Revolution, a group of high-ranking military officers. The council presided over a major reorientation of the country's international and domestic policies that established a socialist state and closer political and military ties with the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc countries. Following Boumédiène's sudden death, Colonel Chadli Benjedid, the sole candidate, was elected president in 1979.

During the 1980s the government moderated its policies. A new national charter, adopted by the FLN in 1985, encouraged private enterprise and proposed a balance between socialism and Islam as the state ideology. Despite these steps, the declining price of oil, widespread corruption and growing foreign debts led to political unrest, increased support for Islamic fundamentalists and a surge in migration to France. In the aftermath of widespread riots in 1988, the FLN's one-party rule came to an end. Benjedid ended the identification of the state with



NORTH AFRICA

Country	Type of Government	Executive	Legislature	Party System	Political Conditions
Algeria	parliamentary	Chief of State: president Head of Government: prime minister	Parliament L: National People's Assembly (380) U: National Council (144)	multiparty	Since 1992, when the military took power and suspended parliament, Algeria has been embroiled in a bloody civil war between the government and Islamic fundamentalists. Although nominal constitutional government resumed in 1997, the violence continues.
Libya	military dictatorship	Chief of State: chairman of the General People's Congress Head of Government: secretary general of the General People's Congress	General People's Congress (varies)	none	Despite limited attempts at political liberalization in the 1980s, Libya remains under the dictatorship of Muammar Qaddafi, who refuses to tolerate dissent or to establish a formal constitutional system of government.
Morocco	constitutional monarchy	Chief of State: king Head of Government: prime minister	Parliament L: Chamber of Deputies (325) U: Chamber of Councillors (270)	multiparty	Although Morocco is a constitutional monarchy, King Hassan II dominated the nation's politics during his reign (1961–99). Some observers predict major political changes under his successor, Mohammed VI, who is reported to favor a more ceremonial role for the monarch.
Tunisia	parliamentary	Chief of State: president Head of Government: prime minister	National Assembly (163)	dominant party in multiparty system	Like the other governments in North Africa, Tunisia has experienced an increase in Islamic fundamentalism. In an effort to limit its growth, the government has initiated reforms designed to ensure greater political participation of non-Islamic parties, but most observers do not believe that this will lead to meaningful reform. The battle between the government and Islamic militants is likely to continue.

the FLN, and the government abandoned its commitment to socialism. A new legislative body, the National People's Assembly, passed a bill permitting opposition political parties to contest future elections.

In the 1990 elections the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), an amalgam of moderate and militant Muslims, gained control of about 80 percent of local councils. The following year the FIS won the first round of voting for a new National People's Assembly. When a FLN victory in the second round was virtually assured, the military forced

Benjedid's resignation and suspended the National People's Assembly. The High State Council, formed as an interim government, curtailed the newly free press, abolished the FIS as a political party, banned all local assemblies and removed local FIS elected officials. A state security system detained FIS leaders and sent thousands of sympathizers to Sahara detention camps.

Despite some government attempts at reform, the country degenerated into civil war during the 1990s, with clashes between the government and militant

Islamic groups leading to the deaths of more than 80,000. In an effort to stop the violence, most of the nation's political leaders united to issue a "Declaration of National Understanding," citing Islam and the Arabic and Berber languages as the pillars of the state, which could not be exploited for political purposes. A new National People's Assembly was convened in 1997, but the return to nominal constitutional government and multiparty politics has done nothing to resolve the fundamental polarization between the secular and Islamic visions of Algerian society. The violence continues.

Libya

Seized by Italy in 1911, Libya was occupied by the French and the English after Italy's defeat in World War II. Upon independence in 1951, the desert country was placed under the rule of the pro-British king, Idris al-Sanusi. Libya, then one of the poorest nations in the world, was forced to rely on Western aid and, in turn, had to accept Western military bases within its borders. This dependency on the West, together with the king's failure to address problems of severe socioeconomic inequality, produced political radicalism.

In 1969 a group of young army officers led by Muammar Qaddafi overthrew the monarchy and instituted the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) as the highest authority in the state. Under a Constitutional Proclamation, it exercised both executive and legislative functions and was empowered to take all necessary measures to preserve the state. Once in power Qaddafi developed an idiosyncratic political system, known as *jamahiriya* (state of the masses), which was based on Islam, Arabism and popular socialism. In 1977 Qaddafi reorganized the government, replacing the RCC with a representative body called the General People's Congress (GCP). Qaddafi became general secretary of the GCP with the remaining members of the RCC comprising its secretariat. Qaddafi also established the Arab Socialist Union, a mass-mobilization organization designed to ensure support for the regime while monitoring citizens' behavior. Under the new system every Libyan was required to participate in government through a system of revolutionary committees that oversaw local and national politics. These committees reported directly to Qaddafi and were soon transformed into instruments of repression against perceived opposition.

During the late 1980s the regime instituted a much-heralded program of limited political liberalization, but Qaddafi still refuses to tolerate dissent either from the increasingly strong Islamic fundamentalist movement or from proponents of democracy and human rights. Violence against opponents, both within the country and in exile, increased in the 1990s.

Morocco

Morocco maintained its traditional monarchy after independence from France in 1956. Two constitutions approved in referendums in 1962 and 1972 gave the king extensive powers, establishing him as the supreme civil and religious authority and the commander of the armed forces. The king appoints most important officials, including the prime minister and the governors of 43 provinces. He dominates the legislative process, having the right to initiate constitutional amendments, to pass laws subject to ratification in national referendums, to declare a state of emergency and to rule by decree.

King Hassan II, in power from 1961 to 1999, was skilled at playing off competing elites, manipulating electoral politics to ensure that only members of loyal parties serve in government and maintaining tight control over the military. Periodically, he also used repression and imprisonment to silence critics.

In the early 1990s Hassan promised a series of political and constitutional changes that he claimed would make Morocco the boldest democratic experiment in the Arab world. Legislative changes required that the government submit its program to a vote by the Chamber of Deputies and seek its approval to extend states of emergency beyond the first 30 days. Constitutional amendments enhanced basic political rights and established a constitutional council to review new laws. A second, indirectly elected legislative chamber, the House of Councillors, was created in 1996, and the existing lower house made wholly elective beginning with the 1998 elections.

Critics remain skeptical about whether top-down multiparty system reforms can lead to meaningful democracy. Some observers predict major political changes under Mohammed VI who ascended the throne in 1991. He is reported to favor a more ceremonial role for the monarch. But Morocco is also threatened by the trends evident throughout North Africa today: high un-

employment among an increasingly youthful population, declining standards of living for laborers, growing awareness of elite corruption and mismanagement, and rising expectations fueled by comparisons with European living standards. These trends will continue to foster both demands for political freedom and support for Islamic fundamentalism.

Tunisia

Tunisia has a distinctly Mediterranean culture that also reflects its successive waves of invaders. Although it is the most arabized country of North Africa, Tunisia remains dependent on Western investment, capital, trade and tourism. The Arabic influence stems from a succession of Islamic monarchies dating back to the seventh century. The traditional ruler, the bey, strengthened the central state by creating a bureaucratic elite and initiating European-style reforms. Before the colonial era, Tunisia—in response to growing Western encroachments—adopted a constitution promoting Western values: fair taxation, property rights, religious freedom and centralized administration. As a French colony after 1883, the country continued to absorb Western ideas and practices in spite of their limited popularity.

The French granted Tunisia full independence in 1956. Habib Bourguiba, the leader of the modern nationalist movement, became the country's first president. During his first years in office he used his image as father of the nation to consolidate power, maintain legitimacy and gain popular support. Bourguiba dominated all aspects of political life in Tunisia. He was named "president for life" in 1975, and his supporters in the New Constitution Party (renamed the Democratic Constitutional Assembly in 1988) continued to win all the seats in the National Assembly in spite of a declaration proclaiming Tunisia a multiparty system.

Bourguiba's popularity enabled the government to introduce a number of far-reaching reforms such as universal suffrage and a uniform code of justice that abolished many common Islamic practices. Among his most enduring legacies are the substantial legal, political and social rights enjoyed by women.

In the wake of a fiscal crisis, widespread discontent over land reform and the rise of Muslim fundamentalism, however, Bourguiba became increasingly authoritarian. Suffering from advanced senility, he was forced into re-

tirement in 1987 in a palace coup led by the prime minister, Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali.

Once in power, Ben Ali initiated reforms designed to ensure greater political participation and, indeed, in its first few years his regime implemented several actions that suggested the government was serious about reform. It permitted opposition newspapers to publish, released thousands of political prisoners and abolished the presidency-for-life. In an effort to find an alternative to legalizing Islamic political parties, the government instituted additional reforms designed to increase participation by the six non-Islamic political parties and other groups in government. Yet the Democratic Constitutional Assembly continues to dominate politics.

Most observers do not believe that Ben Ali's actions will lead to a representative opposition bloc in the assembly or meet the expectation for meaningful political reform. While attempting to maintain a reputation abroad as a champion of human rights and political change, Ben Ali has used the party-state apparatus to stop political protests and crush Islamic opponents at home. He has continued many of Bourguiba's practices to control the party and has used the military to prevent overt Islamic political activities. The battle between the government and Islamic militants is likely to continue.

Although all four North African countries have made some tentative gestures in the direction of democracy, none of them can be truly designated a democratic state. The unwillingness of their leaders to relinquish power, combined with a fear of Islamic fundamentalists, will certainly prevent liberalization and true democratic reforms in the foreseeable future.

AFRICA, SUBSAHARAN

Subsaharan Africa, consisting of 47 independent countries that lie in and to the south of the Sahara Desert, encompasses all the African continent except the Muslim North African countries that border the Mediterranean Sea.

The region has had a turbulent and largely unsuccessful experience with democracy since European colonial powers began granting independence in the late 1950s. In a relatively short period of time, virtually all



the formally democratic systems left behind by the departing colonial rulers gave way to authoritarian regimes of one kind or another. In most cases the death of constitutional democracy began with the movement to one-party, and typically one-man, rule. In some countries, such as Senegal and the Ivory Coast, this development stemmed from the electoral supremacy of the ruling party and the cohesiveness of the country's elite before independence, but such rule, nevertheless, was consolidated with repression. In former British colonies such as Kenya, Zambia, Ghana and Uganda, authoritarian regimes were established shortly after independence but only by extensive coercion and concentration of power in one person.

In Nigeria, Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, growing instability surrounding elec-

toral competition paved the way for military intervention, which also swept away the more fragile one-party regimes. By the early 1970s virtually all the independent regimes in Sub-Saharan Africa were either military or one-party. When Portugal's African colonies finally broke free in 1974 and 1975, after years of armed challenge to some of the most exploitative and authoritarian of all African colonial regimes, those new countries (principally Angola and Mozambique) also became one-party states with Marxist-Leninist orientations.

Historical Background

Several factors account for the failure of democracy in the new states of postcolonial Africa. Many of these had their origin in European colonial rule. To be sure, colonial rule left behind some of the infrastructure and in-

stitutions of a modern economy and society: transportation and communication grids, monetary systems, public education and a state bureaucracy. Especially under British, as well as French, colonial rule, there also emerged for the first time modern elements of political pluralism and civil society: political parties, trade unions, churches, organized interest groups, newspapers, universities and intellectuals.

The British saw preparation of their colonies for self-rule as part of their mission. However, this preparation came quite late in their possessions; it came even later in the French colonies, and not at all in the Belgian and Portuguese ones. Thus, while the former British colonies had some limited success with competitive party politics, at least for a time, in most of the rest of Africa what democratic processes there were quickly collapsed after independence.

Certain aspects of colonial rule left a highly unfavorable legacy for democracy. Colonial rule was everywhere authoritarian and paternalistic. Even the more liberal systems, like the British colonies in West Africa, allowed only limited native participation in government, confined mainly to a small elite and to local levels of governance until a few years before independence. For most of the 60 or so years of formal colonial rule, colonial officials enjoyed extraordinary powers with exalted status and few checks. African colonies had few of their own in the upper reaches of the state bureaucracy when independence came. Most newly independent states quickly embarked on sweeping programs of "Africanization" as a means of asserting political control and new national identity. (Perhaps not coincidentally, Botswana, the one country to have maintained democracy continuously since independence, took a much more gradual and cautious approach to Africanization of the state bureaucracy.)

Colonial powers established governmental frameworks that primarily reflected the European experience; there was little concern for the incorporation of native practices and symbols. Thus, African peoples and politicians alike felt little sense of ownership of, or identification with, the new postcolonial constitutional structures. Aspiring autocrats, civilian and military, thus encountered little resistance in sabotaging or overthrowing them. In addition, the colonial state was often brutal as well. Resistance and protest were often bloodily repressed; the practice was continued by the postcolonial

governments and helped to breed from the start a political culture of intolerance.

The colonial legacy was not only authoritarian but also statist. The colonial regimes imposed extensive controls over internal and external trade; established monopolies over the marketing of agricultural cash crops, the largest source of cash income; and awarded themselves exclusive control over the mining of minerals and the development of infrastructure. Trade and capital development favored the colonizing power, inhibiting the emergence of an independent, native capitalist class in the colonies. Even more significantly, the surviving bureaucracy provided a welcome means for the new African political elite to accumulate personal wealth and consolidate its grip on power after independence. At the same time, African economies were left dependent on the fluctuations of international trade.

Colonial rule, and the carving of Africa into colonial territories (formally initiated with the Berlin Conference of 1884–85), produced the seeds of modern ethnic conflict as well. The colonial demarcation of African boundaries split up some cultural and historical groups while throwing together others with little in common, except perhaps a history of warfare and hatred. Education, economic development, military recruitment and other Western influences were spread unevenly, leaving some regions and peoples distinctly advantaged over others. Colonial policies and institutions emphasized ethnic differences as part of a strategy of "divide and rule." British imperial policy deliberately encouraged ethnic and regional consciousness, as opposed to a national consciousness. In Nigeria, Sudan and Uganda, British colonial rule preserved regional structures and cleavages that ultimately led to civil war.

In at least a few countries where decolonization occurred without mass mobilization and violence, such as Nigeria, Ghana, Senegal, Gambia and Botswana, aspects of democratic culture were retained. Where decolonization occurred through armed struggle, as in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau and, to a lesser extent, Zimbabwe, the result was a militant, ideological, authoritarian regime.

Postcolonial Politics and Society

The problems and contradictions of colonial rule were greatly intensified by the African political leaders who

SUBSAHARAN AFRICA

Country	Type of Government	Executive	Legislature	Party System
Angola	transitional-presidential	Chief of State: president Head of Government: prime minister	National Assembly (223)	multiparty
Benin	presidential	Chief of State: president Head of Government: president	National Assembly (83)	multiparty
Botswana	parliamentary	Chief of State: president Head of Government: president	National Assembly (47)	multiparty
Burkina Faso	parliamentary	Chief of State: president Head of Government: prime minister	Parliament L: National Assembly (107) U: House of Representatives (178)	multiparty
Burundi	transitional, army-backed regime	Chief of State: president Head of Government: prime minister	National Assembly (81)	two-party
Cameroon	presidential-parliamentary	Chief of State: president Head of Government: prime minister	National Assembly (180)	multiparty
Cape Verde	transitional-parliamentary	Chief of State: president Head of Government: prime minister	National People's Assembly (72)	multiparty
Central African Republic	presidential-parliamentary	Chief of State: president Head of Government: prime minister	National Assembly (85)	multiparty
Chad	transitional-presidential	Chief of State: president Head of Government: prime minister	National Assembly (125)	dominant political faction
Congo, Democratic Republic of	military dictatorship	Chief of State: president Head of Government: president	none	none
Congo, Republic of	presidential-parliamentary	Chief of State: president Head of Government: prime minister	Parliament L: National Assembly (125) U: Senate (60)	multiparty
Djibouti	presidential-parliamentary	Chief of State: president Head of Government: prime minister	National Assembly (65)	multiparty
Equatorial Guinea	dictatorship	Chief of State: president Head of Government: prime minister	House of Representatives of the People (80)	dominant party in multiparty system
Eritrea	transitional	Chief of State: president Head of Government: presidential	National Assembly (150)	one-party
Ethiopia	parliamentary	Chief of State: president Head of Government: prime minister	Parliament L: House of People's Representatives (550) U: House of Federation (120)	multiparty
Gabon	parliamentary	Chief of State: president Head of Government: prime minister	Parliament L: National Assembly (120) U: Senate (91)	multiparty
Gambia, The	presidential	Chief of State: president Head of Government: president	National Assembly (49)	multiparty
Ghana	limited parliamentary	Chief of State: president Head of Government: president	National Assembly (200)	multiparty
Guinea	presidential-parliamentary	Chief of State: president Head of Government: president	National Assembly (114)	multiparty
Guinea-Bissau	presidential	Chief of State: president Head of Government: prime minister	National People's Assembly (100)	multiparty

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Political Conditions

Following a 20-year civil war between the Popular Liberation Movement of Angola-Labor Party and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, the two groups signed a treaty in 1994 that was to create a unity government. Full-scale civil war resumed in December 1998.

From independence in 1960 to 1972 Benin was known as the most unstable country in Africa. In the mid-1970s it became a single-party state under a Marxist-Leninist regime. Following a peaceful democratic revolution in 1989, it has evolved into a multiparty democracy with genuine political freedom.

Botswana has had the only uninterrupted history of democracy in postcolonial Africa. Despite an aristocratic political culture, in recent years it has expanded the scope of public debate, increased the role of interest groups and broadened minority group involvement in party politics.

Burkina Faso experienced political instability and military rule for its first 30 years of independence. Since 1991 it has operated as a multiparty political system. Yet, political organizations have flourished in number but not in power. The Congress for Democracy and Progress dominates politics.

Deep social divisions between ethnic groups have prevented the establishment of democracy and resulted in civil war. Amid heightened ethnic tensions and violence between Tutsis and Hutus, the military took power in 1996. All political activity and civil liberties were suspended in the wake of the crisis.

Cameroon is a highly centralized, nominally multiparty state with power concentrated in the president and his party. During the 1990s considerable foreign pressure was exerted to force movement toward democracy. Nevertheless progress has been slow.

Long dominated by the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde (PAICV), in 1991 Cape Verde became the first single-party state in Sub-Saharan Africa to hold multiparty democratic elections. The system remained stable as power was transferred from the PAICV to the Movement for Democracy.

Long ruled by the military, the Central African Republic made a peaceful transition to a democratically elected government in 1993. Yet government corruption, an economy in ruins and the threat of army revolts leave the future of democracy in doubt.

Chad has suffered from civil violence since independence in 1960. Politics is based on the power of individual factions, rather than on representative government. There is little national loyalty, and people are allied more to clan or faction than to the state.

Formerly known as Zaire, the Democratic Republic of Congo was under the authoritarian rule of Mobutu Sese Seko from 1965 to 1996. His refusal to allow a transition to democratic rule led to a rebellion in which he was driven from power. The present administration has promised a transition to democracy, but currently the nation is under military dictatorship.

The Republic of Congo experienced periods of political instability and one-party Marxist rule before adopting a multiparty system of government in 1991. The country's major political parties were unable to work within this framework, and political violence was frequent during the 1990s. In an effort to control the opposition, President Pascal Lissouba curbed union activity and freedom of the press.

Shortly after independence in 1977, Djibouti's competitive democracy was replaced by a single-party system dominated by President Hassan Gouled Aptidon. Opposition to Gouled eventually led to years of fighting. In 1991 Gouled acquiesced to constitutional reforms, including the establishment of a limited number of political parties. Nevertheless, Gouled remains in firm control.

Shortly after independence in 1968, Equatorial Guinea became a military-dominated police state with ties to Moscow. Terror was pervasive, and thousands of people were killed or went into exile. In 1979 Teodoro Obiang Njueme Mbasogo came to power following a coup. Despite promises of multiparty elections, Obiang has been reluctant to proceed with democratic reform.

Since independence in 1993, Eritrea has been a virtual one-party state with political activity as well as social and religious institutions strictly controlled. It was scheduled to move toward a multiparty democracy at the end of the 20th century.

For most of the century Ethiopia has been under authoritarian rule, first under the absolute monarchy of Emperor Haile Selassie and then under the Marxist regime of Mengistu Haile-Mariam. Following the overthrow of Mengistu, a transitional government adopted a new constitution in 1994 that called for a multiparty system. National elections were held in 1995, but the overwhelming victory of one party, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, leaves democracy in doubt.

Between 1968 and 1990 Gabon's political system centered around a powerful president who headed the only legal political party. In 1991 domestic unrest and international pressure led to the establishment of a multiparty parliamentary system and the adoption of a constitution guaranteeing civil liberties.

From 1965 to 1994 Gambian politics were dominated by President David Jawara and his People's Progressive Party. Widespread corruption led to his ouster and the establishment of military rule. In 1996 the ban on political activity was lifted and a new constitution adopted. The country now enjoys a fairly democratic system with civil rights and liberties generally respected.

The first Western African country to obtain independence from colonial rule (1957), Ghana has a long-standing civil liberties tradition as well as extensive experience with democratic practices. Yet because of severe economic difficulties and the military's general hostility to multiparty competition, Ghana has moved back and forth between the poles of authoritarianism and democracy.

From independence in 1958 until his death in March 1984, Sékou Touré dominated Guinean politics, establishing a single-party state. In April 1984 the military under Lansana Conté seized power, and it was not until the 1990s that Guineans had a constitution permitting political parties. Conté won election in 1998 only because the opposition was divided.

For 16 years after independence from Portugal in 1974, Guinea-Bissau was a one-party state. Following a coup in 1980, the military dominated politics. In response to domestic and international pressure, during the 1990s the government adopted a new constitution, legalized opposition and provided for freedom of expression. Yet the state controls the media, and further democratization may be jeopardized by the power of the military.

SUBSAHARAN AFRICA *continued*

Country	Type of Government	Executive	Legislature	Party System
Ivory Coast	presidential	Chief of State: president Head of Government: prime minister	National Assembly (175)	multiparty
Kenya	presidential	Chief of State: president Head of Government: president	National Assembly (202)	multiparty
Lesotho	constitutional monarchy	Chief of State: monarch Head of Government: prime minister	Parliament L: National Assembly (65) U: Senate (33)	two-party
Liberia	presidential	Chief of State: president Head of Government: president	Legislature L: House of Representatives (64) U: Senate (26)	multiparty
Madagascar	presidential	Chief of State: president Head of Government: prime minister	National Assembly (150)	multiparty
Malawi	presidential	Chief of State: president Head of Government: president	National Assembly (177)	multiparty
Mali	parliamentary	Chief of State: president Head of Government: prime minister	National Assembly (147)	multiparty
Mauritania	parliamentary	Chief of State: president Head of Government: prime minister	Parliament L: National Assembly (79) U: Senate (56)	multiparty
Mauritius	parliamentary	Chief of State: president Head of Government: prime minister	National Assembly (66)	multiparty
Mozambique	presidential	Chief of State: president Head of Government: prime minister	Assembly of the Republic (250)	multiparty
Namibia	presidential-parliamentary	Chief of State: president Head of Government: prime minister	Parliament L: National Assembly (78) U: National Council (26)	dominant party in multiparty system
Niger	presidential	Chief of State: president Head of Government: prime minister	National Assembly (83)	multiparty
Nigeria	transitional	Chief of State: president Head of Government: president	National Assembly L: House of Representatives (360) U: Senate (109)	multiparty
Rwanda	parliamentary	Chief of State: president Head of Government: prime minister	transitional National Assembly (70 appointed)	multiparty
São Tomé e Príncipe	parliamentary	Chief of State: president Head of Government: prime minister	National Assembly (55)	multiparty
Senegal	presidential-parliamentary	Chief of State: president Head of Government: prime minister	National Assembly (120)	dominant party in multiparty system
Seychelles	presidential	Chief of State: president Head of Government: president	National Assembly (33)	multiparty
Sierra Leone	presidential	Chief of State: president Head of Government: president	Parliament (80)	two-party

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Political Conditions

For the first 30 years of independence the Ivory Coast's politics was dominated by president Félix Houphouët-Boigny. The nation adopted a multiparty system in 1991, but democratization was inhibited, and a military coup in December 1999 sowed uncertainty.

Initially a parliamentary democracy, Kenya became a one-party state in 1964. In 1991, under pressure from foreign donors, President Daniel arap Moi legalized opposition political parties and sponsored multiparty elections the following year. Following the elections, which the opposition contended had serious flaws, he suspended parliament, then reconvened it, though opposition leaders were subjected to harassment. The opposition to Moi remains inchoate.

Lesotho has a history of political instability, with the monarchy and the military vying for power. It is economically dependent on South Africa, which has frequently intervened to end political crises.

Liberia enjoyed stable government until 1980, when a coup installed a military regime that ruled through savagery and terror. The regime's actions led to civil war in 1989 and the installation of a number of unstable interim governments throughout the 1990s. In 1997 the nation chose a president in the first multiparty election since 1985.

Madagascar has a long history of military government under Didier Radsiraka, who came to power in 1975. During his tenure, the government forbade opposition parties and arrested its opponents. Following widespread civil unrest during 1990–91, Radsiraka was forced to accept reforms, including a new constitution that replaced the presidential system with a parliamentary one. In 1993 a new president, Albert Zafy, was elected who returned the nation to presidential government two years later. Zafy was impeached in 1996, and Radsiraka returned to power following democratic elections in 1997.

Malawi's political system was dominated by Hastings Banda, whose repressive one-party rule lasted from 1966 until 1994, when internal pressures forced the regime to adopt a new constitution and hold multiparty elections. Banda's defeat in free elections ushered in a new era in the nation's politics.

Mali's political history has been dominated by Moussa Traoré who came to power through a coup in 1968. Traoré headed a single-party state in which the military had significant influence. During 1990–91 pro-democracy demonstrations resulted in Traoré's ouster and the establishment of a transition government that led Mali to multiparty elections in 1992.

Four years after independence in 1960, Mauritania became a one-party state under Moktar Ould Daddah. After his ouster in 1978, the country was controlled by a succession of military councils. In the wake of democratization that spread throughout Africa in 1990–91, Mauritania approved a new constitution establishing a multiparty civilian government.

Since independence, Mauritius has maintained a stable parliamentary democracy modeled after Westminster. Elections have been held regularly and power has been transferred peacefully.

At independence in 1962, Mozambique established a Marxist-Leninist state formally allied with the Soviet Union. The regime alienated a significant portion of the population in its attempt to impose a centrally organized economy. In order to retain support against rebel groups, it began to move toward a multiparty system in 1989, when the Soviet Union reduced support. Pressure for democracy has been primarily external; the West has firmly set democracy as a precondition to much-needed aid.

Namibia gained its independence from South Africa in 1990 after 25 years of armed struggle. Hailed as a model democracy, the political system is still dominated by the South West Africa People's Organization, which led the struggle for independence. Constitutionally, government is divided into three equal branches, but the legislature remains subordinate to the executive and the judiciary.

Niger has a history of military rule and involvement in government. Efforts to institutionalize multiparty democracy during the 1990s received a major setback in 1996 in the wake of a military coup. The government maintains tight control over the media and the political opposition.

Nigeria has very little experience with civilian, democratic government. For all but ten years since independence in 1960, it has been under military rule. General Sani Abacha, who held sway from 1993 until his death in 1998, limited political activity and executed several of his opponents, leading to Nigeria's suspension from the Commonwealth and diplomatic isolation. In late 1999 Nigeria returned to civilian rule following the election of one-time military ruler Olusegun Obasanjo, who pledged to return to democracy.

Since independence in 1962, Rwanda has been plagued by ethnic conflict between Hutus and Tutsis that has led to the death of over one million people. During the spring of 1994 an estimated 500,000 Rwandans were slaughtered and over one million became refugees in one month alone. A government of national unity was announced in July 1994 and a new constitution adopted in 1995. Nevertheless, the development of real constitutional government appears unlikely and peace remains tenuous.

São Tomé e Príncipe was a one-party state from independence in 1975 until multiparty elections in 1991. Lack of decisive majorities and political infighting have crippled efforts to form a stable government. These conflicts culminated in a military coup in 1995. Civilian rule was restored that year, but stability remains illusive because of division over how to deal with severe economic problems.

Traditionally, Senegal has had one of the most democratic and stable political systems in Africa. It has never experienced a military coup or a violent transfer of power. In the 1970s, at a time when most African nations were constricting pluralism, Senegal underwent significant reforms that opened the political system and institutionalized democracy. Yet political tension and unrest remain significant around elections, and the Socialist Party dominates political life.

Three years after independence in 1976, Seychelles became a one-party, socialist state dominated by President France-Albert René. Under pressure from Western nations and in the face of democratization that swept Eastern Europe in 1989, René agreed to return the nation to a multiparty system.

Sierra Leone became a de facto one-party state following independence in 1961. Under tremendous popular pressure, the government acquiesced to the adoption of a multiparty system in 1991. However, following a coup in 1992, the country degenerated into civil war. A brief attempt at democracy in 1996 ended in another coup the following year. In 1998 the Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group took control of the capital, permitting the return of civilian government.

SUBSAHARAN AFRICA *continued*

Country	Type of Government	Executive	Legislature	Party System
Somalia	none	none	none	none
South Africa	presidential-parliamentary	Chief of State: president Head of Government: prime minister	Parliament L: National Assembly (400) U: National Council of Provinces (90)	multiparty
Sudan	transitional	Chief of State: president Head of Government: president	National Assembly (400)	none
Swaziland	monarchy	Chief of State: king Head of Government: prime minister	Parliament L: House of Assembly (65) U: Senate (20)	none
Tanzania	presidential	Chief of State: president Head of Government: prime minister	National Assembly (275)	dominant party in multiparty system
Togo	parliamentary	Chief of State: president Head of Government: prime minister	National Assembly (81)	multiparty
Uganda	presidential-parliamentary	Chief of State: president Head of Government: prime minister	National Assembly (276)	none
Zambia	presidential	Chief of State: president Head of Government: president	National Assembly (150)	multiparty
Zimbabwe	parliamentary	Chief of State: president Head of Government: president	House of Assembly (150)	dominant party in multiparty system

came to power with independence. While some historians maintain that failures of democracy in this period were caused by the inheritance of the structures of colonial rule, others see these failures as produced by self-serving elites who did little to forge a different style of politics and governance. In the context of extreme poverty and economic dependence, deep ethnic divisions, little democratic experience, weak and artificial governmental structures, shallow constitutional legitimacy, meager civil societies and sweeping state controls over the formal economy, the maintenance of relatively liberal and democratic governments would probably have required political leadership exceptional in its self-discipline, democratic commitment and skill at coalition building. Except for a few countries, that kind of leadership was missing.

The colonial structure of government, which contributed to democracy's failure, took on more crippling dimensions after independence. There was the swollen

African state, too large and interventionist to allow market forces to generate growth, yet too weak to undertake government-directed development. The typical African state owned or controlled by far the greatest share of wealth outside the subsistence economy, in mining, agriculture and even industry and services. It became the leading purchaser of goods and services; the provider of schools, roads, clinics and markets for communities; the principal source of wage employment, contracts, careers, commissions and scholarships.

Because of the pervasive poverty and the extreme underdevelopment of indigenous entrepreneurship, the African state became the primary arena of class formation after independence, as well as the chief means (through political corruption and patronage) for the accumulation of personal wealth and the opening of economic opportunities to family and friends. State power became extremely valuable. Those who held it became rich; those who did not were virtually without opportu-

Political Conditions

Initially a multiparty democracy, Somalia experienced more than 20 years of military dictatorship under Mohammed Siad Barre, who ruled from 1969 to 1991. Barre was overthrown before opposition groups could form a viable government. Subsequently, civil war, based upon clan rivalries, escalated until Somalia virtually ceased to be a viable state.

During the 1990s South Africa made a dramatic transformation from a political system based on apartheid, in which the black majority had no role, to a multiethnic democracy led by the nation's first black president, Nelson Mandela. Yet South Africa remains a divided society in which pluralism and compromise are viewed as unavoidable necessities, not preferred options. It remains to be seen whether democracy can flourish under these conditions.

Through the 1990s Sudan suffered from an authoritarian form of government, extensive human rights violations and a devastating civil war. The historical experience with democracy—most notably the parliamentary government established at independence in 1956 and the two parliamentary periods that followed military rule in 1964 and 1986—demonstrates the latent strength of the nation's democratic tradition.

Although Swaziland adopted the Westminster parliamentary system on independence, its political system has been dominated by the monarch. Political parties are banned and the legislature is limited to debating government proposals and advising the king.

Two years after independence in 1962, Tanzania became a one-party state under the leadership of President Julius Nyerere. His party, the Tanganyikan African National Union (TANU), became the center of political decision making, with the National Assembly merely approving legislation. Pushed by the wave of democratization sweeping Africa in the early 1990s, Tanzania became a multiparty state in 1992. Nevertheless, TANU continues to dominate government.

Although a parliamentary democracy at independence in 1960, Togo degenerated into a military dictatorship following a bloodless coup by Etienne Eyadema in 1967. In the wake of increasing domestic unrest, Eyadema agreed to establish a multiparty system under a new constitution adopted in 1992. Nevertheless, Eyadema continues to control the executive and legislative branches.

Since independence in 1962, Uganda has had a history of civil wars and military dictatorships interspersed with short periods of democratic government. A new constitution was adopted in 1995, establishing a National Assembly but proscribing political parties. In 1996 democratic legislative elections were held for the first time since 1980.

For most of its history, Zambia was a one-party state dominated by President Kenneth D. Kaunda. In 1991, during the wave of democratization that swept Eastern Europe and Africa, Zambia adopted a new constitution providing for multiparty elections. Kaunda was displaced in the subsequent presidential voting.

Although Zimbabwe had a multiparty parliamentary system at independence, the nation gradually became a one-party state under the leadership of Robert Mugabe and the Zimbabwe African National Union-Popular Front. In the late 1990s Mugabe's hold on politics was threatened by domestic unrest in the face of economic problems.

nity. The idea of “anything goes” prevailed in the struggle for power: violence, vituperation, demagoguery, intimidation, assassination, rigging of elections, census manipulation, arrests and repression.

Where civilian politicians did not put an end to multiparty competition, politics became so chaotic and corrupt that the military was easily able to seize control, initially with enthusiastic popular support. Invariably, however, military rulers fell victim to the same temptations as had civilian politicians. But the military rulers displayed even less respect for law and opposition, and an even greater disposition to use violence and repression as substitutes for legitimacy.

Statism and corruption had other devastating consequences for democracy. Strict state controls prevented incentives for investment to raise agricultural productivity and launch new business ventures. Unchecked by any restraints from independent institutions, such as the judiciary or the mass media, nepotism and corruption turned

into gross mismanagement and brazen plunder of public resources. Economies were driven into bankruptcy, with massive foreign debt, staggering inequality and explosive public anger.

A final factor that must be weighed in assessing the causes of democratic failure in Africa is international politics. Throughout the period of decolonization and postindependence politics—from the 1950s through the late 1980s—the principal powers in the Cold War viewed Africa primarily as an arena of competition for geopolitical and occasionally military advantage. The Soviet bloc provided crucial support to Marxist-type regimes like those in Ethiopia, Angola and Mozambique, and also supported liberation movements in Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia.

The United States, Great Britain and France backed their own allies and surrogates in the struggle, especially the authoritarian regime of Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo). This regime

became pivotal in the American strategy to stem the spread of Soviet influence in Africa. The United States also offered close support to Jaafar Mohammed al-Numeiri in Sudan, to Samuel Doe's dictatorship in Liberia, to Daniel arap Moi's increasingly one-party state in Kenya and to the dictatorship of Mohammed Siad Barre in Somalia after it had freed itself from its pro-Soviet alliance. France turned a blind eye to pervasive corruption and repression while maintaining intimate and even heavily controlling ties with the governments of its former African colonies. If there was one thing that did not seem to matter much to the major world powers in their aid, trade and military assistance relationships with Africa, it was democracy.

The Second Liberation

In February 1990 two historic events took place that were to transform the character of politics in Africa. In Benin, a committee that had been convened to consider constitutional reforms that would help prop up the weakening government instead seized sovereign power and effective authority from President Mathieu Kerekou, established a transitional government and prepared the way for multiparty elections under a new constitution. And in South Africa, the recently installed president, F. W. de Klerk, lifted the bans on the African National Congress and other outlawed parties and released Nelson Mandela from prison.

Over the next three years a wave of democratic transitions swept across Africa. Inspired by Benin's experience, several French-speaking African countries—Togo, Niger, Madagascar, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Republic of Congo and Mali—organized national conferences out of which constitutional change and multiparty elections followed in Mali, Niger, Madagascar and the Republic of Congo. Under rising domestic and international pressure, one African dictator after another legalized the opposition and agreed to hold multiparty elections: Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia, Daniel arap Moi in Kenya, Jerry Rawlings in Ghana, Omar Bongo in Gabon and Paul Biya in Cameroon. In Malawi the voters endorsed multiparty elections and voted out the dictator of 29 years, Hastings Kamuzu Banda.

This move toward democracy has been called Africa's second liberation. It was no coincidence that these events in Benin and South Africa came on the heels of the col-

lapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the end of the Cold War. The downfall of communism in Europe transformed the international environment. It freed the United States from its absorption with countering Soviet influence on the continent, enabling it to give democracy and human rights a higher priority in its diplomacy there.

In June 1990 France's President François Mitterrand warned that France would link aid to former colonies to institutional progress toward democracy, as evidenced by free and fair elections among competing parties, press freedom and judicial independence. Political openings soon swept through French-speaking Africa, some leading to genuine transitions to democracy and others to mere cosmetic reforms that nevertheless created more space for opposition.

The United States and Britain also moved increasingly to integrate the promotion of democracy and human rights into their foreign aid programs worldwide and to impose democratic conditions for assistance. In 1991, for example, after months of warning about the corruption and repression of the Moi regime in Kenya, the United States and Scandinavia cut off aid. One week later Kenya's ruling party repealed the ban on opposition parties, paving the way for multiparty elections. A similar freeze in 1992 on aid to Malawi prompted the Banda regime to release political prisoners, legalize opposition movements, and conduct a 1993 referendum on a multiparty system, which finally proved the regime's undoing.

External pressure and support could not have succeeded, however, were it not for the emergence of native democratic movements demanding a new political order. During the repressive years of the 1970s and 1980s there emerged a host of independent associations, movements, networks and media that challenged the predatory power of the African states. Professional associations of lawyers, doctors, journalists and teachers, university staff, students and human rights and pro-democracy groups formed specifically around issues of democratic reform. These popular movements for democracy arose out of a longtime frustration with the mounting failures and injustices of every type of authoritarian rule, whether socialistic or dictatorial.

In spite of these democratic advances throughout Sub-Saharan Africa, there remain many areas of conflict. In the late 1990s civil wars raged in Sierra Leone and in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where both factions,

for the first time in African history, attracted support from neighboring countries. Rwanda and Burundi have huge ethnic conflicts that have resulted in large-scale massacres and numbers of refugees. Fragile transitional governments, beset by sporadic fighting, exist in Liberia, Sudan, Nigeria and Angola, all countries with recent civil wars. And Somalia is still in chaos despite United Nations peacekeeping efforts in the 1990s.

Prospects for Democracy

To be successful, democracy in Africa will demand broad changes in political culture, beginning with the political elite. No challenge is more important to a democratic future than structuring institutions wisely. Strong autonomous institutions are needed to build a rule of law, regulate electoral contests and monitor the actions of those in public office. To control corruption, two types of institution are essential: an audit agency to monitor all government accounts and transactions and a commission to examine the assets and conduct of all public officials. These institutions themselves need rigorous professional standards and insulation from partisan politics. They also need the resources to exercise effective oversight. These structures of oversight will not come cheaply. But unless the virulent malignancy of corruption is contained and diminished and a new ethic of public service and developmental purpose is generated, competitive, multiparty politics in Africa cannot possibly develop the mutual restraint and popular legitimacy necessary to survive.

In addition, innovations are needed for managing Africa's vast ethnic diversity, perhaps creating local ethnic areas and devolving power from the center to these ethnic enclaves. In this way, citizenship, the most basic building block of democracy, could be actively nurtured in Africa for the first time. Nigeria, even while under military dictatorship, has led the way in showing how a presidential party system can generate incentives for transethnic politics. Nigeria's system requires a broad ethnic and regional distribution of support for election to the presidency, mandates broad ethnic representation in government appointments and bans avowedly ethnic or regional parties. To prevent abuse of power by a strong president, the countries perhaps need a parliamentary system with fair representation throughout society; they similarly need strong political parties that transcend and bridge ethnic groups. But institutionalization also re-

quires patience and time; it will occur in Africa only if competitive, constitutional politics can, for the first time there, attain a longer tenure without interruption by a military or presidential coup or by civil war.

Economic reforms are also indispensable to the future of democracy in Africa: first, to reduce the ability of politicians to manipulate state economic regulations and controls for their own profit; and second, to unleash and mobilize the entrepreneurial energy and investment that has been evident in the African private sector. Yet the transitional costs of reform are enormous: socially, in terms of lost jobs and consumer subsidies; financially, in terms of the need for government restructuring and social safety nets to ease adjustment.

How will Africa obtain the resources to manage this adjustment? Except for a few mineral-rich countries like Botswana, Nigeria and Angola (and the last two have bankrupted themselves), most African countries have little prospect of economic recovery without renewed international assistance. The end of the Cold War has been a mixed blessing for Africa. Although it has largely ended the desire of the major world powers to manipulate Africa's internal conflicts and embrace its authoritarian regimes, it has also greatly diminished their interest in Africa altogether. Africans have found themselves in the paradoxical position of being urged to reform and democratize while receiving less interest and support from the established democracies, especially the United States.

How long can the new democracies (and quasi-democracies) survive without renewing economic development and improving their peoples' lives? How long will elected governments stick with painful economic reforms if those reforms fail to rekindle economic growth? What ruling elite will summon the courage and self-discipline to institute the hard measures necessary to ensure public accountability? Will the Western democracies realize that the cost of investing in democracy and economic reform in Africa is far cheaper than the likely alternative of responding to an endless stream of humanitarian emergencies, civil wars and collapsed states?

The answers are unclear, but, increasingly, Africans recognize that democracy is not a luxury or a mere ideal but a necessity for development, justice and conflict management in their countries.

See also South Africa.

ALBANIA

See Europe, East Central.

ALGERIA

See Africa, North.

ANARCHISM

From a Greek word meaning rule by no one, anarchism is a political ideology that would do away with all forms of government.

Anarchists believe that any government, no matter how well-meaning, ultimately serves the interests of a small ruling elite that exploits the rest of society, especially the working class. Anarchism holds that the state must be abolished and society reorganized from the bottom up, based on the varying needs of individuals and small local groups.

There are two main schools of anarchistic thought: the individualists and the collectivists. Individualists, such as the American anarchist Benjamin Tucker (1854–1939), envisioned a market-based societal system of free exchange and contract between individuals, with private associations acting to safeguard the rights of each individual who has bought their services. In contrast, collectivists, such as Russia's Mikhail Bakunin (1814–76), and communists, such as his fellow countryman Pyotr Kropotkin (1842–1921), believed that social needs could be met through voluntary cooperation in the workplace and small local communes. Experimental anarchistic communes were organized by 19th-century Welsh industrialist Robert Owen in England and the United States. The kibbutzim, communal farm communities in Israel, are another example.

While most anarchists advocate peaceful means to achieve their goals, there has been a school of revolutionary anarchism favoring force and terror. Assassinations by anarchists of such high-profile targets as Russia's Czar Alexander II (1881), President William McKinley of the United States (1901) and Greece's King George I (1913) have left the false impression that all anarchists are terrorists.

Anarchists criticize Western-style democracy on three points. First, a democratic state is still a state: Its way of operating shows the same insensitivity to social needs as

do other, more overtly authoritarian political institutions. Second, democrats often claim that the will of the people informs and controls government policy. But, according to anarchists, the idea of a single, consistent popular will is a myth. It is absurd to suppose that a majority view, expressed in a ballot at one moment in time, constitutes the will of the people. Third, they attack the idea that popularly elected members of legislatures represent the will of the people. Anarchists argue that people frequently elect the well educated and articulate rather than those who understand their concerns. But even those representatives that do understand eventually would be corrupted by their new position as servants of the state. Except in very special circumstances, therefore, anarchists have favored a policy of political abstention and have sought to encourage a revolutionary transformation of society through a variety of extraparliamentary means, including propaganda, direct action and, finally, insurrection.

Anarchism had its greatest practical success at the outset of the Spanish civil war in the 1930s, when many areas came for a time under anarchist control, but subsequently its influence has waned. Anarchists today are effective chiefly through their participation in the peace and ecology movements.

ANGOLA

See Africa, Sub-Saharan.

ANTHONY, SUSAN B.

(1820–1906)

An early feminist, Anthony was a leader of the 19th-century women's suffrage movement in the United States.

Anthony was born in Adams, Massachusetts. The daughter of Quakers who believed in equality of education for women, she was educated in private schools and became a teacher. In 1851 Anthony began collaborating with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, a suffragist orator and writer. Anthony was committed to three areas of social reform: temperance, abolition, and women's equality. She joined the Daughters of Temperance and organized the Women's State Temperance Society in 1852. She campaigned for equality for married women. An outspoken abolitionist, she was the principal New York agent of



Susan B. Anthony

William Lloyd Garrison's American Anti-slavery Society. In 1863, after Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation freeing slaves in territories in rebellion, Anthony and Stanton organized the Women's Loyal League, which petitioned Congress to end all slavery. The league disbanded when the 13th Amendment abolishing slavery was ratified in 1865.

With the end of slavery, Anthony and Stanton renewed efforts to enfranchise women. Feminists and abolitionists formed the American Equal Rights Association (AERA) to urge democratic reform for women and blacks. Under the organization's male leadership, however, support for women's rights became secondary to the fight for black male suffrage. Anthony and Stanton opposed this emphasis.

In 1869, when AERA lobbied to ratify the 15th Amendment, which, among other things, gave black men the vote but failed to mention women, Anthony and Stanton formed the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA). A more moderate group, the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), was founded the same year by women supporting the amendment's ratification. This began a split in the women's movement that lasted 20 years. Although both groups pushed for women's rights their emphasis and tactics differed. The NWSA focused on ratification of a women's suffrage amendment to the constitution. More radical than the

AWSA, the NWSA became involved in many aspects of women's liberty, including birth control and divorce. The AWSA, in contrast, focused on the issue of women's suffrage and pushed for changes in state constitutions. The organizations merged in 1890 to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), which Anthony headed from 1892 to 1900.

To publicize women's disenfranchisement, Anthony and 14 other women voted in the 1872 congressional election in Rochester, New York. She was arrested and fined but refused to pay the fine. Because no action was taken against her, she could not appeal her case to a higher court.

From 1868 to 1870 Anthony helped publish the weekly suffragist newspaper *Revolution*. She also contributed to the six-volume *History of Woman Suffrage* (1881–86). She remained politically active until her death in Rochester at age 86.

See also Abolitionism; Pankhurst, Emmeline; Seneca Falls Declaration; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady; Women and Democracy; Women's Suffrage (U.S.).

ANTI-FEDERALISTS

Term applied to those who fought ratification of the U.S. Constitution in 1787 and 1788.

The Anti-Federalists can be traced back to the Revolutionary period, when they were called Federalists, because they favored a loose federation of states. Their opponents, the Nationalists, wanted a centralized system of government. During the debate over the Constitution the Revolutionary-era Federalists became known as Anti-Federalists as the pro-federal government Nationalists assumed the name of Federalists. Although it is difficult to generalize about the members of the movement, Anti-Federalists were generally small farmers, laborers, debtors and people who feared that a strong central government would limit individual liberty. Anti-Federalists held that democracy worked best in small political societies such as local governments and states. There citizens could exercise their citizenship to the fullest—not only by voting but also by sharing in debate over issues and holding office. They preferred direct democracy but acknowledged that in their contemporary world, large nation-states had become necessary; and they accepted

representative government as an alternative to direct rule by citizens. The Anti-Federalists agreed with the Federalists that the loose coalition of states formed under the Articles of Confederation had to be replaced. The Articles had created a weak central government that had proved unable to deal with the problems of the new nation. The Anti-Federalists, however, argued that the Framers of the Constitution had given too much power to the central government.

The Anti-Federalists saw the Constitution as a radical document that would destroy American liberty and betray the principles of the American Revolution. Their greatest fear was that the new system would destroy the independence of the states. The very opening words of the Constitution—"We the people," rather than "we the states"—convinced many that the aim of the document was to create a centralized government. They observed that America was too varied for a central government to govern it justly. Under the Constitution, the states would wither away, leaving a national government so removed from local communities that it would have to rule by force. In reacting to the tyranny of the states under the Articles of Confederation, the Framers had opened the door to tyranny by the central government.

The Anti-Federalists were deeply concerned about the construction of each branch of the federal government. In reviewing the powers given to the president, Patrick Henry, one of the Anti-Federalist leaders, said the office "squints toward monarchy." Anti-Federalists believed that the Congress was too small and too far removed from the people to adequately represent their interests. They recognized that the wealthy were better at forming political associations than the poor and middle class, and so feared that Congress would become an oligarchy. They wanted a larger congress, smaller districts and more frequent elections to keep representation close to the people. They were alarmed by the constitutional provision giving Congress broad powers to legislate for the "general welfare" and pass all laws "necessary and proper" to carry out that function, fearing it furnished Congress with virtually unrestricted power. Even the organization of the judiciary did not meet with their approval. They feared that the federal judiciary would encroach on the powers of the more responsive local courts. The Anti-Federalists demanded a bill of rights be added to the Constitution to guarantee individual liberties against the

federal government and to reserve to the states all powers not mentioned in the Constitution.

No one knows how the general public viewed the debate over ratification, but in most states there was comparatively little opposition to ratification, considering the dramatic changes the Constitution introduced. The Federalists were better organized, better financed and more politically sophisticated than their opponents. Also, the Anti-Federalists were at a distinct disadvantage since they acknowledged that the Articles of Confederation had to be changed but presented no alternative to the Constitution. Once backers of the Constitution agreed to the addition of a Bill of Rights, much of the opposition disappeared. In the end, only Rhode Island and North Carolina voted against ratification. The first Congress approved the Bill of Rights in September 1789. Ironically many Anti-Federalists opposed it, hoping for a second constitutional convention that would limit the power of the central government. The Bill of Rights became part of the Constitution in 1791 following ratification by nine states.

See also Constitution (U.S.); Federalists.

ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA

See Caribbean.

APARTHEID

The official policy of racial segregation followed by the South African government between 1948 and 1990. (The word "apartheid" is from the Afrikaans word meaning separation.)

Apartheid laws solidified a racist society in which whites held political, social and economic power while all other groups were powerless. These laws created a completely segregated nation where all aspects of life were determined by race. Government was in the hands of a white minority determined to resist the tide of black African independence and preserve white domination.

South Africa's policy of segregation predated apartheid. During the first decades of the 20th century a series of laws were enacted that were designed to maintain white supremacy over the black majority, which made up over 75 percent of the population, and to provide white business with a cheap labor pool. The black population was dis-

enfranchised and political protest restricted. Other legislation prohibited black Africans from certain skilled trades and restricted their land ownership to only 13 percent of the nation's area. Apartheid became South Africa's official policy in 1948, when the National Party won power based on a campaign of preserving white supremacy. It proclaimed a policy under which each race would "develop along its own lines in its own area."

Over the next two decades the South African government passed the largest and harshest body of racial laws in modern times. The result was a rigidly segregated society. The government classified South Africans into four main racial groups: whites, Coloureds (people of mixed descent), Asians, and Bantus or blacks. Where you lived, who you married, what type of education you received and what jobs you could hold were all determined by race. Black anti-apartheid political organizations were banned. To uphold these laws, the government developed an elaborate police and informer system designed to control every aspect of South African life. Although the system impacted most dramatically on blacks, whites were also affected. The laws required that they, too, observe the regulations underpinning white supremacy.

From 1960 to the mid-1970s the government pursued a course of what it called separate development, promising eventual independence for each race. Blacks were assigned to "homelands," separate impoverished enclaves, where they could enjoy their "freedom" and exercise their "democratic rights." In reality this policy meant that blacks lost their right to reside in South Africa outside their homeland and could be deported from white areas in the event of political unrest. By forcing blacks into homelands that could not support them, the government ensured whites a cheap labor force.

Principal opposition to apartheid came from the multi-racial African National Congress (ANC) led by Nelson Mandela. The 1950s saw the largest, most intensive mobilization of anti-apartheid forces in South African history. Influenced by the ideas of Mohandas Gandhi, the ANC used civil disobedience campaigns to protest government policy. The movement was so strong that, following anti-apartheid riots in Sharpeville in March 1960, the government banned all black political organizations. ANC leaders were exiled or imprisoned. Mandela was convicted of sabotage and sentenced to life in prison. Criticism of the regime continued in the 1960s and 1970s

from white liberals and from younger blacks attracted by Black Consciousness ideology. Buoyed by the overthrow of colonial rule in neighboring Mozambique and Angola, blacks continued to push for self-determination. Opposition to the racist regime came from the international community as well. The United Nations in the early 1960s declared apartheid a crime against humanity. Over the years public opinion forced many Western nations to impose sanctions against South Africa.

In the mid-1970s increased strikes, demonstrations and boycotts, together with pressure from the world community, forced the government to relax some of its restrictive policies. After 1978 the term apartheid was itself rejected, and debate centered on how to share political power between blacks and whites. Reform went slowly. Not until 1984 were constitutional changes made to include Coloured and Asian representation in government. The fact that there was no provision for black representation resulted in a period of sustained unrest, with the government declaring a state of emergency. Violence escalated on both sides.

A number of factors contributed to end apartheid. The policy no longer commanded loyalty among whites who had much to lose from the general social unrest. Foreign banks withheld investment capital, creating a crisis in an economy already weakened by recession and high unemployment. With the end of the Cold War, South Africa was no longer considered a crucial ally whose politics must be tolerated, and allies increased pressure for democratization. By the end of the 1980s there was major support for change.

Under the leadership of President F. W. de Klerk, the government lifted the ban on the ANC and released Mandela from prison in 1990, signaling apartheid's official demise. By 1992 all principal apartheid legislation had been repealed. In 1994 Mandela was elected president of South Africa in the country's first multi-racial elections.

See also De Klerk, F. W.; Mandela, Nelson; South Africa.

APPORTIONMENT

The process of allocating representatives in a legislative body.

The term *apportionment* is sometimes distinguished from *districting*, which refers to the ways in which dis-

trict boundaries are drawn. In practice the terms are often used synonymously.

Nations apportion representatives in various way. Two of the most common are by population and by political unit (state, county, etc.). In nations with bicameral legislatures, such as the United States or Canada, each house may be apportioned on a different basis. Traditionally, lower houses were established to represent the interests of constituents, and so are frequently apportioned by population. Upper houses were established to represent wider interests; their seats are often allocated by political unit.

Some nations, such as Israel, use a system of proportional representation in which seats are given to each political party based on the percentage of the vote it received in an election. Some nations also set aside seats for special groups. Bangladesh, for example, has a number of seats in its lower house reserved for women.

U.S. System

Under the Constitution, each state has two seats in the Senate regardless of population. Voters select senators in statewide elections. Seats in the House of Representatives are allocated according to population with each state having at least one seat. Voters select their representative in district elections. Under the Apportionment Act of 1929 Congress fixed the size of the House at 435 seats. Congress reallocates these seats to the states every ten years based on the results of the latest census. The state legislatures then carry out the redistricting process, adjusting the districts to fit the number of seats assigned.

Historically the size of congressional districts varied from state to state and district to district. Frequently this was the result of partisan politics. Parties hoped to win elections through manipulating district boundaries in a process that came to be called gerrymandering.

Malapportionment also occurred naturally. As Americans moved from rural areas to cities and then to suburbs, some districts developed considerably larger populations than others. Frequently urban areas had less of a voice in legislatures than did rural districts. Politicians were reluctant to equalize districts for fear of upsetting the political balance in the state. Reformers attempted to force redistricting through court action but failed because, until the 1960s, the Supreme Court viewed ap-

portionment as a political issue that should be handled by legislatures rather than the courts.

The Supreme Court reversed itself in 1962, holding in *Baker v. Carr* that issues involving apportionment could be brought to federal courts. Two years later, in *Reynolds v. Sims*, it ruled that state electoral districts must be apportioned on the basis of population. Districts must be "substantially equal"—what became known as the "one person, one vote" criterion. During the 1960s the Court extended the ruling to congressional districts and local governments as well. In 1969 the Court insisted that states make their congressional districts be precisely equal in population, but it stepped back slightly in 1973 when it ruled that state legislative districts did not have to be exactly equal if the districts reflected legitimate concerns such as preserving political boundaries.

The Supreme Court rulings resulted in large-scale redistricting throughout the United States. Although redistricting is in the hands of the legislature, courts have become a major partner in the process. In the redistricting of the 1980s and 1990s all but a few states saw their plans challenged in court, and courts had to draw up a number of plans.

The Justice Department also plays a major role in redistricting, especially in the South and Southwest. Under the provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, jurisdictions in which minority participation in elections is low (including all the states of the Deep South) must have all redistricting plans preapproved by the Justice Department to prevent discrimination. As a result states have dramatically increased the number of legislative and congressional districts drawn with African-American or Hispanic majorities. The Supreme Court has ruled that race-conscious districting is constitutional, but that districts drawn solely to segregate the races are prohibited.

See also Baker v. Carr; Gerrymandering.

ARGENTINA

South American nation chronically beset by political turmoil and long periods of authoritarian rule.

The traditional presence of a powerful military steeped in the interests of its wealthiest citizens has often served to deny rather than preserve democratic freedom in Argentina. Frequent acts of civil unrest have disrupted



law and order (especially during the 20th century) and led to widespread, government-instituted repression. Yet since the reestablishment of democratic government in 1983, Argentina has evolved into a democracy whose future appears brighter than ever before.



Structure of Government

Argentina has a republican political system with a federal structure. The country's constitution, in both its preamble and much of its text, largely reflects the ideas and intent of the U.S. Constitution. Distilled from a document first drafted in 1853, the present Argentinean constitution provides for a presidential system with well-delineated

Official Name:	Argentine Republic
Date of Independence:	July 9, 1816 (from Spain)
Date of Current Constitution:	May 1, 1853
Form of Government:	presidential
Chief of State:	president
Head of Government:	president
Legislature:	National Congress Chamber of Deputies: 257 members elected by proportional representation Senate: 72 members indirectly elected
Term of Legislature:	Chamber of Deputies: 4 years (one-half the membership elected every 2 years) Senate: 9 years (one-third the membership elected every 3 years)
Party System:	2 dominant parties
Minimum Voting Age:	18

executive, legislative and judicial branches. While executive powers have frequently emerged as dominant, constitutional provisions added in 1983 and 1994 have attempted to enhance parity among the branches.

Executive

Executive power is vested in a president who is chief of state and head of government. As "supreme chief" he has extensive powers in both domestic and foreign affairs. He is responsible for the conduct of foreign policy and the implementation of laws. The president can introduce laws and can veto legislation either in part or in whole. He nominates candidates for the Supreme Court of Justice and appoints senior military officials subject to Senate approval. In the case of national emergency, the president retains the right to suspend some civil liberties temporarily, with the consent of the Senate.

The president is directly elected for a four-year term and is eligible for reelection for one further term. Elections are held under a system that requires a runoff if the leading contender gets less than 40 percent of the vote or if he gets between 40 percent and 45 percent but has less than a 10 percent advantage over the second most popular candidate.

Historically the president has dominated the legislature and judiciary. In an effort to achieve a greater bal-

ance among the branches, constitutional amendments in 1994 created the chief of cabinet who is responsible to the National Congress, which can remove him on a vote of non-confidence. He undertakes the general administration of the country and responds to congressional inquiries.

Legislature

Argentina's legislative power is vested in a bicameral National Congress, which consists of a lower Chamber of Deputies and an upper-chamber Senate. Under the constitution, the lower chamber is to represent the nation as a whole, the upper house the individual provinces. Both chambers have similar powers. Congress makes all laws, levies taxes, regulates commerce, ratifies treaties and establishes the courts below the Supreme Court. Most legislation requires approval by both houses. The Chamber of Deputies has the right to institute impeachment proceedings against high officials, who are then tried in the Senate. The Senate has the exclusive right to authorize the president to declare war or a state of emergency; it also approves important presidential nominations.

Argentina's Chamber of Deputies is elected directly through a system of proportional representation. Deputies serve four-year terms and are eligible for reelection. One half of the House is up for reelection every two years. The Senate, which also is directly elected, consists of three members from each of Argentina's 23 provinces and the federal capital. Two of these senators represent the majority party, the third the largest minority party. Senators serve for six-year terms and are eligible for reelection.

Judiciary

Federal judicial power is exercised by the nation's Supreme Court of Justice, 17 appellate courts, and district and territorial courts on the local levels. The provincial courts are similarly organized, consisting of supreme, appellate and local courts. The nine federal supreme court judges are appointed by the president with the Senate's approval and hold office for life. The Supreme Court is the nation's constitutional court.

Under the constitution, the judicial branch is formally independent of the other branches. Nevertheless, traditionally it has been the weakest branch, subject to external pressure, particularly from the president.

Local Government

Argentina's 23 provinces and the federal capital elect their own governors and legislatures. Under the constitution, the provinces retain all powers not specifically given to the federal government.

Electoral System

Argentina has universal suffrage, and voting is compulsory. Elections are generally fair and honest and are administered by an electoral board headed by a federal judge called an electoral judge. Party officials are present at the polls and during the counting. Because voting is compulsory for all citizens 18 years of age or older, 85 percent to 90 percent of those eligible vote in most elections.

Constitutional reforms in 1994 established regulations designed to increase the number of women in Congress. Under this law, at least every third candidate on a party slate must be a woman.

Political Parties

Two parties have dominated Argentinean politics in the 20th century: the Justicialist Party and the Radical Civil Union. The Justicialist or Perónist Party (PJ), currently headed by President Carlos Saúl Menem, was formed in the 1940s to advocate support for Juan Domingo Perón and his populist program. Under Menem, the party has endorsed free-market policies and limited state regulation of the economy. These policies have generated strong criticism from party traditionalists who want to maintain the close ties between government and labor established by Perón.

The nation's oldest party, the Radical Civil Union (UCR), was founded in the 1890s to oppose the ruling oligarchy. It has represented the left-of-center in Argentinean politics since the 19th century, favoring economic nationalism and state intervention in oil and mining interests. The radicals have consistently opposed military rule.

History of Democracy

Argentina's independence from Spain in 1816 inaugurated a succession of civil wars that ended only after the election of Bartolomé Mitre as president in 1862. Mitre, who governed until 1868, unified the country and developed a nation formally committed to liberal principles of constitutional law and representative govern-

ment. Yet, in practice, Argentinean government evolved as an oligarchy using political patronage and military might to maintain control.

From 1870 to 1914 Argentine politics were dominated by a small landowning elite and powerful commercial and livestock interests. Represented by the Conservative Party, this group effectively banned the majority of the population from political representation. Yet economic and social changes during this period, particularly the growth of the urban middle class and increased immigration, laid the foundation for the destruction of the oligarchy. In 1891 Argentina's first mass political party, the Radical Civic Union, was formed to work for reform. Convinced that the Conservatives would not share power, the group staged several unsuccessful rebellions and boycotted all elections to 1912. Following electoral reform in 1912, it came to power in the 1916 election under the leadership of Hipólito Irigoyen. But while Irigoyen's leadership provided a tranquil blend of liberal democracy and stability, he never really challenged the power base of the ruling class. In 1930, amid economic chaos generated by the worldwide depression and popular disillusionment with Irigoyen, the army carried out a coup d'état with broad support from the nation's commercial elites. Its action ushered in the "infamous decade" (1930–43)—a period of conservative dominance featuring a succession of short-lived military regimes and highlighted by repression against reformers.

From this political confusion emerged Colonel Juan Domingo Perón—certainly Argentina's most influential leader of the 20th century. Following a military coup in 1943, Perón, as the minister of labor, forged an immense power base among Argentina's struggling working class and destitute masses (Perón's popular mass organization was known as *Descamisados*, the "shirtless ones") by promising vastly improved living conditions and increased earnings. He was elected president in a free election in 1946.

Perón's regime combined elements of representative government and electoral democracy with corporatist ties to organized labor and policies of aggressive nationalism calculated to appease the military. The country remained loyal to him until his increasingly authoritarian rule, spiraling inflation and slowed economic growth eroded his support. A military coup toppled his regime and sent him into exile in 1955. A subsequent parade of

weak, semidemocratic regimes alternated with blatant military dictatorships until Perón's return from exile and restoration to power in 1972. He died after only 10 months in office and was succeeded by his wife, Isabel, who proved unable to deal with the country's growing economic problems. When the radical youth wing of the Perónist movement initiated a campaign of urban guerrilla warfare, the military ousted Isabel Perón.

The coup ushered in one of the worst chapters in Argentina's history—a seven-year "dirty war" of systematic state terrorism waged against dissenters from all societal strata. Under military rule, economic conditions worsened and, largely to distract public attention from domestic problems, the military staged an invasion of the Islas Malvinas (Falkland Islands) in April 1982. Following Argentina's humiliating defeat by Great Britain, the discredited junta had no choice but to accede to elections.

The ensuing October 1983 elections were won by the Radical Civic Union, whose presidential candidate, Raúl Alfonsín, a respected opponent of military rule and a champion of human rights, promised "Peace, Freedom and Progress." But under Alfonsín the country faced renewed military unrest, spiraling debt and crippling inflation (consumer prices rose 3,610 percent from August 1988 through July 1989). The continuing crisis assured the victory of Perónist Carlos Saúl Menem in the May 1989 presidential elections.

Repudiating the traditional populist and statist policies of the Perón movement, Menem launched a free-market program that featured privatization of state enterprises, deregulation and promotion of foreign investment. Labor reforms undercut the power of the trade unions, once a virtual partner with the Perónists in government. Menem also reduced the defense budget and dismantled much of the arms industry. Consequently, the military's power was sharply curtailed. Under Menem's direction, the economy revived and Argentina achieved several years of spectacular economic growth. Menem won reelection to a second term in 1995.

Democracy: Present and Future

Today, Argentina is well on its way to consolidating a liberal, politically competitive democracy. Despite moments of peril, the threat of a return to authoritarian government has receded dramatically. The authoritarian forces of the past—the armed forces, the elite, revolu-