INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND THE UNITED STATES

AN ENCYCLOPEDIA

VOLUME 1

EDITED BY KARL DeROUEN JR. AND PAUL BELLAMY

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An Encyclopedia

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Karl DeRouen Jr. and Paul Bellamy

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TO ISABELLE

and

TO THE MEMORY OF GRANDAD NOEL FITZSIMMONS AND UNCLE KEN MURRAY

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Introduction

Paul Bellamy

This introduction leads the reader into the country chapters contained in the main body of this book. The introduction first defines human security and identifies factors that impact upon this security. Here the factors that are examined in each of the following chapters are outlined. An overview of current human security throughout the world is then provided. Finally, a brief rationale for the study of human security is provided. This focuses on Iraq—a graphic example of what can happen when human security crumbles.

The focus of this reference project is human security. Whereas the traditional goal of "national security" was the defense of the state from external threats, the focus of human security is the protection of individuals. Human security and national security should be—and frequently are—mutually reinforcing. However, those peoples living in secure states are not necessarily secure themselves. The protection of citizens from foreign attack may be a necessary condition for security, but it is not a sufficient one. According to the *Human Security Report 2005*, "During the last 100 years far more people have been killed by their own governments than by foreign armies" (University of British Columbia 2005, VIII).

There is a lack of consensus regarding the exact threats that individuals are protected from by human security. UN General-Secretary Kofi Annan used what can be described as a "narrow" concept of human security when he referred to it focusing on "the protection of communities and individuals from internal violence" (University of British Columbia 2005, VIII). This book uses a broader concept and identifies a wide range of threats. This is because the security of individuals can be threatened by a diverse range of threats that are not necessarily directly

linked to violence. For instance, the health, and ultimately the lives, of individuals can be threatened by a state's inadequate infrastructure. Inadequate health, sanitation, food, and water supply systems all can increase the likelihood of disease and malnutrition. Similarly, environmental issues such as global warming, rising sea levels, pollution, and deforestation, all impact upon the eco-system, and ultimately humans. The health of individuals can be significantly threatened by polluted air, land, and water that can result from the degradation of the environment. These developments in turn can erode a state's stability and general law and order.

Apart from the two regional chapters on Oceania and former Soviet Republics, each of the chapters here examines one country. All the chapters have the same formatting with eight key sections (these sections cover more than one country in the regional chapters). The first section provides the reader a background to the country. This provides basic information such as the country's location, its territories and jurisdiction, natural resources and the level of development, and key environmental issues. A brief history of the country from settlement is also provided. The next section examines the country's society and includes a brief profiling of the country's population, basic infrastructure, economy, and social indicators such as the quality of life. The third section focuses on domestic politics. Here the type of political system, the current leadership and its public support, popular interest and participation in politics, and key political issues are identified. Following this is an overview of law and order. This includes an examination of law and order bodies and the level of crime and its nature.

The second half of each chapter continues the profiling of human security in the given country. The fifth section moves beyond the study of the internal workings within the country to focus on its foreign affairs. More specifically, aspects relevant to human security are examined such as alliances aimed at promoting development, economic cooperation, and more general cooperation. Security is then examined. The size and structure of security organizations is first outlined before past, present, and potential security issues are identified. These issues are wide-ranging given the broad definition of human security used here. Closely associated with security are justice and human rights. Of particular relevance is the observance of international justice, the protection and promotion of basic human rights by the government and laws, and the basic features of the justice system and the government's adherence to the law. A conclusion then completes each chapter. This notes the country's relationship with the United States before summarizing social and security linkages.

OVERVIEW

As human security is defined broadly here, there are various indicators that can be used in a brief review of its current state. The United Nations Development Programme publishes an annual human development index (HDI) that provides a comparative analysis of international human development indicators relevant to human security. This provides a composite measure of three dimensions of human development: living a long and healthy life (measured by life expectancy), being educated (measured by adult literacy and enrolment at primary, secondary, and

tertiary level), and having a decent standard of living (measured by purchasing power parity). On average, human development indicators tend to rise and fall with income.

The HDI published in 2006, which refers to 2004, highlighted major gaps in well-being and life chances between countries that threatened human security. The five countries with the best indicators from the 177 countries surveyed were Norway, Iceland, Australia, Ireland, and Sweden. Those lowest ranked were Niger, Sierra Leone, Mali, Burkina Faso, and Guinea-Bissau. Since the mid-1970s almost all regions have been progressively increasing their HDI score. However, Sub-Saharan Africa is a major exception. The stagnation of this region since 1990 can be principally attributed to the effect of HIV/AIDS on life expectancy, while regional economic problems also had a negative impact. According to the 2004 HDI data, 28 of the 31 low human development countries were located in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The differing level of threats to human security is clearly illustrated by comparing the lives of people in countries ranked the highest and lowest on the HDI. The average person in Norway (at the top of the HDI league) and the average person in countries such as Niger (at the bottom) experience vastly different levels of threats to human security. People in Norway are more than 40 times wealthier than people in Niger, and they live almost twice as long. They also enjoy near universal enrollment for primary, secondary, and tertiary education, compared with an enrolment rate of 21 percent in Niger. For the 31 countries in the low human development category (a group with 9 percent of the world's people) life expectancy at birth is 46 years, or 32 years less than in high human development countries (United Nations Development Programme 2006, 263–65, 283, 286).

The failed states index is another useful indicator of human security. This annual index is by *Foreign Policy Magazine* and The Fund for Peace, a research and educational organization that works to prevent war and alleviate the conditions that cause war. The index examines 12 indicators that are divided into social, economic, and political categories. The social indicators are mounting demographic pressures, the massive movement of refugees or internally displaced persons creating complex humanitarian emergencies, the legacy of vengeance-seeking groups or group paranoia, and chronic and sustained human flight. The economic indicators are uneven economic development along group lines and sharp and/or severe economic decline. The third category is comprised of political indicators. These are criminalization and/or delegitimization of the state, the progressive deterioration of public services, the suspension or arbitrary application of the rule of law and widespread violation of human rights, the security apparatus operating as a "state within a state," the rise of factionalized elites, and the intervention of other states or external political actors.

The third index published in 2007 surveyed 177 countries and listed the top five failed states as the Sudan, Iraq, Somalia, Zimbabwe, and Chad. This was the second time in a row the Sudan had topped the ranking as the state most at risk of failure. The primary cause of this was identified as violence in the country's western region of Darfur. Eight of the world's ten most vulnerable states were in Sub-Saharan Africa, an increase from six in 2006. Contrasting these states, the five least

vulnerable states were Norway, Finland, Sweden, Ireland, and Switzerland (Fund for Peace and *Foreign Policy Magazine*, The Failed States Index 2007, 2007).

Armed conflict is a major and direct threat to many individuals worldwide, and thus is a good indicator of the current state of human security. Although there were no wars between the major powers during the five-decade period following the end of World War II, the United Kingdom, France, the United States, and Soviet Union/Russia topped the list of countries involved in international wars. Moreover, every decade witnessed a sharp increase in political violence in the rest of the world. Between 1946 and 1991, the number of state-based armed conflicts (conflicts between states or between a state and one or more non-state armed groups) fought worldwide trebled with most of the killing occurring in poor countries. The number of such conflicts peaked in the early 1990s at over 50 but had fallen to 31 by 2005. Intrastate conflicts were the most prevalent form of armed conflict in the period from 1950 to 2005 (University of British Columbia 2005, 3; and University of British Columbia 2006, 7–8).

According to the *Human Security Brief 2006* of the Human Security Centre at the University of British Columbia, there were 31 state-based armed conflicts in 2005 compared to 32 in 2002. There were 23 countries that experienced these conflicts in 2005 with only six countries accounting for more than half of the global conflict total. India was involved in five conflicts, Myanmar in three (it also experienced domestic unrest in August and September 2007), while Afghanistan, Ethiopia, the Philippines, and Turkey experienced two each. Although the conflicts were fought in a comparatively small number of countries, these countries are home to over 20 percent of the world's population. The largest number of armed conflicts occurred in Central and South Asia (9), followed by East and Southeast Asia and Oceania (7), the Middle East and North Africa (7), Sub-Saharan Africa (5), the Americas (2), and Europe (1). An estimated 12,039 reported and codable deaths from state-based armed conflicts occurred in 2005 compared to 15,722 in 2002. The most deaths were experienced in Iraq, Nepal, India, Afghanistan, and Columbia (University of British Columbia 2006, 6–8).

Non-state conflicts are those fought between militias, rival guerrilla groups, clans, warlords, or organized communal groups without the government's involvement. According to the *Human Security Brief 2006*, there were 25 such conflicts in 2005 compared to 34 in 2002. Fourteen of these in 2005 were in Sub-Saharan Africa, followed by four in Central and South Asia, three in the Americas, three in the Middle East and North Africa, and one in East and Southeast Asia and Oceania. An estimated 2,046 reported and codable deaths resulted from these conflicts in 2005 compared to 7,014 in 2002 (University of British Columbia 2006, 9–10).

Additional figures on conflicts are available from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). SIPRI identified 17 major armed conflicts in 16 locations in 2006 and calculated that the total annual number of conflicts had declined since 1999. Asia for the third year was the region with the highest number of conflicts. In the period 1997–2006, there were 34 different major armed conflicts. According to the organization, no interstate conflicts were active (SIPRI 2007).

RATIONALE

Developing a better understanding of the factors that can lead to the breakdown of human security is a key reason to study the subject area. This is ultimately because a better understanding of human security should enhance the ability to counter the development of threats to individuals, or at least limit their magnitude, and enhance the effectiveness of attempts aimed at reducing the threats that have arisen. The need for research in this area is further strengthened by human security being a relatively new concept and the comparative absence of comprehensive literature on human security defined in a broad sense.

The need to protect human security from breaking down, or at least the development of effective methods to reduce threats to this security, is starkly shown by the devastating impact of the collapse of human security in Iraq. As noted above, Iraq was ranked second in the 2007 failed states index. Although Iraq is examined in detail by the relevant chapter, it is useful to briefly summarize the graphic costs of this conflict here.

U.S.-led coalition forces invaded Iraq in March 2003 and the following month advanced into Baghdad, the capital, to overthrow President Saddam Hussein. Saddam Hussein was ultimately captured in December 2003, was found guilty of crimes against humanity in November 2006, and hanged the following month. During this period there were constructive developments. For instance, voters approved a new constitution (October 2005), Iraqis voted for the first full-term government and parliament since the invasion (December 2005), and a new government was formed (April 2006).

Despite these developments, conflict remains a serious threat in Iraq. As of October 24, 2007, there had been 4,138 coalition deaths. This figure comprised of 3,837 Americans, two Australians, 171 Britons, 13 Bulgarians, one Czech, seven Danes, two Dutch, two Estonians, one Fijian, one Hungarian, 33 Italians, one Kazakh, one Korean, three Latvian, 21 Poles, two Romanians, five Salvadoran, four Slovaks, 11 Spaniards, two Thai, and 18 Ukrainians (*Cable News Network* 2007).

Many civilians have suffered during this conflict. According to the United Nations, over 34,000 civilians were killed in violence during 2006, and the U.S. policy of deploying more forces in Baghdad announced in January 2007 did not prevent further casualties. This is clearly shown by the continued threat of bombings; in one day alone during April 2007 nearly 200 people were killed by these. In August 2007 truck and car bombs also hit two villages of Yezidi Kurds. These killed at least 250 people and were the deadliest attacks since 2003 (*British Broadcasting Corporation*, "Timeline," 2007). The Iraq Body Count, a nongovernmental organization, estimated that as of October 5, 2007, there had been a minimum of 75,699 violent civilian deaths since the 2003 invasion. This count included civilian deaths caused by U.S.-led coalition forces and paramilitary or criminal attacks by others (Iraq Body Count Database 2007).

Moreover, living conditions for many people are very poor. According to a report released in July 2007 by the NGO Coordination Committee in Iraq (a network of international and Iraqi nongovernmental organizations) and Oxfam (an international organization aimed at finding lasting solutions to poverty, suffering, and injustice), up to eight million people needed emergency assistance. This figure

included four million people who were "food-insecure and in dire need of different types of humanitarian assistance," more than two million displaced people inside Iraq, and over two million Iraqis in neighboring countries (NGO Coordination Committee in Iraq and Oxfam 2007, 3).

In conclusion, a better understanding of human security is needed to prevent its breakdown, or at least help counter threats to this security. It is our hope that this book will help provide this understanding.

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Afghanistan

Paul Goldstone

BACKGROUND

Afghanistan has an area of 650,000 square kilometers (roughly the size of Texas), much of which is either sparsely populated desert or rugged mountains. The country has an extremely harsh climate, and only 10–12 percent of the area is cultivable. There are few natural resources, though the location of the country means that there have been occasional plans for a pipe line connecting gas-rich central Asian states to Iran or Pakistan.

The land was a crossroads of civilizations, influenced by the Persian culture from the West and the Turkic nomadic culture of the North. The area was conquered by Alexander the Great in the third century BC, who established a Hellenistic kingdom. Buddhism thrived from the first century, leaving behind a considerable archaeological treasure, including the magnificent statues of Buddha carved in the hillsides at Bamian. In the seventh century Arab Muslim armies swept across, bringing with them the religion of Islam. Genghis Khan conquered the area in 1219, laying waste to the cities of Herat and Balkh. A second nomadic conqueror, Tamerlane, took over Afghanistan in the fourteenth century, and the capital of the Timurid empire was established at Herat from 1405.

In the eighteenth century, Pashtun tribes of southern and eastern Afghanistan emerged dominant. In 1747 after an assembly of Pashtun tribal chiefs (Loya Jirga) Ahmad Shah Durrani was chosen as King of Afghanistan. Ahmad Shah Durrani is considered to be the founder of Afghanistan. His son, Timur Shah, moved the capital from Kandahar to Kabul.

During the early nineteenth century the British gained control of northwest India, including a tenuous control over the Pashtun tribes of the eastern Hindu Kush mountains, which were added to the British Indian Empire. Two British invasions failed after uprisings. Thereafter, the British kept a degree of control of Afghanistan through diplomacy and bribery. In 1893 the British established the Durand Line, setting the border between Afghanistan and British India, and dividing the Pashtun tribes between the two countries. An Afghan invasion of

Afghanistan

Formal name of country: Islamic Republic of Afghanistan
Size of country: 647,500 sq km
Natural resources: Gas and minerals; main export: opium
Population: 31,056,997 (July 2006 est.)
Life expectancy at birth: 43.34 years
Key ethnic groups:

- Pashtun 42%
- Tajik 27%
- Hazara 9%
- Uzbek 9%
- Aimak 4%
- Turkmen 3%
- Baloch 2%
- other 4%

Key religions: Islam—Sunni Muslim 80%, Shi'a Muslim 19%, other 1%
Political system: Islamic republic. In reality, an unstable mixture of formal government supported by foreign aid, international forces, warlords, and drug barons.
Key political groups/parties: Political system is extremely fragmented, being based more on personality-based factions, warlords, and corruption than coherent ideology.
Legal system: Attempts to create judicial system generally unsuccessful—customary tribal justice systems remain dominant.
Real GDP growth: 8.4% (2006 est.)
Population below poverty line: 53% (2003)
Size of military: c.50,000
Relationship with the United States: In May 2005 President Karzai and the United States signed a Strategic Partnership. The United States is the largest contributor to Afghan reconstruction.
Human security issues: The Karzai administration is precarious. While a parliament was elected in 2005, it contains numerous warlords, drug traffickers, and human rights abusers, and no coherent parties have been able to form.
Important future security issues: The situation for Afghanistan is extremely precarious. If the international community was to lose interest or hope in building effective state institutions in Afghanistan, then the result could be a return to the chaos of the 1990s.

British India in 1919 was defeated, but Britain allowed complete independence for Afghanistan.

Afghanistan remained a deeply traditional tribal society, but there was a growing party of modernizers attempting to turn Afghanistan into a modern state. Attempts at modernization, inspired by Ataturk's modernization of Turkey, by King Amanullah in the 1920s resulted in tribal revolts. King Zahir Shah was appointed in 1933.

Zahir Shah was forced into exile in Rome in 1973 after a coup by his brother-in-law, Sardar Mohammed Daud, who declared himself president of the Republic of Afghanistan. In 1978 pro-Soviet army officers overthrew Daud in a bloody military coup. Attempts by the Communist regime to modernize Afghanistan resulted in resistance against the government. In 1979 the president was murdered, ushering in a period of further turmoil. In December 1979 the Soviet Union intervened in Afghanistan, with Soviet units capturing Kabul and overrunning much of the country. The result was a general insurgency, with tribal and Islamist *mujahedin* fighting the Soviet army and their puppet Afghan forces. The United States and Saudi Arabia provided assistance, including arms, to the mujahedin through Pakistan.

In 1988 Soviet forces commenced a withdrawal from Afghanistan, leaving behind a pro-Soviet government under President Najibullah. Against general expectations, the Najibullah government was able to remain in place by dividing the mujahedin opposition. However, in 1992 the mujahedin entered Kabul. Burhanuddin Rabbani was declared president of the Islamic State of Afghanistan. However, the mujahedin alliance collapsed into internecine warfare, as warlords scrapped for the remnants of the Afghan state. For the next four years Afghanistan was riven by a complex civil war. Attempts by the United Nations at mediation were unsuccessful.

In 1994 an Islamist militia calling themselves religious students, or the Taliban, were able to seize Kandahar. The Taliban were welcomed after the lawlessness of the warlords. In September 1996 the Taliban took Kabul, murdering President Najibullah and imposing their strict interpretation of Islam. An important factor in Taliban military successes were numbers of foreign Islamic fighters and strong support from Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. In particular, the Taliban received support from Osama bin Laden, who in turn harbored the Al Qaeda terrorist network. Continued support by the Taliban for Al Qaeda, systematic human rights abuses by the Taliban, and the continued fighting in Afghanistan resulted in the United Nations, in 1999, imposing sanctions on Afghanistan.

By 2001 the Taliban had gained control of most of Afghanistan, except for a small area in the North under the control of the United Front (or Northern Alliance). The United Front commander Ahmed Shah Masood was assassinated on September 9, 2001, two days before the attack on New York and Washington by Al Qaeda terrorists.

After demands by the United States to surrender Al Qaeda leaders and close down the terrorist camps in Afghanistan after the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, the United States and its allies commenced operations against the Taliban and Al Qaeda, Operation Enduring Freedom. In conjunction with the United Front, the U.S.-led coalition was able to drive Al Qaeda and the Taliban from Afghanistan by the end of 2001. (See "Security" section, this chapter.)

SOCIETY

The United Nations Population Fund estimates the Afghan population is approximately 29.9 million people (though in the absence of any census population

estimates are just that). The population has increased with the return of an estimated 3.6 million Afghan refugees since 2001.

The result of conquests by Turkic and Persian peoples has been a variety of different ethnic groups. Western Afghanistan is dominated by Dari speakers, Dari being a Persian dialect. Dari is spoken by Tajiks (who comprise roughly 25 percent of the Afghan population) and Hazaras in the center of Afghanistan (who comprise about 19 percent of the total population). In the North Turkic-based languages are spoken by Uzbeks (comprising roughly 6 percent of the population), and other smaller ethnic groups such as Turcomans, Kyrgyz, and others. Pashtuns in the South and East form roughly 38 percent of the country (but themselves have different groups—Durrani, Ghilzai, etc.).

The religion is Islam. The population is 84 percent Sunni Muslim and 15 percent Shia Muslim (mostly Hazaras). Since the 1980s the religion has become increasingly influenced by a more puritanical form of Islam from Saudi Arabia and taught in religious schools in Pakistan. From this more extreme form of Islam arose the Taliban (or religious students).

The country has historically been dominated by strong clans and tribes. However, continual warfare since 1979 shattered traditional tribal hierarchies and caused the educated elite to flee into exile. In the place of the tribal structure rose assorted warlords and extremists dominating a brutalized and fractured society. The Taliban attempted to create an extremist ideal of an Islamic society. Many Afghans accepted Taliban rule as it offered an alternative to the corrupt and brutal rule of warlords and an opportunity for peace. However, the Taliban proved to be incompetent rulers, uninterested in government and instituting a ferocious form of Islamist rule. As a result, the Taliban became increasingly detested.

In 2001, destruction of the country's infrastructure and dislocation caused by 23 years of war, the actions of the Taliban regime in driving out international humanitarian assistance, and a drought resulted in a famine which required urgent international humanitarian action. Since 2001 the international community has attempted to reestablish a civil society through a UN-sanctioned political process and international development aid.

Afghanistan is one of the poorest countries in the world, with an estimated GDP of $5.8 billion. In February 2006, the UN Development Program ranked Afghanistan at 173 of 178 in the world in terms of development, reflecting the country's severe socioeconomic situation.

Average life expectancy is less than 45 years of age, and the mortality rate amongst infants, children, and young mothers is amongst the highest in the world. Only 29 percent of Afghans over the age of 15 are literate.

Women and girls in particular suffer from discrimination and restrictions. A women's rights organization has estimated that forced marriages account for about 60–80 percent of all Afghan marriages, and that 57 percent of girls are married before the legal marriage age of 16.

For all the difficulties, Afghanistan has made considerable gains in recent years. A stable currency has been adopted, and there has been strong economic growth (though much of the economic growth has been due to the rise of the drug trade). There has been growth of education (especially of girls); 90 percent of Afghan

children have been reached by international vaccination programs, and 40 percent of Afghan children have been inoculated against major diseases. More than 3.6 million refugees have returned to Afghanistan since 2001.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

In the past, Afghanistan has been governed by the domination of a particular ethnic group (the Pashtun) through alliances with powerful regional warlords and tribal leaders. Any effective national political system was destroyed by the civil war from 1992. The Taliban prevailed in 1996, but its extreme political and religious ideology and conduct prevented peace and the creation of national political institutions.

With the collapse of the Taliban, international concerns turned to the establishment of a new Afghan government. In November 2001 Afghan leaders from various groups met at a UN-endorsed conference at Bonn to agree on the shape of an interim government and process to develop a constitutional government. The Bonn conference concluded on December 5, 2001, with the Bonn Agreement. The Bonn Agreement initiated a step-by-step process to establish a democratic state.

On December 22, 2001, Hamid Karzai was sworn in as the chairman of the Interim Administration after the successful warlords who had just defeated the Taliban had reached a truce with each other. Karzai was the consensus candidate and was approved by the United States.

Following an emergency Loya Jirga (national assembly) of about 1,000 delegates from across Afghanistan in June 2002, a transitional administration was established. Hamid Karzai was elected president by the Loya Jirga.[1] In December 2002 a constitutional loya jirga was convened in Kabul to finalize and ratify the new constitution. The new constitution established Afghanistan as a unified Islamic state based on the rule of law and a political system that is presidential in nature but with a large degree of parliamentary oversight.[2] Women's rights were enshrined, including guaranteed representation in the parliament.

After voter registration, presidential elections were held in October 2004. Despite fears the process might be attacked by antigovernment elements, no major security incidents occurred, and a boycott was generally ignored as 70 percent of registered voters cast their ballots.[3] The result was that Hamid Karzai was elected with 55 percent of the vote, significantly ahead of his closest challengers.[4]

Parliamentary elections for the *Wolesi Jirga* (Lower House of the National Assembly) and provincial councils (which in turn elect a proportion of the *Meshrano Jirga* or Upper House of the National Assembly) were to have been held in spring 2005 but were delayed because of the unstable security situation and logistical challenges.[5] An Electoral Complaints Commission was established to adjudicate on complaints and disqualify candidates with a record of human rights abuses or with links to groups that had failed to disarm. In addition, there were efforts made to educate Afghans with the voting procedures and to encourage voting. A rather rare form of electoral voting system, single nontransferable vote (SNTV), ended up being adopted.[6]

There was little systematic violence in the September 2005 election, and 53 percent of registered voters participated. Sixty-eight women candidates were elected, a slightly higher quota than the 25 percent quota set aside for them in the parliament.[7]

However, forces opposed to the election managed to drive down participation in some areas, especially in the South and Southeast. There were also reports of warlords attempting to subvert the elections. A number of candidates were elected who have histories of war crimes and crimes against humanity or have links to drug trafficking.[8] The SNTV electoral system proved to be rather complicated and resulted in fragmented blocs, often ethnically based and allied to regional and national strongmen, rather than parties with a coherent ideological platform.[9] Ominously, the Taliban are reported to have promised $25,000 for the body of a parliamentarian, and women parliamentarians face death threats.[10]

The election of warlords and radical Islamists highlights tension between bringing powerful local leaders into a democratic process and disarming them—and ensuring that human rights abusers are brought to justice.[11] The U.S. Ambassador Ronald Neumann, in response to a question about how many parliamentarians included warlords and human rights abusers, stated,

> The Afghan parliament represents the face of modern Afghanistan. It has former military commanders. It may have some with ties to drug people. It has some very liberal people in it. It has some big reformers. I mean this is the composition of Afghan society today. There is no sort of pristine group which can suddenly spring to power and you can ignore everybody else, anymore than you can ignore any large group in any country.…
>
> The question of whether you can have peace in Afghanistan is a question of whether you can bring all these different people together and bring them to a reconciliation of how to govern their country in the future. You can't do that by leaving real political forces outside. That is a piece of, to my mind, rather silly idealism that has no foundation in the real world.[12]

While the Bonn process has concluded, Afghanistan has not realized the process's ultimate goal of ending the conflict and establishing peace and stability.[13] The Afghan government is extremely fragile, especially at a provincial and local level, where there is a lack of capacity and corruption and uncertain security.[14] An independent think-tank, the Senlis Council, in March 2006 warned that "The southern provinces are gradually shifting from a somewhat limited state control to a more fragmented control based on irregular actors such as Taliban groups."[15]

With a weak capacity, the Afghan government has been forced to integrate militia leaders and former warlords into the government. However, failure to hold them accountable undermines the establishment of the rule of law. The legitimacy of the democratically elected government is then thwarted and corruption and impunity are fostered.[16] Afghanistan has one of the most corrupt governments in the world. Concern has been raised over the appointment of police chiefs and other officials with records of human rights abuses.[17]

Government revenues are less than half the projected expenditures for public-sector salaries and operations, and the ratio of government revenue to GDP is one of the lowest in the world.[18] According to the UN secretary-general,

> Although significant gains have been made in meeting the objectives of the political agenda, the implementation of the institutional agenda of the Bonn Agreement has been uneven across sectors. Institution-building continues to be a challenge. Many critical State institutions at both the national and provincial levels remain weak and susceptible to corruption. Efforts to reform security sector institutions have enjoyed varying degrees of success.…In spite of the efforts of Afghanistan's counter-narcotic forces, the cultivation of and trade in narcotics remain one of the greatest threats to the establishment of the rule of law and effective governance in Afghanistan. If left unchecked, the fragile democratization and State-building achievements attained so far will be undermined.[19]

The conclusion of the Bonn process has resulted in the establishment of a democratically elected government and parliament. However, the Afghan government and representatives have urged continued international support.

LAW AND ORDER

Historically, law and order in Afghanistan has been through traditional tribal institutions and a customary code of social order, *Pashtunwali*. A tribe would ensure order and adherence to social norms through a code of honor, protection for those inside the tribe, and ostracism from the tribe for those who broke that code. Blood feuds, or *badal*, involved the whole tribe, with an obligation to exact revenge on other tribes who offended the tribe.

The Taliban attempted to impose an extreme form of fundamentalist *Shari'a* Islamic law on Afghanistan. The barbarism of the Taliban interpretation of *Shari'a* resulted in strong international condemnation.

For the past two decades of armed conflict Afghanistan has not had a civilian police force. Throughout this period, armed groups and militias were in control. The Taliban established the Department for the Promotion of Virtue and Prevention of Vice. This department carried out arrests and ordered punishments, including amputations and sentencing people to death. This ceased when the Taliban were ousted in 2001.

The establishment of a civil police force to enforce the rule of law is fundamental to the establishment of a viable government. At an international donor meeting in Tokyo in January 2002, the German government agreed, at the request of the Interim Administration, to act as the lead government assisting the reconstruction of the Afghan police force. However, German leadership of police training has been criticized for its apparent lack of effectiveness, and the United States has become much more active in training the Afghan police (*NATO in Afghanistan: A Test of the Transatlantic Alliance*, CRS 2006).

More than 57,000 members of the National Police, Highway Police, and Border Police have completed basic training programs at U.S. facilities. Over 12,000 have

also completed more advanced training courses in specialized areas such as fire-arms, crowd control, investigative techniques, and domestic violence.

The Afghan police lack equipment, though the international community is providing equipment. Corruption is a particular problem among the force. The Karzai administration has implemented reforms and increased pay for police officers.[20]

The Afghan foreign minister in July 2006 highlighted the enormous challenges facing the Afghan police:

> A simple example: In the Sangin district in Kandahar [province], there live more than 40,000 people, but we have 41 policemen with three very outmoded Russian jeeps, while the terrorists who come from the other side [of the border] to attack drive [Toyota] Landcruisers, Japanese cars [equipped] with climate control.[21]

Under the Bonn Agreement, a modern style judiciary was envisaged:

> The judicial power of Afghanistan shall be independent and shall be vested in a Supreme Court of Afghanistan, and such other courts as may be established by the Interim Administration. The Interim Administration shall establish, with the assistance of the United Nations, a Judicial Commission to rebuild the domestic justice system in accordance with Islamic principles, international standards, the rule of law and Afghan legal traditions.[22]

The Afghan constitution establishes that, "In Afghanistan, no law can be contrary to the beliefs and provisions of the sacred religion of Islam."[23] Other articles of the constitution are the presumption of innocence until convicted by an authorized court; that prosecution, arrest, and punishment of a person cannot affect another person; that no act is considered a crime unless determined by a law adopted prior to the date the offense was committed; that punishment contrary to human dignity is prohibited; that evidence obtained by means of compulsion is invalid; and that a person arrested has the right to a defense. The constitution also lays the framework for the judiciary as an independent branch of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan.

The justice system is weak, lacking basic infrastructure and qualified personnel. In particular, many of the appointed judicial officials are Islamic scholars rather than judicially trained. The Supreme Court was headed by a chief justice who is a noted religious conservative (though, after international pressure, he was removed in 2006).[24] Corruption and pressure from local warlords is considered to be wide-spread. Conditions for prisoners in Afghan jails is grim.[25] Amnesty International has raised questions over the Karzai administration's adherence to internationally accepted standards of human rights, including death sentences passed after allegedly deficient trials. Amnesty International in 2006 wrote,

> Flaws in the administration of justice remained a key source of human rights violations, especially in rural areas. All stages of the legal process were hampered by corruption, the influence of armed groups, lack of oversight mechanisms, non-payment of salaries and inadequate infrastructure. Detainees continued to be held unlawfully for prolonged periods and denied a fair trial. There were reports of inhumane conditions in prisons.[26]

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

After the 1979 Soviet invasion, Afghanistan was a satellite of the communist bloc. Western countries, including the United States, maintained small diplomatic missions in Kabul during the Soviet occupation, but most were closed during the civil war of the 1990s.

The Taliban had little interest in pursuing a foreign policy, except to provide sanctuary to a number of terrorist movements, which earned opprobrium of the international community. Taliban attempts to occupy Afghanistan's seat at the United Nations and Organization of the Islamic Conference were unsuccessful.

Since the establishment of the Karzai government, the Afghan government has begun a proactive policy to strengthen and consolidate its relations with the international community.[27] Afghanistan is an active member of the international community and has embassies in 39 countries.

In December 2002, the six nations that border Afghanistan—Pakistan, Iran, China, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan—signed a ''Good Neighbor'' declaration, in which they pledged to respect Afghanistan's independence and territorial integrity.[28] Since then Afghanistan has pursued regional cooperation. According to the Afghan foreign ministry,

> In an increasingly interdependent world, we see regional cooperation as the best venue to reduce tension, resolve conflict, and to succeed in the competitive markets in our global village. Individual nation-state[s] can only survive and prosper only by integrating into regional cooperation mechanisms. The model of the European Union is an encouraging and inspiring one. In our view, replicating the experience of the EU in our region is a huge challenge but not an impossible task.[29]

Uzbekistan

Afghanistan has a 137-kilometer border with Uzbekistan, but there is only one route between the countries, the "Afghanistan-Uzbekistan Friendship Bridge." In the late-1990s Uzbekistan provided sanctuary for anti-Taliban forces, while Afghanistan provided a base for the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan. In 2005 an agreement was signed between Iran, Afghanistan, and Uzbekistan to build a highway across Afghanistan, linking Uzbekistan with the Persian Gulf.[30]

Turkmenistan

Afghanistan shares a 750-kilometer border with Turkmenistan. There have been discussions of a gas pipeline across Afghanistan, as oil- and gas-rich Turkmenistan seeks alternative outlets for its resources other than those through Russia.

Tajikistan

Tajikistan has a 1,200-kilometer border with Afghanistan, and Afghanistan has a sizeable minority population of ethnic Tajiks (who comprise roughly 25 percent of the Afghan population). Tajikistan is one of the major drug smuggling routes from Afghanistan to western Europe.[31]

Iran

Iran has a 900-kilometer border with Afghanistan. Iran was opposed to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and during the 1980s Iran supported mujahedin groups. The Iranians provided support for anti-Taliban forces in the civil war as part of their support for the Shia minority (which the Taliban persecuted).

Iran gave tacit support for the U.S.-led actions against the Taliban in 2001, despite enmity between the United States and Tehran. A number of bilateral trade agreements between Iran and Afghanistan were signed in 2003. To facilitate this trade further, there have been negotiations to construct better road and rail links between the two countries.

Pakistan

The border between Pakistan and Afghanistan is some 2,600 kilometers long and runs through extremely rugged terrain. Historically, the Pashtun tribes lived on both sides of the frontier, which was only established when Sir Mortimer Durand established the line in 1893. Afghan governments have challenged the legitimacy of the Durand line.[32] From 1978 Pakistan was the refuge of the anti-Soviet mujahedin, and large numbers of Afghan refugees settled in Pakistan in that year. In the refugee camps and towns of the Pakistan "tribal areas" of the North West frontier, many Afghan refugees were educated at Islamic schools or *madrassa*, which were often supported by Saudi Arabia and taught an extremist form of Islam.

Following the ousting of the Soviet Union from Afghanistan, Pakistan saw Afghanistan as an opportunity to gain a client state and provide "strategic depth" in its rivalry with India.[33] The Pakistan directorate for Inter-Services Intelligence provided assistance to the Taliban, and Pakistani Islamist volunteers went to Afghanistan to fight for the Taliban.

Pakistan's strategy of support for the Taliban collapsed in 2001 following the 9/11 attacks. After appeals by Pakistan to the Taliban to cooperate with U.S. demands to hand over Osama bin Laden, the Musharraf regime chose to assist the United States.

There is considerable criticism of Pakistan by the Karzai administration, which blames Pakistan for failing to root out Taliban and Al Qaeda havens in Pakistan and for failing to prevent insurgents from crossing the border. The Taliban has been able to regroup from safe houses located inside Pakistani territory. The upsurge in fighting in southern Afghanistan in 2006 was blamed on Pakistan by Afghan officials.[34] The inability of the Pakistani government to assert control over the Pashtun tribal areas of Pakistan have led to the Taliban gaining effective control of the local administration and acting as a secure base for Taliban incursions into Afghanistan (*BBC News*, March 5, 2007). According to the U.S. director of National Security in 2007, "Long-term prospects for eliminating the Taliban threat appear dim, so long as the sanctuary remains in Pakistan and there are no encouraging signs that Pakistan is eliminating it" (Director of National Intelligence to Senate Armed Services Committee Annual Threat Assessment, February 2007).

SECURITY

The presence of Osama bin Laden and the Al Qaeda network in Afghanistan, and its influence within the Taliban leadership, came to international attention following the Al Qaeda bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998.[35] The United States responded with missile strikes against Al Qaeda camps in Afghanistan. In 1999 and 2000 the United Nations Security Council condemned the Taliban for harboring terrorists and imposed sanctions on the Taliban for the Taliban's refusal to hand over bin Laden for trial.[36]

There was continuing fighting between anti-Taliban United Front forces and the Taliban in the north of the country during 2001, and there were concerns at incursions from extremist Islamic groups into neighboring countries. International concern was mounting at the increasing influence of the Al Qaeda movement within Afghanistan, and greater support by the Taliban for a global jihad, as promoted by bin Laden.[37]

Operation Enduring Freedom

A major turning point came with the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. The United States and the international community blamed Al Qaeda for the attacks on the United States and demanded that the Taliban hand over Al Qaeda leaders and close and allow the inspection of all terrorist camps.[38] The Taliban refused, and the United States, with broad international support, commenced military action against the Taliban and Al Qaeda on October 7, 2001.[39] U.S. intervention was claimed under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, which recognizes "the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense."[40]

The United States and allied countries' campaign to oust the Taliban and destroy the Al Qaeda network was called Operation Enduring Freedom.[41] (The original name—Operation Infinite Justice—was changed due to concerns that this might offend Muslims as Islam teaches that Allah is the only one who can provide infinite justice.) After the Taliban's refusal to hand over bin Laden and Al Qaeda members, air strikes and Special Forces operations against the Taliban and Al Qaeda began on October 7, 2001. While the United States led the campaign, important contributions were also made by other countries, in particular the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and France.

By November 2001 anti-Taliban United Front forces with the assistance of U.S. forces had taken Kabul. In December 2001, as rebellions against Taliban rule erupted in the Pashtun south of the country, Kandahar fell. Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters retreated to the mountainous area bordering Pakistan. In December Al Qaeda members were believed to be making a stand in a cave complex at Tora Bora, which was heavily bombed by the United States. However, bin Laden and substantial elements of the Taliban and Al Qaeda were able to escape into Pakistan.[42] In March 2002 there was heavy fighting in the mountains near the Pakistan border when U.S. forces clashed with Al Qaeda fighters, in Operation Anaconda. Again, however, Al Qaeda fighters were able to slip away. A year after Operation Enduring Freedom began, President Bush announced that many of the objectives

had been met, including the loss of Al Qaeda's power in Afghanistan.[43] In May 2003 President Bush declared military victory in Afghanistan.[44]

International Security Assistance Force (ISAF)

Shortly after military operations began in 2001, thought was given to rebuilding Afghanistan and to what form of international support should be provided to the embryonic administration. This was shaped by two factors—the unwillingness of the United States to engage in "nation-building,"[45] and the inappropriateness of a purely UN-led peacekeeping operation in what was still a war zone.[46]

The International Security Assistance Force was authorized by the UN Security Council Resolution 1386 (2001) to "assist the Afghan Interim Authority in the maintenance of security in Kabul and its surrounding areas, so that the Afghan Interim Authority as well as the personnel of the United Nations can operate in a secure environment."[47] ISAF is not a UN force, but it is a coalition of the willing deployed under the authority of the UN Security Council. After meetings with the United Nations, it was decided that NATO would assume control of the ISAF.[48] While a NATO force, the ISAF includes contingents from other European nations, as well as Australia and New Zealand. ISAF is a NATO mission to support the Afghan government and provide for reconstruction—in contrast, Operation Enduring Freedom is a U.S.-led operation with the primary mission of destroying Al Qaeda.

Despite appeals by Hamid Karzai and the UN secretary-general in 2002 for ISAF to be extended to other centers, the ISAF was until 2005 limited to Kabul, Kunduz, and Mazar-i-Sharif in the relatively stable North.[49] ISAF contingents were subject to numerous national restrictions and caveats, including restrictions on undertaking security-related functions without explicit approval from the contingents' respective capitals, which further restricted the impact of the ISAF.[50]

Continuing Insecurity

The United States campaign to topple the Taliban and drive out Al Qaeda was undertaken with a determination to conduct the war with a light, fast force. While the Taliban and Al Qaeda were quickly routed, relatively little consideration was given to create conditions of security beyond the cities. There are indications of a disjuncture between the lofty strategic aims of building democracy and the reality on the ground where the coalition forces had a relatively "light footprint" in terms of men on the ground. While Bosnia and Kosovo had 19 to 20 soldiers deployed per thousand inhabitants, in 2004 in Afghanistan there was only one soldier per one thousand inhabitants.[51] In the absence of Afghan or coalition troops on the ground, the Taliban moved into the resultant power vacuum in the Taliban's original heartland in the provinces of Kandahar, Uruzban, Helmand, and Zabul in the South.[52]

Despite international efforts to stabilize Afghanistan since the U.S.-led invasion in 2001, the Taliban revived as a military force capable of inflicting serious casualties on the international forces deployed in the country and on Afghans loyal to the administration of President Hamid Karzai.[53]

The Taliban began to make increasing use of improvised explosive devices (IEDs—roadside bombs) and suicide bombers. The use of IEDs and suicide bombers pointed to the "Iraqisation" of the insurgency, with tactics used in Iraq spreading to Afghanistan, and there were claims that many of the recent attacks had been by non-Afghans.[54] In 2005, 85 U.S. troops were killed in Afghanistan, more than 50 of them as a result of hostile fire.[55]

While coalition and ISAF forces were targeted, the ones most vulnerable to Taliban attacks were the Afghan people. During 2005 more than 1,500 Afghans were killed.[56] Many of the attacks were deliberately gruesome in nature, including decapitation of victims.[57] The Taliban also targeted particularly vulnerable infrastructure such as schools and teachers, and particularly educators and schools with girl students.[58] UNICEF estimated that there were more than 60 attacks against schools in the first part of 2006, preventing more than 100,000 children from attending school in the south of the country.[59]

There were concerns that American tactics (including house searches by U.S.-led troops, air strikes, and the treatment of Afghan detainees) were counterproductive and alienated much Afghan public opinion.[60] Coalition air strikes which killed civilians have been condemned by the Karazai government.[61]

Resurgent Taliban

By 2005 ISAF had spread its presence across northern and western Afghanistan.[62] On December 8, 2005, NATO ministers agreed to expand ISAF control to the more turbulent southern provinces as part of a broader strategy of bringing more of Afghanistan under ISAF to provide security on the ground and assist the extension of authority of the Afghan government, rather than U.S.-led Operation Enduring Freedom control.[63] Up to this point, the ISAF had been focused on providing security and humanitarian relief (as opposed to the more military focused counterinsurgency operations of U.S. forces in Operation Enduring Freedom).[64] Deployment to the increasingly troubled South was expected to be significantly tougher—coalition forces had had a "light footprint" and a NATO spokesman noted that the South was "effectively ungoverned space."[65] The shift of ISAF into the south of the country where the Taliban are strongest was a significant change in the nature of ISAF's operations, away from "peacekeeping" towards a much more "robust" approach to fight to extend the control of the Afghan government and security, including preemptive strikes.[66] Given the reluctance of some European governments to accept casualties, it was commented that the Taliban would target European forces in an attempt to drive them from Afghanistan.[67]

The United Kingdom, Canada, and the Netherlands took leadership roles in the move of ISAF to the south of the country. The United Kingdom took responsibility for the southern province of Helmand. By 2007 there were more than 7,000 British troops in southern Afghanistan. Canada sent 2,300 troops to the troubled province of Kandahar.[68] In December 2005 the Dutch government announced it intended to send a contingent of up to 1,400 troops to Afghanistan to the Uruzgan province.[69] They have been joined by Australian troops.[70] However, there were strong reservations within these countries at the possibility of heavy casualties,

and opinion polls in those countries suggest many citizens in those countries are opposed to the contribution of troops[71] (*NATO in Afghanistan: A Test of the Transatlantic Alliance*, CRS 2006).

The impending move of ISAF to the southern provinces in spring 2006 triggered the worst fighting of the war. In May-October 2006 there was an upsurge of violence in the southern provinces of Helmand, Uruzgan, and Kandahar. More than 10,000 U.S., Canadian, British, and Afghan troops in June-July 2006 staged a large-scale anti-Taliban offensive across the South called Operation Mountain Thrust, intended to prepare the ground for ISAF to begin reconstruction work. However, Taliban resistance proved to be stronger than anticipated, and there was heavy fighting.[72] Despite reportedly killing over 1,000 Taliban insurgents and capturing almost 400 more, the Taliban continued to fight in the South, and mounted ambushes and bomb attacks against Coalition forces (*U.S. and Coalition Military Operations in Afghanistan: Issues for Congress*, CRS Report for Congress 2006).

In July 2006 Operation Enduring Freedom control of the provinces was formally handed over to ISAF.[73] Since then the fighting has continued, with continuing Taliban attacks on NATO soldiers and Afghan army outposts. In the South the Taliban have launched sustained assaults on isolated outposts, with heavy fighting against British troops.[74] In other battles, Taliban fighters have stubbornly held positions in pitched battles, before melting away.[75] In contrast to previous years where attacks were small scale, the attacks in 2006 were often by large groups.[76] While it is claimed that the Taliban has suffered heavy losses in these battles, it also underlines how the original mission to bring security to lawless areas and then allow development and better governance to come in has given way to fighting a war.[77]

The violence forced NATO commanders to unify the command arrangements. NATO took control of security operations for the entire country, as well as the 24 provincial reconstruction teams that are strengthening infrastructure across the nation, in October 2006. As a result, most of the U.S. troops in Afghanistan came under NATO command (as opposed to Operation Enduring Freedom). By late 2006 there were some 32,000 mostly European and U.S. troops under ISAF command.[78] However, pleas by NATO commanders for 2,500 reinforcements were ignored by most member states of the alliance.[79] Large NATO powers, such as Germany, France, Italy, and Spain, have adamantly refused to send their forces into the troubled South, and the NATO contribution falls overwhelmingly and disproportionately on the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, and the Netherlands. Indeed, in some European countries such as Italy there is considerable support for a withdrawal of forces. This has raised questions as to the effectiveness of the alliance to deal with the establishment of security in Afghanistan (*NATO in Afghanistan: A Test of the Transatlantic Alliance*, CRS 2006).

The situation in the south of the country as of 2007 is extremely concerning. The Taliban has shown increased confidence and operational skill. A combination of resentment at the coalition and failure to follow through with promises of reconstruction, and pay and coercion from the Taliban, have provided the Taliban with recruits. The Taliban and Al Qaeda are able to regroup and recruit across the border in Pakistan where they maintain secure bases. In *madrassa* in Pakistan, young men are indoctrinated and then sent to join the Taliban. Al Qaeda and

MUSA QALA

Musa Qala is a town in southern Helmand province—it is the center of a district of some 50,000 people, almost entirely Pathans, and a major opium producer. In May 2006 the Afghan government compound in the town of Musa Qala came under sustained Taliban attack, in which up to 40 Taliban and 13 police were killed, the Taliban only retreating after NATO aircraft made low-level sorties over the town. Under pressure not to surrender district centers to the Taliban, the British committed forces to hold the compound. There was further fighting with British forces a few months later near the town. The British garrison was effectively besieged, coming under repeated attacks from the Taliban, and over the summer eight British soldiers were killed in the district.

In October 2006 a truce was brokered between NATO and local tribal leaders by the governor of Helmand, Mohammed Daud, in which it was agreed that the British garrison of 120 men would withdraw and NATO would stay more than 5 kilometers away from the town, in return for Taliban staying out of the town as well, leaving security in the hands of locals and Afghan police. It was hoped the truce would allow the Afghan government to establish itself and for aid agencies to work in peace. U.S. officials, however, were very critical of the British plan to negotiate with local elders, as it was seen as "giving in" to militants, illustrating the differing approaches taken by British and U.S. forces to the insurgency.

The truce held, allowing local people to rebuild, though critics suggested this was due to it being the poppy planting season and the Taliban was otherwise employed. In December 2006 Danish troops came under fire from near Musa Qala, precipitating a battle in which it was initially claimed 70 to 80 Taliban were killed (NATO later stated the figure was more likely to be seven or eight). Despite the battle, the truce was believed to still be holding.

In January 2007 local elders in Musa Qala, possibly armed by the Afghan government, disarmed Mullah Ghaffour, the key local Taliban commander, and forced him to leave the town. Then came a NATO air strike just outside the 5-kilometer exclusion zone around the town which narrowly missed Ghaffour but killed his brother and 20 followers. Incensed, in early February 2007 an estimated 200–300 Taliban moved into Musa Qala, disarming the police and taking elders temporarily hostage, and entrenching themselves in the government compound. Local people are reported to have fled the town, expecting NATO to regain the town. A subsequent NATO air strike killed Mullah Ghaffour.

Musa Qala highlights the complexities of the current situation in Afghanistan. Local Afghan politics are extremely complex—many of the motivations of so-called Taliban have as much to do with local tribal politics and honor as a coherent political ideology. Similarly, the Coalition is not completely united, and even close allies such as the British and Americans have sharp differences over tactics.

Taliban leadership find safe havens in the tribal areas of Pakistan. Despite claims by the Pakistani military to be guarding the frontier, raids by Taliban and Al Qaeda allies from Pakistan have increased in recent months.

During early 2007, actions by U.S. forces against the Taliban resulted in the deaths of civilians. In one example, two men suspected of involvement in a rocket attack against a U.S. base were seen retreating into a compound. An air strike was launched against a mudbrick house, which killed up to nine civilians (*BBC News*, March 5, 2007). While such attacks are not intentionally directed against civilians, the indiscriminate nature of attacks has created considerable anger in the affected Afghan communities and works to undermine support for ISAF and the Karzai administration.

In contrast, many NATO countries have shown reluctance to make the necessary commitment to the struggle. In the battle for the hearts and minds of the people, the coalition forces have had self-inflicted damage when the coalition has accidentally killed civilians in air strikes. Also, coalition anti-narcotic efforts create resentment among farmers dependent on opium for their livelihoods. In contrast, the Taliban, operating across the countryside, have been able to intimidate the local people, in particular by murdering people suspected of working for the government, and disseminate propaganda. It is estimated that in 2006 at least 66 Afghan civilians were killed by the Taliban.[80]

In October 2006 the commander of ISAF, Lieutenant General David Richards, warned that the country was at a tipping point, Afghan people were likely to switch allegiance to the Taliban if the situation did not improve, and that "the next three to six months are critical" for the success or failure of the operation.[81]

On the other hand, despite the deterioration in security, the U.S. administration had been optimistic. Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Peter Pace, stated,

> The Taliban can cause problems for us in certain areas of the country, but they can't sustain it....Whereas, as long as the coalition is here, the Taliban doesn't have a chance of reasserting itself and taking over the country. That's why I say they may be a day-to-day tactical problem for us, but we are a long-term strategic problem for them. They can pick and chose some battles, but they cannot take over this country again.[82]

Operation Enduring Freedom continues the hunt for Al Qaeda and the Taliban. Some 8,000 U.S. troops, as well as troops from other nations, are assigned to OEF.[83]

That Al Qaeda and the Taliban have become stronger and increasingly emboldened was highlighted in February 2007, when a suicide bomber blew himself up near where the U.S. Vice President Dick Cheney was visiting, killing about 20 people.

Other Sources of Insecurity

Irregular militias are an ongoing problem responsible for insecurity in many parts of Afghanistan.[84] There are more than 1,800 illegal armed groups across the country which threaten stability.[85] Human Rights Watch in Afghanistan states that, "Warlords are part of the problem and, unofficially, they are controlling the Government administration."[86] Human Rights Watch wrote that,

> Armed clashes between rival factions decreased in 2005, but in many areas warlords and their troops continue to engage in arbitrary arrests, illegal detentions, kidnapping, extortion, torture, murder, extrajudicial killings of criminal suspects, forced displacement, and rape of women, girls, and boys.[87]

The Hezb-i-Islami Gulbuddin group operates in eastern Afghanistan. This is the armed force of Gulbaddin Hekmatyar, a previous mujahedin commander.

Hekmatyar is opposed to the Karzai government and strongly anti-American. The Hezb-i-Islami is strongest in the eastern provinces abutting the Pakistan border. It is heavily involved in illicit activities such as trafficking narcotics, resembling a Mafia-like organization more than an insurgent movement with national goals.[88]

In Kabul in May 2006 there were riots following a traffic accident involving a U.S. convoy, which highlighted the tense security situation and growing public disillusionment with the slow pace of reconstruction.[89]

On the other hand, many of the regional warlords who commanded militias are now working with the Kabul government. The UN reported in 2005 that more than 63,000 militiamen had been successfully demobilized under a Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration program, and more than 10,000 heavy weapons were placed under central government control.[90]

Narcotics

Nearly 90 percent of the world's opium is produced in Afghanistan, and it is the single largest source of income for the country, representing an estimated 52 percent of the country's gross domestic product in 2005.[91] Revenues from narcotics considerably outweigh revenues from foreign donors.[92] According to UN research, none of Afghanistan's legitimate agricultural products can match the income available from opium poppy, which is estimated at $4,900 per hectare—about ten times the income from licit crops (UNAMA 2007). A record 165,000 hectares were under opium poppy cultivation in 2006, an increase of 59 percent compared to 2005 and more than twice the figure for 2003. Refining of the opium into heroin is on the rise, and increasingly the narcotics exiting Afghanistan is heroin rather than opium.[93] The International Narcotics Control Board in March 2007 expressed considerable concern at the escalation of opium production, and stated that the situation in Afghanistan is "deteriorating rapidly."

International organizations have expressed concern that there is a risk that Afghanistan could evolve into a "profoundly dysfunctional narco-state."[94] The drugs economy has fueled corruption amongst government officials and contributed to undermining the authority of the government.

Especially worrying is the increasing connection between the insurgency and opium production. Production of opium is increasingly from large-scale cultivation in the southern province of Helmand, as well as in Uruzgan and Kandahar provinces, and 80 percent of farmers in poppy-growing areas in the South are involved in opium cultivation. In all cases, permanent Taliban settlements have provided sanctuary for drug cultivation, heroin processing, and trafficking into Pakistan and Iran. The revenue received in return is used to fund Taliban activities. The UN in 2007 warned that,

> In the south, the vicious circle of drugs funding terrorism and terrorists supporting drug traffickers is stronger than ever. In other words, opium cultivation in the south of the country is less a narcotic issue and more a matter of insurgency, so it is vital to fight them both together.
>
> (UNAMA 2007)

International efforts to counter the resurgence of the narcotics trade, led by the United Kingdom as the "lead agency" responsible, have increased in recent years. A plan by the United States to aerial spray opium poppy fields was dropped after opposition from the Karzai administration (who calculated that such an action would have done little to improve the popularity of the Karzai government or of international forces with Afghan farmers).[95]

Afghan National Army

In 2002 plans were laid down for the creation of a 70,000 strong Afghan National Army (ANA) to provide security for Afghanistan. At the same time, the various militias of the warlords would be disbanded. The creation of the national army was required given the weakness of the Karzai government and its complete lack of authority without Western assistance.[96] The creation of a strong ANA is a centerpiece of the U.S. strategy in its War on Terror. According to the U.S. ambassador, "The U.S. focus in Afghanistan has continued to be centerd on the conduct of the war on terrorism....The backbone of Afghanistan's security apparatus must ultimately be the Afghan national army."[97]

Different members of the allied coalition in Afghanistan have undertaken different responsibilities in the creation of the ANA, with the United States, United Kingdom, and French militaries taking the lead. The United States and the United Kingdom pay for the army. An issue for the future is whether the Afghan government can build the revenue capacity capable of funding an army. One Pentagon report suggests that the 70,000-man target is unachievable, and that Afghanistan will not be able to pay for a force of 50,000 for many decades (*U.S. and Coalition Military Operations in Afghanistan: Issues for Congress*, CRS 2006).

The ANA has been beset with problems of ethnic rivalry and desertion.[98] There have also been reports of poor conditions and pay, which has affected morale.[99] Recruitment is slow due to the need to properly train and equip the ANA and ensure a reasonable ethnic balance.[100] By the standards of European and U.S. Coalition forces, Afghan soldiers lack even the most basic military equipment and training.

The ANA took part in its first military operation in 2003.[101] Since then, the ANA has seen much combat with the Taliban in the South of the country—where the ANA makes up the largest contingent of forces engaged in recent operations there—where it has sustained numerous casualties. The U.S. Army general in charge of training the ANA is reported to have stated that over the past four years, "steady progress has been made," but "significant challenges" remain, and that it would take at least another three years before the planned strength of 70,000 men is trained.[102]

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Human rights were routinely ignored during the civil war of the 1990s, with mistreatment—even massacres—of prisoners and civilians from other ethnic groups. The Taliban imposed an extremist form of Islam which was contemptuous of generally accepted human rights. When the Taliban collapsed in 2001, the Northern

PROVINCIAL RECONSTRUCTION TEAMS

An important innovation in the international community's effort to provide stability for Afghanistan has been the creation of Provincial Reconstruction Teams. In late 2002, in an effort to reinvigorate the flagging reconstruction process, speed up the establishment of governmental institutions, and contain growing anti-Coalition sentiment, the coalition introduced Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs).[103]

PRTs were relatively small flexible organizations of about 100 personnel, including Civil Affairs soldiers, Special Forces, regular army units, as well as representatives of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the State Department, and other agencies.[104] PRTs work in small groups directly with local police and militia and support the spread of the Afghan national government, assisting with reconstruction and providing a security presence.

Deployment of PRTs has not been without criticism.[105] It has been alleged that the PRTs have been characterized by "an ad hoc approach to security and development."[106] National caveats have circumscribed what various states' personnel can do.[107] It is claimed that PRTs lack military strength and fail to provide adequate security to allow for reconstruction.[108] Nevertheless, realistically there is little alternative for providing reconstruction and security assistance given the relatively weak international contribution made overall to Afghanistan compared to other international operations elsewhere such as East Timor, Bosnia, or Kosovo.

Alliance found itself with a large number of prisoners, often Arab or Pakistani nationals. There have been allegations that massacres of prisoners were carried out by Northern Alliance personnel.

The Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC) was established under the Constitution and currently consists of eight commissioners, of which the chairperson and one other are women (it is supposed to have 11 members).[109] The Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission has established regional offices, received complaints about the violation of human rights, and made public statements urging the advancement of human rights. Under the 2002 presidential decree, the Commission also has the responsibility of documenting past abuses of human rights and advising on Afghanistan's human rights treaty obligations. However, while an Afghan Human Rights Commission has been appointed, no serious attempt has been made to bring war criminals or human rights abusers to justice.

The position of women has improved. More than five million girls now attend schools, and women parliamentarians have been elected. However, most Afghan women still endure poor conditions. During 2005 at least 100 women set fire to themselves to escape family problems and forced marriages, according to AIHRC. Around 80 cases of forced marriages and 199 cases of physical torture and beating had also been registered during 2005, the Afghan rights watchdog noted.[110] Conservative Islamic scholars have been appointed to the interim Supreme Court, which has tried to restrict the rights of women.[111]

Concern has been raised over the police chiefs and other officials appointed by the government with records of human rights abuses.[112] A number of warlords and people with a history of human rights abuse were elected to the Afghan parliament in 2005.[113]

The detention and treatment of prisoners at the hands of the U.S. military has been severely criticized by international nongovernmental organizations. In 2004,

the independent human rights organization, Human Rights Watch, released a report titled *Enduring Freedom—Abuses by U.S. Forces in Afghanistan*.[114] The report has raised serious concerns at indiscriminate and excessive use of force used during arrests, arbitrary and mistaken arrests and indefinite detention, mistreatment in detention, concerns at abuses and the treatment of detainees held by Afghan forces, and the deaths of Afghans while in U.S. custody.[115] Amnesty International has also strongly criticized the United States and Coalition forces for alleged breaches of human rights:

> Amnesty International is concerned that the U.S. military and other agencies, possibly including other coalition forces, have committed serious human rights violations on Afghan territory. The organization is also concerned that despite the Afghan government's efforts to re-establish the rule of law and restore peace and stability, it is allowing violations to continue without serious protest. Moreover, U.S. forces have reportedly used Afghan government facilities and, in some cases, involved Afghan officials in abusive practices in the context of the "war on terror."[116]

Concerns at the treatment of detainees by U.S. forces has led to tensions in the Coalition—for example, it has led to the Dutch being reluctant to have their forces strongly associated with U.S. forces in Afghanistan (*NATO in Afghanistan: A Test of the Transatlantic Alliance*, CRS 2006).

CONCLUSION

The United States was actively involved in Afghanistan after 1979 following the Soviet invasion when it provided support for the mujahedin.[117]

After the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan, the United States lost interest in Afghanistan, withdrawing even its embassy. What policies the United States adopted towards Afghanistan tended to be focused on single issues, notably the Taliban's dreadful human rights record (especially its barbaric treatment of women), attempts by the CIA to buy back the Stinger anti-aircraft missiles it had supplied in the 1980s, and attempts by U.S. oil concerns to build pipelines across Afghanistan. In 1998 Al Qaeda terrorists blew up the U.S. embassies at Dar Es Salaam and Nairobi. The United States responded with cruise missile strikes against suspected Al Qaeda positions in Afghanistan.

This lack of interest changed significantly after 9/11. Since then, the United States has been deeply involved in Afghanistan as one of the principal fronts in the War on Terror. The United States is the principal patron of the Karzai government.

In May 2005 President Karzai and the United States signed a Strategic Partnership.[118] Under the Strategic partnership, U.S. military forces operating in Afghanistan will continue to have access to Bagram Air Base and its facilities and facilities at other locations as may be mutually determined. Further, the U.S. and Coalition forces are to continue to have the freedom of action required to conduct military operations based on consultations and pre-agreed-upon procedures.[119]

The United States is the largest contributor to Afghan reconstruction. In 2007 USAID provided $800 billion in civil aid to Afghanistan—larger than all multilateral aid to Afghanistan combined.[120]

Afghanistan is regarded as one of the most insecure nations in the world. The problems a viable Afghan state faces seem almost insurmountable. Building infrastructure, attacking endemic corruption, addressing narco-trafficking, training the Afghan Army and police, all while fighting an insurgency that is increasingly ruthless and deadly, are tasks that will, at best, require years.[121]

The Taliban insurgency in the south of the country has increased in intensity. There has been a limited government presence and U.S. forces stationed there have tended to focus on the hunt for Al Qaeda and Taliban rather than establish a strong security presence on the ground. Promises of development that have not been met have bred disillusionment with many Afghans. As a result, the Taliban has been able to reestablish a strong presence in the South. In 2006 NATO forces began to deploy substantial forces into the South. The result has been that in 2006 there was increasingly heavy fighting, with Coalition forces clashing with the Taliban. There are signs that the Taliban insurgents have learned from the resistance in Iraq, and there has been increasing use of suicide bombers and remote-controlled explosive devices to terrorize the Afghan people and attack the Coalition forces. In addition to improvised explosive devices and suicide bombings, Coalition forces have also come under sustained attack from large groups of Taliban. Projections by the U.S. administration in October 2006 that ''the trajectory is a hopeful and promising one'' would appear to be somewhat optimistic given the intensity of fighting in the South.[122]

The United States has led the military offensive against the Taliban and Al Qaeda, but the U.S. military is stretched by the conflict in Iraq. The ISAF has, so far, had a limited impact in providing security across the country given the reluctance of many European governments to commit combat troops and the tendency to impose ''national caveats'' on those contingents. Pleas by ISAF commanders for reinforcements for its embattled forces in the South have met with a cool response from European governments. Governments that have been prepared to send large forces—the United Kingdom, Canada, and the Netherlands—to the South face increasing public opposition at home to those deployments as the fighting has escalated in intensity.

The Karzai administration is precarious. While a parliament was elected in 2005, it contains numerous warlords, drug traffickers, and human rights abusers, and no coherent parties have been able to form. Corruption is endemic. International promises of development assistance have not been met in reality (and with the United States reducing development aid, the signs are not propitious). The apparatus of state is weak, and often reliant on warlords. There is no effective judiciary.

Afghanistan is the world's largest producer of opium, and the revenues from drugs dwarf all other income for the country. This has undermined law and order and corrupted government institutions. Observers have pondered whether Afghanistan is at serious risk of becoming a ''narco-state.'' The narcotics trade may also be funding insurgents and antigovernment forces, and attempts to eradicate poppy fields on which many peoples' livelihoods depend may be turning people against the international coalition.

On the other hand, the Afghan people are generally supportive of the international coalition and there is a general public ''consent'' to the coalition. In

a 2006 survey, 55 percent of Afghans believed that the country was heading in the right direction (though this was a decline on the previous year). There is a strong, broad-based desire for such troops to remain in the country.[123] ISAF has commenced expansion into southern Afghanistan, with robust rules of engagement. The Afghan National Army and police have expanded and are increasing in efficiency. The Afghan economy has had steady growth. The fact that successful elections were held is an indication that the majority of the Afghan people want peace and democracy and have rejected the Taliban. Significantly, many of those elected are women. Recent opinion polls indicate that, despite disillusionment at the slow pace of development, the majority of the Afghan people support the Karzai administration and oppose the Taliban. The international community continues to support Afghanistan.

The situation for Afghanistan is extremely precarious. If the international community was to lose interest or hope in building effective state institutions in Afghanistan, then the result could be a return to the chaos of the 1990s. Worse, such an outcome would be a blow to the proclaimed U.S. strategy of spreading democracy, and seriously undermine NATO and the world's perception of the West as guarantor of democratic values, while providing succor to antidemocratic (and especially extremist Islamist) forces.

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Algeria

Sheryl Boxall and Christopher LaMonica

BACKGROUND

Algeria is located in North Africa and is the second largest African state after the Sudan. The Mediterranean Sea stretches along its northern coastline with Tunisia to the northeast, Libya to the east, Niger to the southeast, Mali and Mauritania to the southwest, and Morocco to the west. The capital Algiers (*el-Djezair*) is located on the Mediterranean coastline.

Algeria is divided into 48 departments (*wilayat*, singular *wilaya*), governed by a *wali* (prefect) that is appointed by the president. The majority of *wilayat* are located in the densely populated northern region. The four southern less-populated *wilayat* but with the largest landmasses are located in the Sahara Desert area.

South of the undulating and sometimes mountainous northern coastal area is a fertile region known as the Tell. Further south is the Atlas Mountains and the Sahara Desert from which the Sirocco wind blows. The Ahaggar Mountains, otherwise known as the Hoggar, form the Sahara highlands in the Southeast.

The fertile lands of the Tell are threatened by the encroachment of the Sahara Desert from the Sirocco. In addition, poor farming practices such as overgrazing of the small amount (3.22 percent) of arable land has led to soil erosion and desertification. As a result, heavy rainfall causes flooding (U.S. Library of Congress). The lack of environmental regulation and enforcement has led to the pollution of waterways and coastal areas through the dumping of raw sewage, fertilizer runoff, petroleum refinery waste, and other industrial effluents. In addition to a lack of rainfall, this has put pressure on freshwater resources. The Hamma Water Desalination plant, due for completion by December 2007, is expected to alleviate Algeria's water scarcity by suppling over 200,000 cubic meters of fresh water per day (General Electric 2007). It will be the largest desalination plant in Africa. North Algeria is within an earthquake zone and Algiers experienced a massive quake in 2003, with over 2,200 fatalities and 10,000 injured (UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office).

Algeria

Formal name of country: People's Democratic Republic of Algeria
Size of country: 2,381,740 sq km
Natural resources: Petroleum, natural gas, iron ore, phosphates, uranium, lead, and zinc
Population: 32,930,091 (July 2006 est.)
Life expectancy at birth: 73.26 years (as of July 2006)
Key ethnic groups: Arab-Berber
Key religions: Sunni Muslim and Roman Catholic
Political system: Republic
Key political groups/parties:

- Algerian National Front (FNA)
- Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), (banned)
- National Entende Movement (MEN)
- National Liberation Front (FLN)
- National Rally for Democracy (RND)
- National Reform Movement (MRN)
- National Renewal Party (PRA)
- Rally for Culture and Democracy (RCD)
- Socialist Forces Front (FFS)
- Social Liberal Party (PSL)
- Society of Peace Movement (MSP)
- Workers Party (PT)

Legal System: Supreme Court, High State Court, State Council, Conflicts Tribunal, and The High Islamic Council (advisory body)
Real GDP growth (2006): 5.6%
Population below the poverty line (2006): 25%
Size of military (2007): 137,500 (active): army 120,000; navy 7,500; and air force 10,000
Relationship with the United States: Algeria supports and actively cooperates in the U.S.-led War on Terror. As part of the U.S. policy of cooperation, Algeria has received $374 million worth of military support since 2002.
Human security issues: Long-term terrorism by religious extremists and ethnic insurgency has resulted in decades of forced disappearances including reports of torture, government corruption, and a politicized military. Despite the profits from Algeria's huge hydrocarbon sector, economic underdevelopment including poverty, high unemployment, housing shortages, and degraded infrastructure results in a poor standard of living for most Algerians. Over 25 percent live in poverty.
Important future security issues: The global clash between secularism and religious tensions will continue to provoke domestic and overseas terrorism. Consequently, threats to internal security will also come from the suppression of terrorism by security forces. Political and economic reform and development may cause social unrest.

Sources: CIA 2006; Europa 2006; International Institute for Strategic Studies 2007; The World Bank 2006.

Algeria's natural resources include petroleum, natural gas, iron ore, phosphates, uranium, lead, and zinc. The hydrocarbons sector remains crucial to Algeria's development, accounting for 98 percent of all export earnings (Europa 2006). At the end of 2004, Algeria's proven oil reserves were 11.8 billion barrels with proven natural gas reserves of 4,550 billion cubic meters (Europa 2006). The Algerian government has opened the energy sector to foreign investment by limiting the monopoly of the state-owned energy company SONATRACH.

After the arrival of the Arabs in the eighth century, the Berbers (*Imazighen*), Algeria's earliest inhabitants, adopted Islam, despite some resistance. In the face of the constant threat of Spanish invasion but with assistance from the Ottoman Empire, Algiers became a successful military base against the Spanish fleets and assisted the French in their battle against Spain by taking Naples. Piracy on American vessels led to the Barbary Wars with the United States. The French invaded Algiers in 1830 but fierce resistance postponed French control until the early twentieth century. During this period, many French, or *Colons*, and other European settlers privatized much of the communally owned land, especially in the fertile regions of Algeria. The *Colons*, considered French citizens, had the right to vote and this was much resented by Algerians who were denied French citizenship and therefore the right to vote.

Tensions increased at the turn of the twentieth century with the first organized calls for independence by coordinated solidarity groups. In the 1930s religious unrest also increased when the colonial authorities banned Islamic reformers from preaching in mosques. By the mid-1940s, severe unemployment and a poor wheat harvest compounded the social unrest, which culminated in 1945 with protest demonstrations that turned violent. The military and police responded with a prolonged assault on the dissenters and official French figures state 1,500 Algerians died. However, other estimates range from 6,000 to 45,000 (U.S. Library of Congress 2006).

In 1954 the political group the *Front de Libération Nationale* (FLN) through its military arm, the National Liberation Army (ALN), launched a war of independence. France sent more than 40,000 troops to Algeria during the war. Reports of the guerrilla tactics of the FLN and the methods of torture used in response by French troops shocked the world.

In 1962 through the Evian Accords, Algeria gained independence and the FLN leader Ahmed Ben Bella became president. Also supreme commander of the armed forces, Ben Bella had no effective check on his presidency. In opposition to his dictatorial leadership, the Front of Socialist Forces was formed and used force in an attempt to overthrow Ben Bella, with which the military responded violently. In 1965, former Minister of Defense Houari Boumédiènne deposed Ben Bella in a bloodless military coup. Boumédiènne then vested political power in the Council of the Revolution, a body made up of military leaders.

During the 1980s through 1990s, constitutional, political, and economic reforms combined with the suppression of Berber culture provoked widespread unrest, which led to rioting. In 1988 a state of emergency was declared and the government again used military force to quell internal instability. During this period, constitutional reform ended the one-party rule and in the first multiparty elections, the newly formed Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) won 47.5 percent of total

votes cast (Europa 2006). To counter this Islamic political takeover, the government officially dissolved the FIS and the president was compelled to resign. Sponsored by the military, a group of leaders including the prime minister then cancelled the elections, declared a state of emergency, and ruled through the High Council of State (HCS). Months later the chairman of HCS, Muhammad Boudiaf, was assassinated and with violent protests throughout Algiers, a decade of violent civil war followed.

In 1999 despite the allegations of electoral fraud and military interference, President Abdelaziz Bouteflika assumed power. He asserted the need for national reconciliation and offered amnesty to some armed insurgents. The resulting 2000 Civil Concord is reported to have reduced violence with an estimated 80 percent of eligible insurgents accepting the offer (U.S. Library of Congress 2006). With a reduction in violent incidents during 2003 combined with a series of judicial and bureaucratic reforms, Bouteflika consolidated his presidential power in the 2004 elections. International observers dismissed the opposition's charges of fraud and called the elections the fairest and freest yet held (Parks 2005). Before the next presidential election (due April 2009), Bouteflika is expected to attempt to amend the constitution to allow him to serve three consecutive terms in office.

The Groupe of Islamique Armee (GIA), believed to be the military arm of the FIS, frequently attacked members of the government, judiciary, security forces, and prominent public figures including journalists, intellectuals, and ordinary civilians. Since 1992, forced disappearances, torture, and domestic acts of terrorism are estimated to have killed over 150,000 people (U.S. Library of Congress 2006). Recent acts of terrorism, domestic and overseas, have been attributed to the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC), a more active offshoot of the GIA. In September 2006, the GSPC announced their intention to merge with the Al Qaeda terrorist network (*The Economist* 2007). In January 2007, the GSPC changed their name to the Al Qaeda Organization in the Islamic Maghreb.

SOCIETY

Algeria's population is 32.9 million, with a growth rate of 1.2 percent (CIA 2006). Forty-seven percent of the population is between the ages of 15–39 years, thus putting pressure on the labor market and the education system. The average life expectancy is 73.26 years with females living longer than males (CIA 2006). The population density is 13.6 kilometers per person. However, this is deceptive considering over 80 percent of Algeria is desert and 90 percent of Algerians live along the Mediterranean Coast (U.S. Library of Congress 2006).

Over 90,000 Sahrawi refugees live in remote desert camps in the border town of Tindouf as a result of the protracted conflict between Morocco and the independence movement, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el-Hamra and Rio de Oro (POLISARIO). With support from the Algerian government, the POLISARIO seeks independence for western Sahara and this has strained Algeria's relations with Morocco. Despite limited economic opportunities and the harsh weather, many have been there for over 30 years. In February 2006, severe flooding from torrential rain destroyed over 50 percent of shelters and left 50,000 refugees

homeless (*Al Jazeera* 2006). In February 2007, the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR) warned that urgent action was needed to improve the health conditions of the camps due to the increase in acute malnutrition.

While 99 percent of all Algerians consider themselves Arab-Berber, there exists a small minority of Berbers, living mostly in the mountainous region of Kabyle (east of Algiers). Protesting against the government for stronger recognition of their culture and language, since the 1980s Berber activism has become more intense. In May and June of 2001, unrest spread beyond Kabyle into the Aures region and official reports estimated 56 fatalities and over 1,300 injured (Europa 2006). Security forces attempted to prevent a list of 15 demands titled the *Le-Kseur* platform being presented to the presidential palace. The demands of *Le-Kseur* included granting Tamazight official language status, withdrawal of paramilitary gendarmes from Kabyle, and for the charges against the demonstrators to be dropped. Nevertheless, after fractious talks between Berber tribal leaders and President Bouteflika, Tamazight was granted national language status and reintroduced into the education system. The demand for the withdrawal of gendarmes though was called "inconceivable." With more unrest, strikes, and boycotts of the presidential and municipal elections, the government finally made other concessions including the removal of illegally elected councillors and the release of five Berber leaders imprisoned for their role in the rioting. Following President Bouteflika's reelection in 2004, he pledged to resolve the Berber crisis.

While violence has been reduced since the 2000 Civil Concord that saw the government offer an amnesty to FIS insurgents in an attempt at reconciliation, a state of emergency still exists. Terrorism and internal instability limit freedom of movement and have prompted travel alerts from most countries.

The 1996 Algerian Constitution declared Islam the state's religion and over 99 percent of Algerians are Sunni Muslim. Less than 1 percent is Christian, mainly Roman Catholic, and the Jewish population is reportedly under 100 persons. The government provides direct support to mosques, imams, and the study of Islam in public schools. However, in an effort to prevent extremism, the government prohibits the dissemination of Muslim literature that promotes violence and it monitors the methods of teaching in religious schools. A bill was presented to government in early 2007 that will require imams to give up their religious positions if they want to run as candidates in elections. This is likely to provoke fierce opposition from the Islamist parties as the calls for secularism are beginning to increase.

Algeria's infrastructure and transportation systems have deteriorated since independence. However, in recent years there have been notable improvements, which have focused on economic development aimed at the promotion of private sector involvement in infrastructure through a $40 billion economic growth support plan: Private Sector Credit Extension (PSCE). There is an estimated 104,000 kilometers of roads of which two-thirds are paved, with about 640 kilometers of motorways. Major road improvement and development projects have been underway including the coastal road, the east-west motorway, the Hauts Plateau bypass, north-south freeways, the trans-Sahara, and in the southern regions of the country where an estimated 700,000 people have remained largely isolated (OECD 2005). Algeria

uses its seven largest ports mainly for the export of hydrocarbons. There are extensive plans to further expand Arzew, the largest port. The state-owned airline, Air Algérie, continues to dominate the airways, despite competition from eight private airlines. The new International Airport in Algiers is expected to triple the capacity of Houari Boumediene International Airport. The rail network, however, remains antiquated and passenger traffic has declined mainly due to terrorism. A metro-line in Algiers is due to open in 2008.

Algeria's telephone system is outdated and inefficient with limited service in the South but improves in the North. Of the 2.6 million homes with telephone lines, only about two-thirds of these subscribe, with a total phone density of five telephones per 100 persons (CIA 2007). The government privatized the telecommunications sector in 2000 but remained a regulator. The new joint stock company, Algérie Télécom, assumed control of the fixed line and mobile telephone service and by 2005 there were over 13 million mobile phone users (CIA 2007). There are 51 satellite earth stations such as Arabsat, Intelsat, and Intersputnik, and there are plans to add another 20 domestic earth satellite systems. In 2006, there were 1,202 Internet hosts and over 1.92 million Internet users.

Algeria's electricity comes from conventional thermal sources. The power lines serve most of the population and there are plans to increase the network to reach isolated rural communities and the hydrocarbon developments in the Sahara Desert. Electricity production is greater than its consumption and Algeria exports the excess to Morocco and Tunisia. In 2002, the government passed legislation to open the electricity sector and sought partnerships with foreign investors.

During the 1960s, agriculture in Algeria was collectivized, industrialization was promoted, and existing oil facilities were nationalized. In 1969, Algeria joined the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). During the 1970s and 1980s, Algeria's economy became increasingly dependent on oil exports. The oil and gas sectors continue to dominate the economy and currently account for 65 percent of government revenue and 98 percent of exports earnings but only employ 3 percent of the Algerian workforce (OECD 2005; Europa 2006). Economists warn that the economy relies too heavily on the oil and gas sector for growth, and diversification of the economy remains a great challenge.

A labor force of 9.31 million has the following sector occupations: agriculture, 14 percent; industry, 14 percent; construction and public works, 10 percent; trade, 13.4 percent; government, 32 percent; other, 10 percent (CIA 2007). Unemployment has reduced from 27.3 percent in 2001 to 15.3 in 2005, but youth unemployment, currently at 45 percent, has remained high (The World Bank 2006).

Over the past decade, despite the transition from state control to an open market, the Algerian economy has experienced consistently positive real GDP growth rates fluctuating between 1.8 and 6.9 percent (U.S. Library of Congress 2006). With inflation at 3 percent, the government has been promoting liberalization in all sectors of the economy (CIA 2007). Since the mid-1990s, Algeria has enjoyed great trade surpluses, enabling the government to reduce its foreign debt. Recent visits by French President Jacques Chirac have demonstrated a new openness to engaging in political dialogue and trade with the French and the EU in general. In recent years, negotiations on the reductions of tariffs have been largely

successful. However, corruption and bureaucratic resistance may hinder further development of infrastructure and banking sector reform.

Wealth is concentrated in the top 5 percent of the population, attributed to the collusion between businessmen, public officials, and military officers (U.S. Library of Congress 2006). Despite the fact that the poverty rate has declined by more than 60 percent since the 1990s, 25 percent of Algerians still live below the poverty line, and when combined with a lack of opportunity, the standard of living for most in Algeria is poor (Social Watch 2006; CIA 2007). Additionally, the rural poor, particularly women, have limited access to effective social services, especially health and education, clean water, and good sanitation. Despite free health care for the poor including a full vaccination program for children aged 12–23 months, communicable diseases are still high and while mortality rates have reduced there is still a lack of physicians (1:1,000) and hospital beds (2:1,000) (U.S. Library of Congress 2006).

Literacy of the total population is 70 percent: males 78.8 percent; and females 61.1 percent (CIA 2007). Algeria has 27 universities and a number of university centers and technical colleges (Europa 2006). Education is compulsory and free for children between 6–12 years, with enrolment approximately 95 percent and enrolment in secondary education is estimated at 67 percent (Europa 2006). There have been some reports that girls are now numerically overrepresented at all levels of education (UN News Service 2007). In 2001 in an attempt to alleviate cultural tensions, the Berber language, *Tamazight*, was declared a national but not official language and in 2003 was introduced into the education system.

Housing, in particular, continues to be a problem with a national shortage of over one million homes (OECD 2005). Many (over 80 percent) live in traditional houses that are overcrowded and lack basic amenities (The World Bank Group 2003). Less than 25 percent of the rural poor own land which is usually devoted to agriculture but often lacks efficient irrigation systems (The World Bank Group 2003).

DOMESTIC POLITICS

Algeria is a multiparty republic that is ruled by a constitution. It is governed by a directly elected presidency with legislation resting in a bicameral parliament consisting of the National People's Assembly and the Council of Nation (senate). Separation of powers exists among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government; however, the executive (historically the president through the military) is much stronger than the other branches especially over the judiciary. The president appoints and dismisses the prime minister as the head of government. The prime minister chairs the Council of Government with the president presiding. The president can dismiss the government at their own initiative or on the recommendation of the prime minister or other members. They also name the president of the Council of State, the governor of the Bank of Algiers, Magistrates and *walis* (prefects). The 48 Algerian *wilayat* are governed by *walis* who are appointed by the president and represent the government.

The Ministry of the Interior approves political parties, which according to the 1996 Constitution must not be "based on differences in religion, language,

race, gender or region.'' Secret suffrage is extended to men and women over the age of 18 years. Presidential and the National People's Assembly elections are held every five years, and presidential elections are due in April 2009. Two-thirds of the senators of the Council of the Nation are elected by the People's Communal Assemblies and the People's Wilaya Assembly and the other third appointed by the president. Half of the members of the Council of the Nation are renewed every three years. The Popular Assembly of each *wilaya* is elected every five years.

The 2004 presidential elections had an estimated voter turnout of 59.3 percent and Bouteflika received 83.5 percent of the vote (UNDP, Democratic Governance). In an attempt to further reduce violence, Bouteflika announced a referendum in 2005 for the Charter for Peace and National Reconciliation and it was approved by 97.36 percent of the voters (national turnout was 79.76 percent, but in Kabyle only 11 percent) (UNDP, Democratic Governance). The "Fundamentalist Group for Call and Combat" rejected the amnesty. In the May 2007 legislative elections the FLN won 23 percent of the vote (136 seats), RND 10.3 percent (61), MSP 9.6 percent (52), PT 5.1 percent (26), RCD 3.4 percent (19), FNA 4.2 percent (13), other 34.6 percent (49), and independents 9.8 percent (33). The Prime Minister is Abdelaziz Belkhadem.

LAW AND ORDER

Responsibility for maintaining law and order in Algeria is shared by the 60,000 Gendamerie Nationale under the Ministry of National Defense and the Sûreté Nationale (national police) comprising 30,000 members under the Ministry of Interior. Both work together to combat terrorism but the Sûreté Nationale acts as an urban force whereas the Gendamerie Nationale is more active in rural areas. Algeria's paramilitary forces include the 60,000-member Gendamerie Nationale; the 1,200-member Republican Guard, an elite corps of the Gendamerie Nationale; and an estimated 20,000 national security forces in the General Directorate of National Security under the Ministry of Interior.

All the security groups have been accused of violent excesses, including harassing journalists, in their attempts to control civil instability and suppress terrorism. However, the government has begun a policy that aims to improve professionalism in the security services and has increased pay and benefits to recruit better quality police.

Terrorism is the major threat in Algeria and crime is moderately high and increasing especially in urban areas. It is believed that this may be due to terrorists resorting to crime to finance terrorist activities plus a high unemployment rate especially with male youth. Armed carjacking and kidnapping is a recurring problem throughout Algeria including the use of false checkpoints and roadblocks. Armed men posing as police officers have entered homes and robbed their occupants. Petty theft occurs frequently and after-dark muggings in cities are on the rise. In the more affluent neighborhoods, alarms, grills, and/or guards protect many residences.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Algeria has diplomatic relations with more than 100 countries, and over 70 countries are represented in Algeria. Since independence, Algeria has been an outspoken champion of a variety of developing world causes and maintains a leadership role in the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) of states. Since the 1980s, Algeria has sought closer relations with countries in the Maghreb region, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, and Tunisia, and in 1989 leaders signed the treaty to establish the Arab Maghreb Union (UMA). Relations with Morocco, however, have been strained by Algeria's support for the POLISARIO.

Algeria is not a member of the major African regional economic communities such as the Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), or the more prominent, Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). However, Algeria was a founding member of the first Conference of Maghreb Economic Ministers, which established the Conseil Permanent Cunsultatif du Maghreb (which later formed into the UMA) to coordinate and harmonize trade relations with the European Union.

The bilateral relationship with France was revived in 2003 by a state visit to Algiers by President Chirac and cemented by the signing of the Algiers Declaration to deepen political dialogue, strengthen France's economic presence, and improve the movement of people. Another visit in 2004 by the French president after the reelection of President Bouteflika included agreements to increase cooperation in major infrastructure projects and in areas of defense.

The leading arms suppliers to Algeria were traditionally Russia and China. However, the Algerian support for the War on Terror convinced the United States to increase military cooperation. It is estimated that since 2002, the United States has provided military assistance to Algeria worth over $374 million and in 2005, the United States began a Joint Military Dialogue to expand contact and increase security cooperation (U.S. Center for Defense Information 2007; U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Political Military Affairs).

Despite this, and in response to U.S. President Bush's approval to establish a new African military command center, in March 2007 the Algerian Foreign Minister rejected any proposal for accepting a U.S. military presence in Algeria stating that it would be "incompatible with our national sovereignty and independence" (*ContraCostaTimes*). Nevertheless, in May 2007, a U.S. commission of experts consulted with Algerian officials to consider the U.S. General Command Centre for Africa; the U.S. Defense Attaché reminded that while the command center would be run by the U.S. military, it was not a military base (Algeria Watch 2007).

Reports have implicated Algeria in an alliance with Russia to build an energy cartel that would give Russia greater leverage over Europe's energy resources. However, after signing an energy cooperation agreement in January 2007 with Russia, the Algerian Embassy based in Washington reassured those concerns by saying the alliance will not become a cartel. Additionally, Algeria's Energy and Mines Minister, Chakib Khelil, stated that "in the long term we are moving towards a gas OPEC. It will take a long time" (Al Jazeera 2007). Portugal, Poland, and India are also seeking closer ties with Algeria's energy group SONATRACH.

At the opening of the African Conference on the Contribution of Nuclear Energy to Peace and Sustainable Development, President Bouteflika stressed the need to speed up the ratification process of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Tests. At the 8th summit of the African Union, he again called for the peaceful use of nuclear energy in the region.

Algeria hosted the March 2007 heads of state summit of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), which examined the progress of development of the partnerships. NEPAD was considered a "pragmatic and realistic strategy" that will "on the whole" meet the needs of the region and specifically in the areas of biodiversity, energy, water resources, and information technologies (Embassy of Algeria 2007). The governments of Algeria and South Korea signed an agreement for a consortium of five South Korean builders to construct a new town in Bouinane, 30 kilometers from Algiers. The project is worth $2 billion and completion is expected in 2011 (Embassy of Algeria 2007.)

Algeria joined the United Nations in 1962, the International Monetary Fund in 1963, is an observer in the World Trade Organization, and has signed but not ratified the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. It has, however, ratified seven major human rights conventions, eight International Labor Organization Conventions, and the UN Conventions against Corruption and Transnational Organized Crime.

Algeria is also a member of the African Union, the League of Arab States, the Arab Maghreb Union, the African Bank, and the Islamic Development Bank. In January 2007, Algeria was reelected as the Chair State of the African Union Peace and Security Council. Algeria also held a nonpermanent seat on the UN Security Council from January 2004 to December 2005.

Algeria has a range of active nongovernmental agencies. These include the International Committee of the Red Cross, the Red Crescent, the Algerian Association for Human Rights, Amnesty International, the Algerian League for the Defense of Human Rights, the Algerian League for Human Rights, and Transparency International. A United Kingdom Home Office country report cited that human rights groups, trade unions, and nongovernmental organizations can criticize government authority; however, they are sometimes disrupted and hindered in their work (United Kingdom Home Office 2004).

In February 2006 after severe flooding, the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced it provided 80,000 Euros to the Algerian Red Crescent for the Saharawi refugees, and in September 2006 the European Commission announced a humanitarian aid package worth 10 million Euros. Since 1993 the European Union has provided over 128 million Euros worth of aid. In 2006 Algeria sent two contingents of aid containing food, medicines, and tents to Beirut during the conflict between Lebanon and Israel.

Algeria has contributed to peacemaking and peacebuilding efforts mainly within its own region. As the president of the African Union in 2000, President Bouteflika initiated the Algiers Agreement and has provided observers and worked closely to find solutions to the Ethiopia and Eritrea conflict. In addition there are Algerian observers at the UN Mission of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in

Burundi and the Sudan. At the 2007 8th summit of the African Union, Algeria guaranteed air transport for the peacekeepers deployed to Somalia.

SECURITY

Military service is compulsory in Algeria for all males 19–30 years old, for a term of 18 months: 6 months basic training and 12 months working on civil projects. Military expenditure is $3 billion or 3.6 percent of GDP (CIA 2006). The armed forces in 2005 totaled 137,500 (75,000 conscripts), comprising an army of 120,000, a navy of 7,500, and an air force of 10,000 (Europa 2006). Algeria also has 187,000 paramilitary troops and 150,000 military reserves (IISS 2007).

While reorganization of the army is under consideration, it remains organized into six military regions. Major army units include: two armored divisions, two mechanized divisions, one airborne division, one independent armored brigade, and four independent mechanized infantry brigades (U.S. Library of Congress 2006). The air force is organized into: three fighter/ground attack squadrons, five fighter squadrons, two reconnaissance squadrons, two surveillance/signals intelligence squadrons, two maritime reconnaissance squadrons, two transport squadrons, and five training squadrons (U.S. Library of Congress 2006). The navy has two submarines, three principal surface combatants, 25 patrol and coastal combatants, and three amphibious crafts (U.S. Library of Congress 2006). The navy and coast guard have bases at Mers el Kebir, Algiers, Annaba, and Jijel.

Algeria is haunted by its violent history of civil war as it is still under a state of emergency and most governments rate the travel risk high. The history of terrorism has expended many resources and the impact of a politicized and undisciplined security force, for example, in the attempt to suppress terrorism, exacerbates insecurity. Acts of terrorism (including those conducted to suppress terrorism) have killed, tortured, displaced, and caused the disappearance of a high number of civilians. Despite the reduction of acts of terrorism committed by Algerians both domestically and abroad since the 2000 Civil Concord, reports of terrorist incidents are still ongoing. For example, in April 2007, 23 people were killed and 200 injured in a bomb blast outside the Algerian prime minister's office; Al Qaeda claimed responsibility. In March 2007, three Algerians and one Russian gas construction worker were killed when their bus was attacked. In February 2007 a series of simultaneous bomb blasts outside seven police stations killed six people and injured 13; Al Qaeda again took responsibility.

In 2006, Algerian Foreign Minister Mohammed Bedaoui, in an interview with former U.S. Department of State Ambassador to Algeria Christopher Ross, explained how his country had addressed the "long struggle" with terrorism and that it was important to have more than just a dialogue but also "an alliance of civilization to fight terrorist violence" (U.S. Council on Foreign Relations 2006). Algeria hosted the 2002 African Union summit on terrorism, crime, and counterterrorism. In 2004 the Algeria government established the African Union Counter Terrorism Research Centre in Algiers to promote the cooperation of counterterrorism resources in Africa. In 2005 and 2007, Algeria was involved in the Trans-Sahara Counter Terrorism Initiative, exercises designed to increase the region's indigenous capacity to counterterrorism.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Algeria's judiciary is constitutionally independent and the Supreme Court is the highest judicial authority. The recently (1998) formed State Council is a regulatory body of administrative jurisdiction activity. Algerian Courts, jurisdictions of the 1st degree, are the court of first resort; the Courts of Appeals (48 throughout Algerian territories) are jurisdictions of the 2nd degree and hear disputed judgements from the courts of the 1st degree. Civil law, Islamic law (including the 1984 Family Code), and treaties and conventions are the main sources of Algerian law. The High Islamic Council, comprising 15 members, appointed by the president, promotes Muslim case law and advises on religious regulations. The High Security Council is chaired by the president and advises on national security issues. The Constitutional Council rules on the constitutionality of laws including the legality of elections and referenda. According to the Constitution, the rule of law is for all. However, there are reports that women are not always given due process, and that governmental evidence is not always available for external scrutiny.

Confidence in Algeria's judicial system is considered low because it is not perceived as objective but only serving the "corrupt political elite" (Avocats Sans Frontiers). In 2004, in a statement to the United Nations General Assembly, the president announced a number of reforms for the judiciary and to help bolster the rule of law, improve access to justice, and strengthen the protection of the most vulnerable. Nevertheless, according to some commentators, the 2005 Charter for Peace and National Reconciliation has undermined the rule of law because it is believed the amnesty will prevent victims of violence and abuse, including the families of members who have disappeared, from seeking justice (Human Rights Watch 2005). The government announced the purpose of the Charter was national reconciliation so that Algerian society could preserve unity and avoid extremism (The Permanent Mission of Algeria to the United Nations 2004). However, Bouteflika said it was "reconciliation up to a point," as crimes such as collective massacres, rape, and bombing in public places were not subject to amnesty (*The Economist* 2006).

Algeria's Constitution gives equality between the genders. However, this contradicts the 1984 Family Code (Islamic law) that treats women as legal minors and confines them to the legal guardianship of their fathers or husbands. The family code discriminates against women regarding child custody, inheritance rights, and marriage and divorce. Additionally, the punishments for men and women in adultery and rape cases are different. The criminal code permits an offender to escape all forms of punishment if he marries the victim. While the government has attempted to bring the family code closer to the tenets of international human rights conventions, they have resisted full recognition of women's freedom and universal human rights by making reservations in a variety of articles.

Algeria has both government—the National Advisory Committee for the Advancement and Protection of Human Rights—and over 50,000 nongovernmental human rights institutions (Freedom House). Algeria has ratified seven major human rights conventions, but made reservations on the International Conventions on Civil and Political Rights; on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; the

Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women; and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNDP, POGAR, Human Rights).

Algeria's private media has been described as "vibrant" but journalists are subject to very strict defamation laws (Freedom House). The 2001 amendments to the penal code increased the penalties and jail time for journalists accused of "insulting the president of the Republic" or "insulting a constituent body." In 2006, President Bouteflika offered amnesty to journalists convicted of these offenses; however, it was reported that at least five journalists were arrested during that same year (*Reporters without Borders* 2007; *International Freedom of Expression Exchange* 2006).

The protection of human rights has improved but harassment from the security forces still concerns human rights groups. Antigovernment protests and riots can escalate rapidly into violence resulting in an excessive response from security forces. An Amnesty International report in 2006 described the "unrestrained powers" of the *Departement du renseignement et de la securitie (DRS)* military security force and their use of torture and other methods of ill treatment on those suspected of terrorist activity (Amnesty International 2006). The DRS comprises personnel from the military who are subject to the command of the Ministry of Defense; however, the Amnesty report described them as a force that "enjoys special powers" and that they are above the law. It noted that the complaints regarding ill treatment from the police and gendarmerie have declined, but that the DRS "routinely violate key safeguards and procedures established under Algerian law and international law to protect detainees from abuse" (Amnesty International 2006).

At the 2006 interview with former Ambassador Christopher Ross, Foreign Minister Bedaoui described the difficulties of "fighting terrorism while preserving and keeping our own freedom and pride" (U.S. Council on Foreign Relations 2006). He concluded that "legislation is not enough to fight terrorism...[but] we also have to devise...all sorts of steps and measures...to prevent part of the population to be lured and enticed and join the ranks of terrorism" (U.S. Council on Foreign Relations 2006). Consequently another major concern of the Amnesty report was that while police and gendarmerie operate under joint orders of the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Justice, the DRS do not seem to be under any civilian authority or public prosecutor (Amnesty International 2006). The report recommended that DRS officers should not be allowed to arrest and detain "given the lack of accountability and of any effective oversight" (Amnesty International 2006).

CONCLUSION

Algerian political influence and diplomacy, which led to the release of American hostages held in Tehran in 1981, increased bilateral relations between the two countries. Furthermore, Algeria's support for the U.S.-led War on Terror has strengthened their military relationship. President Bouteflika visited the White House in July 2001, and later that year the United States sold weapons to Algeria for the first time in a bid to increase security cooperation (James 2002). In December 2003, while on a visit to Algeria and in talks with President Bouteflika, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powel praised Algeria's cooperation in the War on Terror

(Europa 2006). Then in February 2006, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld was the first Pentagon chief to visit Algeria. Both countries have conducted joint special services and naval exercises, and the Algerian Navy has hosted U.S. ship visits.

In 2001, the United States and Algeria signed the Agreement Between the United States of America and the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria Concerning the Development of Trade and Investment Relations. The agreement is the founding of "common principles" and "forms a platform for negotiating a bilateral investment treaty and a free-trade agreement" (U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs 2007).

Algeria is struggling between becoming a more secular, open, and democratically minded state with the desire to preserve cultural and religious values. It is hindered, however, by political bureaucratic inertia and corruption, the clutch of religious traditionalism, and a politicized and undisciplined security force. The transition into a more open economy has begun with legislation and political reforms that will encourage the redevelopment of infrastructure. However, greed from the political and business elite may prevent Algeria's poor from experiencing the benefits. Additionally, while complaints of human rights abuses are slowing, the media is still tightly constrained by the 2001 penal code amendments.

One of the main human security issues facing Algeria is terrorism. This includes the problems of suppressing terrorism and the radicalization of Algerian youth into terrorism. The poverty of opportunity that comes from high unemployment, low standards of living, and a victimized mentality combined with the call from some "entrepreneurial" and international recruiters makes terrorism very attractive for disenchanted youth. Ideological and motivated recruits are also coming from other countries, such as Nigeria, Mauritania and even Iraq to base themselves with the newly evolved GSPC, the Al Qaeda Organization in the Islamic Maghreb (*Jane's Intelligence Review* 2006).

It may be that terrorism will continue to evolve as predicted by some commentators into "a more diffuse network of networks spread throughout the globe with no identifiable leadership," a transnational force that will require new counterterrorism techniques (Hunt 2007). In 2006, Emily Hunt warned against "focusing on training that is best suited to countering the old style GSPC, [and] ignoring signs that the group is abandoning that model" (*Jane's Intelligence Review* 2006). Therefore, to maximize the lessons learned by Algeria, fighting terrorism will require continued support from the international community and continued political commitment from the Algerian government.

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Angola

Rob Kevlihan

BACKGROUND

Angola is located on the Atlantic coast of southern Africa. The country is split into two parts, with the vast bulk bounded by the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) to the north, Zambia to the east and Namibia to the south. The much smaller Angolan enclave of Cabinda is located on the Atlantic seaboard to the north of the Congo river, separated from the rest of the country by the DRC. Cabinda also has a border with the Republic of Congo. Administratively, the country is comprised of 18 provinces, including Bengo, Benguela, Bie, Cabinda, Cuando Cubango, Cuanza Norte, Cuanza Sul, Cunene, Huambo, Huila, Luanda, Lunda Norte, Lunda Sul, Malange, Moxico, Naimibe, Uige, and Zaire.

The territory subsequently incorporated into the Angolan state was originally settled by hunter gatherer groups including the San people, with estimates of human habitation dating as far back as 25,000 years. These groups were largely displaced or absorbed by Bantu migrants from 800 AD onwards (Tvedten 1997). Portuguese explorers first came into contact with the Bakongo people in northern Angola at the end of the fifteenth century and found a stable feudal kingdom there. Portuguese traders and slavers began to establish a presence from the sixteenth century onwards, with what became the capital of Angola, Luanda, which was established in 1575. This area was the center of Portuguese slave trading activities until the late nineteenth century. Colonial control inland was limited for much of this time, with the Portuguese finally exerting full control over the territory of the state only in the early twentieth century. Post World War II, Angola became a popular destination for Portuguese immigrants, who displaced native Angolans from much of the best land. Colonial agriculture was characterized by export oriented production, particularly of coffee, cotton, and tobacco, supported by cheap local labor. Resistance to the Portuguese began in the early 1960s and coalesced around three groups—the MPLA, FNLA, and UNITA. Independence in 1975 came suddenly, and was driven by political events in Lisbon rather than the victory

Angola

Formal name of country: República de Angola (Republic of Angola)

Size of country: 1,246,700 sq km

Natural resources: Mainly petroleum, diamonds, but also other minerals including iron ore, copper, phosphates, and gold

Population: 12,127,071 (est. July 2006)

Life expectancy at birth: Total population: 38.62 years; male: 37.47 years; female: 39.83 years

Key ethnic groups:

- Ovimbundo (37%)
- Mbundo (25%)
- Bakongo (13%)
- Lunda-Chokwe (8%)
- Nganguela (6%)
- Mestiço (2%)

Key religions: Indigenous beliefs (47%), Roman Catholic (38%), Protestant (15%).

Political system: While technically a constitutional republic, Angola is de facto governed by an autocratic presidential system.

Key political groups/parties:

- Movimento Popular para a Libertação de Angola (MPLA)
- União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA)
- Frente Nacional para Libertação de Angola (FNLA)
- Partido Renovador Social (PRS)
- Frente de Libertação do Enclave de Cabinda (FLEC)

Legal system: Based on Portuguese and customary law, subsequently influenced by a Marxist system of government from 1975–1991, and attempts at economic reform post-1991.

Real GDP growth: 19.1% (2005 est.)

Population below poverty line: 70% (2003 est.)

Size of military: 100,000 (2002 est.) including 90,000 army, 6,000 air force, and 4,000 navy.

Relationship with the United States: Despite differences over budgetary transparency with respect to oil and diamond revenues and human rights concerns, U,S,-Angola relations are largely predicated on commercial grounds, with the United States importing 8–10% of its annual oil imports from Angola.

Future important security issues: Since the end of the civil war in 2002 and the subsequent military suppression of Cabindan separatists, Angola does not currently face any immediate internal or external conventional security threats. Nonetheless, the political status of Cabinda remains a pressing issue. With respect to human security, however, despite enormous natural wealth, the country remains one of the worst countries in the world in which to be a child, adult life expectancy rates are abysmal, and social services and public infrastructure continues to lag behind public needs, particularly given the prevalence of epidemic diseases, such as malaria and TB, the ongoing risk of increases in HIV/AIDS prevalence rates, and further outbreaks of high mortality diseases such as cholera and Marburg.

of anticolonialist forces. A civil war followed (primarily between the MPLA government and UNITA) that finally ended in April 2002.

Geographically, Angola is dominated by the *Plan Alto* (literally "high plain") that acts as a watershed for rivers that flow in four directions—to the north into the Congo river system, to the south and east into the Zambezi system, to the south into the Okavango Delta in Botswana and to the west directly into the sea. Climate ranges from tropical areas in the North to arid conditions in the far South and Southeast. Endowed with considerable natural resources, Angola is an oil rich state and has the 13th largest proved oil reserves in the world (CIA 2006). Most of this oil is located offshore in Angolan territorial waters, particularly around the enclave of Cabinda. The country also has extensive diamond reserves, extracted from both alluvial and kimberlite deposits, notably in the northeast of the country. Angola has good land and extensive fishing reserves. Despite these natural endowments, the country is categorized as having low human development with a ranking of 160 of 177 countries ranked in the 2005 Human Development Index (UNDP 2005). The legacy of the civil war has left Angola with a chronic landmine and unexploded ordinance problem—particularly in the vicinity of towns, current and former military bases, and areas of large-scale fighting during the war. Estimates vary from 6 to 20 million unexploded mines, with 10 million a commonly cited figure. In addition to continued death and injury to people and livestock, landmines make arable land inaccessible or dangerous to use. Deforestation of rain forests in the North, and recurrent drought in parts of the South and East also present environmental challenges.

SOCIETY

Angola remains one of the worst countries in the world in which to live. It is ranked 160 on the 2005 Human Development Index. This index is a composite seeking to weigh the different elements of what constitutes development and uses the most recently available information (typically two to three years old). Angola's social indicators are appalling. One in three adults over the age of 15 are illiterate; the adjusted maternal mortality ratio indicates that 1,700 mothers die as a result of complications in child birth for every 100,000 live births (a figure exceeded globally only by Malawi and Sierra Leone); only 30 percent of the total population has access to improved sanitation; while the probability of not surviving to the age of 40 in Angola is 48.1 out of 100 (UNDP 2005), despite the country having comparatively low rates of HIV/AIDS. The picture such statistics present is of a deeply unequal society, where elites amass increasing amounts of wealth through political patronage and corruption while the poor are left to fend for themselves.

Recent estimates of Angola's population puts it at between 12 and 15 million, with approximately a quarter of the population concentrated in the capital city of Luanda. Population estimates are unreliable because the last census took place in 1970. The second largest city is Huambo with a population of approximately 400,000. Other important population centers include Benguela, Dondo, Kuito, Lobito, Lubango, Luena, Malange, Luena, Saurimo, and Uige. With an average life expectancy of just under 39 years, the population is overwhelmingly young. Angola has one of the worst infant child mortality rates in the world, with the

CUI MALO? ONE OF THE WORST COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD TO BE A CHILD

According to most recently available estimates from the United Nations, Angola has the fifth worst infant mortality rate in the world. Comparative statistics, compiled for 2002, indicate that 154 children per 1,000 live births die before they reach the age of one. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) states that Angola's under-five mortality rate is also one of the worst in the world, at 260 deaths per 1,000 live births. In other words, more than one in five children born in Angola do not live beyond five years. Over half of Angola's population are children. While the Angolan government has made public commitments to radically improve this situation, progress on the ground remains slow. In the meantime, children continue to die needlessly of preventable and/or treatable diseases such as measles, diphtheria, malaria, respiratory infections, and diarrhoeal diseases.

United Nations Development Program (UNDP) estimating (as of 2003) that 154 children out of every 1,000 live births die between the time of birth and the time they reach the age of one (UNDP 2005). Only two other countries in the world—Niger (also 154) and Sierra Leone (166)—had equivalent or worse rates.

The majority of Angola's population are comprised of ethnic groups of Bantu origin whose presence in the area dates back at least 500 years. An estimated 1–2 percent of the population comprise San and other ethnically distinct hunter gatherer groups, with 3,400 San estimated to live in approximately 72 communities in southern Angola (U.S. Department of State 2004). A study conducted in 2003 indicated that these communities have suffered discrimination and economic exploitation from local majority groups and have struggled to seek out an existence on the margins of local society (Trócaire 2004). At the end of the Angolan civil war in April 2002, it was estimated that there were some 4.1 million internally displaced persons within Angola and a further 450,000 refugees residing in adjacent countries (Lari 2004). At the time this was the largest displacement in the world, representing approximately a third of the population of the entire country. With the end of the war in 2002, the majority of displaced Angolans and Angolan refugees living overseas have returned to their areas of origin or have decided to integrate into their new home areas. However, almost 100,000 refugees remain outside the country, mostly in Zambia and the DRC (Redden 2006). Small numbers of refugees from other countries also live in Angola, the largest group being 14,000 long-term refugees from the DRC. Congolese refugees mainly live in the environs of the capital city, in Uige and Moxico provinces, while most other refugees live in Luanda. Some Congolese refugees have lived in Angola for up to 30 years and many have been substantially integrated into Angolan life (Redden 2006).

The three largest ethnic groups in Angola—the Ovimbundo, Mbundo, and Bakongo—have, together with Mestiços (those of mixed African/European heritage) exercised the largest ethnic influence on social and political dynamics within the country. The mass displacement caused by the war and ongoing processes of urbanization have changed the social landscape of Angola considerably since colonial times. Ethnic affiliation remains a salient issue in Angola today, despite increasing loss of ethnic languages and cultures in the larger towns and cities—particularly Luanda, where Portuguese is commonly spoken. Local languages remain important in rural areas.

Geographically, the Ovimbundo traditionally come from the Plan Alto, but many can now be found in the larger cities, particularly Luanda. The majority of Mbundu have traditionally lived in provinces around the Luanda area, and, together with Mestiços, have tended to dominate the city. The Bakongo originate from northwest Angola and to the north in the DRC and also have sizeable numbers living in the capital city. They are one of the better organized ethnic groups because of strong community ties through their churches. The Lunda-Chokwe live mainly in the two diamond-rich northeastern Lunda provinces and consider themselves to be closely related to the Nganguela, who also live in the east, southeast, and south central parts of the country. Other smaller groups include the Ovambo, Nyaneka-Humbe, Herrero, and San, most of whom reside in the southern areas. Government identification cards state race (for example, *negra*, *mectiça*, etc.) rather than ethnicity, though there is an overlap with respect to Mestiços, who are considered to be both a racial category and an ethnic (mainly Portuguese speaking) group. Most recent estimates indicate that just over half of Angolans are Christian, with the majority of Christians being Roman Catholics. However, such statistics do not reflect the syncretic nature of beliefs, particularly in locally established churches which have become popular in urban areas. Popular support for traditional healers continues to be strong, as does the belief in witchcraft, regardless of professed religious denomination.

Angola's system of transport and communications was extensively destroyed during the long civil war, particularly in the interior of the country. Despite relatively new roads exiting the international airport in Luanda, much remains to be done in more remote areas. The Benguela Railway, which before the war provided a rail link from mines in Congo to the Atlantic seaboard, now only functions on a small section near the coast, though plans are underway to rehabilitate the line over the next three years. While many roads have now been cleared of landmines, other important infrastructure, including many bridges, still require repair or renewal, and the margins of many roads in the interior remain mined. Unpaved roads are difficult to use during the rainy season. As a consequence, air transport is particularly important. Of the 243 airports recorded in 2005, only 31 are paved (CIA 2006). In many cases these paved runways are in need of repair, with off runway areas frequently littered with the debris of the civil war. Because of a recently negotiated oil and aid deal with China, Chinese companies are expected to take a leading role in the development of new infrastructure. While the availability of mobile phones has improved communications in the capital city and some other major towns, the telephone system does not cover most of the country. As a consequence, organizations working in the interior continue to rely on radio transmitters and satellite phones. Electrical systems remain unreliable in those urban centers with city power, with intermittent power cuts.

Economically, the Angola state remains heavily reliant on oil exploration and production, which contributes over 50 percent of GDP (Economist Intelligence Unit 2005), with recent surges in international oil prices leading to an impressive growth. Because most of Angola's petroleum reserves are offshore, production was largely unaffected by the long civil war and expanded considerably in the late 1990s as new deep water oil reserves were identified and developed. It is not yet clear how Angola's entry in early 2007 as a member state of the Organization of

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CUI BONO? CORRUPTION AND LACK OF ACCOUNTABILITY IN THE USE OF OIL REVENUES

An oil-rich country providing 8–10 percent of U.S. oil imports, according to Human Rights Watch, Angola failed to adequately account for $4 billion in oil revenue for the 1997–2002 period, an amount approximately equal to total amounts spent by international agencies on humanitarian assistance and social services in the country during the same period. Despite some improvements in recent years in disclosing sources of oil revenue, the government continues to fail to provide adequate information on how oil revenues are spent.

Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) will impact oil production levels. Overall, the Angolan government has managed the politics of its oil reserves successfully to date, ensuring that no single international oil company or foreign country has secured a dominant role in the oil sector, though it has consistently failed to properly account for the revenues it receives from the petroleum sector. Despite some small improvements with respect to transparency of oil revenues in recent years, the fundamental problems of management of these revenues—in particular the extent to which these funds are controlled by the presidency without external accountability—has not significantly changed since they were highlighted in a Global Witness report in 1999. Meanwhile, Angola continues to suffer from a huge gap between political elites who maintain control of revenue streams from key economic assets such as oil and diamonds and the vast majority of the population who attempt to survive in the informal economy in urban areas or through subsistence agriculture in the countryside.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

While technically a constitutional republic (the constitution was agreed to in 1992 but has been the subject of an uncompleted review in recent years), Angola is de facto governed by a centralized presidential system which largely dictates policy to the other organs of government—the legislature and the judiciary. Despite the legacy of communism, the governing MPLA party exercises little control over the actions of the president, whose regime was commonly known as *Futungo*, after the area on the outskirts of Luanda where his regime resided during the war. The presidential administration is now based in Cidade Alta in central Luanda.

President Eduardo dos Santos was unanimously elected as president of the MPLA by their Central Committee in 1979 after the death of post-independence leader Agostinho Neto, and in accordance with the constitution of the time, thereby becoming president of the People's Republic of Angola (Wolfers and Bergerol 1983). Eduardo dos Santos received his first, and to date only, democratic mandate in 1992 in first-round presidential elections against UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi. Eduardo dos Santos secured a majority of the votes of just over 49.6 percent, slightly less than the 50 percent required to win outright, in an election that was considered by international observers to have been essentially free and fair (Hodges 2001). A popular slogan at the time summed up the Hobbesian choice of the electorate: "*MPLA roba, UNITA mata*" (the MPLA steals, UNITA kills). A second-round runoff between dos Santos and Savimbi was never held, as the latter refused to accept the result of the first round and went back to war. As a consequence, dos Santos, while having received the largest vote, did not formally

attain the legitimacy a second-round election win would have afforded him. With the death of Savimbi and the subsequent end of the war in 2002, new elections have been anticipated for some time, though increasingly it looks likely that they will not be held until 2008 or 2009. After initially indicating that he would not stand in any new elections, doubt remains as to whether or not dos Santos will stand in the next elections. The current reason for delay in elections is that the country lacks the infrastructure to have a proper election, despite the success of the 1992 poll. The actual level of public support for his regime is difficult to gauge, because of a weak civil society and limited outlets for public debate and discussion on these issues.

In the run up to possible elections, political control continues to reside with the president and his circle, while the MPLA party has been largely excluded from exercising power—despite its members being the recipients of political largesse. Important political positions, such as governors, are appointed directly by the president, leaving little incentive for local accountability. Fernando da Piedade Dias dos Santos (known as "Nando") was appointed as prime minister in 2002 after a four-year gap where nobody occupied the position—itself indicative of the low priority given to the legislature. A proposed revision to the constitution has also been shelved because of protests by the opposition over delays in scheduling new elections. Ideologically, the regime has long since abandoned its socialist roots, changing from what one Angola analyst described as "Afro-Stalinism" during the Cold War to "petro-diamond capitalism" in the post-Cold War period (Hodges 2001). Succinctly put, the current regime appears to support crony capitalism—exhibiting a lack of interest in transparent governance systems and a preference for new commercial opportunities in country (for example in mobile phone networks) to be kept in the family.

The main opposition party, UNITA, split into two main factions during the latter stages of the civil war—between those fighting in the bush and "UNITA-Renovada," a group of dissidents who decided to remain as part of a Government of National Unity (known by its initials in Portuguese as GURN) negotiated as part of the 1994 Lusaka peace process. The final stages of the war put UNITA leaders still fighting in the bush under severe pressure—deputy leader António Dembo died there due to a combination of malnutrition and lack of access to essential drugs, while Jonas Savimbi was ultimately hunted down and killed by elite government forces (apparently with Israeli technical assistance to pinpoint his location through the interception of a satellite phone call) in eastern Moxico. The party under Savimbi was dominated by his cult of personality and emphasized a political platform that claimed Angola back for "Africans." In the postwar period the new leadership of Isias Samukuva has moved the party to a more mainstream position in opposition, criticizing the corruption and mismanagement of the current regime. After the end of the war, UNITA-Renovada ceased activities and its members returned to UNITA. Other opposition parties, including the FNLA and the PRS, remain relatively small and prone to divisions in part driven by government divide and rule strategies.

Public participation in the 1992 elections indicated for the first time the enthusiasm of the general Angolan population (as opposed to their political elites) for

popular involvement in politics. However, opportunities for further popular participation in political processes since then have been limited. Freedom of the press and broadcast media remains limited, with nongovernmental sources of information largely confined to the capital city and one or two other urban areas. Local civil society is weak and prone to being bought off by the government or quasi-governmental organizations such as the Fundação Eduardo dos Santos. However, a handful of local NGOs (nongovernmental organizations) and a number of churches, particularly the Catholic Church, have organized on a national basis, and while low capacity remains an issue even for them, they exercise a high degree of autonomy from the state. Maintaining the integrity of these networks is also challenging. The Catholic Church, for example, has recently faced difficulties with its flock in Cabinda, after the recent appointment of a non-Cabindan bishop to the province.

Politically, ethnic affiliation continues to play a strong role in party identification. UNITA has traditionally drawn much of its support from the Ovimbundo, while the Bakongo (who live in the North adjacent to the DRC and have extensive cross border links with the DRC) have tended to back the FNLA. The MPLA, which to some extent draws support throughout the country, also tends to be associated with Mestiços and the Mbundo. The smaller PRS party draws much of its support from the Lunda-Chokwe. In the absence of a broad-based opposition alliance, UNITA remains the only opposition party capable of competing with the MPLA on a national basis, and even it faces considerable difficulties in organizing in certain areas due to local resentment of its role during the war and the opposition of locally based MPLA supporters.

Currently, the most pressing political issue is the finalization of the date of the next elections—particularly the next presidential elections—and the final decision of President dos Santos on whether to run or not. It now appears increasingly likely that the elections will not occur until at least 2008, if not later, though a limit appears to have been placed on how long they can be delayed, with the president in May 2006 making a public commitment they would be held no later than the end of 2008 (Kibble 2006). There is a strong likelihood that dos Santos will seek to run, despite some opposition from within his own party. His reasons for running may in part be conditioned by a desire to protect personal gains made while in office and to avoid any attempts on the part of a new government to recoup funds from him or his immediate family. Despite the civil war, national sentiment in Angola remains strong, with the major political disagreements being over who runs the country as a whole, rather than any particular part of it. The major exception to this is Cabinda, where popular sentiment there remains secessionist in character, despite the effective end of armed opposition by pro-independence FLEC factions. Negotiations are currently ongoing in Cabinda with the Angolan government on possible autonomous status for the province. Despite a history of quasi-governance by independent diamond operations (Pearce 2004), political sentiment in the diamond-rich Lundas is focused more on attainment of an equitable share of revenues from resource extraction than on separatism on the part of the Lunda-Chokwe.

LAW AND ORDER

After years of neglect during the war, some improvements are being made to the judicial system (for example, legal training for magistrates and physical improvements to court infrastructure). Much remains to be done. The Angolan judicial system has been in a state of collapse since the early 1990s. In 2001, only 13 out of 164 municipal courts were functioning, with minimal sums set aside for judicial administration by the Angolan government (Lari and Kevlihan 2004). In general, local people seek to avoid interaction with law and order bodies if at all possible, as interaction will typically involve financial or other penalties.

The national police force (*Polícia Nacional*) come under the authority of the Ministry of the Interior and include heavily armed paramilitary units (the Rapid Intervention Police) that were used during the war as an additional fighting force, in addition to maintaining government control over urban *bairros*, particularly in Luanda. In the postwar period, the Rapid Intervention Police have been directed more towards crime prevention, particularly in urban areas. However, they remain unsuited to many of the most basic tasks of routine police work, with the use of force often being their preferred *modus operandi.* Petty corruption remains an issue throughout the police force as a whole, in large part because of low salary levels, and has resulted in the effective privatization of police and security services, both in terms of "user-payments" (for example, bribes) to regular police, and in the prevalence of private security companies. One police function that does operate efficiently, however, is the morning and evening traffic direction service offered in Luanda at rush hour. Public emergency services such as fire and ambulance are next to nonexistent, though private ambulance services are available in Luanda for those few that can afford them or have access to private health services through their employers, including employees of the state-owned oil company, Sonangol.

Despite the corruption and at times, brutality of the police, law and order issues have not yet reached an uncontrollable level in Angola. Petty crime (such as purse snatching and pickpocketing, etc.) is common in built up urban areas and appears to be on the increase while extensive physical security measures and private security guards are typically required to secure valuable property. However, in central urban areas armed violent crime is unusual. The same cannot be said for urban bairros, where armed robbery at night (including hijacking of vehicles, and even killings for mobile phones and/or relatively small sums of cash) occur. In rural areas travelers continue to face possible banditry, though this risk is somewhat less than during the civil war. The Lundas remain an area that is particularly prone to crime, both in urban and rural areas.

Official corruption at the highest levels remains one of the major criminal activities confronting the country, but given its pervasiveness, it is unlikely to be easily solved. While Angola has been used as a transit zone for some drug trafficking—chiefly from Latin America to South Africa or Europe—the scale of the drug trade is relatively small and, because drugs smuggled are mostly in transit via air or sea to other locations, it does not tend to impinge on local society. Glue and other solvents are typical palliatives of choice for street children in Luanda, rather than hard or soft drugs. The trafficking of children for the purposes of sexual exploitation is

an issue in Angola—particularly in Luanda, and in border areas with Namibia. The government has recently taken steps to address these issues through public education, but, given endemic poverty, corruption, and governmental lack of capacity, it does not appear that this problem will be adequately addressed in the near future.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Angolan Ministry of External Relations is the primary government agency responsible for relations with other countries. As with all other ministries, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is subject to the effective control of the president. During the recent civil war, the foreign policy goals of the Angolan government were clear—to seek to isolate UNITA through the proper implementation of UN sanctions and to garner as much international support as possible to win the war. In the postwar period, Angolan foreign policy priorities are somewhat more diffuse. While Angola has the potential to be a rival to South Africa for influence in Southern Africa, and indeed, beyond (chiefly because of its natural resources and military capacity), in the postwar period it has yet to seriously try to exercise consistent influence in the region, reflecting a relatively narrow worldview amongst Angolan elites since the end of the civil war. That said, the immediate postwar period has represented something of a golden period for Angolan diplomacy, with their chairmanship of the Southern African Development Community (October 2002–August 2003) and their successful candidature for a two-year seat on the UN Security Council (January 2003–December 2004) effectively lending international prestige and legitimacy to the victory of the government in the civil war.

Since then, Angola's major foreign policy orientation has been on economic issues. Since the 1996 discovery of significant deep water oil reserves, western companies have invested heavily in the Angolan oil sector. The United States remains Angola's largest customer, and Angolan oil accounts for 8–10 percent of U.S. oil imports. On the supply side, Angola has been effective in diversifying foreign economic interests in the oil sector, and in effectively playing off different countries against each other, a trend that has continued with the recent entry of the Chinese. In addition to the United States, Angola also maintains close relations with Russia (mainly through diamond and arms trade), Portugal, Brazil, and Nigeria (because of issues of mutual interest in oil production) and Israel (in part due to diamond trading links), and closer to home, with Namibia and São Tomé and Principe (where it appears to exercise considerable influence, though this may decline as São Tomé begins to develop its own oil reserves). In 2004 Angola diversified its economic relations further by accepting significant loans for reconstruction from China, with the bulk of the work to be carried out by Chinese companies. This coincided with the entry of China into the Angolan oil sector and has resulted in an increase in trade and investment between the two countries. Angola has also been taking a more active role in the African Petroleum Producers Association, most recently by hosting the seventh forum of the leaders of national oil companies in Luanda in April 2006. And in early 2007, despite earlier statements to the contrary, Angola became a new member of OPEC, the first new country to

join the organization since the 1970s. Angola's qualification for the 2006 Soccer World Cup finals for the first time also represented a significant national achievement at the international level, and once again, represents a source of international prestige.

Militarily, the Angolan government has a history of engaging in alliances when it is expedient to do so—both regionally and on a broader international basis. Angola has one of the strongest military forces in the region and has demonstrated a capacity to intervene regionally. During the Cold War the MPLA government was closely allied with the Soviet block, receiving considerable military and financial assistance from the Soviet Union and decisive troop support from Cuba, and allowed both the African National Congress and South West African's Peoples Organization to operate from Angolan territory. At the same time, UNITA received covert support from the United States and overt military assistance from the apartheid government in South Africa. The end of the Cold War and the series of negotiations that brought about the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of South African and Cuban troops from Angola also signalled an end to high stakes superpower politicking in Angola. During the 1990s, Angola utilized its military apparatus to further its interests against UNITA and FLEC in the region. Angola intervened in the Republic of Congo (Congo-Brazzaville) in 1997 in support of former President Sassou Nguesso, and in 1998 Angolan military intervention was decisive in supporting the regime of Laurent Kabila against Uganda and Rwanda. Angola continued to support the government of his son, Joseph Kabila, until the withdrawal of foreign forces from the DRC as part of a UN-brokered peace process, though rumors persist of continued Angolan military engagement in both the DRC and the Republic of Congo, primarily aimed at combating possible future military threats from FLEC factions in Cabinda. Angola also worked in close cooperation with the Namibian army in border areas in countering the threat from UNITA and separatists in the Namibian Caprivi strip, with Angolan troops sometimes operating in Namibian territory. Since the end of the war Angola has taken a relatively lower profile with respect to international military engagement. Angola has been relatively unaffected by nonproliferation issues (particularly since South Africa relinquished its nuclear arsenal) but did accede to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1996 and signed on to the African Nuclear Weapons-Free Zone (Pelindaba Treaty) in the same year.

Angola is a member state of the United Nations (serving as a nonpermanent member of the UN Security Council in 2003/2004) and the CPLP (*Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa*) the Community of Portuguese Language Countries. Its relationship with the European Union is mediated by arrangements set out in the Cotonou Agreement. Regionally, Angola is a member of the SADC and is a member of the Southern Africa steering committee of the New Partnership for Africa's Development. Angola is also a member state of PALOP (*Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portugues*), the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries in Africa, and the Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa.

In the normal course of business, the Angolan government does not actively engage with nongovernmental organizations—either national or international—preferring to take a unilateral approach to most policy decisions, or engaging in

pro-forma "consultation" with government-controlled organizations. That said, the general operational environment for NGOs—particularly during the recent war, could be described as permissive. While the government did not make great efforts to collaborate with NGOs, generally speaking, it did not impede NGO operations in the designated geographical areas it controlled. This was in part a function of governmental lack of capacity to monitor over 100 international NGOs working in the country, and in part because NGOs were unable to work in UNITA areas from 1998 onwards. The government was strongly opposed to NGOs working in UNITA areas in the latter stages of the war, though this became something of a moot point due to UNITA opposition to foreign NGOs working in its areas and ultimately because of the collapse of UNITA's ability to physically control definable territory. As a consequence the overall impact of humanitarian interventions in Angola suited the strategic aims of the Angolan government. However, since the end of the civil war there have been some moves towards greater collaboration. One example has been the Global Fund process. Established in 2002 as a mechanism to allow for the creation of proposals to the Global Fund to fight AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria (GFATM), the Angola Country Co-ordinating Mechanism (CCM) has provided a forum for government/NGO collaboration on health policy issues related to HIV/AIDS, malaria, and tuberculosis; progress continues to be uneven, even on this front, however. Initial difficulties due to the government's unilateral approach, and arbitrary appointment methods used to appoint NGOs to the CCM at the outset, moderated towards greater consultation and co-operation. Despite success in the third and fourth funding rounds of the GFATM, problems continue; during round-six disbursements of the GFATM, Angola was one of three countries (along with Iran and Cape Verde) whose grant proposals were disqualified because of issues related to the composition of their CCM. Nonetheless, government efforts at inclusion in the health sector, along with involvement of NGOs in a consultation process related to proposals to implement a new regulatory framework for the sector, represent improvements over its previous combination of governance by sporadic diktat and a general attitude of *laissez faire*.

Angola was heavily dependent on humanitarian assistance during the civil war, receiving as much as $1 billion in assistance per annum at the height of the war. Since then, levels of international aid to Angola have declined, with western donors placing increased emphasis on the need for the Angolan government to invest a greater proportion of its oil revenues into national reconstruction and development. The government has been unsuccessful in organizing a donors conference to open up large-scale development finance for the reconstruction of the country, primarily due to continued lack of transparency in how it accounts for revenues from oil. Its only recent success has been in accessing aid from China as part of a deal involving opening oil concessions to the Chinese. Angola also continues to receive humanitarian assistance for shorter-term emergencies such as the 2005 outbreak of the Marburg virus in Uige. More generally, many NGOs continue to work in the development sector because of the chronic social situation in-country. Angola does not provide significant levels of foreign assistance to other countries.

Angola has been indicating an interest in becoming involved in peacekeeping operations since 2004, but has yet to deploy troops to a peacekeeping mission

under either a UN or African Union mandate. With one of the best-equipped armies in Southern Africa, Angola has much to offer in terms of peacekeeping capacity despite a lack of experience in this area. Portugal has recently expressed an interest in assisting Angola to develop its peacekeeping capacity. Angola was the recipient country of UN peacekeepers in the 1990s, through the UNAVEM (United Nations Verification Mission in Angola) I and II missions and the subsequent MONUA (United Nations Mission of Observers in Angola) mission. UN peacekeepers left Angola under a political cloud in 1999 because of their failure to ensure that UNITA adhered to the terms of the 1994 Lusaka peace agreement.

SECURITY

The Angolan military is estimated to comprise approximately 100,000 personnel (2002 estimate) including 90,000 army, 6,000 air force, and 4,000 navy. This military capacity is supplemented by a paramilitary police force, and the Presidential Guard, a heavily armed unit that protects the president. In addition to a largely conscript army, during the latter stages of the civil war Angola developed elite fighting units, known as *caçadores* (hunters) that were assigned search and destroy missions against insurgent forces—both UNITA and Cabindan insurgents.

Angolan's history from independence in 1975 to April 2002 was largely one of conflict because of the civil war. The initial impetus for the conflict was divisions between the three main anticolonial groups—the MPLA, the FNLA, and UNITA. The MPLA took over the capital Luanda at independence and proclaimed their control of the country. In the immediate aftermath they were successful, with decisive Cuban military support and Soviet supplies, in repelling an FNLA force (with U.S. financial backing and support from regular Zairean troops and foreign mercenaries) invading from the north and a second South African force (supported by UNITA) invading from the south. Despite being stopped within sight of Luanda, South Africa continued to prosecute a war in southern Angola (with continued U.S. support for UNITA), providing crucial air cover and ground support to UNITA forces in the far southeast (in Cuando-Cubango province, otherwise known as *fim du mundo*—the end of the world) until the end of the 1980s.

While much of the blame for the Angolan civil war was initially assigned to superpower rivalries, the end of the Cold War did not signal the end of the Angolan civil war, despite attempts by the United States, Russia, and Portugal to mediate a peace agreement. A changed geopolitical situation meant that UNITA was increasingly isolated internationally. Nonetheless, the conflict had acquired a self sustaining dynamic—the government bolstered by revenues from its off-shore oil reserves, and UNITA by revenues from alluvial diamonds. Various peace agreements (Bicesse 1991, Lusaka 1994) failed, in large part, because of the inability of the two sides to genuinely share power. Ultimately the war ended because the Angolan government won. It was the death of Savimbi, hunted down and shot dead in a dry river bed in eastern Angola in early 2002, that was the proximate cause for this victory. The Angolan government was quick to exploit his death and demystify this *bête noire*. They displayed his cleaned up corpse almost immediately on national television, unceremoniously laid out with underwear showing and

supposed *fetiches* (charms or amulets) on display. His body was apparently buried in a graveyard in Luena, Moxico, rather than in his home area in the Plan Alto. This victory was presaged by a sustained military campaign from 2000 onwards that pushed UNITA out of towns and key diamond mining areas into the bush and forcibly displaced civilian populations from rural areas through so-called *limpeza* exercises. This internal pressure was supported by UN-imposed sanctions on UNITA that made it more difficult for them to support their operations externally.

The human cost of these tactics was enormous—UNITA and Angolan government policies, exacerbated by the impact of UN sanctions against UNITA, meant that humanitarian assistance could not be provided throughout most of the country, with civilians left to make their way as best they could to government-controlled garrison towns to access what services were available there. Humanitarian organizations provided lifesaving assistance to the bulk of the population in these government-controlled areas throughout the war. However, they could not access so-called "grey zones." It was in these areas that some of the most vulnerable sought to survive, in the most difficult conditions. People who escaped these areas to large towns often spoke of *tropa* (soldiers), who raped, pillaged, and burned villages and crops (Messiant 2004). At the end of the war an estimated 500,000 people crowded into quartering areas, the so-called "hidden caseload" of the war. It is not known how many civilians died because of hunger and disease in the bush during and in the immediate aftermath of the war, though the absence of small children was noted in reception centers at the end of the war—they had already died in the bush during the final push or on the long walk to access assistance (Kevlihan 2003).

Now, for the first time since independence, Angola does not face any significant internal or external military threats to its security. International terrorism was not a feature of the Angolan civil war, despite attempts post 9/11 by the Angolan government to portray UNITA as a terrorist organization. Angola has one of the most effective armies in the region and has good relations with neighboring states. It does, however, continue to face threats to the human security of its population. The decrepit nature of Angola's social services and public infrastructure (including lack of access to clean water and adequate sanitation), combined with high rates of infectious diseases (particularly malaria and TB), and increasing drug resistance to these diseases constitute the greatest current threat to human security in Angola today. The impact of these diseases is exacerbated by rampant corruption at the highest levels of government that means the full proceeds from the vast natural wealth of the country are not being made available to the masses. Future threats include the possibility of further outbreaks or sudden onset of high mortality epidemics such as Marburg and cholera, exacerbated by the inability of local health services to rapidly and adequately respond to any such outbreaks. Between February 13 and June 9, 2006, an ongoing cholera outbreak claimed 1,658 lives in 14 of 18 provinces, with a total of 43,937 cumulative cases recorded (World Health Organization 2006). One positive side effect of the civil war has been that the Angolan population has not been exposed to the HIV/AIDS virus to the same extent as the rest of Southern Africa. Estimated prevalence rates are in the region of 3–5 percent, though these rates are based on limited surveillance. More recent

evidence indicates that areas close to the border with Namibia may have prevalence rates that are significantly higher. The price of peace (and related population movements because of increased cross border trade and the return of refugees) includes the risk of an increase in HIV/AIDS prevalence rates.

While the end of the war brought with it an end to human rights violations committed on a massive scale by both the Angolan government and UNITA, Angola remains a country where the rule of law is fragile, particularly for those without the resources (either financial or through elite social networks) to demand protection of their rights. In the future, law and order issues—including quasi-political criminal activity such as the hostage-taking of oil workers, while not a feature of the Angolan scene to date, may become a concern. While much of the Angolan oil sector is effectively offshore and somewhat protected as a consequence, this does not mean it is invulnerable to such activities. Increasingly, societal pressures are expected to grow for greater attainment of social and economic rights as people expect to see the benefits of peace. If adequate measures are not taken to ensure such benefits, and/or further delays occur in the scheduling of an election, the risk of a new phase of contentious politics, including a split within the MPLA or between elements of the MPLA and Futungo remains high. Other scenarios—such as new secessionist tendencies in areas other than Cabinda also cannot be discounted over the medium term if the government continues to engage in extensive opportunity hoarding to the exclusion of regional and local interests.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Angola signed the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC) on October 7, 1998, but has yet to ratify the treaty and as a consequence is not a state party to the statute. The Angolan government approach to crimes committed during the civil war (with the exception of recent efforts that address issues with respect to people killed in an MPLA split with the so-called *Nitistas* in 1977, including the issuance of death certificates for some of those killed, allowing dependents to access pensions) has been to ignore the justice and reconciliation issues involved in an attempt to draw a line under this period of Angola history. At the grass roots level, traditional reconciliation practices appear to have had some positive impact with respect to the reintegration of former combatants. Angola's ongoing ambivalence with respect to justice issues is reflected in its continued failure to ratify the Rome Statute, and in its decision in 2005 to sign a bilateral agreement with the United States agreeing that it would not surrender U.S. citizens to the ICC. In 2006 Cabindan separatists indicated their intention to raise their grievance with the ICC prosecutor in the near future (*IRINNews.Org* 2006), though in the absence of UN Security Council support, it is unlikely they will make any substantive progress on this issue, other than directing public attention towards the ongoing situation in the province.

The end of the civil war has brought with it a huge improvement in the general human rights situation in Angola, simply because the two warring parties are no longer engaged in widespread violations, such as indiscriminate killings, rape, and forced displacement. However, the legal system in Angola remains weak and unable in practice to afford average Angolans with sufficient protection under the

law (Lari 2004). In 2002 the Angolan government published the Norms for the Resettlement of Displaced Persons (*Normas sobre o Reassentamento das Populacões Deslocados*) and implemented *regulamento* to provide for adequate protection and services for Internally Displaced Person (IDP) populations returning to their areas of origin or resettling in new areas. These norms were based on the UN's Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement and represented an innovative legislative initiative on the part of the Angola government. However, implementing legislation was introduced exceedingly late in the return process of IDPs and the rules themselves were not forcefully implemented by the Angolan government. In 2002 it was estimated that only 30 percent of those returning did so in compliance with the norms (Lari and Kevlihan 2004).

Angola has signed and ratified a number of international conventions and human rights instruments, one of the earliest being the Geneva Conventions (excluding Protocol II) in 1984. Angola signed and ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1990. In 1992 Angola acceded to the International Covenant on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. It acceded to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women in 1996. Regionally, Angola has also signed and ratified the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (in 1990) and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (in 1992). While Angolan adherence to reporting requirements of international agreements has been weak, some improvements have been made in recent years, notably the submission of its first report to the United Nations under the Convention of the Rights of the Child in June 2004, a little over one year late. The next report is due in January 2008.

Despite this rhetorical commitment to international standards of human rights, in practice, a weak judicial system and well-organized and potentially brutal units of the security forces mean that the potential for widespread human rights violations on the part of government security forces remains should the political situation, in the view of the government, necessitate it. Even in the relatively benign current political context, freedom of expression, association, and assembly remain constrained, while abuses against civilians in Cabinda continue to be raised as a human rights concern (Human Rights Watch 2006). Angolan police forces (together with private security forces) have also been mobilized to forcibly clear squatter areas in the bairros of Luanda, resulting in human rights violations because of the excessive use of force and a failure to follow due process in arranging the evictions (Amnesty International 2006). This points to the continued arbitrary nature of governance in Angola. The improvement in the general human rights situation since the end of the war is not so much a function of proactive government policies as it is a result of the end of civil conflict. In addition to continued delays in organizing elections, and restrictions on the media and civil society more generally, access to social and economic rights remains one of the greatest challenges in Angola. In addition to its abject failure to adequately provide proper public infrastructure and social services to the general population, the government has also failed to deliver on more specific programs, such as support to demobilized soldiers and UNITA rebels. Human rights violations and the arbitrary use of power by the

police, particularly in urban bairros, also remains a serious concern. Elite appropriation of land in both urban and rural areas remains another human rights issue with potentially explosive consequences. Internationally, the Angolan government is not proactive in pursuing human rights issues abroad and generally adopts a defensive attitude towards criticism of its human rights record. The only major exception to this was their active support of human rights initiatives that focused on the human rights record of UNITA during the civil war.

CONCLUSION

Despite the arbitrary nature of rule under the current regime in Angola, the ongoing (and truly stunning) failure on the part of Angolan elites to improve the lives of most Angolans given the availability of the resources to do so, and ongoing allegations of human rights abuses in oil-rich Cabinda, U.S.-Angola relations remain predicated mainly on trade. The United States imports approximately 8–10 percent of its oil from Angola and as such Angola is one of America's most important African trading partners. The United States is also Angola's largest export market. Angola will remain an important source of U.S. oil. Despite U.S. backing for UNITA in the 1980s, U.S.-Angola relations have been on a firm footing since the early 1990s and in common with other donor countries, the U.S. relationship with Angola since the end of the Cold War has been driven primarily by commercial concerns. As a consequence, relations between the United States and Angola are generally good—as exemplified by Angolan Presidential visits to the White House in 2002 and 2004. That said, the U.S. government continues to raise issues with respect to good governance and human rights on a low-key basis, with little real impact on the policies of the Angolans. Because of its oil wealth, Angola has proved itself relatively immune to external diplomatic pressure on such issues. Angola has not benefited directly from the African Growth and Opportunities Act (AGOA), in large part because oil is imported duty free and therefore not affected by AGOA.

Angola generally has good relations with the United States, despite the generally stand-offish attitude of the regime towards the "international community." This attitude is in part a legacy of the perception that Angola was let down during the 1990s when UNITA refused to abide by the terms of the Lusaka peace agreement. It is facilitated by the governments' relative financial autonomy and strong bargaining power because of its oil reserves. This attitude applies to the United States as much as to other countries, though the Angolan government is careful to seek influence in Washington, DC, through the use of lobbying firms. Angolan participation in the U.S.-led Coalition of the Willing has been ambiguous—with its name initially listed as a participant by the White House, then withdrawn without explanation and subsequently included once more. A diplomatic source familiar with U.S.-Angola relations indicates that, despite internal opposition within the MPLA and the Angolan government itself, dos Santos made a personal decision to support the United States in the UN Security Council on this issue. However, the absence of a Security Council vote has meant that Angola has not had to take a public position on Iraq, and has instead remained publicly ambiguous. As a major

oil producer, Angola has benefited from increases in world oil prices at least in part due to the Iraq war.

Today, Angola remains in a postwar reconstruction phase, with many local populations still in the process of reestablishing their lives after the conflict. Ethnic competition remains a potentially divisive issue, particularly in the context of elections if either major party tries to play the ethnic card. While UNITA has a history of mobilizing around issues of ethnic difference, emphasizing the role of Mestiços (and the alleged São Tomé heritage of some of the Angolan leadership) in the government, it would appear that it will have to broaden its appeal if it is to have a chance of winning an election, though the existing regime may try to use scare tactics to encourage continued backing from its supporters. The major social cleavage in Angola—between the small elite that benefit from power and patronage and the majority that do not, may also represent a point of contention. Whether this elite will willingly cede control of these resources to rivals in the event of an election loss, or split, with some supporting the opposition, also remains to be seen. That said, one positive legacy of the current regime has been its success in keeping the military out of politics to date. Ironically, growing dissonance within the MPLA at the prospect of dos Santos running for another term might also be the first step towards a greater role for the legislature in governance; a dilution of effective presidential power might contribute to a lessening of a "winner takes all" approach to presidential elections which in turn would contribute to greater stability in the political system in the context of a transition in power.

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Australia

Jeremy Moses

BACKGROUND

Australia is a large island continent bounded by the Indian Ocean to the west and the Pacific Ocean to the east. It is composed of two main islands, the Australian mainland and Tasmania. Its nearest neighbor is Papua New Guinea to the north. Other large states in the region include Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and New Zealand. Of the smaller neighboring states East Timor, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Fiji, and New Caledonia are among the most significant.

The Commonwealth of Australia is composed of six states (New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia, and Tasmania) and two territories (the Australian Capital Territory and the Northern Territory). The federal government also has responsibility for the administration of offshore territories such as Christmas Island, the Cocos Islands, Norfolk Island, and the Australian Antarctic Territory.

Given that it covers such a wide area, the Australian environment is diverse in geographic features and climate. It has been identified as being ''the lowest, flattest and, apart from Antarctica, the driest of the continents'' (ABS 2006, http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats). The highest mountain on the Australian mainland is Mount Kosciuszko at 2,228 meters above sea level but, due to the fact that the land was formed millions of years ago, less that 1 percent of the country lies above 1,000 meters elevation. The most notable characteristic of the Australian environment is the predominance of arid and semi-arid areas that make up around two-thirds of the country.

Australia has large mining, forestry, fishing, and agricultural sectors, all of which are highly developed and provide strong export income. In the mining sector, Australia was one of the world's largest producers of uranium, iron ore, nickel, bauxite, and zinc in 2004. It also has significant oil, natural gas, and gold resources. The vast open spaces of rural Australia have also provided for a large agricultural sector that was vital to the rapid development of the Australian economy.

Australia

Formal name of country: The Commonwealth of Australia

Size of country: Total: 7,686,850 sq km; land 7,617,930 sq km; water 68,920 sq km. *Note:* includes Lord Howe Island and Macquarie Island

Natural resources: Bauxite, coal, iron ore, copper, tin, gold, silver, uranium, nickel, tungsten, mineral sands, lead, zinc, diamonds, natural gas, and petroleum

Population: 20,682,588 (as of October 16, 2006)

Life expectancy at birth: Total population: 80.5 years; male 77.64 years; female 83.52 years (2006 est.); indigenous males 56 years; indigenous females 63 years

Key ethnic groups:

- Caucasian 92%
- Asian 7%
- Aboriginal and other 1%

Key religions: Catholic 26.4%, Anglican 20.5%, other Christian 20.5%, Buddhist 1.9%, Muslim 1.5%, other 1.2%, unspecified 12.7%, none 15.3%

Political system: Constitutional Monarchy, Democratic government, Westminster system

Key political groups/parties:

- Labor
- Liberal
- Green
- Democrats
- One Nation
- Family First

Legal system: Based on English common law; accepts compulsory ICJ jurisdiction, with reservations

Real GDP growth: 2.5% (2005 est.)

Population below poverty line: 13.3% (1999 est.; No reliable current figures)

Size of military: 87,200 personnel across army, navy, and reserve

Relationship with the United States: Australia has been an unstinting ally of the United States under the leadership of John Howard.

Future important security issues: Taiwan Straits, Indonesian stability, East Timor, Papua New Guinea, Uranium exports, climate change (drought), North Korea, Pacific Islands, Refugees and Asylum Seekers, War on Terror

Sources: The CIA *World Factbook;* The Australian Bureau of Statistics; The Department of Defence (Australia); The Smith Family "Financial Disadvantage Report" (1999).

Exploitation of Australia's natural resources has, however, caused some serious environmental problems. Unsustainable demands on a limited water supply, particularly in the key Murray-Darling river system, have placed enormous stress on a fragile ecosystem, resulting in the loss of native habitat and arable lands and an increase in soil salinity that, in turn, has driven a decline in the viability of many farming enterprises. This situation has been exacerbated by below-average rainfalls

for the best part of the last decade. Increasing carbon dioxide emissions caused by increases in population and urbanization have also led to concerns over the potential impacts of global warming.

In this context Australia has managed to develop as a relatively secure, stable, and prosperous nation since European settlement in the late eighteenth century. For the indigenous population of Australia, however, the arrival of the First Fleet at Botany Bay in 1788 is a date of infamy insofar as it marks the end of their own security and ownership of the land. While the nature of the relationship between indigenous Australians and European settlers is still disputed by historians, it is clear that subsequent policies—some official, some unofficial—of assimilation or destruction of Aboriginal populations led to the deaths of hundreds of thousands and the dispossession of the remainder. Indeed, the official declaration of *terra nullius* (land uninhabited) had the "legal" consequence of usurping the entire country and placing it in the hands of the British monarchy, an injustice that was only officially recognized in the *Mabo* decision of the High Court in 1992. The legal and social divide between indigenous Australians and European settlers remains a key security issue in contemporary Australian politics.

The remainder of Australian history since 1788 is punctuated by domestic political conflicts, participation in foreign wars, and influxes of refugees and immigrants from various parts of the world. In politics, the most significant events would be the Eureka Stockade of 1854, Federation in 1901, the gradual separation from Britain instigated by the Statute of Westminster in 1931, and the "constitutional crisis" of 1975 in which the then governor-general, Sir John Kerr, controversially dismissed the Labor government led by Gough Whitlam.

In foreign policy the participation in World Wars I and II, and particularly the development of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) legend following the battle at Gallipoli in 1915, have been central to the forging of a collective Australian identity. Participation in the wars in Korea, Vietnam, and Iraq have continued this tradition.

Finally, the periods of rapid immigration surrounding the "gold rush" in the mid-nineteenth century, the end of the second World War, and the Vietnam War have contributed to the multicultural, multiracial, and multi-ethnic makeup of Australian society.

SOCIETY

The current population of Australia is just over 20,500,000, and it is growing at a rate of 1.2 percent, which is the same as the overall world population growth rate. The most significant population issue is the percentage growth of older Australians that has come about as a result of the post-World War II "baby boom" and the decline in fertility rates since that period.

The vast majority of the Australian population resides in coastal urban areas, particularly on the east and southeast of the continent. Almost two-thirds (63 percent) of the population lives in the capital cities of Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Adelaide, and Perth, up from just over one-third (37 percent) at the beginning of the twentieth century. This reflects the pronounced and ongoing trend of urbanization in Australian society.

While the number of indigenous Australians at the time of European settlement is unknown, the 2001 census indicated an indigenous and Torres Strait Islander population of 458,500. Interestingly, this population is distributed much more evenly across the continent, including in some of the most inhospitable desert regions of central Australia. Giving an indication of the high fertility and mortality rates for indigenous Australians, the median age of the non-indigenous population stands at 36.1 years, while the indigenous median age is 20.5 years.

As indicated in the previous section, various waves of immigration from different parts of the world have added to Australia's image as a "melting pot" or "multicultural" society. While the majority of the population is still overwhelmingly of Anglo-Irish descent, there are significant and growing communities of Asian (particularly Chinese and Vietnamese) and Middle Eastern (particularly Lebanese and Iraqi) people. Significant numbers of Italian and Greek people, many of whom immigrated following World War II, are also present, but their numbers are gradually declining as immigration from those countries dries up. The 2001 census indicates that 26 percent of the Australian population had at least one overseas-born parent, again indicating the diversity and integration in the country.

This diversity is mirrored in the variety of religious beliefs held by the population. The 2001 census indicates that Christianity remains the dominant religion, composed of "27% Catholic; 21% Anglican; 21% other Christian denominations" (ABS 2006, http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats). A further 5 percent of the population is affiliated with non-Christian religions, while the remaining 26 percent do not subscribe to any official religion. Of the non-Christian religions, Buddhism and Hinduism are growing the fastest, while a great deal of fear and paranoia has recently been invoked by various politicians over the growth of Islam in Australia, despite a lack of statistical support. The growth of evangelical or Pentecostal Christianity, particularly in the middle class suburbs of Australia, also appears to be rapid, although much of this has occurred in the years since the 2001 census.

Basic infrastructure such as transport, communications, and energy systems are generally of a very high standard in Australia. There is, however, a great disparity between the infrastructure and services available in the cities as opposed to the rural or regional areas of Australia. More importantly, the demands being placed on Australia's scarce water resources by intensive farming and a growing population are increasingly unsustainable.

Given the great distances between major cities in Australia there is room for much improvement in terms of rail and road upgrades, but flights between the cities are regular and have become increasingly affordable. In recent years a number of small regional airlines have gone out of business, leaving a gap that has not been filled due to the nonviability of many routes.

In terms of communications, broadband uptake is well below the levels experienced in Europe, Asia, and the United States, and the level of service is relatively slow and patchy. Here again there are disparities between the services available in urban and rural areas and this has become a major political issue as the government plans to sell off the remaining 51 percent stake it holds in Telstra, the former monopoly provider of telecommunications.

Australia is largely reliant on coal-burning power stations for the provision of electricity. This is the cheapest option currently available but due to increasing

concerns over climate change and greenhouse gases there are plans to move away from the current high levels of fossil fuel dependence. This has raised the issue of nuclear energy production in Australia, an issue that will be taken up in the "Foreign Affairs" and "Security" sections below.

On the issue of water provision, Australia faces serious problems in the immediate future. Storage in major dams around the country has been extremely low following years of below-average rainfall. In Sydney, the situation is of increasing concern and has been met with proposals to build further dams, a desalination plant, or to begin water recycling. The water crisis is even worse in rural areas, particularly those dependent on the waters of the Murray-Darling river system, which supplies a number of regional centers, major agricultural industries, as well as the city of Adelaide. Urgent action is required to deal with these shortages, but it is an extremely sensitive and difficult political issue.

The Australian economy is a highly developed market economy, with high levels of private ownership and increasing privatization of public assets. Following the floating of the dollar by Bob Hawke's Labor government in 1983, deregulation and privatization have been central to the economic policies of governments at both federal and state levels. Despite the Asian financial crisis of the late 1990s, the Australian economy has shown strong growth over recent years, with an average growth in GDP of 3.4 percent over the decade between 1995–2004. Much of this growth is driven by strong agricultural and mining exports which have been buttressed by high commodity prices on international markets. The flip side of this is that any major drop in commodity prices could have devastating effects on the Australian economy as a whole. So, while the Australian economy is still considered to be in good health, in recent years concerns have increased over a high current account deficit, high levels of private net foreign debt, the high cost of housing, and the inflationary pressures of high oil prices.

While some of the most significant public assets, such as the Commonwealth Bank, Qantas Airlines, and numerous state transportation and energy providers, have been sold off over the past two decades, controversy still surrounds the current federal government initiatives to sell off the remainder of Telstra, the national telecommunications provider. A feeling remains among some sections of the community that privatization, far from delivering the promised reduction in costs and increase in quality, has in fact produced the opposite, increasing prices and lowering standards, particularly in the transport, energy, and education sectors.

Overall, Australia still ranks highly in many key "quality of life" indicators. The 2006 United Nations Human Development Index ranked Australia third (UNDP 2006), while *The Economist* 2005 worldwide "Quality of Life Index" placed Australia sixth. There has been a continuing trend of increasing labor force participation (currently around 65 percent) and the unemployment rate has stayed in a range between 4.5–7.0 percent over the past decade. Furthermore, average weekly earnings have increased significantly over the past decade.

Despite these positive results, there is a continuing disparity between male and female earnings that is unlikely to be addressed in the foreseeable future. There is also an increasing realization that the housing boom of the early 2000s has priced

many young people and low income families out of the market. This problem, when combined with the increasing levels of debts accrued in obtaining tertiary qualifications is likely to pose significant problems for large sections of Australian society in the near future.

These issues, combined with an increasing overall household debt and rising interest rates, have generated a great deal of political friction and public disquiet over current moves toward further labor market deregulation. Indeed, attempts by the current federal government to break the power of labor unions and provide for greater workplace ''flexibility'' have formed a central battleground for the federal election in November 2007.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

Australia's political system could be broadly defined as a constitutional democracy, with Queen Elizabeth II as formal head of state, represented in Australia by the governor-general. The Commonwealth Constitution came into force on January 1, 1901, bringing the colonies together under a single system for the first time. Powers are divided between the federal government, the six state governments, two territories, and the High Court. Each state and territory has its own legislature, but the two territories are subject to federal oversight. The Westminster system of responsible government has formed the basis of the Australian system since federation in 1901. A referendum held in 1999 on the question of full separation from the British Crown and the creation of an Australian republic was soundly defeated.

The Commonwealth Parliament is composed of two houses: the House of Representatives and the Senate. The House of Representatives has 150 seats, distributed according to population statistics. It is intended that each member of the House should represent the interests of his or her constituents in the parliament. The majority party or coalition in the House of Representatives forms the government of the day. Legislation is generally initiated in the House before being sent to the "upper" house, the Senate. Elections are held every three years using a preferential voting system, with the next election to be held in November 2007.

The purpose of the Senate is to represent the interests of the States that came together under the Commonwealth Constitution. Each state (regardless of population) is represented equally with 12 members. The Northern Territory and the Australian Capital Territory each have two representatives. Each senator is elected for a period of six years, meaning that half Senate elections are held concurrently with the elections for the House of Representatives every three years. A proportional representation voting system applies for Senate elections, which has allowed minor parties to gain a stake in the parliamentary process that is much more difficult to attain in the House of Representatives. This system has also tended to ensure that neither major party has control of both houses at any given time. Currently, however, the Liberal-National coalition has control of both the House and the Senate for the second time in Australian parliamentary history.

The two main political groups in Australia are the Australian Labor Party (ALP) and the Liberal-National Coalition. The ALP, formed in the late nineteenth century, grew out of the union movement and maintains strong—but increasingly

fraught and complicated—ties to the contemporary labor union movement. Given that it purports to represent the working people of Australia, the ALP is generally considered to be a more center-left party, although these lines have been increasingly blurred over recent decades. Indeed, it was the labor governments of Bob Hawke and Paul Keating in the 1980s and 1990s that undertook a strong program of economic deregulation that might previously have been considered antithetical to Labor Party principles. The ALP currently controls all state and territory legislatures but has been the party of opposition in federal parliament for more than ten years. At the time of writing it looks increasingly likely that the ALP will be elected into government at the next federal election, scheduled to take place on November 24, 2007. Under the leadership of Kevin Rudd, a fluent speaker of Mandarin and strong supporter of the Australia-U.S. alliance, the party has seen a large increase in support which most predict will be translated into a comfortable election victory.

The Liberal-National Coalition is understood as being representative of the conservative side of politics in Australia. It represents an alliance of business and professional groups (the Liberals) and rural conservatives (the Nationals) but, like the ALP, claims to best represent ''middle Australia'' in contemporary politics. Current Coalition policy can be broadly characterized as a mix of radical free-market economics with social conservatism, although this tends to vary depending on the leadership at any given time.

Other notable parties include the Australian Greens, led by Senator Bob Brown from Tasmania, and the Australian Democrats, led by Senator Lyn Allison of Victoria. Despite their small numbers and single-figure public support, both parties have had considerable success in influencing Australian politics as holders of the ''balance of power'' in the Senate for many years. Both have tended to support more left-leaning policy. Now, however, the majority held by the Liberal-National coalition in the Senate has blunted their influence. Minor parties on the conservative side of politics include the Family First party, which has risen to prominence as a representative of the large and growing evangelical and Pentecostal Christian movements in Australia.

The Australian government is currently led by John Howard, who recently celebrated ten years as prime minister. His Liberal-National Coalition has been reelected four times and he is now the second-longest-serving prime minister in Australian history. Howard is well loved by a large proportion of the Australian population, particularly due to his fierce nationalism, his strong stance against refugees, and his staunch support for the War on Terror. He has also benefited from an extended period of strong economic growth in Australia, particularly marked by the Australian survival of the Asian economic crisis of the late 1990s and the housing boom of the early 2000s, which dramatically increased the wealth of large sections of ''middle Australia.''

Howard is considered by many others, however, as an extremist who has taken an arrogant and destructive approach to Australian politics. Of particular concern are his refusal to acknowledge or apologize for past policies of dispossession and assimilation of the indigenous population; his aggressive anti-refugee policies; his unquestioning alliance to the United States; and his refusal to support the

implementation of the Kyoto Protocol. Furthermore, Howard's failure to condemn the white supremacist groups involved in riots in the coastal suburb of Cronulla in 2005 was viewed by many as a continuation of his ongoing encouragement of a nationalistic and intolerant vision of Australian identity. More recently, increases in interest rates, a failure to act on the perceived dangers of climate change, and the hosting of an unpopular Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) meeting in September 2007 have led to a dramatic loss of support for the Howard government. As stated above, it now looks likely that the Liberal-National coalition will be defeated at the forthcoming federal election, bringing Howard's time as prime minister to an end.

The fact that Australia is one of the few countries in the world with a system of compulsory voting at all levels of government ensures a reasonable degree of public interest in and knowledge of Australian politics. Such participation, however, is limited to turning up to vote on election day, as most people would have little or no contact with their local members. Added to this, party membership has been in decline across all major parties in Australia for a number of years. As a result, most people now receive their information on politics via commercial media sources and party advertising. The public broadcaster, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), provides a good measure of political coverage but is currently under attack from the government, with the claim that ABC journalists are biased in favor of the ALP.

Key issues in Australian politics include the potential revision of federal/state powers in order to produce greater centralization and coordination of policy; the ongoing debate over whether Australia should become a republic and sever ties with the British monarchy; and the unresolved issue of indigenous political representation, particularly given the recent federal government decision to disband the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, formerly the main representative body for indigenous people at the national level. None of these issues are likely to cause major national crises in the foreseeable future.

> We have learned that, if we make the right choices, Australians can shape our environment and our destiny, not simply be takers of trends set elsewhere. We have learned that global engagement is demanding work requiring large resources, great stamina and reserves of patience. And it can only be sustained through constant dialogue with the interests and instincts of the Australian people. It is something that my office requires me to think about every day. How to explain the need to work with friends and allies to help nourish democracy in places that seem so very far away. How to make the case for open markets to workers worried about their jobs in a global economy. How to tell a taxpayer that we must help build better institutions abroad even as our needs seem so pressing at home.
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> —Australian Prime Minister John Howard, Address to the Lowy Institute for International Policy, "Australia In the World," March 31, 2005, http://www.pm.gov.au/media/speech/2005/speech1290.cfm

LAW AND ORDER

Law and order in Australia is upheld under state and federal statutory law and the common law system inherited from Britain. Each state and territory enacts its own criminal legislation, while the Commonwealth also has powers to legislate on criminal matters insofar as they fall under Commonwealth Constitutional

responsibilities. This effectively means that there are nine different jurisdictions in Australia (New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, Western Australia, South Australia, Tasmania, the Northern Territory, the Australian Capital Territory, and the Commonwealth). Each state and the Northern Territory have their own police force, while the Commonwealth maintains the Federal Police, whose role it is to enforce federal criminal law and the criminal law of the Australian Capital Territory. In addition, each state and territory maintains its own ambulance and fire services, while the federal government is responsible for customs and border control.

Australia has very low levels of violent crime and is amongst the safest places in the world to live. By far the greatest criminal activity is shoplifting, followed by criminal damage, theft, and burglary (Australian Institute of Criminology 2003, http://www.aic.gov.au/publications/cfi/cfi050.html). While instances of assault and sexual assault have increased marginally over recent years, the murder rate hovers between 300–400 deaths per year Australia-wide.

Of recorded drug offenses, nearly three-quarters are cannabis related, followed by amphetamine offenses at 12 percent of the national total. It is also acknowledged that, as in all other countries, the drug trade connects very closely with other gang-related crime and police corruption, but this is very difficult to quantify.

Overall, it is fair to say that the Australian legal system is held in very high regard by Australian citizens. Law and order issues are always keenly debated at both state and federal elections, with the electorate repeatedly showing itself to be in favor of a "tough on crime" approach. There remains a strong belief in the ability of the police to apprehend criminal offenders and of the Australian legal system to provide a fair trial to those charged with criminal offenses. Any negativity in this regard is generated by the perception that many judges are "soft" on crime, leading to a trend towards greater legislative control over sentencing or "mandatory sentencing" for some criminal offenses or for repeat offenders.

Yet despite these generally positive sentiments, there are a number of serious issues within the Australian legal system that threaten to undermine its credibility. First and foremost, the issue of Aboriginal deaths in custody and police relations with indigenous communities in general has not been adequately addressed. Indigenous Australians are disproportionately represented in the criminal justice system and sporadic outbreaks of violence, such as the Redfern (Sydney) and Palm Island riots of 2004, have been directly related to community anger over the suspicious deaths of indigenous youths.

Furthermore, a number of instances of police involvement in drug trafficking and other illegal or corrupt activities have come to light over recent years. Major inquiries into the corrupt conduct of police in Queensland and New South Wales have taken place over the past two decades, revealing criminal involvement at the highest levels of law enforcement and government. Moreover, a recent spate of gangland killings in Melbourne has raised serious questions about the ability or will of the Victorian police to combat gang-related crime. Unless these endemic issues are adequately addressed, they also have the potential to undermine public confidence in the Australian legal system.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The making and implementation of foreign policy in Australia is handled by the Commonwealth government. Under the Westminster system of responsible government, the ministers for foreign affairs and trade are ultimately responsible for any policies made and implemented by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT). The current combined department is the result of the 1987 merger between the previously separate departments of Foreign Affairs and Trade. The responsible ministers are selected by the prime minister from the government benches of either the House of Representatives or the Senate. The current minister for foreign affairs is Liberal MP Alexander Downer, who has held that position for a decade. The current minister for trade is National MP Warren Truss.

The foreign policy goals of the current government have proved to be extremely controversial over recent years. The best source for determining the objectives of the incumbent government is the DFAT ''White Papers,'' each giving a broad overview of government policy. The most recent White Paper, entitled ''Advancing the National Interest,'' was released in February 2003. It commits the government to ''maintaining security and prosperity,'' ''consolidating and expanding [Australia's] bilateral and regional relationships,'' and ''projecting Australia and its values.'' More specifically, the focus is on maintaining a strong alliance with the United States in the context of the ongoing War on Terror, working toward trade liberalization and globalization, fostering relations within the Asia-Pacific region, and undertaking peacekeeping operations and ''good governance'' programs in the South Pacific.

The keystone of Australia's defense and security alliances—indeed to Australian foreign policy as a whole—is the Australia-New Zealand-United States (ANZUS) Treaty, which was signed in 1951. Despite the fact that New Zealand was cut out of the treaty in 1985 as a result of a disagreement with the United States over nuclear policy, the Australian government has worked hard to ensure that the loose security guarantee offered by the treaty remains functional. This commitment is sustained through the annual AUSMIN meetings between the Australian Foreign Minister and the U.S. Secretary of State. The only time that the ANZUS Treaty has ever been invoked was by John Howard immediately following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, despite the fact that this does not appear to fall within the terms of the treaty. Despite the ANZUS dispute between the United States and New Zealand over nuclear ship visits, Australia also maintains close and cooperative relations with New Zealand.

After a period of difficulty surrounding the emergence of an independent East Timor in 1999, Australia's relations with Indonesia have now returned to greater levels of co-operation. In November 2006 a treaty was concluded that would, in the words of one journalist, commit Australia to ''help

> Like Nazism and Soviet Communism, extremist Islamism is simply the latest totalitarian ideology. And like other extremist political ideologies, it must be confronted and defeated. Totalitarian ideology prospers when good people do little to stop it. Good people must be prepared to stand up and defend our shared values.
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> —Australian Foreign Minister Alexander Downer, Speech to the Executive Council of Australian Jewry, ''Terrorism: Our Common Struggle,'' November 27, 2006, http://www.foreignminister.gov.au/speeches/2006/061127_terrorism.html

Indonesia develop a nuclear program, conduct joint border protection patrols, expand military and intelligence ties and agree to suppress Papuan independence" (Forbes 2006). This development is closely related to the recent Australian decision to grant 43 West Papuan asylum seekers refugee status earlier in 2006, a decision that outraged the Indonesian government.

Australia has traditionally been a strong supporter of nuclear nonproliferation and a vocal opponent of nuclear testing, particularly French testing in the Pacific. Australia's responsibilities under the related treaties and legislation are administered within DFAT by the Australian Safeguards and Non-Proliferation Office. Yet recently Australia has embarked on a more outspoken and controversial path in relation to nuclear proliferation. The Howard government is now seeking to more actively exploit Australia's massive uranium resources, with the explicit aim of positioning Australia as an "energy superpower." In the short term, this has resulted in an agreement to supply China with large amounts of uranium as well as the commitment, mentioned above, to assist Indonesia in developing nuclear energy. While the government maintains that such exports will only be used in the production of energy, there are a number of potentially serious security implications, which are discussed below.

Australia has also been an enthusiastic member of many other security and economic alliances including Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) (which was instigated by former Prime Minister Paul Keating) and the Pacific Islands Forum, as well as being a dialogue partner to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and belatedly gaining admission to the East Asia Summit after reluctantly agreeing to sign the "Treaty of Amity and Cooperation" with other member nations.

In relation to the United Nations, Australia has traditionaly shown a strong commitment to the foundational principles of the organization and, through the work of former Minister of External Affairs, Dr. H.V. Evatt, played a key role in the foundation of the United Nations and the drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Australian commitment to multilateralism through the United Nations has, however, wavered in recent years, culminating in the condemnation of the UN Security Council for failing to approve the invasion and occupation of Iraq in 2003. This perhaps demonstrates that the commitment to the U.S. alliance is stronger than the commitment to the United Nations, although this could change depending on the government in power.

In 2005–2006 Australia spent approximately A$2.5 billion on official development assistance, representing 0.28 percent of the gross national income. The vast majority of this is allocated to countries in the South Pacific and East Asia, and the funds are increasingly tied to programs for "good governance," "sustainability," and the development of free market economies. In recent years, both the foreign minister and prime minister have argued that Australians want to see a return on their aid donations and that political and economic reform in the recipient country is the best way of gaining such a return.

Since the insertion of Australia troops into East Timor to quell post-independence ballot violence in 1999, Australia has taken a very active position in regional peacekeeping operations. At present there are Australian army personnel

or police on duty in East Timor, the Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea, Fiji, and Tonga. Many of these deployments, particularly those involving the Australian Federal Police, are conditions of aid packages to the various countries. This can be seen as an integral element in the larger aim of "projecting Australia and its values," as set out in the 2003 White Paper. While Prime Minister Howard has repeatedly claimed that the world sees Australia as a "security guarantor" for the South Pacific region, the more assertive role that the Australian military has taken has upset many small regional neighbors and has cost hundreds of millions of dollars, with little or no progress being made in addressing the causes of instability that brought about the interventions in the first place. The ongoing violence in both East Timor and the Solomon Islands is testament to the difficulties that have been faced thus far.

SECURITY

The Australian Defense Forces are comprised of the army, the navy, the air force, and the reserve. Of the 87,200 total defense force personnel (based on 2003 Defense Census figures), 50,700 are permanent employees of the army, the navy, or the air force; 18,500 are employed in the Department of Defense, responsible for policy analysis and advice to the defense minister; and the remaining 18,000 are reserve forces, again divided between the army, air force, and navy. In the context of increasing Australian commitments to "peacekeeping" operations and support for the United States in the War on Terror, extra money is being spent on recruiting more personnel into the permanent and reserve forces and admission requirements are being substantially relaxed to aid this process.

The Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) is the main intelligence collection and analysis agency in Australia. It is headed by the director-general of security, who reports to the Commonwealth attorney-general. While the number of ASIO staff in 2005–2006 stood at 1,110, the federal government has committed an additional A$90 million over the next few years, bringing the annual budget up to A$233 million, with the intention of more than doubling the number of personnel by 2010. This makes ASIO the fastest growing Commonwealth department and one of the few with an increasing budget allocation. Other key intelligence agencies include the Australian Secret Intelligence Service, which is responsible for overseas intelligence collection; the Office of National Assessments, which provides intelligence analysis directly to the prime minister; and the Defense Signals Directorate, the Defense Intelligence Office, and the Defense Imagery and Geospatial Organisation, all holding different intelligence gathering and analysis responsibilities under the umbrella of the Department of Defense.

Some common threads can be identified that run through the entire history of Australian security since European settlement. These are the unresolved situations *vis-à-vis* Australia's indigenous population, which has been identified as a key security issue in earlier sections of this chapter; the perceived threat emanating from a variety of Asian nations to the north; the reliance on "great and powerful friends" to ensure security against external threats; and the related policy of "forward defense," which has seen Australian troops deployed in a variety of distant conflicts in support of their powerful friends abroad.

On the issue of the relationship between indigenous Australians and post-1788 arrivals, it is fair to say that the security relationship has been incredibly one-sided. While some early settlers were threatened by sporadic attacks from indigenous groups, the vast majority of dispossession, killing, and enslavement that took place was to the advantage of the European settlers. That most prior inhabitants of Australia were rendered less secure as a result of the colonization and development of the country seems fairly self-evident. The fact that this internal insecurity is little acknowledged and has not been rectified in the hundreds of years since should not diminish its importance as a key question of human security in Australia today.

Beyond Australia's borders, it has always been a fear of "Asia" that has driven the foreign and security policy responses of successive Australian governments. This fear was dramatically heightened during World War II as Japanese fighter planes bombed targets in Darwin, intensifying the feeling that Australia was a distant, isolated, and vulnerable European outpost in a hostile Asian neighborhood.

It was this sense of insecurity, in tandem with a feeling of familial obligation, that had produced a security policy in Australia founded upon reliance on the British Navy as a security guarantor. In order to maintain this protector relationship, Australia had committed troops to fight in both World Wars, as well as smaller conflicts in Africa and Asia, with the aim of ensuring that the British would come to Australia's aid in a time of need. The British failure to redirect troops toward Australia after the fall of Singapore in 1942 led to a turn toward the United States as the new "great and powerful friend," and it is on the basis of this alliance that the ANZUS Treaty was signed in 1951, and the wars in Korea, Vietnam, and the Persian Gulf were joined by substantial numbers of Australian troops.

While large sections of the Australian population still harbor a sense of fear and loathing toward "Asia" (Japan and Indonesia in particular), the increasing moves toward globalization and regional economic integration, as well as increasing migration from a variety of Asian nations, has led to a diffusion of much of the traditional fear of invasion from the North. This has not, however, led to a general relaxation of security concerns in Australia, but rather a redefinition of where the threat is coming from. Amongst the greatest security concerns for Australians today are terrorist attacks by Islamic radicals; the influx of asylum seekers (particularly by boat); the proliferation of "failed states" in the South Pacific; the issue of nuclear proliferation; and the rise of China as a new superpower in international affairs.

It is fair to say that Islamic terrorism is now the central focus of Australian security policy, with all key policy documents listing it as the prime security concern for the country. As has already been mentioned, Prime Minister Howard invoked the ANZUS Treaty in declaring his support for U.S. actions in response to the September 11 attacks, and this has led to a strong and unstinting commitment to the War on Terror, as manifested in the Australian presence in Iraq and Afghanistan and in the unwavering rhetorical support offered by the Australian government, even as the Iraq occupation spins out of control. The bombing of two nightclubs in Bali in October 2002, which caused the deaths of 88 Australian citizens, and the bomb blast outside the Australian Embassy in Jakarta in September 2004, have maintained and perhaps even intensified the sense that Australia is a direct target of Islamic terrorism. While the government has been keen to portray

these attacks as a part of an apocalyptic struggle between Islamic terrorists (under the Al Qaeda banner) and the West, debate continues over the identity and aims of the groups that have carried out the attacks, and the reasons why they might target Australians or Australian property.

The issue of refugees and asylum seekers entering Australia, a recurring theme over the history of the nation, has also returned to the security spectrum in recent years. The military response to the arrival of mainly Afghani and Iraqi asylum seekers in 2001, after they had been rescued by the cargo ship MV Tampa, is the most notable example of this security issue. The subsequent decision (known as the "Pacific Solution") to have all asylum seekers processed in Nauru and Manus Island (Papua New Guinea) is also interesting. Much of this policy has revolved around the excising of Australian territory from the Australian migration zone, in order to avoid the obligations that have been previously ratified under international law. The most recent issue relevant to this came with the arrival and acceptance of 43 West Papuan refugees in early 2006. The Indonesian government was outraged at this development, and this led to a further proposed change in Australian policy, whereby all Australian territory would be legislatively excised from the migration zone for all "unauthorized boat arrivals." While this unusual legislation has not passed Parliament, it demonstrates the length to which this government has taken the securitization of refugees, as well as the lengths to which it is prepared to go to please the Indonesian government.

Potentially the most serious and costly security issue at present is the political turmoil that appears to be spreading throughout the impoverished Pacific Island countries to the northeast of Australia. Fiji has been through a series of *coups d'etat* over recent years and the situation there remains unstable. More prominently, Australia led a team of peacekeepers and police into the Solomon Islands in 2003 in order to rebuild the political system and economy of what was described as a "failed state." This task has so far not succeeded, with the outbreak of riots in 2006 an indication of the lack of clear progress to date. An outbreak of serious violence in the Tongan capital Nuku 'Alofa in November 2006 represents another potentially disastrous situation which may also lead to Australian troop deployments. Add these to the troubled situation in East Timor, where Australian troops are currently posted in a fragile and controversial arrangement with the United Nations, and we can see that regional peacekeeping is becoming an increasingly dangerous and expensive business for Australian policymakers.

Another area of concern is the proliferation of nuclear weapons, particularly on the Korean peninsula. On this issue again Australia has expressed strong solidarity with the U.S. position, participating in the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI), aimed at intercepting illegally traded nuclear weapon components and backing the tough stance taken by the Bush administration. Nuclear proliferation is also likely to become more of an issue as Prime Minister Howard advocates a move toward nuclear energy production in Australia, as well as supplying China with large quantities of uranium and making a commitment to Indonesia to assist in nuclear energy development. Deals to supply uranium to India and Russia for "peaceful purposes" have also been recently concluded. Many have warned that such policies have the potential to add to a dangerous nuclear arms race in the Asian region.

All of this takes place in the growing shadow of China, a nation with unparalleled economic and military growth over recent years. The current Australian government has often presented itself as a potential middleman between the United States and China, but this has meant that the position of Australia in relation to any future conflict in the Taiwan Straits remains blurred. If such a conflict were to eventuate, Australia could find itself in an extraordinarily complex position and any policy decision would need to be carefully considered.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

It is extraordinarily difficult to measure Australia's compliance with standards of international justice and human rights. Obviously, the extent to which the nation subscribes to international standards of justice depends heavily on which standards are being discussed, as well as the attitudes of the incumbent government. This difficulty aside, I think it is fair to say that successive Australian governments have all viewed themselves as being exemplary observers of international standards of justice and human rights, but that there are always certain cases or examples that can undermine such a claim.

In terms of legal protection of basic human rights, it can certainly be said that the Australian legal system does offer as good a chance as any at a fair trial. The court system is divided in a hierarchical manner along federal and state lines, with tribunals and magistrates courts at the local level, Supreme courts at state and territory level, and the High Court as the final Court of Appeal on a national level. This hierarchy is mirrored in the structure of the Federal Court and the Family Courts in each state and territory.

While there is much debate over the need for a Bill of Rights to protect Australian citizens against abuse by government or other powers within Australia, there are no moves afoot to introduce one on a federal level. On the state and territory level, however, the ACT Assembly legislated for a Bill of Rights in 2004, the first in Australia. This has been followed by the approval of a similar declaration of rights and responsibilities by the Victorian Parliament, which came into force at the start of 2007. The fact that there is no strong public support for a national Bill of Rights perhaps suggests that most Australian citizens are satisfied with the legal protections that already exist in Australia.

Australia has been a leading proponent of and participant in international institutions and is represented on a number of key bodies including the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation; the Commission on Human Rights; the Commission on Narcotic Drugs; the Commission on Sustainable Development; the Program Coordination Board of the Joint UN Program on HIV/AIDS; and the panel of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia.

Much of the current Australian participation in the War on Terror has been justified as supporting the U.S. attempt to spread human rights and democracy to all corners of the globe. While this argument has been repeatedly made in defense of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, it has also formed a central thread in the justification of the various regional interventions with which Australia is currently

involved. In countries such as East Timor, the Solomon Islands, and Papua New Guinea, the presence of Australian troops and/or police is thus justified as a part of the attempt to spread democratic values and reinforce human rights. More broadly, the Australian government has strongly supported the emergent "responsibility to protect" principle, which has underpinned the humanitarian interventions of the past decade and which was endorsed at the 2005 UN World Summit. From this perspective, it could be argued that the Australian commitment to the promotion of human rights internationally is strong.

Nevertheless, a number of serious human rights questions have been raised in recent years that cast into doubt the extent of Australia's adherence to basic standards. Of these, the failure to argue against the incarceration of Mamdouh Habib and David Hicks by U.S. authorities in Guantanamo Bay is perhaps the most clear example. The lengthy detention of Hicks, who was captured in Afghanistan during late 2001 assisting the Taliban, was controversial. He was finally convicted under the Military Commissions Act of 2006 in March 2007 and returned to Australia in May 2007 to serve the remainder of his sentence. It is an issue that raises questions about the Australian commitment to international law and to more general principles including the right to a fair trial and the prohibition of torture.

The issue of refugee rights has also generated a lot of concern both in Australia and internationally. In 2002 a UN Human Rights Commission report found Australia's policy of "mandatory detention" of asylum seekers to be in breach of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. In response, the Australian government accused the author of the report, Rajendra Bhagwati, of interfering in Australia's sovereign affairs and of unfairly criticizing a country that is a strong promoter of human rights. This schizophrenic and selective response to international institutions reflects a major problem for the Australian government in practicing and upholding international human rights standards.

Finally, the continuing failure to address indigenous rights in Australia must again be raised. The fact that the Howard government has legislatively closed the window of opportunity presented by the 1992 *Mabo v Queensland* land rights decision of the High Court is reflective of the indifference of the Australian public to the dispossession of the pre-1788 inhabitants of Australia. High rates of unemployment, drug abuse, homelessness, and domestic violence in Aboriginal communities also highlight the failure to address the dispossession, discrimination, and neglect that these people have suffered since European settlement. In June of 2007, the prime minister announced the deployment of extra police backed by Australian troops in order to bring an end to child sexual abuse and alcoholism in remote Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory. The policy package also includes alcohol and pornography bans and the revocation of the permit system that has been used to prevent wholesale access to these communities. While the policies were greeted with much public support in Australia, critics have suggested that the changes are nothing more than a reproduction of racist paternalism and a "land grab," designed to appropriate aboriginal lands for resource exploitation under a humanitarian guise. The human rights consequences of these actions are yet to be fully determined.

While it can certainly be argued that Australia is a country where human rights are respected and where most people can live in freedom, these cases of abuse indicate that there is still much work to be done in order that the country can truly live up to the rhetoric on a domestic and international level.

CONCLUSION

Australia currently enjoys a high standard of living, a good level of domestic and international security, and strong prospects for a peaceful and prosperous future. It would be wrong and shortsighted, however, to believe that there are no serious security threats to the country or that those threats that do exist are acknowledged or understood by those in power.

As discussed above, Australian security and defense policy has always revolved around the maintenance of a strong relationship with a great power. Since World War II, this great power has been the United States, a relationship formalized in 1951 with the signing of the ANZUS Treaty. This attachment to the United States is perhaps stronger than ever today, with the Australian government offering unconditional support for the U.S. policy in the War on Terror and sustaining strong (and growing) commitments to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, even as other participants talk of withdrawal. Opinion polls in Australia even indicate that support for the war in Iraq remains stronger in Australia than in the United States, revealing the extent to which Australians accept that Iraq is a part of the War on Terror and that success in democratizing Iraq will be of benefit to the whole world.

It can perhaps be argued that many of Australia's greatest security concerns revolve around (and are integral to) the construction of an Australian identity. The marginalization of indigenous Australians, the fear of influxes of people from Asia or the Middle East, and the continuing attachment to Anglo-American powers are all underpinned by a sense that Australia is an exclusive and perhaps even superior society in an alien part of the world. The September 11 attacks and the subsequent attacks in Bali and Jakarta have heightened the fear of Islamic terrorism to the extent that many Islamic or Middle Eastern Australians have been subject to abuse, a development that was central to the racially motivated riots that broke out in Cronulla in 2005. This fear of Islamic terrorism has been used by both state and federal governments to vilify Islamic Australians, with the opposition leader in NSW, for example, referring to young Middle Eastern men as "urban terrorists" whose aim was "to terrorise the community" (*ABC News Online* 2005). The potential security implications of this emergent division in Australian society, particularly for those of Middle Eastern descent, are alarming to say the least.

Beyond Australia's borders, the rise of China stands as perhaps the most difficult issue for security and foreign policymakers in the medium term. This issue is accentuated by the divide between the United States and China over the status of Taiwan, perhaps the most serious potential flashpoint for major power confrontation in the decades to come. While Australia has managed to cultivate good relations with both the U.S. and Chinese governments to date, this could be tested in the event of a hostile rivalry developing between the two countries. The question of Australian identity again becomes integral here: Could Australia ever attach

itself to a Chinese "great and powerful friend"? Or would the insistence on maintaining Western values and Anglo-American traditions also drag Australia into an anti-Chinese alliance? These may be questions for the medium to long term, but they are likely to pose serious challenges for Australian security and foreign policy at some point in the not-too-distant future.

It may also be pertinent for Australian leaders to revisit the realist critique of moralism in international politics. Over recent years, the claim that Australia holds the high moral ground in international politics and can spread democracy, human rights, and good governance in the Asia Pacific has been repeatedly made by the government. As Australia has sought greater influence in countries such as East Timor, the Solomon Islands, Fiji, and Papua New Guinea, there has been a growing reaction against the moralizing and superior tone that has been taken by the Australian government in dealing with the varying political and economic crises that grip those countries. Learning to interact with smaller or poorer neighboring countries in a less arrogant manner and accepting the limits of Australian power internationally may become increasingly important in a volatile international environment.

There is no doubt that Australia is, in many ways, a "lucky country." With a stable political system, a generally peaceful society, and a prosperous economy, it is a country that is the envy of many around the world. This, however, should not be a cause for complacency, nor should it cause us to overlook the failures of the past. There are many serious domestic and international security issues that have the potential to undermine the achievements of Australia in the short and long term. The ability to adequately understand and respond to these dangers will be the real test for Australian governments in the years ahead.

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Bangladesh

Ahrar Ahmad

BACKGROUND

Bangladesh, with an area of 147,579 square kilometers (55,813 square miles), is a low-lying riparian country located between 20/34 and 26/33 North latitudes and 88/01 and 92/41 East longitudes on the northern littoral of the Bay of Bengal in South Asia. Most of its land area is surrounded by India while only 193 kilometers of its borders are shared with Myanmar (previously Burma) in the southeast. The land constitutes a huge drainage system for several large rivers that flow from the Himalayas and empty into the Bay of Bengal. It is a deltaic plain with some hilly areas in the northern and eastern parts, and some forest lands in the middle and southern zones (where the coastal mangrove forests, called the Sundarbans, are home to the magnificent Royal Bengal tigers, spotted deer, and a variety of unique flora and fauna). The country straddles the Tropic of Cancer thus occupying a typically monsoonal climatic zone characterized by high humidity, warm temperatures, and heavy seasonal rainfalls.

Its forest resources and a relatively pristine coastline provide possibilities for tourism, its rich alluvial soil promises good crops (particularly rice, jute, tea, tropical fruits, and a variety of vegetables), and its river system provides an extensive transportation network and a source of hydroelectric power. Bangladesh also has deposits of coal, peat, limestone, white clay, hard rock, and trace minerals in various parts of the country, but not in sufficient quantities to have a significant economic impact upon the country. However, the discovery of huge deposits of natural gas, and the possibilities of finding oil, has provoked keen interest in foreign and domestic investors. Currently, it produces almost 13 billion cubic meters of natural gas annually for domestic use, and known reserves (estimates vary) are considered to be enough to easily meet internal energy needs for the next 40–50 years given current consumption patterns.

Some serious environmental issues that Bangladesh has to face include overpopulation, urban overcrowding, reckless harvesting of forest resources, arsenic contamination of ground water, salinity and water logging, depletion of top soil

Bangladesh

Formal name of country: People's Republic of Bangladesh
Size of country: 147,570 sq km
Natural resources: Natural gas, fertile soil, water, timber, coal
Population: 146 million (as of September 2006)
Life expectancy: male 62 years; female 63 years
Key ethnic groups: Bengali 98 percent; tribal groups, non-Bengali Muslims 1 percent
Key religions: Muslims 88.3 percent, Hindu 10.5 percent, Christian 0.3 percent, Buddhist 0.6 percent, others 0.3 percent
Political system: Parliamentary Democracy
Key political groups/parties:

- Awami League [Al Sheikh HASINA]
- Bangladesh Nationalist Party or BNP [Khaleda ZIA]
- Islami Oikya Jote or IOJ [Mufti Fazlul Haq AMINI]
- Bangladesh Communist Party [Saifuddin Ahmed MANIK]
- Jamaat-e-Islami or [Motiur Rahman NIZAMI]
- Jatiya Party or JP (Ershad faction) [Hussain Mohammad ERSHAD]
- Jatiya Party (Manzur Faction) [Naziur Rahman MANZUR]

Legal system: Based on English common law
Real GDP growth: 6.4 percent (2005 est.)
Population below the poverty line: 45 percent (2004 est.)
Size of military (2005): 171,950
Relationship with the United States: Receives U.S. economic aid programs, food aid programs, stabilizing population growth programs, protecting human health programs, and other acts of aid. Helped with development and has become an ally in the War on Terror.
Human security issues: Potential terrorist movements and presence of terrorists.
Important future security issues: Weak governance, pervasive corruption, and a dysfunctional political system.

Sources: CIA *World Factbook*; U.S. Department of State webpage on Bangladesh.

and nutrient deposits from land, waste disposal in the urban areas, and severe degradation of air quality standards in cities. Except for two governmental decisions that have been hailed as eco-friendly (for example, banning some polluting additives in petrol and phasing out the use of plastic bags), Bangladesh's concerns about the environment have been more rhetorical than real. But, the most serious environmental threat Bangladesh faces, and over which it has little control, is the issue of global warming. It is already experiencing some erratic weather patterns, and if the sea level rises to the extent that scientists are projecting over the next 50–60 years, entire areas of Bangladesh may simply be uninhabitable.

Even though Bangladesh has been a sovereign republic only since 1971, it is a land with very old cultural traditions and a complex political history. There are references to the land as early as 1000 BC. Early Buddhist and later Hindu

influences gradually gave way to the religion of Islam in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The British arrived as traders in the seventeenth century, and by 1757 the East India Company asserted administrative and fiscal control over the Bengal presidency. After the abortive Sepoy (soldier's) Mutiny against Company rule in 1857, the British Crown began to exercise direct control over the area. Because of growing tension between the Hindus and Muslims, India was divided in 1947. The Muslim majority provinces in the eastern and western parts of India combined to form the country of Pakistan with its two ''wings'' separated by about 1,000 miles of Indian territories. The peoples of West and East Pakistan were predominantly Muslims but different in language, ethnicity, and traditions. Widespread complaints of political unfairness, economic discrimination, and cultural indifference led to popular demands for provincial autonomy in the East. The party seeking autonomy won a clear mandate in the 1970 elections. The results of the elections were nullified by the military regime that ruled Pakistan at the time, and the country was plunged into a constitutional and political crisis. Eventually the eastern part declared independence on March 25, 1971. After a short but brutal civil war, the West Pakistani military surrendered to a joint command of Bangladesh and Indian forces on December 16, 1971, and Bangladesh achieved freedom (Ahmed 2002; Maniruzzaman 1994; Baxter 1997, Mallick and Husain 2004).

SOCIETY

According to the census of 2001, the population of Bangladesh was calculated to be approximately 123.9 million, and by 2006 it was estimated to be around 144 million. Given the fact that its land area is less than that of the state of Wisconsin in the United States, Bangladesh remains one of the most densely populated areas of the world with more than 900 persons per square mile. The life expectancy is around 65 years (slightly higher for females), the vast majority of the population (more than 70 percent) live in the rural areas and are primarily engaged in agriculture, forestry, and fisheries (Government of Bangladesh, 2005, 2006b). It should be pointed out that Bangladesh was one of the fastest growing population areas of the world. However, through a concerted effort of foreign and domestic forces that combined education, women's empowerment, contraception availability, and effective advertisement, it was able to bring down its population growth rate from about 2.35 percent in 1981 to about 1.45 percent in 2001.

Bangladesh is a highly homogenous country. The vast majority speaks the Bangla language, comes from the same ethnic stock, and belongs to the Sunni tradition of Islam. However, there are both ''tribal'' clusters, as well as a sizable non-Muslim (mostly Hindu) population. There are about 1.21 million people (1.13 percent of the total population in 1991) who belong to one of the approximately 25 tribes in the country. The majority of the tribal population lives in Chittagong province in the southeast, many along the borders with Myanmar, even though distinctive and colorful groups are found in enclaves in other provinces as well. The tribal and minority populations have often felt marginalized and persecuted and have sometimes resisted, and sometimes fled. There has been a continuing turbulence in the Chittagong Hill Tracts where many tribal people live (a ''peace treaty'' signed in December 1997 between the Government of Bangladesh and an umbrella

organization representing the tribal groups, was supposed to end this turmoil, but has only been partially successful), and there has been a slight lowering of the Hindu population in the country from 10.5 percent in 1991, to 9.2 percent in the 2001 census (Mohsin 2003).

The plight of the Biharis and Rohingyas in Bangladesh is cause for concern. The Biharis were Muslims who came to East Pakistan, mainly but not exclusively from the province of Bihar in India, during the partition of the country in 1947. After East Pakistan became Bangladesh in 1971, their situation was very vulnerable because most of them spoke Urdu, many identified themselves as Pakistanis, and most had supported the "anti-liberation" forces during the civil war in 1971. Pakistan accepted most of them. However, 250,000–300,000 Biharis continue to remain in Bangladesh as stateless people living in meager refugee camps, without legal, economic, or political rights. The Rohingyas living in Bangladesh are Muslims from the Arakan province in Myanmar who had fled persecution because of their religious and ethnic distinctiveness. In 1991–1992, there were almost 250,000 Rohingyas living in refugee camps in Bangladesh. Myanmar has allowed most of them to return, but several thousand refugees continue to live in a few camps in Bangladesh, and there are possibly another 100,000 living illegally without access to protection or humanitarian assistance (Mohsin 2003; Paulsen 2006).

The vast majority of the population (almost 88 percent) is Sunni Muslim. According to the 1991 census, 10.5 percent of the people are Hindus, 0.6 percent Buddhists, 0.3 percent Christians, and 0.3 percent others. Muslims who belong to the Shia or Ahmadia orientations (slightly different from mainstream Sunni Islam) are minimal. It should be pointed out that there are some distinctive features of Islam in Bangladesh. The facts of Islam having arrived in the region through peaceful conversion rather than military conquest (mostly through the efforts and example of charismatic mystics or "Sufis"); the relatively progressive cultural and legal orientations of many Muslim rulers (with some exceptions) particularly during the period of Mughal rule (sixteenth through eighteenth centuries); the influences of a Persian court elite who had a more sensitive and accommodative approach towards government; the development of a rich discursive tradition among the Muslim intelligentsia; the opportunities and example that were presented to them through the gradual introduction of the British parliamentary system; and the syncretistic dynamism that evolved as the religion of Islam incorporated local aesthetic and literary traditions within its custom and ethos all helped in the creation of an Islamic narrative that was perhaps uniquely enlightened, democratic, and tolerant (Eaton 1993).

Transportation and communication systems are perhaps not very modern but extensive and varied. There are more than 4,000 kilometers of railway lines (broad and meter gauges combined) that had originally been built by the British that still carry 42 million passengers and three billion tons of goods every year. There are about 20,000 kilometers of paved roads (only 3,500 kilometers of which are broad highways connecting major urban centers), two international and ten regional airports, two seaports with international-level docking and storage facilities, and hundreds of miles of water routes carrying launches, steamers, ferries, and boats over the innumerable rivers, canals, and inlets that traverse the entire region

(Government of Bangladesh 2005). There are more than a million telephones (connections may not always be reliable, which explains why cell phones have become a burgeoning presence), radios are ubiquitous throughout the country, and most urban homes have television sets. Many homes have Dish antennas and satellite subscriptions through which they access international channels (to watch the news on CNN and BBC, or more popularly, watch cricket and Indian movies). Internet usage is intense but limited.

The economic condition of Bangladesh is routinely, and perhaps justifiably, described in bleak terms. The Human Development Report published by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in 2006 ranked Bangladesh 137 out of 177 countries in its Human Development Index (which consists of a composite ranking based on three dimensions of human well-being—a long and healthy life, knowledge, and a decent standard of living). Its GDP per capita in 2006 was only $406 in constant dollars (but stands at $1,870 in terms of purchasing power parity).

But, there has been considerable improvement. The GNP has increased at a brisk rate between 5–7 percent since 2000. Moreover, life expectancy at birth has gone up from 45.2 years in 1970–1975 to 62.6 years in 2000–2005, infant mortality rates have come down from 145 per 1,000 live births in 1970 to 56 in 2004, and literacy rates have increased from 32 percent in 1991 to 51.9 percent in 2005. But, best of all (in spite of some disagreements about indicators, methodologies, and conclusions) there is a general consensus that some overall reduction in poverty has occurred. According to the Preliminary Report on Household Income and Expenditure Survey of 2005, food intake of the population has increased from 886.2 grams in 1991–1992 to 947.8 grams in 2005, and more importantly, the number of people living below the poverty line (based on providing 2,112 calories per person per day) has come down from 52.3 percent in 1983–1984 to 42.1 percent in 2004 (Government of Bangladesh 2006a; Centre for Policy Dialogue, 2006). Using a slightly different formulation which used lower and upper measure of the poverty line depending on what was included in a ''basic needs bundle,'' between 2000 and 2005, poverty has been reduced from 34.3 percent to 25.1 percent using the lower poverty line measure, and from 48.9 percent to 40 percent using the upper poverty line measure (Government of Bangladesh 2006a).

Three relatively new developments affecting the country's economy must be noted. First, Bangladesh has benefited greatly from remittances sent by Bangladeshis working abroad. The process of steady out-migration began in the 1980s and has increased from 185,000 Bangladeshi migrants abroad in 1991–1992 to 1.9 million in 2001 and 3.8 million in 2006 (with the vast majority in the Middle Eastern countries). Their remittances crossed the $1 billion mark in 1993–1994 and increased to $2.1 billion in 2001, and more than $5 billion in 2006 to become one of the largest foreign exchange earners for Bangladesh.

Second, the garment and knitwear industries have demonstrated phenomenal success and growth. In 1980–1981 Bangladesh earned only $1.3 million through this sector, which increased to $1.1 billion in 1991–1992 and $6.4 billion in 2005–2006 (accounting for almost 75 percent of the total exports of the country). It employs almost 2 million workers, mostly women, and has developed both

NOBEL PEACE PRIZE, 2006

Dr. Muhammad Yunus (Ph.D. Vanderbilt University), who had been a Professor of Economics at Chittagong University in Bangladesh, shared the Nobel Peace Prize in 2006 with Grameen Bank (GB) that he had founded. He was cited for his remarkable work in alleviating poverty, empowering women, and establishing a new model for addressing the problems of underdevelopment. GB reversed conventional banking practice by removing the need for collateral and created a banking system based on mutual trust, accountability, participation, and creativity. Dr. Muhammad Yunus reasoned that if financial resources can be made available to the poor people on terms and conditions that are appropriate and reasonable, ''These millions of small people with their millions of small pursuits can add up to create the biggest development wonder.''

As of December 2006, GB had 6.91 million borrowers, 97 percent of whom were women. With 2,319 branches, GB provides services in 74,462 villages, covering more than 89 percent of the total villages in Bangladesh (http://www.grameen-info.org/bank/index.html).

backward and forward linkages that have established it as a driving engine in the economy.

And finally, the economy has been progressively privatized. The initial enthusiasm of the State being in charge of the ''commanding heights'' of the economy has gradually given way [because of internal inefficiencies and external pressures from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF)], to a more liberalized market-oriented system. Many large state-owned enterprises have been denationalized; some of the most significant areas of the economy (garment industries, tourism, banks, and exports) and even universities and hospitals (traditionally under government control) are demonstrating boisterous private sector participation. Moreover, small-scale entrepreneurship has been encouraged through the operation of the world famous microcredit programs begun largely under private initiative (whose preeminent and visionary practitioner, Dr. Muhammad Yunus, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2006).

There is no doubt that all this has contributed to some dynamism in the economy. However, there are concerns about the quality of products and services created, about the increasing inequalities in the economy, about the corruption this unregulated environment may generate, and about the extent to which Bangladesh may become a peripheral outpost of the globalization process, remaining disarticulated, culturally subverted, and dependent.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

Bangladesh has a parliamentary system of government with a unicameral legislature, a ceremonial presidency, and an independent judiciary. It went through an initial period of turbulence, assassinations, military coups, and constitutional flux. However, several peaceful transfers of power, a vibrant press, and a constitutional commitment to civil rights and liberties has demonstrated a growing confidence in democratic institutions and practices (in spite of some weaknesses) over the last 17 years (Jahan 2005; Ahmed 2002).

One innovation of Bangladeshi politics has been the institutionalizing of an independent ''care-taker government'' which is sworn into office for a temporary period (usually 90 days) so that it can oversee the basic functions of government, and organize a free and fair election to ensure that the electoral process is not manipulated by the party in power. In 2007 the country was administered by a

WOMEN LEADERS OF BANGLADESH

Sheikh Hasina

Sheikh Hasina was born in 1947 in Faridpur. She is the eldest of five children of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (who led the country to independence and was its first prime minister). She graduated from the University of Dhaka in 1973 and was an active participant in student politics in her college

She and her younger sister were out of the country when her father and most members of her family were killed in a military coup in 1975. They lived in exile for about six years and returned to Bangladesh in 1981 when Sheikh Hasina became the Chair of Awami League, the party her father had helped to found.

Following the election of 1991, Sheikh Hasina became leader of the Opposition in the country's Fifth Parliament, and after winning the elections in 1996 she became the prime minister. Her party was defeated in the elections of 2001, and she was again elected as leader of the Opposition. Most members of her party continue to believe in her leadership as they prepare to contest the elections in 2008 (http://www.bssnews.net/sheikh_hasina.php).

Khaleda Zia

Khaleda Zia was born in northwestern Bangladesh in 1945. In 1960, she got married to Ziaur Rahman. Her husband, one of the prominent heroes of the country's liberation war, later became the president of the Republic and formed the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP).

Until the assassination of President Ziaur Rahman in an abortive military coup in Chittagong on May 30, 1981, Khaleda Zia had taken little interest in either politics or public life and had remained primarily a housewife and mother.

In 1984 she became the chairperson of BNP, and in February 1991 she became the country's first woman prime minister through a free and fair general election. She became leader of the Opposition in 1996 when her party lost the elections to Awami league, but again became prime minister in 2001 when a four-party coalition headed by her won the elections.

She resigned from her office in December 2006 to hand over power to a caretaker government that was expected to organize the elections in 2007. She may not be chairperson of the BNP anymore, but she will play a significant role in her party's future in the upcoming elections (http://www.virtualbangladesh.com/biography/khaleda.html).

caretaker government with solid support from the military. It has gone beyond its constitutional mandate of arranging a quick and acceptable election and has extended itself to try to combat the issues of corruption that had been endemic to the country. Many influential people, including both of the previous prime ministers, are in jail and being prosecuted on charges of malfeasance, misuse of power, and the violation of public laws. Moreover, the current government is trying to stabilize the law and order situation in the country and updating voter lists in preparation for holding general elections by December 2008.

The country successfully held three parliamentary elections in 1991, 1996, and 2001. Even though there is a plethora of political parties in the country (some 70–80 that contest elections), two political parties and their alliance partners have emerged as the dominant centers of power in the political system. The first is the Awami League (AL) initially led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (Mujib), the charismatic first prime minister of the country; and the second is the Bangladesh

Nationalist Party (BNP) first formed by General Ziaur Rahman (Zia) the popular president in the mid 1970s. Both of them had very consequential but different roles in the independence of the country. Unfortunately, Mujib was assassinated in 1975, and Zia in 1981. After their assassinations, those parties were led by Sheikh Hasina, the daughter of the first, and by Khaleda Zia, the wife of the second. The two parties, together with their alliance partners, have alternated in power with BNP winning the elections in 1991 and 2001 with Khaleda Zia as prime minister, and the AL in 1996 with Sheikh Hasina as prime minister. It is noteworthy that in a country which is predominantly (almost 90 percent) Muslim, the leader of the party in power and the leader of the opposition have both been women for the last 16 years. It should also be pointed out that in 2007 both the parties are going through a process of reorganization and soul searching that will, in all likelihood, lead to changes in leadership and may fragment the parties into several splinter groups.

The ideological divisions between the two parties are neither very clear nor consistent. The leaders come from the same educated and petty bourgeoisie classes, the ranks are swelled by the same kind of supporters, and their political objectives, rhetorical tropes, and electoral strategies remain essentially similar. However, three distinctions may be noted. The BNP promotes a more Islamist orientation and incorporates religious groups into its ruling coalition, while the AL pursues a more overtly secularist agenda and embraces some leftist parties. Following this pattern, the BNP tries to be closer to the Islamic world (including Pakistan), while the AL leans more towards India for support and friendship. And finally, while the BNP is perceived to be friendlier to business and industry interests, AL is considered to be more inclined towards agriculture and rural development. However, even these differences are matters of degree rather than points of departure. The polarized nature of Bangladeshi politics has more to do with image, style, and personalities than with substance, meaning, or policies. Disagreements about whether Mujib or Zia contributed more to the independence of the country, whether the country is being "sold" to foreign interests (with constant references to dark "conspiracies"), and whether leaders of one group are more corrupt and venal than the other, usually animate political debates in the country (Jahan 2001).

In spite of the vacuity of these discussions, or perhaps because of them, Bangladeshi citizens demonstrate an eager interest in the political system. Almost 75 percent voted in the last election in 2001, and people illustrate a familiarity with political actors and issues that may not be very deep but is very passionate. It should be pointed out that their involvement is not merely expressed in voting (or oral argumentations that Bangladeshis enjoy immensely). The strategies of political mobilization include frequent open meetings in urban centers where skillful speakers bring the crowds to a boil. There are also strikes, noncooperation tactics, work stoppages, protests, marches, human chain formations, black flag demonstrations, sit-in movements, cultural shows and street theatres, declarations and ultimatums, some of which can paralyze life in the urban areas and some lead to awkward, sometimes bloody, challenges from the opposition. This political hyper-engagement is further fueled by the fact that the parties in parliament frequently engage in walkouts, demonstrate an indifference to parliamentary procedure, and simply boycott its sessions (sometimes for days at a time). The

newspapers reported on February 13, 2007, that in the 8th Parliament (2001–2006), out of a total of 373 working days, the opposition parties did not show up for 223 days. These tendencies have led to a progressive marginalization of the parliament and have encouraged the politics of agitation and confrontation in the streets and educational institutions.

The homogeneity of its population has rescued Bangladesh from separatist or irredentist tendencies that plague many countries. However, there are several other key issues in Bangladeshi politics today. First, the intense and visceral dislike that the two main parties demonstrate towards each other makes it difficult to create a tolerant and democratic culture in the country. Second, the development of a "civil society" outside the formal structures of party competition or governance is still rather tentative. Third, there is a "criminalization of politics" through which many political leaders court thugs and mafia type elements to provide personal protection, extract political contributions for their campaigns, and physically intimidate the opposition. Moreover, since politics has become hugely expensive, the relationship between money and politics (particularly when there is little accountability, transparency, or controls) lead to questions about the loyalty and integrity of politicians. Fourth, distinctively Islamic groups have moved from the margins to the mainstream of Bangladeshi politics. Once vilified and marginalized because many of these groups had been opposed to the independence of the country, they now contest elections, sit in parliament, and become part of ruling coalitions with Cabinet positions. And finally, there are concerns about the breakdown of law and order in the country that have generated concerns about the strength and stability of the state (Baxter 1997; Jahan 2005; Datta 2004).

LAW AND ORDER

Bangladesh inherited a fairly rich concept of the state with a long experience of the administrative/bureaucratic responsibilities it implies. Under the Mughals (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) and then later under the British, an elaborate and modern structure evolved. Currently, the police (still trained, staffed, and structured along the British tradition), the criminal investigation division, intelligence units under both civil and military authorities, the anticorruption commission, border security personnel, emergency responders, and a host of other instruments intended to uphold the authority of the state and the rights of the people are still there. But, their effectiveness is perhaps a bit questionable.

Petty crime and bribery are rampant. Transparency International, a world organization that studies corruption in different countries, has identified Bangladesh as being perceived to be the most corrupt country in the world in three out of the last five years, and tied for the last place in the other two. But violent crimes, generally considered to be low in the country, are increasing in troubling ways. Robbery has increased from 828 instances in 1990 to 3,883 in 2003, murder from 2,206 in 1990 to 3,471 in 2003, and instances of rape from 556 in 1995 to 4,442 in 2003 (Government of Bangladesh 2005).

While Bangladesh is not directly involved in the international network that facilitates the drug trade, it is known to be a conduit for drugs through various

clandestine channels. Drugs are available, even though the actual number of users is difficult to estimate.

Human trafficking has become more and more of a problem. Children are sometimes kidnapped and sent to Middle Eastern countries to be jockeys in camel races, or to work as household servants, or in production facilities that exploit children's labor. Women too are sometimes lured with the promise of good jobs abroad and frequently are "sold" into semi-servitude or prostitution in other countries. Thousands of Bangladeshi sex workers can be found both in Pakistan and India, most of them abused and exploited, and many ending up in jails under obviously harrowing conditions. They remain at the mercy of the people who own/control them. Human rights groups have stridently voiced their concern about the condition of these women and have tried to liberate some of them from their grim conditions, sometimes with dramatic, but only minor, successes so far.

Another problematic aspect of the law and order situation in the country, and one that exposes its fragility, is the calling of strikes and direct action programs launched by political parties. In these situations educational institutions can be closed down, streets barricaded, offices vandalized, shops looted, buses burned, people beaten and, at times, killed. Physical confrontations between supporters of different parties are not uncommon. Law enforcement authorities using tear gas and batons (occasionally firearms) are sometimes engaged in pitched battles with demonstrators.

The residents' confidence in the legal and penal system is predictably low. According to a survey conducted by the Centre for Policy Dialogue in the late 1990s, 67 percent of the population indicated that to get anything done they have to bribe government officials, and 80 percent thought that the culture of threat and intimidation (through the thugs and "muscle-men" that operated with impunity in the system) created serious bottlenecks to economic growth and stability. Fully two-thirds of the respondents accused the political parties of protecting and promoting this culture (Rahman 1999).

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The foreign policy establishment of Bangladesh is organized along expected administrative patterns. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (supported by a professional corps of foreign policy officers) is the principal bureaucratic agency coordinating the day-to-day operations of foreign policy, maintaining its ambassadorial and consular sections throughout the world and providing an essential liaison with representatives of other countries and international institutions located in Bangladesh. The External Resources Division of the Planning Commission, the Ministry of Defense, the Export Promotion Bureau of the Ministry of Commerce, and the Ministry of Expatriate's Welfare and Overseas Employment may, at times, become relevant players in the formulation of foreign policy. The Intelligence Community, think-tanks, and special interest groups have only a marginal role in foreign policy formulation. The Parliament can raise questions about foreign policy, debate them on the floor of the legislature, and provide recommendations through the Select Committees. But, there is no doubt that major policy directions are established by the prime minister's office with others merely functioning in subsidiary roles.

As a small and poor country, the foreign policy options of Bangladesh are limited, and its priorities rather obvious. In a speech given at the United Nations in 1974, the foreign minister of the country declared that Bangladesh is interested in pursuing "an independent, non-aligned foreign policy promoting friendship with all countries of the world on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states" (Chowdhury 1992). Article 25 of the Constitution indicated a commitment to

> (a) strive for the renunciation of the use of force and for general and complete disarmament, (b) uphold the right of every people to freely determine and build up its own social, economic and political system by ways and means of their own free choice, and (c) support oppressed peoples throughout the world waging a just struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racialism.
>
> (Bangladesh Constitution 2005)

It has been difficult for a weak country like Bangladesh to be very actively involved in implementing such lofty goals, but Bangladesh has not been a passive observer of the international scene either.

The foreign policy goals of the past governments have evolved in the context of changing realities and challenges. Initially, the goals were to get the recognition of different governments, enter the United Nations, explore sources of foreign aid and assistance, improve relations with the superpowers (originally tilting more towards the Soviet bloc countries), and clarify its relationship with its neighbors. Over the years, these goals have changed. More recent governments have been more focused on establishing markets for their garment exports (necessitating a greater emphasis on the relationship with Western countries which buy most of these products), increasing the number of Bangladeshis working abroad to encourage greater remittances from those expatriate citizens (hence fostering better relations with Middle Eastern countries where the vast majority of these workers are located), getting more foreign investments into the country, participating in a broad variety of international agencies and efforts, initiating greater regional cooperation, and improving Bangladesh's tattered image in the world.

Bangladesh has not found it necessary to participate in many military/defensive pacts. It has signed various commercial, technical exchange, and economic cooperation agreements with many countries and is considering signing a Status of Forces Agreement with the United States (but even the latter is not a treaty and is not legally binding).

The country has consistently decried the development of nuclear weapons and has endorsed the major treaties, conventions, and protocols that deal with curtailing nuclear proliferation, limiting the growth of nuclear weapons arsenals, and banning nuclear testing and deployment (for example, it is a signatory to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and is a full member of the Conference on Disarmament). When India and Pakistan detonated nuclear devices in 1998, Bangladesh expressed both dismay and condemnation.

Bangladesh has been a member of the Non-Aligned Movement, the British Commonwealth, and the Organization of the Islamic Conference. It is a most enthusiastic member of the United Nations. It was elected to the Security Council in 1978, and again in 1999, and was elected to presidency of the General Assembly

in 1986 (defeating Iraq). It became a member of the G-77, and currently serves as the Chair of the Group of Least Developed Countries that involves 49 members. It works with, and receives help from, various Associate Agencies of the United Nations and supports almost all UN initiatives in terms of humanitarian efforts and international peacekeeping.

Currently, Bangladesh has distinguished itself as one of the largest contributors to U.S. peacekeeping missions. Beginning in 1988 when Bangladesh volunteered 15 members to the Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group, it has sent military personnel, observers, and police forces in most of the peacekeeping operations of the United Nations. Ongoing missions include those in Sierra Leone, Kuwait, Western Sahara, Georgia, Iraq, East Timor, Kosovo, Cote d'Ivoire, Congo, Ethiopia/Eritrea, Croatia, and Namibia. Currently, out of almost 90,000 troops and civilian personnel drawn from 103 countries that serve UN international peacekeeping operations, Bangladesh is the second highest contributor with 9,681 personnel. Bangladesh suffered more than 30 casualties in the various operations (15 in Liberia alone, 9 in the Congo, and others elsewhere). While Bangladesh's commitment to international peacekeeping is obviously most honorable and driven by idealistic concerns, it is also true that military and police personnel in the country are eager for such assignments because of financial benefits they bring. Between 1988 and 2001, military personnel earned more than $310 million through their services in international missions. Both their participation, and the compensation they receive, has steadily increased, and they earned about $216 million in 2006 alone.

Bangladesh has also been a leader in organizing regional cooperative endeavours. It was largely through its initiative that the South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was launched in Dhaka in 1985, with Bhutan, Maldives, Nepal, India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka as members. In 1993 it was agreed to establish a SAARC Preferential Trade Agreement (SAPTA) that has since been elevated to the level of a Free Trade Area (SAFTA) in 2006 (to be implemented gradually over a period of seven years). SAARC has not only explored the issues of economic cooperation between the members, but it has also been involved in discussing various other issues of mutual concern such as the environment, resource sharing, security, immigration, cultural exchange, and sports. Bangladesh was also one of the leaders in establishing the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-sectoral and Technical Cooperation (BIMSTEC) in 1997 with Bhutan, India, Myanmar, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Thailand as members (Rashid 2005).

Bangladesh can also claim the distinction of harboring probably the largest number of NGOs among the Third World countries. There are some 45,000 voluntary organizations registered with the Ministry of Social Affairs, and about 2,000 with the NGO Affairs Bureau (190 of which are foreign, and most of the others receive some funding from external donors). NGO activities now cover almost the entire country. Most of them are engaged in providing social services (such as education and medical care), promoting small-scale entrepreneurship through the world famous micro-credit program, and contributing to uplifting the people through addressing issues of rural community organization, women's empowerment, and social equity. The Government-NGO Consultative Council (GNCC) was formed

with representatives from the government, NGOs, and members of the civil society in order to ensure better cooperation and understanding among all those stakeholders. The NGOs themselves have formed the Association of Development Agencies in Bangladesh (ADAB) in order to have an umbrella organization that looks after their interests. While some religious groups and intellectuals have raised objections to the functioning of NGOs, the general consensus is that these organizations have helped to transform the economic and political landscape of the country in substantive and positive ways.

Since its inception, Bangladesh has received considerable amounts of foreign aid and assistance from donor countries. In the 1970s average foreign aid disbursed annually came to about $792 million, in the 1980s to about $1.3 billion, and in the 1990s to about $1.7 billion. While the amount of aid has fallen slightly in the twenty-first century, on average, it has remained over $1 billion annually (Government of Bangladesh 2006b; Huq and Abrar 1999). Initially the United States was one of the largest contributors to the aid program, mostly through its contributions in food aid. But food aid has lost much of its relevance, and increasingly Bangladesh relies on loans and grants from international lending agencies for more than 60 percent of the foreign funds it receives. The United States' share is currently less than the amounts provided by Canada, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, and others. While Bangladesh's reliance on foreign loans has declined, Bangladesh continues to depend on such assistance for development projects and for meeting its repayment obligations on previous debts (Sobhan 1990).

SECURITY

Given the size of its population the Bangladesh military is not very formidable. Currently, there are almost 200,000 personnel in the army (which included some 50,000 who have taken early retirement but can be pressed into service if necessary). The Navy (with about 15,000 personnel) is rapidly undergoing some modernization particularly in terms of acquiring submarines, guided missile frigates, and long-range surface-to-air missiles. There are about 7,000 personnel in the air force with about 400 pilots operating a range of aircraft including MiG-29s, F-7Ms, C-130s, L-39s, and others. There are about 40,000 members in the Bangladesh Rifles (a paramilitary force mostly in charge of border protection), about 5,000 armed police (different from the usual constabulary in the country) under the Ministry of Home, a Coast Guard with less than 1,000 personnel with several patrol boats, a lightly armed auxiliary force called the Ansars with about 24,000 personnel organized into several battalions, and a new organization formed in 2004 called the Rapid Action Battalion (RAB) an elite unit with almost 9,000 members drawn from the other forces with the responsibility of maintaining domestic order and combating criminal activities (including narcotics, fraud, crime syndicates, and so on). The Criminal Investigation Division under the civilian administration, and the Directorate General of Foreign Intelligence under the military authorities gather, organize, and analyze relevant data from various sources. Bangladesh spent $995.3 million on the armed forces in 2004, which was about 1.8 percent of its GDP.

The unique geographic location of Bangladesh (its land area almost completely surrounded by India and Myanmar) indicates that the possibility of being attacked by other countries is rather limited (Bateman 1979). Its relationship with India and Myanmar has been complex, at times rocky, but never hostile. The insecurities that the people feel are more natural, economic, or political, rather than external threats of invasion.

First, the location and climate of Bangladesh condemns the land to periodic flooding, cyclonic disturbances, and natural catastrophes such as droughts and tidal surges. It should also be pointed out that chronic deforestation, increasing sedimentary buildup in the riverbeds, and various man-made interventions (such as the building of embankments, dams, barrages, and roads) create congestion in the drainage system and exacerbate the effect of floods. Floods in 1974, 1984, 1987, 1995, 1998, and 2004, and cyclones in 1970 and 1991 killed thousands and affected millions. Waterborne diseases; lack of food, shelter, and clean drinking water; and huge displacements of the population clearly demonstrate the danger and deadliness of these disasters whose effects continue to linger far longer than the initial "event."

Second, there are economic difficulties that many Bangladeshis have to confront. According to UNDP sources, in 2005, almost 26 percent of the population lived on less than $1 a day, the vast majority on less than $2 per day, almost 30 percent of the population was undernourished, 48 percent of the children under the age of five were underweight, there were only 26 physicians per 100,000 people, and only 39 percent of the population had access to improved sanitation (2006). It should be pointed out that while there may have been a modest moderation of the incidence of poverty, inequalities have increased. Between 1999 and 2004, the Gini coefficient increased from 0.42 to 0.45, and the income of the poorest 10 percent of the population declined from 1.7 percent of the national income to 1.5 percent, while the share of the top 10 percent of the population increased from 33.9 percent to 36.5 percent (Centre for Policy Dialogue Report 2006). The trends have been fairly consistent over previous years and the same pattern of economic disparity is reflected in the distribution of land ownership, household assets, and personal wealth.

Finally, there are political developments that place the population in jeopardy. For the first two decades of its existence Bangladesh struggled with assassinations and military coups. But, even under democratic regimes, the civil rights and liberties of the people have not always been maintained. Freedom House identifies Bangladesh as being only partly free, Amnesty International reports many abuses that exist in the system, and local human rights organizations compile extensive lists of such violations. Political violence can lead to the killing (or attempted assassination) of prominent leaders, or the closing down of the universities for months. But, it is random acts of terrorism over the last 5–10 years that have shaken the sense of security in the population.

While the leftist group (Purbo Bangla Communist Party) has continued to engage in sporadic violent acts in localized areas in the northern provinces, it is the Islamic groups that have been more persistent and aggressive. While there are almost 10 groups directly associated with Islamic militancy, and about 30

committed to the formation of an Islamic state in Bangladesh, it is Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMJB) formed in 1998, Jagrata Muslim Janata Bangladesh (JMJB) formed in the same year, Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islamia (HuJI) formed in 1992, and Hizb-ul-Tahrir (HuT) formed in 2001 that have been the main groups responsible for much of the terrorist activities in the country over the last 5–10 years. Members of such groups have attacked movie houses, NGOs, Bengali New Year cultural celebrations, writers and artists, and even the British High Commissioner in 2004. They have issued fatwas (religious edicts) against women and sometimes punished them in a brutal manner and have threatened minority communities (both Hindus and non-mainstream Muslims). But, it was in 2005 that they really burst upon the national scene. In August almost 450 bombs were simultaneously detonated all over the country, in October two suicide attacks left several people dead including two judges, and in November another set of attacks killed nine people including two lawyers. Several leaders of these groups have been arrested, some of them have been tried and given the death sentence, and most of these explicitly militant organizations have been banned. However, other like-minded groups, shadowy but resourceful, continue to exist, have a recruiting network that extends into the madrassas (religious schools), and allegedly have some protection from mainstream Islamic parties. The relationship between the militant groups and external jihadi elements (for example, Taliban, Al Qaeda, Jemaa Islamia, and Lashker-e-Toiba) is not clear, but there is widespread speculation that some contact, if not coordination, exists, and that some funding flows in through external sources. It should be pointed out that the actual number of people involved with these groups is probably minimal, but the mischief they are capable of inflicting far exceeds their limited membership (Ali 2004; Kabir 2006).

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

As a small and poor country, Bangladesh's involvement in the promotion and protection of human rights abroad is predictably limited. Internally, there are constitutional guarantees that are extensive and enlightened, and there is a state apparatus that is supposed to secure and advance the civil rights and liberties of the population.

Internationally Bangladesh has signed and ratified most efforts at protecting human rights and promoting social equity. It is a signatory to international agreements on safeguarding the environment (for example, the Kyoto protocol); protecting the rights of women (for example, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, with some reservations on a few articles); abolishing child labor [for example, Convention of the Rights of the Child, and signed an additional Memorandum of Understanding with the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in this regard in 1995]; protesting discrimination against minorities (for example, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination); promoting humane treatment of prisoners (for example, Convention Against Torture and Other Forms of Cruel, Inhumane and Degrading Treatment or Punishment); upholding civil rights and liberties (for example, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights), establishing the rule of law in international affairs

(the Rome Statute on the International Criminal Court); and ensuring the rights of workers (for example, Freedom of Association and Collective Bargaining, and Elimination of Discrimination in Respect to Employment and Occupation, among others). There are other international protocols on terrorism that the country also has adopted.

The judicial system in Bangladesh today is largely a legacy of the British. The legal codes, and even the linguistic conventions, court rituals, and judicial procedures followed in the country are closely modeled along the English juridical tradition in form and substance. Many lawyers are trained in the United Kingdom, and the proceedings in the higher courts are still conducted mostly in English.

However, court procedures can be ponderous, long, and draining. Dockets are overfull, and litigation can take years and can be costly. Further, in certain regions, and outside the formal structure of law, there may be informal village systems of justice based on crude versions of Islamic *Shari'a* law that can be very unfair (particularly to women and the poor). Finally, there has been a gradual politicization of the justice system (through the appointment of judges for partisan advantage) and some allegations of corruption, that have affected the picture of fairness and honesty that the system had traditionally enjoyed.

But, the real weaknesses in the system in terms of securing the civil rights and liberties of the people lie in its inability to protect the weak and the vulnerable. More than 328 women were victims of dowry related crimes in 2005, and 320 in 2006 (of whom 243 were killed). The number of women who were victims of acid attacks (disgruntled suitors would hurl acid on the faces of women in order to burn and maim them for life) decreased a little from 196 in 2005 to 161 in 2006 as a result of international condemnation and internal effort, but the practice continues. While Bangladesh has signed on to appropriate international agreements to protect the rights of the child, children are often exploited, and many work as domestic help in difficult conditions. In 2004, there were a total of 131 reported incidents of violence against domestic workers under the age of 18, 48 were physically tortured, 24 were murdered, and 13 were raped. Traditionally, very few people who perpetrate such crimes are actually apprehended and punished (Hossain 2006, 2004).

While Bangladesh is committed to the principle of equality before the law, there are reports of the police harassing the general public, demanding bribes, and treating prisoners in an inhumane manner. Prison conditions are appalling and in 2004 there were 86 deaths in police custody and in 2005, 104 (the cause of death was not even listed in 25 percent of these cases). The formation of the Rapid Action Battalion (RAB) in 2004, ostensibly to protect the people from crime and violence, has generated questions about its arbitrary methods and unaccountable actions. In 2005, 109 people were killed supposedly in "crossfire" (which are considered by many to be extrajudicial killings), and in 2006 the number more than doubled, eliciting concerns and condemnations from international and local human rights organizations (Hossain 2006).

The Bangladeshis' faith in the legal system remains weak and inconsistent. A survey carried out by Transparency International in 2004 revealed that 92 percent of all respondents who had to deal with the police reported that some bribes had to

be paid. However, Bangladeshis remain a litigation-happy people, who tend to seek redress of their grievances through the court system in spite of serious misgivings about its integrity and honesty.

CONCLUSION

Bangladesh's relationship with the United States had difficult beginnings. The U.S. support for Pakistan during Bangladesh's liberation struggle, its delay in providing food assistance to Bangladesh during the flood/famine conditions in 1974, and its expressed annoyance at Bangladesh for selling jute bags to Cuba in the same year all combined to complicate the relationship. However, as the initial influence of the Soviet bloc countries over Bangladesh abated in the mid-1970s, and U.S. generosity became more manifest, the relationship evolved in friendlier directions. Between 1972 and 1995, the United States became the largest contributor in terms of food aid (providing more than $1.6 billion in this area) and developmental assistance (making available more than $3 billion in grants and loans) (Huq and Abrar 1999).

U.S. contributions tapered off in the twenty-first century, but other forms of interactions developed. The United States is one of the largest foreign direct investors in Bangladesh (even though the amount is not very impressive), and the American Chamber of Commerce in Bangladesh (AmCham) functions to encourage greater trade and commerce. Bangladesh currently exports almost $2 billion worth of products to the United States (almost 40 percent of its total export earnings) and imports products worth almost $200 million, thus having a healthy trade balance in its favor. First Lady Hillary Clinton visited the country in 1996, followed by President Bill Clinton in 2000. Their welcome was elaborate and warm (Bhardwaj 2002; Rashid 2005).

It is noteworthy that Bangladesh was part of the coalition forces in Operation Desert Shield led by the United States against the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1991; Bangladesh suffered 43 casualties. It also is a moderate and democratic Islamic state that cooperates fully with the United States in the War on Terror. However, while the American people remain respected and popular, and American cultural influence among the youth is obvious and growing, the policies of the American government (for example, the invasion of Iraq, or its uncritical support for Israel) may generate misunderstandings and misgivings.There are few reliable statistics that one can provide as evidence of these sentiments, but the anti-American demonstrations in the country, and the writings in newspapers and journals, indicate some level of frustration and bitterness.

Neither the ethnic composition of Bangladesh, nor its geographic location, signals any major cause for security anxieties in the traditional sense. However, there may be difficulties with Myanmar if another wave of Rohingya refugees were pushed back in to the country or there is unrest among the tribal population of Bangladesh living around the borders with that country. Similarly, there may be problems with India. There are disputes with India about sharing the water of the Ganges river (after India built a dam diverting some of it for her own use); there are frictions about some territorial enclaves and islands that both claim; there are concerns about the respective position of minorities in both countries (Muslims

in India and Hindus in Bangladesh); and there are complaints about smuggling, illegal migrations, and aiding each other's dissident groups. However, Bangladesh has pursued both multilateral relationships, and encouraged regional cooperation in which both these countries participate. Hence, it is unlikely that these issues could erupt in military conflict or security threats (Iftekharuzzaman 1994; Ahmad 2000).

The changes and challenges that Bangladesh can expect to face in the future include such domestic problems as the possibilities of becoming a "failed state" (Krasner and Pascual 2005). The prospect of that happening is neither clear nor compelling, but according to a 2006 World Bank survey of various countries on the basis of six indicators of governance (voice and accountability, political stability, governmental effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law, and control of corruption), Bangladesh was ranked towards the bottom. If Bangladesh cannot effectively and resolutely reverse some of these tendencies then the well-being of the people and its internal security will be severely strained. Moreover, if the rights of vulnerable groups (minorities, women, and children) are not protected, a political culture of tolerance and accommodativeness does not evolve, and social justice is not established through meeting the basic needs of the population in terms of access to education, employment, nutrition, health care, and shelter, the fledgling democracy in Bangladesh will continue to struggle, if not flounder.

The external conditions that Bangladesh must face consist of confronting the uncertainties of globalization, pursuing the prospect of maintaining ecological balance, and combating the scourge of religious extremism and terrorism (Muqtada 2002; Islam 2004). It cannot tackle any of these problems through unilateral action. Consequently, in its pursuit of security, Bangladesh must act upon the assumption that its internal and external challenges are inextricably interlinked and must be addressed simultaneously.

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Brazil

Daniel Zirker

BACKGROUND

The Federal Republic of Brazil represents a geopolitical heartland, occupying over 8,500,000 square kilometers, a territory that includes a number of islands: Fernando de Noronha, the Ilha da Trinidade, the Island of Penedos, the Island of Martin Vaz, and many others. Brazil comprises nearly half of the continent of South America, and is located between 05°16'20'' North and 33°44'32'' South, and between 34°47'30'' East and 73°59'32'' West. Its borders and coastline are over 23,000 kilometers in length, of which over 7,000 kilometers are Atlantic Ocean coastline. It claims a 200 nautical mile economic exclusionary zone. Brazil borders on every South American country except for Ecuador and Chile.

   Brazil's major regions include the fertile South and Central East, the latter of which is its industrial heartland, the largely savannah climate and geography of the impoverished Northeast, the North (most of the Amazon forest climates), and the West, a mixture of geographical types including the swampy *pantanal* and much drier agricultural and forest areas. The coastline below Fortaleza had a ''litoral'' forest now largely gone but once responsible for most of the Brazilwood, the red dye from which gave Brazil its name. The large area known as ''Amazônia'' includes a variety of areas and climates, including rain forest, pantanal (wet lands, largely open marsh lands) and tropical mountain climates, and generally speaking, Brazil has relatively few mountains, the highest of which, remote Pico da Neblina in Amazônia, is just under 3,000 meters in elevation and was first ascended by a Brazilian Army expedition in 1965. It has recently been determined that the mountain peak is lower than had been thought, 2,994 rather than 3,014 meters. The Amazon River, in Brazilian nomenclature formed near the city of Manaus with the joining of the Rio Solimões and Rio Negro (Peruvians regard everything from the Rio Solimões downstream as the Amazon) is called the ''River Sea'' (''*Rio Mar*'') and is the second longest river in the world at over 6,500 kilometers (over 3,600 in Brazil). It is highly navigable, dropping under 30 meters in 1,600 kilometers, and becoming, near its mouth on the Atlantic Ocean, an inland sea during flood season.

Brazil

Formal name of country: The Federative Republic of Brazil

Size of country: Total: 8,511,965 sq km; land: 8,456,510 sq km; water: 55,455 sq km

Natural resources: Bauxite, gold, iron ore, manganese, nickel, phosphates, platinum, tin, uranium, petroleum, hydropower, and timber

Population: 188,078,227 (projected in 2006)

Life expectancy at birth: Total population: 72 years; male 68 years; female 76 years (projected)

Key ethnic groups: Very homogeneous ethnic composition. "Racial distinctions" in census figures:

- white 54%
- mulatto 39%
- black 6%
- other and unspecified 2% (2000 census)

Key religions: Roman Catholic (nominal) 73.6%; Protestant 15.4%; Spiritualist 1.3%; Bantu/voodoo 0.3%; other 1.8%; unspecified 0.2%; none 7.4% (2000 census)

Political system: Federative Republic, President Luiz Inácio (Lula) da Silva, Workers' Party (PT); inaugurated January 1, 2003; four-year term.

Key political parties, groups: 18 political parties represented in the National Congress, including

- Brazilian Democratic Movement Party or PMDB
- Brazilian Labor Party or PTB
- Brazilian Social Democracy Party or PSDB
- Brazilian Socialist Party or PSB
- Communist Party of Brazil or PCdoB
- Democratic Labor Party or PDT
- Democratic Socialist Party or PSD
- Green Party or PV
- Liberal Front Party or PFL
- Liberal Party or PL
- National Order Reconstruction Party or PRONA
- Partido Municipalista Renovador or PMR
- Popular Socialist Party or PPS
- Progressive Party or PP
- Social Christian Party or PSC
- Worker's Party or PT

Legal system: Roman Law, no acceptance of ICJ

Real GDP growth: 2.4% (2005 est.)

Population below poverty line: 22%

Size of the military: 302,909 active personnel: army 189,000; navy 48,600; air force 65,309; paramilitary 385,600

Relationship with the United States: Generally cordial; senior military officers express concern about U.S. hegemony in the region, with some describing the United States as Brazil's future enemy.

Future security issues: Amazon borders and sovereignty, law and order, HIV/AIDS

Sources: CIA, *World Factbook*; International Institute for Strategic Studies, p. 324.

It has the world's largest flow in volume of water, responsible for nearly 16 percent of fresh water flowing into oceans from rivers.

The land which is now Brazil was discovered in the year 1500 by Portuguese explorer Pedro Álvares Cabral; the territory had already been theoretically ceded to Portugal by authority of the Roman Catholic Pope in the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494, which had divided the unknown part of the Western Hemisphere between Spain and Portugal along the longitudinal line 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. Eventually, Brazil's borders moved well to the west of this line.

Rich in natural resources, Brazil has confronted some of the most daunting environmental problems in the world over the past 40 years. This may be partly the result of the 21-year military dictatorship. During that period, polluting industries were openly invited to come to Brazil as part of a strategy to boost foreign investments and an export economy. As the first major frontier to have been "opened" with the internal combustion engine, and the environmental problems that this has entailed over the past 50 years, Brazil has existed economically, from its first global contacts in 1500, on the export of natural resources. Today, iron ore and other minerals (including precious stones), rare tropical hardwoods, tropical forest products (including brazil nuts and even wild rubber) and rare birds continue to compete with a huge agricultural sector (Brazil is still the world's largest producer of soy and sugar, for example) for dominance—along with industrialized products, car parts, and so on—in the export sector.

The result has been high levels of urban industrial pollution, major hydroelectric projects that have been widely seen as ecologically disastrous, and a general fear (verging on paranoia) in the Amazon region regarding the environmental (and even sovereignty) intentions of foreign governments and NGOs. In the late 1990s, for example, a commanding general in the Amazon refused U.S. government fire-fighting assistance during huge Amazon forest fires, suggesting that Brazil's national sovereignty was seen to be at stake.

Much of Brazil's history is the history of security, the military and politics, and commercial successes and failures, of "booms" and "busts." Brazil has existed as a militarized commercial frontier, as a center of waves of immigration (forced and unforced), as a geopolitical heartland, and as an example of successive patterns of authoritarianism over the past five centuries.

The size of Brazil's large indigenous population in 1500 is disputed, but it is clear that it was extensive, perhaps between two and three million people. The Portuguese colonial pattern stressed commercial extraction. Portugal's relatively low population meant that sources of labor were crucial, and the indigenous population was initially targeted for slavery, with the "*Bandeirantes*," early explorers in São Paulo, pressing into the interior in search of gold and indigenous slaves. They were pitted against Jesuit missions, which sought to convert and protect the Tupi-Guaraní peoples, who were preferred as slaves. Ultimately the Jesuits armed the Indians and defeated the Bandeirantes, in effect establishing Brazil's borders with Spanish countries in the region. By the time that the Jesuits were expelled from South America by the pope between 1759 and 1763, Brazil's lower western borders had been roughly established by the conflict. At the end of the nineteenth and the

beginning of the twentieth centuries, wise diplomatic maneuvers formally established these borders.

The importation by the Portuguese of sugar culture, which they had perfected in the Azores, led to one of the first "boom-bust" cycles for which Brazil has become famous. Sugar culture required land and labor, and the Portuguese Crown responded with an extensive land-grant system, which emphasized huge grants (*sesmarias*, later captaincies), and by encouraging African slavery. African slaves were regarded as literate, hard working, and cooperative labor despite the utter brutality of the Portuguese-dominated enslaving process, and Brazil may have imported as many as ten times the number of African slaves as were imported into the United States. As noted, the Brazilian pattern of slavery was extremely brutal, with very high mortality rates, although proximity to Africa and the leading activity of Portuguese slavers meant that slave prices were low. Hence, prior to the rise in slave prices in the nineteenth century, slaves could economically be worked to death (and cheaply replaced), but could also be manumitted with little cost. Nonetheless, runaway slave communities, or *quilombos*, were numerous, and were aggressively attacked by paramilitary forces. The most famous of these, the "Republic of Palmares," existed between about 1600 and 1694, when Portuguese military forces finally overran it and executed its last leader, Ganga Zumbí.

The Portuguese and colonial military struggles against French invaders in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were eventually successful. However, the Dutch seizure of much of northeast Brazil between 1630 and 1654 ultimately resulted in Dutch and English acquisition of the carefully guarded sugar technology. The ravages of the war of expulsion exhausted Brazil's export capacity, while the Dutch and the English quickly set up competing sugar cultures in the Caribbean, and Brazil's sugar economy subsequently crashed.

The discovery of gold in the interior (in what is now the state of Minas Gerais, or "General Mines") in the 1690s led to a new economic boom that moved the economic center-of-balance from the Northeast to the Southeast, where it has remained ever since. Sugar culture was revived in the Northeast, and joined with cattle production, but it did not regain its stature until the 1980s, when Brazil once again became the world's largest sugar producer and sugar production for alcohol and gasohol became a key focus, now largely in the Southeast.

After an impoverishing economic relationship with England, and the gradual fading of gold production, the Portuguese Empire closed its trade by the 1750s and developed a focus upon providing Portugal with products and taxes. Meanwhile, the impacts of the independence of the United States, and of the French Revolution, were felt in Brazil, where republican revolts began to take place. Although brutally repressed by Portuguese soldiers, they remained important historical precedents, and were revived periodically.

In 1807, the entire Portuguese royal court was escorted under English guard to Brazil as Napoleon's armies invaded Portugal. The royal family (Braganças) remained in Brazil until 1821, and Brazil effectively became the center of the Portuguese kingdom. Nonetheless, under King João, the struggles with republican revolts, and with the competing power of the Portuguese parliament, the Côrtes, became intense and almost relentless. With the increasing production of coffee, Brazil again became a major value producer, and when King João and the

Braganças returned to Portugal in 1821, they left behind the semi-autonomous "Kingdom of Brazil" and a royal heir, Pedro, as international tensions surrounding the arrangement increased. With a decree from the Côrtes that Pedro return to Portugal, and the end of the Kingdom of Brazil, the scene was set. With adroit political maneuvering, Pedro sought the support of English and French officers, capitalized on political support (principally in Minas Gerais), and in 1822 declared Brazilian independence and the creation of the Brazilian Empire. There were extensive skirmishes with Portuguese troops (although often as not with Portuguese troops fighting Portuguese troops). It was not, as is often averred, a nonviolent independence, although in comparison with the rest of South America, it was significantly less violent.

Emperor Pedro I (Dom Pedro I) proved to be sympathetic to Brazilian sensibilities and anxious to contribute to a vibrant and self-sufficient society, but rather authoritarian as well. He closed the newly created constituent assembly in the midst of a political dispute and drafted a U.S.-modeled Constitution with one major difference. A fourth branch of government, the "moderating power," was created to embody the formal political role of the emperor: the ability to step in to use authoritarian tactics to resolve national political conflict, stabilize processes, and then hand power back to the politicians was formalized. Within two years the Cisplatine conflict with Argentina led to a huge international debt and Brazil's loss of Uruguay, followed by a series of revolts and local civil wars. Pedro's call for the abolition of slavery undermined at least some of his political support, although the growing influence of coffee culture and the rapidly rising cost of African slaves led to a focus in the South and Centre-East on other forms of exploitation of labor, including, by the end of the nineteenth century, massive waves of European and Asian immigration. Nonetheless, African slavery proliferated rapidly, undermining in effect Pedro's more cosmopolitan image. Revolts and political machinations likewise came to dominate political life, creating a system that was essentially ungovernable.

Dom Pedro I abdicated in 1831, and his five-year-old son, Pedro II, became the emperor. This inaugurated a nine-year period of regency rule in which the localization of power became formalized, and local revolts, many of them quite bloody, prevailed. The imminent fragmentation of Brazil was prevented in part by the organization of the army under the leadership of Luís Alves de Lima e Silva, the Duke of Caxias. Although there were signs that Brazil was developing a national identity, the political chaos simply outpaced the ability of the Regents to govern. In 1841, at the age of 15, Dom Pedro II assumed the full powers of emperor of Brazil. He would prove to be a wise and educated liberal, well respected worldwide, and considered at one juncture (in a process that never eventuated) to be the only possible mediator acceptable to both sides in the U.S. Civil War.

By the mid-nineteenth century, Brazil had achieved a multi-product export model, with coffee predominating after 1840, but with significant continuing economic viability in a range of other exports, including sugar, beef products (including dried beef and leather), cotton, cacao (for chocolate), tobacco, mate and, increasingly, rubber that was harvested from wild trees in the Amazon region. With England's successful pressure to outlaw the Brazilian slave trade in 1850,

steps were taken to begin a long-term phasing out of slavery *within* the country. British investments increased markedly and led to the building of infrastructure, including, prominently, railroads. The growth of coffee production, in particular, led to dramatically increased economic and political power in the south-central triangle (São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Belo Horizonte).

As the economic influence of Brazilian agricultural producers increased, their investments abroad likewise grew and became especially significant in countries like Uruguay. A Brazilian conspiracy with Argentina in the 1860s to overthrow the Blanco Party government in Uruguay, and replace them with the Colorado Party, and the Blancos' subsequent appeal to the dictator of Paraguay, Francisco Solano López, to intervene on their behalf, led to a Paraguayan invasion. This pitted little land-locked Paraguay, which nonetheless had the largest military and the most effective soldiers in the region, against the armies of Brazil and Argentina. The devastating war that resulted led to an unprecedented organization of Brazilian military forces, as well as a scorched-earth war that decimated Paraguay (and killed most of its male population) and led to the country's protracted occupation by Brazilian troops. It also set the structural conditions for a protracted regional rivalry between Argentina and Brazil, one that would last well into the 1970s.

What was to be a recurrent pattern soon emerged: the Brazilian military returned from battle as a more professional and self-aware force seeking greater modernization for their branches and for the country and advocating political change, this time to a republic. Advocates of European positivism (à la Auguste Comte) soon found a voice. Meanwhile, the Empire treated the army as irrelevant, repeatedly cutting their support, freezing promotions and marginalizing most of the returned veterans. The leader of the victorious army, the Duke of Caxias, was made prime minister in the 1870s, but by the 1880s the army officer corps was divided into very different age cohorts, with the youngest and best educated being least committed to the Empire. Xenophobia and nationalism were intensified at a time when the Crown Princess and likely successor to Dom Pedro II had married a very unpopular foreigner.

As slavery dwindled in Brazil, with prices rising as slaves were increasingly being sold to the labor-hungry coffee plantations in the Southeast, the army was frequently called upon to police the dying system, principally in hunting down runaways. At the same time, the exponentially increasing demand for labor in the coffee plantations in the Southeast, and in sugar plantations in the Northeast, led to alternative solutions. The severe droughts in the Northeast in the 1870s ultimately provided the sugar producers with an abundant source of inexpensive labor. Slavery was abolished by parliamentary law (supported by the emperor), and the military overthrew the Empire a year later, installing the first of two successive military dictatorships in the leadership of Field Marshall Deodoro da Fonseca. The second, under Marshall Floriano Peixoto, led to widespread violence as he tried to crack the power of local political bosses, and also induced a direct military confrontation between the army and the navy, which was only resolved when a private U.S.-led naval force intervened. This has been called the first (but not the last) case of U.S. military intervention in Brazilian politics.

The subsequent "republican" phase in Brazil is variously described as encompassing the period 1889–1964, or, more broadly, 1889 to 1985, although the

Sarney government, the first civilian government after the 21-year military dictatorship (1964–1985) was called the "New Republic," and some historians have referred to the "Republican Era" as ending in 1989. During that period, except for a 21-year institutional military dictatorship at the end, civilian presidencies predominated, with the military stepping in periodically to stabilize politics. This has been described by Alfred Stepan and others as the army's assumption of the role of "moderating power" that had been specified for the emperor in the first constitutions.

The first republican phase, called the "Old Republic," lasted from 1889 to 1930, and was dominated by the politics and economics of coffee exports. Elections were closely controlled with only a tiny percentage of the total population eligible to vote, and most of the civilian presidents represented (if not embodied) the immediate interests of coffee exporters. It was also a period of massive waves of immigration (initially to provide labor for coffee plantations) from Europe and Japan. The immigrants brought with them the ideologies of the era, and hence the Old Republic is described as a period of intense political awakening.

The constitution of 1891 left considerable latitude for the military to intervene in national politics, established a two-chamber National Congress, a presidency and court system, while reinforcing federalism. Particularly significant was Article 14 of the 1891 Constitution, by which the national military was able to determine its own standard for "legal" intervention. Local bosses, or "coroneis" (literally, "colonels," taken from the archaic title of local commanders in the National Guard) became regional warlords, and the country was segmented, with significant parts (particularly the Northeast) left to languish. Wealth and infrastructure accumulated in the "golden triangle" of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Minas Gerais (Belo Horizonte), and national development was not a priority. When an open revolt in the impoverished Northeast by peasant followers of a religious fanatic in the 1890s occurred, it required three military expeditions and hundreds of casualties to squelch it, and that initiated a lengthy period of severe military criticism. It was at this time that the army began a lengthy training contract with the Prussian Army, itself a force that had been known to be prone to intervention in civilian politics. After WWI, the Prussians were replaced with French military trainers, and yet another culture of military intervention was introduced to the junior officers.

At the turn of the twentieth century, Brazil dominated the world coffee market, remained extremely powerful in rubber production, and was increasingly federalized, with the "politics of the governors" and the *coroneis* dominant. When a nephew of the first military dictator, Marshall Hermes da Fonseca, became president in 1910, a series of military interventions began. One of these was in the southern states (Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul), and led to an incident known as the "Contestado," a lengthy, bloody, and very unpopular repression by the army of followers of yet another faith healer and religious figure. The neglect and repression of the southern states became a recurrent theme that ultimately ended the Old Republic in 1930.

Beginning in 1922, junior military officers began to engage in a series of mutinies that were part of their increasingly strident calls for national modernization.

The revolt of "tenentes" (literally "lieutenants," but referring broadly to junior officers) at Fort Copacabana in 1922 was brutally crushed by the government, and this created both martyrs and heroes who would continue to play a role in the periodic revolts and, ultimately, the successful overthrow of the government in 1930. In 1928, several of these junior officer revolts converged in the interior and led to a 25,000-kilometer march through the back lands of the Northeast and the Centre-East over a two-year period. Known as the "Prestes Column" for the charismatic junior officer Luis Carlos Prestes (who was not actually the leader of the column), the Brazilian long march, which proceeded ultimately to Bolivia (and exile) under constant attack from federal troops and regional bandits, led to an awareness on the part of the future military leadership cadre of the extreme underdevelopment of most of Brazil. Prestes soon thereafter became the leader of the National Liberation Alliance, a coalition of socialists and communists.

A scion of the landed gentry of the rough-and-tumble state of Rio Grande do Sul, Getúlio Vargas, was declared the loser of the presidential election of 1930 and quickly organized a march on Rio de Janeiro with the strong support of the *tenentes.* His arrival at Catete, the presidential palace, signaled the overthrow of the Old Republic and the beginning of a 15-year dictatorship. Vargas used the military very effectively over the next decade, appointing tenentes as "interventors" tasked with breaking the power of the state governors, crushing a revolt in São Paulo in 1932, a communist coup (called the "Intentona") led by Luis Carlos Prestes in 1935, and staging an "auto coup" in 1937 to outmaneuver the fascist "Integralists" and implement his "New State," a right-wing corporatist venture. His emphasis upon centralization included building industry (including Brazil's first steel mill), reorganizing the economy, modernizing Brazil's international relations, and engaging in severe political repression with liberal use of the military.

In 1943, sensing that the Axis forces would ultimately lose WWII, Vargas declared war on Germany and assembled an expeditionary force of about 15,000 troops who arrived in Italy in 1944 and fought several bloody battles with German divisions, the most notable of which was the battle of Monte Castelo. The Brazilian Expeditionary Force (or FEB) fought with the U.S. Fifth Army under General Mark Clark, and was the first Allied Division to capture an entire German division single-handedly.

When the victorious FEB high command flew back to Brazil in 1945 to an expected tickertape parade in Rio, Vargas had their planes diverted to a distant airstrip, cancelled the parade, and, much as the Empire had regarded the returning soldiers from the Paraguayan War 80 years earlier, denied public acknowledgement of their heroism. For their part, the officers of the FEB had come to idolize what they saw as "American democracy," and now increasingly resented Vargas's dictatorship. Within several months, they rose against Vargas during a succession crisis, and he was thrown out of office. The first real national election in Brazilian history put an air force general, Eurico Gaspar Dutra, into the presidency, where he conducted an explicitly conservative and passive role over the next five years.

The elections of 1950 marked an important turning point in Brazilian political history. Vargas had returned, this time as a left-wing populist candidate in support of Brazilian nationalism and industrialization, and his victory at the opening of the Cold War helped to polarize Brazilian politics even further. The military officers,

following the lead of their American counterparts, became very vocal advocates of anticommunism and "internationalism," meaning allying closely with the United States. Vargas and his supporters stressed populist platforms of the day, including concern for the poor, nationalizing Brazilian oil (despite the fact that almost none had been discovered) under Petrobrás and the utilities under Electrobrás, and opposing American influence. Vargas' four years in office established a personalistic, if very weak, political party system, with several pro-Vargas parties and one explicitly anti-Vargas party (the UDN). In August of 1954, with charges of corruption and rampant military dissatisfaction, the High Command met in an all-night session with Vargas, declaring their intention to overthrow him once again. Early the next morning, Vargas went to his bedroom in the presidential palace, wrote out a note declaring that an "underground campaign of international forces" had successfully conspired against him, and killed himself with a gunshot in the chest. Some historians have questioned whether or not he might have been murdered.

The political instability in the two years that followed Vargas' suicide was repeatedly "stabilized" by military intervention. In 1956, a modernizer and nationalist, Juscelino Kubitschek, served a full term as president from 1956–1961, during which time he negotiated the arrival of a domestic automobile industry, created a highway network, initiated the construction of a new (and visionary) capital city in the interior, fully supported and modernized the military, and presided over Brazil's resumption as one of the world's major food producers. The growth of urban slums, of crime, and hence of personal insecurity also began to be felt. Social elites felt increasingly threatened by dynamic economic change, and the military was increasingly concerned. Nationalism in the Cold War period inevitably had a left-wing element. After a short presidency of an apparently unstable candidate, Jânio Quadros, Vargas' former minister of labor, another leftist populist from Rio Grande do Sul, João ("Jango") Goulart, became president following high-level negotiations with the military, who apparently felt that his leftist credentials precluded his succession (as vice president) to the vacant presidency. Goulart's three years in the presidency represented a continual struggle against the politics of ultra-conservatives like Carlos Lacerda, the governor of the state of Guanabara (previously the Federal District in Rio), in alliance with the military. His relations with the United States were very cool, and his frequent appeals to the masses were regarded as subversive.

On March 31–April 1, 1964, the Brazilian military rose up against Goulart, with U.S. support ships waiting unneeded offshore with petrol supplies in what the United States called "Operation Brother Sam." It was the development of this "authoritarian situation," as Juan Linz's formative analysis of Spain had revealed (Linz 1970) that established a political pattern in Brazil over subsequent decades. The successful coup initiated a 21-year military dictatorship in which the military *qua* institution ruled the country, with presidents apparently chosen to avoid the rise (threat) of a charismatic personality. The image of Juan Perón, who arose out of a similar situation (to the great dismay of the Argentinean military) was very evident. "Technocrats" soon came to dictate policy in this "bureaucratic-authoritarian" system, as Guillermo O'Donnell's classic analysis of this generation of South American military dictatorships identified them. Although there were

discrete political factions within the senior officer corps (Zirker 1986), for its first decade the dictatorship adopted a rightist Cold War stance, including close alliance with the United States, government-supported industrialization for export, routine political repression, and emphasis upon nationalism. The dictatorship in Brazil did not engage in anywhere near the level of "disappearances" and political imprisonments of its Southern Cone neighbors, however, and some authors have suggested that the military only remained in power because of the chaotic machinations of conservative civilian politicians (for example, McCann 2004).

The first military president, Humberto Castelo Branco, was a constitutionalist who made some, albeit limited, attempts to move the system back toward democracy, and thereby fill the "moderating power" role that some believe the military had adopted. He was succeeded by hard-line anticommunist General Artur da Costa e Silva, who reinforced the repressive apparatus. Costa e Silva died unexpectedly in October 1969, and his successor, General Emílio Garrastazú Médici, quickly enacted a dictatorial decree, Institutional Act No. 5, which constituted a "white coup," or coup-within-a-coup, that led to numerous arrests, torture, and "disappearances," again, on a scale that was nonetheless far below what would happen later in Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile. Shortly thereafter, the military confronted and destroyed a guerrilla cell in the Araguáia region in the Amazon forest. Brazil won the 1970 Soccer World Cup and became the first country to win three World Cups (and hence keep the Jules Rimet Trophy), and Brazilian nationalism began to penetrate the hinterland. Industrialization and the economy boomed, with GNP growth rates well over 10 percent per year, and although the technocratic Minister of Planning, Antônio Delfim Netto, initiated an unparalleled international borrowing program to fund upstream industrial production (hydroelectric dams, plastics, and so on), and thereby set the stage for Brazil to develop the world's highest international debt, the military was able to maintain a good deal of popularity. Nonetheless, the first world oil crisis jolted the Brazilian economy. Brazil was the first major frontier to be opened by the internal combustion engine, and yet it possessed only limited oil reserves. Brazil's international debt immediately began to soar. Meanwhile, the military pursued the development of the impoverished northeast region and established the Trans-Amazon highway project with a view to colonizing the vast Amazon forest.

In 1974, a moderate, General Ernesto Geisel (Brazil's first non-Catholic president), was appointed and a period of *distensão* (or *decompressão*), or *moderating* of the dictatorship, began. New political parties were established and began to make serious electoral breakthroughs, and although hard liners openly opposed him, he was able to maintain his course of regime moderation while addressing a series of economic and structural problems. His 1975 agreement with West Germany to build a major nuclear reactor complex ran afoul of U.S. foreign policy objectives, however, and the relations between the two countries soured. The Brazilian military had established a secret nuclear weapons program, which only exacerbated matters. Hence, although Geisel had put into motion political changes that allowed for increasingly open elections, and for the return to Brazil of political exiles, the Carter administration in Washington condemned Brazil's human rights record, and the close bilateral military and civilian relationship that Brazil had maintained since the end of WWII was unceremoniously dissolved.

Geisel's successor in 1979, General João Batista Figueiredo, extended the moderation of the dictatorship to what he called "*abertura*," or "opening" of the system, and signaled that he planned to hand over power to civilians by the end of his term. Nonetheless, he had been the head of the National Intelligence Service (SNI), a hard-line and very repressive institution, and he never appeared to have resolved in his own mind his will to "civilianize" Brazilian politics. The economy continued to prosper despite the second oil shock of 1979. Nevertheless, tensions with the growing labor unions led to direct military intervention in strikes and the wholesale arrest of labor leaders, including the head of the Central Workers' Union, Luís Inácio (Lula) da Silva, later the president of Brazil (2003–present). By 1984, Figueiredo's health problems, and striking multimillion people demonstrations in favor of the immediate direct election of the president, led to an indirect ("electoral college") selection of a well-known former minister or justice under Vargas, and prime minister under Goulart, Tancredo Neves, who died before he could be inaugurated.

Neves' vice president, José Sarney, who was sworn in as the first civilian president after the dictatorship, had led the military party (Arena) in the Congress until he had had a falling out with the military several years before assuming the office of president. The inflation rate, having reached hyper-inflation proportions by the end of the dictatorship, continued to soar. The plight of the poor was also increasingly evident, and organizations such as the Landless Movement (MST) were initiated in an unprecedented rise of voluntary political associations. This first civilian government had ample military representation, including five designated military ministers, and the military succeeded in the Constitutional Convention of 1988 to maintain a determinate role in Brazilian politics. Alfred Stepan, writing in 1988, argued that the military had been able to maintain a powerful list of "military prerogatives," and that their continued political presence in the civilianized system was thus assured. Others have argued that the military's retention of the Amazon region as a security prerogative means that at least part of the dictatorship has survived (Martins Filho and Zirker 2000).

Sarney was succeeded in 1990 by the first directly elected president following the dictatorship, Fernando Collor de Mello. Collor de Mello was a young and relatively inexperienced northeastern (Alagoas) governor who had been supported by the military, and who immediately implemented a wage and price stabilization plan while accelerating a process of neoliberalism, including the sale of state assets. Disastrous inflation continued, cuts in the military budget, disestablishment of the military-led National Intelligence Service, and rejection of army demands for a frontier buffer zone (a program labeled "Calha Norte") led to his loss of their support. Collor de Mello's administration was soon enveloped in scandal, and his impeachment and removal from office was tacitly supported by the military (Zirker 1996).

His successor, Itamar Franco (1992–1995), was unable to consolidate an effective power base, making it difficult for him to tackle the country's major inflation rate, which reached upwards of 30 percent by 1993. In early 1994, his minister of finance, the formerly leftist sociologist and senator Fernando Henrique Cardoso, implemented an effective stabilization program in conjunction with the creation

of a new currency, and inflation was finally controlled. By late 1994 Cardoso (1995–2003) was elected president and was inaugurated in early 2005. His administration maintained a neoliberal stabilization plan while establishing close relations with the military establishment. Hence, he was able to introduce, over some strident objections, a civilianization of the intelligence system (through the creation of a new civilian agency, Abin), the creation of Brazil's first civilian-led Ministry of Defense, the elimination of guaranteed military positions in the presidential cabinet, a consolidation of all security services under a single minister (a retired army general), and a heightening of democratic consciousness in Brazil. He encouraged a restarting of Brazil's bio-fuels program, and effected a major emphasis on petroleum exploration and development. The rapid rise to major prominence of the Landless Movement and related organizations (for example, the Homeless Movement) led to increasing tensions between social classes. When he left office in 2003, Cardoso had nevertheless established the basis for sustained economic growth. Brazil's competition to become one of the proposed additional permanent Security Council members remained unresolved, but victories in the soccer World Cup continued to reinforce Brazil's claim to emerging world power status.

Luís Inácio (Lula) da Silva, a leftist union leader and head of the Workers' Party was elected president of Brazil in 2002 and inaugurated in 2003. He had run unsuccessfully several times in the past and had experienced media-dominated opposition blitzes each time. In 2002 he cultivated an understanding with the military, principally through his close associate José Genoino, and established an image supportive of stability and democracy. His election signaled an end to the Cold War ideological conflict within Brazil. He quickly introduced a "Zero Hunger" program, although within a year he was in open conflict with the Landless Movement, who insisted upon land expropriations and redistributions that were well in excess of his resources. By 2006 the Lula government was mired in a vast network of political scandals, the most prominent of which (called the Mensalão scandal) involved the trading of Congressional votes for money. As Lula approached the presidential election of October 2006, he remained the most popular candidate. The economy continued to expand, inflation remained low, and Brazil's future looked bright.

SOCIETY

Brazil has been called "Belindia," a Belgium within an India. It has maintained a middle class of about 10 million people who live at about the socio-economic level of Belgium, within a much larger population , perhaps 150 million, who are said to exist at about the level of the "average" Indian, if such, in fact, exists. More recent descriptors have included "Belbulindia," meaning a Belgium and a Bulgaria within an India. In any event, socioeconomic disparities in Brazil are dramatic, and the diary of Carolina Maria de Jesus, *A Child of the Dark*, was emblematic of the extreme poverty of the favelas, or slums, which have always been very close to the richest neighborhoods. The complex relationship between race, ethnicity, and income in Brazil can be very confusing and contradictory.

Brazil's population of 188,000,000 (July 2006 estimate) is listed in its *Anuário Estatístico* as 55 percent white, 38 percent mixed, 6 percent black, and 1 percent "other." Other sources put the mix at white 53.7 percent, mulatto (mixed white and black) 38.5 percent, black 6.2 percent, other (includes Japanese, Arab, and Amerindian) 0.9 percent, unspecified 0.7 percent (2000 census). In fact, Brazil has a highly homogeneous society focusing on Portuguese and Brazilian culture, and despite waves of immigration, and multilingual immigrant communities, it has continued to evince more of a "melting pot" than a "mosaic" model. Hence there is far more social conflict between poor slum dwellers (and, increasingly, between criminal elements and the middle class) than between ethnic groups. Japanese coffee workers created a vibrant and economically viable community in the state of São Paulo, for which they are respected, and many other immigrant communities have retained some degree of their identity. Brazil's geometric population growth rate unexpectedly stalled in the early 1980s and is now a mere 1.04 percent.

The country's treatment of its indigenous population, never laudatory, reached a particular low as the military's Amazon road network and colonization program gained momentum. Instances of genocidal behavior, often by prospectors, have tainted the Brazilian military's patronage of the national Indian Agency, FUNAI. While a number of Indian reserves had been established, and Collor de Mello established a particularly well-publicized one for the Yanomami, the record of protection of these reserves is limited at best.

Brazil has an unusual focus upon race and ethnicity, with numerous racial types evident in the language, and a seeming willingness to separate these from ethnic concerns. As (at least nominally) the world's largest Catholic country, Brazil is experiencing an unprecedented conversion to nominally Protestant sects. Currently the figures are listed as Roman Catholic (nominal) 73.6 percent, Protestant 15.4 percent, Spiritualist 1.3 percent, Bantu/voodoo 0.3 percent, other 1.8 percent, unspecified 0.2 percent, none 7.4 percent (2000 census). African religions, imported with the slave trade, play an important cultural role in the national identity and are well documented in Roger Bastide's classic work (Bastide 1978).

Brazilian infrastructure is, for the most part, very modern. The privatization of utilities and transport have meant that competition to provide the most desirable and modern infrastructure elements has ultimately succeeded, although some well-known parastatals have run into difficulties. Air transport is currently experiencing serious turmoil, most recently contemplation of removing air traffic control (recently responsible for a major airline crash, from military control). The telephone system, moreover, has long been a problem in Brazil and is now experiencing a great strengthening through rapid technological innovation. Purchasing one of the perennially limited number of telephone (land) lines has, in the past, been very expensive, and often not possible. In the 1990s, privatized telephone exchanges were expanded just as mobile cellular phones became available. Today Brazil has an ultramodern cellular network, with over 42 million land phones, and over 65 million cellular phones (2004 estimates), still low by industrialized standards, but a geometric improvement over the previous 70 years.

Brazil has the largest economy in South America, and one of the most dynamic and resilient in the world. Dominated for many of the postwar years by an

import-substitution model, its transformation to an export-oriented free-market economy, beginning in the 1970s, has transformed the country into a stable and predictable income generator. Nonetheless, also beginning in the early 1970s, Brazil began to acquire huge foreign debts in order to finance critical upstream (and unprofitable) industrial infrastructure (dams, steel production, and petroleum cracking—the creation of naphtha, which is the base material of plastics), and by the late 1970s held the world's largest foreign debt, an "honor" that it later relinquished to the United States and Canada in the 1980s. Years of hyper-inflation followed, and, in fact, persisted well into the 1990s. Brazil has very large manufacturing, mining, and service sectors, and a world-class agricultural sector. It is now the world's largest producer of bio-fuels, primarily driven by sugar, of which Brazil is the world's largest producer. Although real wages periodically drop, economic growth has remained for the most part strong and predictable.

In 1994, then-Finance Minister Fernando Henrique Cardoso introduced a new currency and stabilization plan that has largely eliminated inflation and contributed to growth in productivity and exports. The major aspects of this stabilization involve targeting inflation, maintaining a very strict fiscal policy, and insistence upon a floating exchange rate. In recent years, Brazil has been able to run trade surpluses. This is important in large part because of the huge domestic and foreign debt loads that the country continues to carry.

Brazil's social indicators reflect the huge income disparities that have long been Brazil's most notorious social feature. The birth rate is estimated (2006) at 16.6 births per 1,000 population, the death rate by the same estimate is 6.2 deaths per 1,000, and the infant mortality rate is 28.6 deaths per 1,000 live births. The fertility rate is 1.9, reflective of a significant and unexpected drop in the early 1980s. Life expectancy is about 72 years, again, high for a developing country, and reflective of the rapid spread of modern medicine over the past two decades and, particularly, a decline in infant mortality rates in regions such as the Northeast. HIV/AIDS has been a very public health problem in Brazil, with an estimated 15,000 deaths thus far, and as many as 660,000 (0.7 percent of the population) people living with the virus.

As noted above, income disparities in Brazil remain one of the country's most striking social features. Approximately 22 percent of the population lives below the modest poverty level, and nearly 10 percent of the work force is unemployed. The Gini index for distribution of family income is 59.7, and the lowest family income decile receives less than 1 percent of the national income, while the highest decile controls over 32 percent.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

The Federative Republic of Brazil is a federal system with a federal district (Brasília), two houses of Congress, a president elected for four-year terms, 26 states, and governors and legislative assemblies in each of these. The Federal Senate has 81 seats, chosen by states, and the Chamber of Deputies has 513 seats, chosen in a proportional representation system.

President Luíz Inácio (Lula) da Silva, of the Workers' Party (PT), was elected for a four-year term in 2002 (in office since January 1, 2003), and reelected to another

four-year term in 2006. Lula's vice president is Jose Alencar. The president is both the chief of state and head of government. The president and vice president are elected on the same ticket by popular vote for a single four-year term. A presidential, gubernatorial, or mayoral candidate (CEOs) must win a majority of the popular vote to win in the first round. If no candidate wins, there is a runoff election between the top two candidates. Brazil's congressional elections are held at the same time. Lula is a leftist president but has demonstrated a good deal of care in his administration of the free-market economy. Brazil's political parties run the gamut, from decidedly right-of-center to explicitly leftist parties. Voting for the electorate between the ages of 18 and 70 is compulsory, and resistance to this can be expressed in blank (null) votes or in ruined ballots. Brazilians take politics very seriously, despite the overwhelming presence of major political scandals over the past two decades, including the impeachment of President Fernando Collor de Mello in 1992. It would appear that contending strategies for growing the economy and the protection of national sovereignty remain the primary political issues in Brazilian politics.

LAW AND ORDER

Additionally, there were approximately 400,000 "military police" (PM) by the end of the 1990s; these are poorly paid *state police* forces. The states also have civil police, although the "military police," which are closely integrated into the federal police force at the command level, predominate. Strikes by these military police (usually because of low pay) have turned violent in the past, and periodically threaten the stability of the system. Recently the military police (state police) have been loosely integrated into the national security system, as well. It should be noted that the military police have long been known for their narrow political allegiance to state political authorities (they were virtually the armies of the state governors prior to 1932) and have repeatedly participated in death squad activities in support of local elites (the killing of street children and beggars was in the news in the 1990s). Brazil also has a very professional, if small, federal police (PF) network that is primarily involved in investigation.

Brazil has a Roman law system that is most recently governed by the 1988 Constitution. A Penal Code, under continual revision by the Congress, spells out the individual's responsibilities under the law (specifying in definition, for example, felonies and misdemeanors) and defines criminal behavior comprehensively, spelling out crimes against persons, property, custom, public welfare, and public trust. Arrests are governed by warrants or by obvious violation (*flagrante delicto*). Habeas Corpus has a 24-hour requirement, and "special detention" for up to five days is only very occasionally allowed. Nonetheless, Brazil retains one of the most extensive military justice systems in the world, with military personnel and civilians tried in them for allegations that would be handled by civil courts almost anywhere else in the world. Jorge Zaverucha has argued that this is proof positive of continuing "military prerogatives."

There is a relatively low level of confidence in the Brazilian legal system. Brazil has highly developed criminal gangs that conduct the extensive illicit drug trade,

are heavily armed, and operate within the prisons and in the favelas, or slums, of southeast Brazil. One such gang declared war on the São Paulo police in 2006, after a number of its imprisoned leaders were transferred to maximum security prisons, and conducted a campaign of terror and murder (principally, but not exclusively, against the police) that continues today. In August 2006, President Lula called out the army to attempt to control the gang's bloody anti-police campaign. Forty percent of Brazil's homicides occur in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, two areas that have only 18 percent of the country's population.

The wide income disparities in Brazil, the widespread availability of handguns, and the concentration of slums, have conspired over the past 20 years to intensify urban crime and violence, and this has spread to cities throughout the country. Car jackings (armed seizure of automobiles, often in broad daylight) and armed robbery are common, murders associated with these increasingly common, and personal security of visitors and residents increasingly threatened. An estimated homicide rate in São Paulo of 36.9 per 100,000 inhabitants (the figure for the United States is only 5.7, although the District of Columbia has a murder rate of nearly 45 per 100,000) is tempered by a nearly 30 percent drop in homicide rates in Brazil, 1999–2005. The Lula government has pledged to decrease further the rates of violent crime, although a national referendum that would have outlawed the sale of guns and ammunition (and that had the support of the Lula government) failed in a national election in October 2005.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Brazil has a long tradition of regional leadership in foreign affairs, directed originally by a dynamic and largely autonomous foreign ministry, known as Itamaraty from the building that it originally occupied in Rio de Janeiro. Deeply influenced by the Baron of Rio Branco, José Maria da Silva Paranhos Júnior (1845–1912), Brazil consolidated its borders at the turn of the twentieth century by conceding disputed land in exchange for permanence and by entering into arbitration with Argentina and France. Itamaraty has a large cadre of diplomats trained in the Rio Branco Institute. It has had a mixed relationship with the military, particularly during the 21-year military dictatorship, and was thought to have harbored military torturers in foreign posts after the end of the dictatorship in 1985.

The military also has foreign relations functions, particularly on the borders of Amazônia. Bilateral military relations, both formal and informal, with countries such as the United States, Iraq, and the Republic of South Africa (especially during the apartheid period) have led to complicated relations with Itamaraty and with allies. Brazil's long-term dependence on imported crude oil, for example, had led to a close military and strategic alliance with Iraq. It was believed that the Brazilian military maintained a missile servicing team in Iraq during the first U.S.-Iraq war, at the same time that Itamaraty was supporting the United States in that conflict. Brazil also pursued a secret nuclear policy, although in recent years it has abandoned aspirations to developing nuclear weapons under pressure from the United States.

The South American free trade agreement, Mercosul (or, in Spanish-speaking South America, Mercosur), has involved Brazil in a close economic and foreign

policy alliance with its Southern Cone neighbors, especially Argentina. The potential for a military dimension to this alliance is growing, although Argentina's new special non-NATO alliance with the United States has weakened this to some extent, as has Brazil's aspirations to great power status.

Brazil has become increasingly involved in UN peacekeeping missions, which also impact overall foreign policy goals. Its current involvement in leading the peacekeeping mission in Haiti has been difficult and costly, and included the suicide of its commanding general in Haiti in early 2006. As a middle-level power with aspirations to great-power status, Brazil is increasingly drawn to relations with the other ''BRIC'' countries (Brazil, Russia, India, and China), as well as with South American regional politics.

The Lula government is striving to establish trust and confidence with the increasing number of left-of-center presidencies in Latin America. By most accounts, Lula's stature is rising in foreign policy, even as scandal has undermined his image at home.

SECURITY

There are 302,909 active personnel (army 189,000; navy 48,600; and air force 65,309) in Brazil. The paramilitary numbers 385,600 personnel (International Institute for Strategic Studies, October 2005, 324).

Despite decades of marginal funding, the Brazilian armed forces remain highly professional and moderately well equipped, although military salaries are very low, and hostility within the military branches to civilian politicians is very high. One observer (Stepan 1988) has argued that one of the motivations for the military withdrawal from political power (the 21-year dictatorship) in 1985 was its inability to fund its branches and also maintain a modicum of legitimacy. Since its departure from power, however, military spending has been restrained at best, although the past two presidents, Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Lula, have been sensitive to military demands for higher spending.

In his 1988 assessment of Brazilian military politics, Alfred Stepan argued that the military establishment in the post-dictatorial period was poised to retain many of its ''military prerogatives,'' including, significantly, control over intelligence services (Stepan 1988). At that time, the national intelligence service (SNI) was controlled by the military high command and subsequently promised changes by the Collor de Mello government, while leading to the disestablishment of the SNI and creation of a ''new'' agency (the Secretaria de Assuntos Estratégicos [SAE]), did little to change this. In 1999, the Brazilian Congress, with the support of the president, created a new Brazilian intelligence service, the Abin, although subsequent changes in cabinet portfolios, including the creation of a National Security Agency (which includes fire departments), have meant that active or recently retired generals have continued to be in charge of the overall direction of security, and hence the Abin. The military branches also retain their intelligence agencies, each of which was implicated in torture during the dictatorship.

Brazil is a virtual geopolitical heartland, and hence its geopolitical concerns relate to, and directly affect, the geopolitics of its regional neighbors. The

weakness of neighboring states represents a potential threat to Brazil's borders. Moreover, as Brazil solidifies its regional military and economic hegemony, there will likely be challenges by groups and individuals.

Brazil's list of potential security issues is rather long and involved, and includes health (a litany of "new" diseases that were not present, or very rare, 25 years ago, for example dengue fever, malaria, and HIV/AIDS), development questions, particularly given Brazil's relative failure to bring about effective regional development in the 1970s and 1980s, human rights violations, including the redress of violations from the dictatorship, the costs and threats implicit in peacekeeping missions, and so on. The military has been called upon in the past to resolve social issues, including policing areas under the control of illegal drug barons and resolving major industrial strikes. A series of strikes by state police over the past decade have threatened to turn violent and suggested imminent military intervention. The military does not anticipate an orthodox war (cross-border conventional conflict with the armed forces of a neighboring country), although clashes have occurred with FARC, the Colombian Marxist guerrilla group, and the weakness of neighboring states (Bolivia, Venezuela, Colombia, and perhaps Peru) regularly threaten the borders. Finally, the MST (Landless Movement) represents a threat to military authority, particularly in its trans-border expansion (Bolivia and Paraguay).

Brazil's military dictatorship periodically redefined "national security" as a central icon of the regime. Its anticommunist rhetoric focused attention upon "internal enemies" and hence reinforced the bases of a police state. After the dictatorship ended in 1985, the concept of security was gradually externalized and civilianized, with a strong emphasis upon the environment added in the early 1990s, and a limited focus upon basic human rights expanded gradually over the subsequent decades. Current security issues, discussed at length elsewhere in this chapter, include sovereignty over the Amazon, integrity of the borders, the rapid spread of diseases, energy supplies, urban crime, the economy, and government instability. Future security issues will likely include "governability" (of the country) and social and political dissatisfaction with democracy and democratically elected leaders. The military is once again the most popularly respected institution in the country and appears to regard the prospect of a forced political intervention as a major security threat. Virtually all other major political actors agree.

Brazil has maintained a central focus on "terrorism" since leftist resistance to the military dictatorship emerged in the late 1960s. The kidnapping of the U.S. Ambassador Charles Elbrick in 1969 by a network of urban guerrilla bands, and his exchange for 15 political prisoners, resulted in an additional military edict, Institutional Act No. 14, which established the death penalty for "subversive activities." It is clear that the advent of the dictatorship sparked the "terrorism" (and not vice versa). In May 1981, an army sergeant was killed, and a secret security captain was badly injured when two bombs went off in their car, apparently accidentally, in what came to be known as the "Rio Centro Case." It appeared that these military personnel were in the process of placing bombs near a May Day folk music concert organized by moderate left-of-center parties in what was broadly seen at the time as state terrorism. Although the "Rio Centro" case suggested that the military government was equally capable of "terrorism," the effective branding of all resistance to that regime as "terrorism," and the subsequent concern in internal

police work on this semantically laden term, have ensured that anti-terrorist technology and strategies have remained central to Brazil's security concerns.

In recent years, attention has been focused on Foz de Iguaçú, a beautiful tourist area surrounding the magnificent Iguaçú waterfalls, located on the border with Argentina and Paraguay. The belief that Islamic fundamentalists, and particularly affiliates of Al Qaeda, have established a base among the considerable Arab population in this porous border area is frequently mentioned in the press. The terrorist bombings of Jewish facilities in Argentina in 1992 and 1994 have reinforced this impression.

In 2006 criminal gangs in São Paulo declared war on the police and began a murderous series of assaults that made world headlines. In August 2006, Lula mobilized the army to deal with the gang's attacks on police. Factors that have contributed to this include the massive presence of illegal drug commerce, growing disparities between rich and poor, and the continuing routine violation of human rights by the police.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The 21-year military dictatorship, which formally ended in 1985, practiced widespread human rights abuses, including political and arbitrary arrest, imprisonment, torture, and murder. However, the practice of these violations was miniscule compared to the abuses of Brazil's neighboring dictatorships during the period. Brazil has a strong emphasis on law, interpreted in the Roman law tradition, and is rapidly including the rights of women and children in the implementation of human rights protections. Violence against women and children has been common in the past.

The 1988 Constitution outlaws capital punishment except in time of war and clarifies Brazil's commitment to fundamental human rights. Brazil is also committed to most international human rights (multilateral) treaties. The Brazilian military has played a leading role in a number of UN peacekeeping operations, most notably in recent years in the ongoing peacekeeping force in Haiti.

Human rights abuses remain widespread in Brazil, and generally involve social control and criminality. The extensive prison system is notably corrupt and violent; death squads (often off-duty state police) continue to respond to the demands of elites and apprehended criminals are frequently tortured. A lengthy U.S. Department of State report on police violence in Brazil is available on the Web (http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2004/41751.htm).

CONCLUSION

Brazil's relationship with the United States is in constant flux. The experience of Brazilian soldiers in World War II, fighting against the Germans in Italy alongside U.S. Fifth Army troops, established very close personal friendships that would have long-term political ramifications. A special bilateral military relationship was established in 1945, one that endured until the late 1970s. A number of the Brazilian Expeditionary Force officers had become close friends with Major (later

General and Ambassador) Vernon Walters, the chief liaison officer with the Brazilian forces. Walters had a very close friendship, for example, with General Humberto Castelo Branco. In 1964, Castelo Branco became the first president of the military dictatorship. Close U.S. economic and political relations developed rapidly during the first decade of the dictatorship. However, a shift in ruling factions, the push to sign a nuclear accord with Germany (against the explicit wishes of the U.S. State Department), the rumored development of a nuclear weapons policy, President Jimmy Carter's condemnation of Brazil's human rights record, and growing dissatisfaction with their huge foreign debt, mostly to U.S. banks, ultimately soured U.S.-Brazilian cooperation, and by the late 1980s, the Brazilian military had begun to consider the United States as one of (if not *the*) potential enemy (enemies) of the future. U.S.-Brazilian relations again flourished under President Fernando Henrique Cardoso and, to a lesser but very significant extent, under Lula, although the South American Free Trade Agreement remains a hindrance to completely cordial relations.

In the 1990s, tensions between the two countries intensified as Brazil made it known that it intended to compete strongly for the planned addition of a permanent UN Security Council Seat for South America. The United States' decision in 1998 to make Argentina, a perennial rival of Brazil, one of only eight special non-NATO military allies at that time (along with New Zealand, Australia, South Korea, Israel, Egypt, Jordan, and Japan—there are now 14 of these, with the subsequent addition of Bahrain, Thailand, the Philippines, Kuwait, Morocco, and Pakistan), seemed once again to strain the U.S.-Brazilian relationship if not suggest that the United States would be recommending Argentina for the coveted UN seat.

Abundant evidence supports the argument that there has been explicit Brazilian military hostility toward the United States over the past decade. Perhaps the most explicit was a senior air force brigadier remarking (on the cover of a news magazine in the late 1990s) that the United States was Brazil's most likely "enemy" of the future (from an interview with Brigadier General Sérgio Ferolla, *Caros Amigos,* October 1998). However, other examples abound. In the early 1990s, U.S. military maneuvers in Guyana elicited a major military response by Brazil, with a massing of troops near the border. Later in the decade, during huge forest fires in the Amazon, the general commanding the Amazon military region sternly refused a U.S. offer of fire tanker planes, remarking that Brazil would not tolerate foreign intervention in its internal affairs. In the late 1990s, an American Army general was reported to have remarked that an ecological disaster in the Amazon, regarded as an important key to world ecological health, might well require that the United States send in military forces as a remedy. Although the U.S. State Department denied that this statement had been made, President Fernando Henrique Cardoso felt the need to demand an apology, and Brazilian officers continued to refer to it in their writings over the next several years.

Brazil was pointedly not a member of the U.S.-led coalition that invaded Iraq in 2003 and has supported UN mediation efforts. Because it has had a long trading and fraternal relationship with Iraq, Brazil has been hesitant in both U.S. invasions to pledge unequivocal support. The death of a senior Brazilian diplomat in Iraq only complicated matters. Sérgio Vieira de Mello, the Brazilian special UN envoy to Iraq was killed in 2003 in a suicide bombing, and by early 2005, a Brazilian

engineer, João Jose Vasconcelos, had been kidnapped and remained missing and presumed murdered by insurgents. President Lula was later criticized for not effectively seeking his release. Also in 2005, a Brazilian living illegally in London, Jean Charles de Menezes, was chased down and shot at point blank range by police after arousing suspicions that he was engaged in a terrorist attack. Once again Brazilian ambivalence and hostility toward the U.S. invasion of Iraq was underscored. In early 2006, a BBC poll revealed that 67 percent of the Brazilian population supported immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq (*BBC News,* February 28, 2006, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/4755706.stm).

It is said that as many as 500,000 Brazilians live in the United States; approximately 70 percent are illegal immigrants, and this has periodically sparked additional tensions between the two countries.

Future

Brazil's future security concerns relate to its internal security dilemmas, the vulnerability of its considerable frontiers and coastline, the challenges of assuring continuing sovereignty over the Amazon region, growing instability and failed states among its neighbors (for example, Colombia and its ongoing civil war), Brazil's aspirations to great power status (and potential setbacks in its efforts to achieve this), and the hegemonic role of the United States in Latin America. In regard to the first concern, the growing centralization of its police and security services with its military suggest a renewed emphasis upon illegal drug gangs and restive poverty in this highly urbanized country of 180 million people. In regard to the last concern, Brazil's middle-power status makes it highly likely that there will continue to be tensions with the United States, principally regarding hegemony in the Southern Cone.

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Cambodia

Judith Fretter

BACKGROUND

From its origins, Cambodia was the center of the Khmer Empire, an empire which lasted from the ninth century to the fifteenth century and extended over much of what is now recognized as Southeast Asia. Its contiguous borders with Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam have seen Cambodia drawn into many of the region's conflicts and still present the potential for further regional tension. Its remaining border is with the Gulf of Thailand, a coastal waterway that has seen its own share of maritime disputes and territorial conflict, primarily over the jurisdiction of offshore islands. Cambodia claims sovereignty over eight offshore islands.

In the nineteenth century, France acquired protectorates in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam (known as French Indochina), losing them to the Japanese in World War II. In the wake of Japan's capitulation and the subsequent supervision of the Japanese surrender by British and Chinese forces, France had regained control over Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam by March 1946, despite violent resistance from local nationalist forces, which had declared independence with Japanese encouragement. Concurrent with continued nationalist conflict in Vietnam, guerrilla action against the French was taking place in Laos and Cambodia. Thai forces were also drawn into the conflict in order to protect territories in Laos and Cambodia that were seized with Japanese acquiescence in 1941. Thai military involvement ended in December 1946, in the wake of repeated French incursions into Thai territory. Successful resistance from the Lao Issara (Free Lao) in Laos and the Khmer Issarak (Free Cambodia) in Cambodia resulted in their gaining independence in late 1953.

In its modern history, Cambodia has changed its official name six times since achieving independence in 1953. These have included *Kingdom of Cambodia* (under the rule of the monarchy from 1953–1970); *Khmer Republic* (under the Lon Nol-led government from 1970–1975); *Democratic Kampuchea* (under the rule of the communist Khmer Rouge from 1975–1979); *People's Republic of Kampuchea* (under the rule of the Vietnamese-sponsored government from 1979–1989); *State of Cambodia* (under the rule of the UN transitional authority from 1989–1993); and the *Kingdom*

Cambodia

Formal name of country: Cambodia; conventional long form: Kingdom of Cambodia; local long form: Preahreacheanacha Kampuchea (phonetic pronunciation); local short form: Kampuchea; former: Kingdom of Cambodia, Khmer Republic, Democratic Kampuchea, People's Republic of Kampuchea, State of Cambodia

Size of country: Total: 181,040 sq km; land 176,520 sq km; water 4,520 sq km

Natural resources: Oil, gas, timber, gemstones, some iron ore, manganese, phosphates, and hydropower potential. Only a fifth of Cambodia's land is arable and much of it is still ridden with unexploded ordinance. Rice, rubber, corn, vegetables, cashews, and tapioca are produced. Industries revolve around tourism, garments, rice milling, fishing, wood and wood products, rubber, cement, gem mining, and textile production.

Population: 13,607,069. *Note:* estimates for this country take into account the effects of excess mortality due to AIDS; this can result in lower life expectancy, higher infant mortality and death rates, lower population growth rates, and changes in the distribution of population by age and sex than would otherwise be expected (July 2005 est.)

Life expectancy at birth: total population: 58.92 years; male: 56.98 years; female: 60.95 years (2005 est.)

Key ethnic groups:

- Khmer 90%
- Vietnamese 5%
- Chinese 1%
- other 4%

Key religions: Theravada Buddhist 95%; other 5%

Political system: Multiparty democracy under a constitutional monarchy established in September 1993. Bicameral, consists of the National Assembly (123 seats; members elected by popular vote to serve five-year terms) and the Senate (61 seats; two members appointed by the monarch, two elected by the National Assembly, and 57 elected by "functional constituencies"; members serve five-year terms).

Key political groups/parties:

- Cambodian Pracheachon Party (Cambodian People's Party) or CPP [CHEA SIM]
- National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia or FUNCINPEC [Prince Norodam RANARIDDH]
- Sam Rainsy Party or SRP [SAM RAINSY]

Legal system: Supreme Council of the Magistracy (provided for in the constitution and formed in December 1997); Supreme Court (and lower courts) exercises judicial authority.

Real GDP growth: 4% (2005 est.)

Population below poverty line: 40% (2004 est.)

Size of military: Army 75,000; air force 1,500; navy: 2,800; provincial forces 45,000; paramilitary 67,000 (2005)

Relationship with the United States: The United States is Cambodia's largest trading partner, importing 55.9% of Cambodia's annual produce. Cambodia maintains diplomatic representation in the United States with an embassy in Washington, DC.

Important human security issues: The H5N1 or avian flu is a minimal threat at present but there are continuing outbreaks through the Southeast Asia region.

Future important security issues: (1) Cambodia has often been drawn into the conflict of and into conflict with its neighboring states—Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam. Instability in the region has affected Cambodia's ability to develop economically. Southeast Asian states have enhanced border surveillance to check the spread of avian flu; Cambodia and Thailand dispute sections of their boundary with missing boundary markers and Thai encroachments into Cambodian territory; the maritime boundary with Vietnam is hampered by an unresolved dispute over offshore islands; Cambodia accuses Thailand of obstructing access to the Preah Vihear temple ruins awarded to Cambodia by an International Court of Justice (ICJ) decision in 1962; in 2004 Cambodian-Laotian and Laotian-Vietnamese boundary commissions reerected missing markers completing most of their demarcations. (2) Narcotics-related corruption reportedly involving some in the government, military, and police; possible small-scale opium, heroin, and amphetamine production; large producer of cannabis for the international market; and vulnerable to money laundering due to its cash-based economy and porous borders.

of Cambodia (a return to the pre-1970's name used after the restoration of the monarchy in 1993) (Royal Embassy of Cambodia to Australia and New Zealand 2007). Each name change is representative of a wave of change that has shaped the Cambodia of today.

The most brutal post-independence period occurred when the Khmer Rouge took control of Cambodia in 1975. Renaming it Democratic Kampuchea, the Khmer Rouge launched a vicious collectivization drive and a program of violent domestic repression that sent many Cambodians fleeing to Thailand. The eschewing bloody civil war instigated by the Communist Khmer Rouge leader Pol Pot unleashed a reign of terror that resulted in the deaths of more than two million Cambodians—about a quarter of the country's population at the time. Violently xenophobic, Khmer Rouge troops also targeted the many ethnic Vietnamese residing in Cambodia. In the late 1970s Pol Pot's forces began a brutal purge of eastern Cambodia, which led to cross-border attacks on Vietnam in pursuit of refugees.

By 1978 perhaps as many as one million Cambodians had been killed or had died from the enforced hardships. The massive numbers of refugees strained border relations between Thailand and Cambodia, and armed conflict erupted that almost immediately destabilized the region. Cambodia and Thailand have been neighbors at war, involved in five conflicts against each other. Cross-border conflicts have characterized much of the regional security issues between Cambodia, Thailand, and Vietnam. Cambodia and Thailand have engaged in five conflicts, emanating from waves of refugees fleeing Cambodia's Khmer Rouge power struggle, civil war, and border skirmishes that have escalated regional tensions (for example, conflicts in 1953–May 1975; December 1975–February 1976; November-December 1976; January 1977–October 1978; and December 1979–October 1980). Cambodia's instability also affected its relationship with neighboring Vietnam resulting in conflict (for example, conflict in January 1979–present).

Vietnamese troops invaded Cambodia in 1978, which resulted in the overthrow of Pol Pot. The overthrow of Pol Pot's regime did not see an end to civil war in

Cambodia. The Vietnamese invasion in 1978 merely ushered in another decade of occupation and upheaval. In the late 1980s the Soviet Union pressured Vietnam to begin negotiating a withdrawal. A period of intense diplomatic activity ensued, producing a Vietnamese withdrawal in 1989 and an agreement that Cambodia would hold free elections under the United Nations following the Paris Peace Accords in 1991. UN-sponsored elections were scheduled for 1993. The cease-fire that was reached in the Accords was not observed by the Khmer Rouge. They refused to disarm and threatened to boycott the elections and resume full-scale civil war. They engaged in many provocative incidents throughout 1992 and were still very active despite Pol Pot's removal. After the 1993 UN-sponsored elections, a coalition of political parties in Cambodia's parliamentary representative democracy restored some order to the political landscape (CIA *World Factbook* 2006).

True to their word, the Khmer Rouge boycotted the 1993 elections and resumed a limited, but at times intense, guerrilla war against the coalition government. Despite massive defections in 1994 and 1995, Khmer Rouge strength was still estimated to be 5,000 to 10,000 dedicated guerrillas who fought regular battles with government troops in Khmer-controlled areas. The government was unable to defeat the rebel army, and the attacks continued. Attempts at finding a formula for including the Khmer Rouge in the Cambodian government and halting the fighting were unsuccessful. In other areas of the country, a slow rebuilding process got under way despite continuing episodes of violence throughout the late 1990s. At least 16 people were killed in March 1997 when grenades were thrown into an antigovernment rally, and two days of fighting were reported in Phnom Penh in July. The Khmer Rouge, which had begun to fracture in August 1996, suffered a further blow in March 1997, when many remaining troops mutinied and seized their headquarters at Anlong Veng. Khmer Rouge chief Pol Pot, purged in July 1997, died near the Thai border in April 1998.

Although remnants of the Khmer Rouge have resisted UN-sponsored reconciliation, government forces have reestablished control over the borderlands. A new coalition government, involving the main rivals for state power, was formed in November 1998 after a 1997 coup and signaled a willingness to stabilize the country in its recovery from years of devastating armed conflict and violence. Two of the three remaining senior leaders of the Khmer Rouge surrendered late in December 1998, and the last of the rebel fighters formally joined the Cambodian army in February 1999. Cambodia is now a multiparty constitutional democracy under a constitutional monarchy, though the monarchy is symbolic and has no official power. The governance of the country is divided into 20 administrative provinces, four municipalities, and eight islands. It still has governance issues to deal with to improve the recognition of democratic principles and the observance of international human rights conventions.

Cambodia is a tropical country, doused with monsoonal rains from May to November and thirsty for rain in the dry season (December to April). This environment sometimes creates a climatic pendulum of flood and drought. Ostensibly, a flat land with low elevation, Cambodia's only mountains are in its southwest and northern regions. Approximately 20 percent of the country is arable land but there is increasing pressure on the environment with strip mining, logging, and soil

erosion. Over half of the terrain is heavily forested but illegal logging is stripping Cambodia of this resource and its potential revenue. While Tonle Sap and the Mekong River and its delta are vital sources of water for this land of irrigated paddy fields, there is no sustainable source of clean, potable water in Cambodia.

SOCIETY

Cambodia has an estimated population of 13.6 million people (July 2005) though this estimate takes into account high HIV/AIDS and child mortality rates. Generally, the life expectancy for Cambodians is approximately 59 years with an average age of about 20 years: lengthy periods of war and a four-year campaign of genocide by the Khmer Rouge (1975–1979) have contributed to the demographic imbalance that Cambodia now faces: more than 50 percent of the population is 20 years old or younger. War is also responsible for Cambodia having the highest amputee rate in the world as a result of the mines scattered over its countryside. Tourists do not appear to be deterred by this fact or Cambodia's past. Indeed, the tourism industry is booming with over one million visitors counted in 2005, by September of that year. That said, Cambodia is still one of the poorest countries in the world with about 40 percent of its population below the poverty line, earning less than $2 per day and 70 percent of the population struggling to ''get by'' on subsistence farming. Add to this the fact that 1999 was Cambodia's first full year of peace in 30 years and it is easy to understand why its economy is still trying to recover from the decades of war that damaged much of the country's infrastructure.

With Buddhism the state religion, the majority of Cambodians are Theravada Buddhists (95 percent). The remaining 5 percent of the population comprise approximately 4 percent Cham Muslims (centered in Phnom Penh) and 1 percent Christians. Though poor and generally poorly educated, Cambodia has a high level of literacy with 73.6 percent of the population over the age of 15 years able to read and write.

Despite reserves in oil and gas, Cambodia is heavily reliant on fossil fuel (65 percent) and hydropower (35 percent). It has some mineral deposits (iron ore, manganese, and phosphates), under-utilized oil and gas reserves, gem stones, and timber resources. Other industries include agricultural production (including rice, cashews, rubber, corn, vegetables, and tapioca), garments, fishing, wood exports and production, gem mining, textiles, and cement. However, tourism is fast becoming Cambodia's biggest income earner. Angkor Wat, the Khmer Empire's central religious site and now a World Heritage site, is the busiest tourist attraction in the region. It seems that tourism is driving the development of Cambodia's infrastructure with an average growth rate of 6.4 percent logged over the 2001–2004 period (CIA *World Factbook* 2006). Internet access, telephone, and landline systems are well established in Phnom Penh and Siam Reap, and cellular coverage is steadily growing in rural areas. Cambodia is serviced by 20 airports, six of which are paved. Siam Reap is an international gateway to Angkor Wat. Here, hotel construction and hospitality industries are mushrooming to cope with the number of tourists arriving to see the temples. Arrivals in 1997 totaled 219,000; by 2004

tourists numbered about 1,055,000 per annum. Other tourist sites of note include the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum—the high school in central Phnom Penh that was turned into an infamous prison by the Khmer Rouge; Choeung Ek, the main "killing field" of the Pol Pot regime; the Royal Palace in Phnom Penh; and the rare, Irrawaddy dolphins inhabiting the Mekong river system.

In terms of trade, Cambodia is far from self-sufficient. Cambodia's imports exceed its exports, resulting in a current account deficit estimated in the region of $269 million (2005) and a ballooning external debt of about $800 million (2003) (CIA *World Factbook* 2006). Cambodia's main export partners are the United States (55.9 percent), Germany (11.7 percent), and the United Kingdom (6.9 percent). Its imports come from the neighboring region: Thailand, Hong Kong, China, Vietnam, Singapore, and Taiwan. Economic development in Cambodia remains slow even with substantial aid contributions, amounting to some $504 million in grants and loans in 2005. Corruption is rife and as a result, much of the aid Cambodia now receives is granted on a conditional basis with the proviso that the government tackle this entrenched culture of corruption.

Much of Cambodia's media infrastructure, newspapers, television, and private radio stations are dependent on the support of political parties. Prime Minister Hun Sen carries an extraordinary amount of influence over media broadcasts, content, and press freedom, owning substantial media. Freedom of the press remains a contentious issue in Cambodia.

In addition, a great deal of unexploded ordnance remains in the countryside and still endangers the inhabitants. The Ho Chi Minh Trail, the supply route of the Viet Minh, ran the length of the country and through the neighboring countries of Laos and Cambodia. As a result, Cambodia and Laos were heavily bombed during the Vietnam War, killing thousands and destroying infrastructure and farmland.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

Cambodia's current, seemingly peaceful political landscape belies the 40 years of upheaval Cambodia experienced under the various rules of Pol Pot. The government comprises many ex-Khmer Rouge members, including the current prime minister, Hun Sen. He had defected to Vietnam to avoid the regime's purges and returned with the Vietnamese in 1979.

In the UN-sponsored elections of May 1993, some four million Cambodians (equating to about 90 percent of eligible voters) participated even though there was some interference from the Khmer Rouge or Party of Democratic Kampuchea (PDK), who deterred some voting. The outcome of the election saw Prince Norodom Ranariddh's National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia Party (FUNCINPEC) entering into a coalition with Hun Sen's Cambodian People's Party and the Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party as it did not command a single majority with only 45.5 percent of the vote. The new 120-member government then drafted and ratified a new constitution in September 1993, establishing the foundations for a multiparty liberal democracy under a constitutional monarchy with the former Prince Sihanouk becoming king. In the

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PRIME MINISTER HUN SEN

Born in April 1951, Prime Minister Hun Sen is a 57-year old veteran of Cambodian politics and has served in various coalitions since 1985. His political career began when he joined the Khmer Rouge in 1970. In 1979 he became foreign minister of the new People's Republic of Kampuchea (Cambodia), and in 1985 he became prime minister. "In 1997 he seized power from his co-prime minister, Prince Ranariddh, in a bloody coup but was elected back into power in 1998. In 2003 he was accused of fanning anti-Thai sentiments which led to rioting in the capital, Phnom Penh" (*BBC News* 2004).

The son of a peasant farmer, Prime Minister Hun Sen is a keen chess player, a chain smoker, and once commented that he would have liked to have been a poet or songwriter—he is a "vociferous orator" (*Phnom Penh Post* 2006). He was educated by Buddhist monks in Phomn Penh and has risen quickly through the political ranks. He joined the Communist Party in the late 1960s and was a member of the Khmer Rouge. He says he was an ordinary soldier before Pol Pot's tyrannical regime killed an estimated 1.7 million people. During this time Hun Sen had fled to Vietnam and joined the opposition forces fighting the Khmer Rouge.

When Vietnam liberated Cambodia from the Khmer Rouge and installed a new government in 1979, Hun Sen returned, initially as minister of foreign affairs and later becoming prime minister in 1985; he was 33 years old.

He has since maintained a tenuous grip on power: he refused to cede to FUNCINPEC in 1993 when they won the election and ignored international criticism to form coalition governments in order to stay in power. Current political opposition is strong, with the rise of the Sam Rainsy Party. Sam Rainsy, an opposition party leader, was temporarily forced into exile by accusations made by Prime Minister Hun Sen. However, Hun Sen eventually conceded and requested that Sam Rainsy receive a royal pardon from King Norodom Sihamoni on February 5, 2006, and he returned from exile on February 10, 2006 (HIIK, 2006; 42).

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new Royal Cambodian government (RGC), Prince Norodom Ranariddh became first prime minister with Hun Sen appointed second prime minister (U.S. State Department 2006).

Following an episode of factional fighting between the Cambodian People's Party (or Cambodian Pracheachon Party—CPP) and the FUNCINPEC in 1997, some FUNCINPEC leaders fled the country, leaving Hun Sen to assume the position of prime minister. Before the 1998 National Assembly elections, some of the exiled FUNCINPEC leaders returned. The results of the election saw the CPP with 41 percent of the vote, FUNCINPEC with 32 percent, and Sam Rainsy's Party (SRP) with 13 percent of the vote. Consequently, another coalition government was formed between the CPP and FUNCINPEC amid a political environment that was becoming increasingly violent and intimidating.

In February 2002, Cambodia held its first commune elections to elect the chiefs and members of the commune councils (municipal councils). These elections were also criticized for being far from free and fair elections and were marred with political violence. Changes to municipal election procedures hope to redress these issues in time for future elections. National Assembly elections in 2003 ended without one particular party commanding a two-thirds majority. The closeness of the vote resulted in the incumbent CPP party acting in a caretaker capacity until another coalition government could be formed.

The National Assembly ushered in constitutional developments in 2004, approving a change to the constitution that would renegotiate the two-thirds majority requirement necessary to form a government. Cambodia had been in a state of political limbo for nearly a year by the time the National Assembly approved the new coalition government. The new government comprised of CPP and FUNCINPEC, reconsolidating Hun Sen as prime minister and Prince Norodom Ranariddh as president of the National Assembly. The addendum to the constitution to make this coalition possible was still seen as unconstitutional and controversial by many in the civil society and opposition parties. The opposition SRP boycotted the vote to change the constitution and many of its leaders have suffered retribution from the Hun Sen-led government. "On October 7, 2004, King Sihanouk abdicated the throne due to illness. On October 14, the Cambodian Throne Council selected Prince Norodom Sihamoni to succeed Sihanouk as King. King Norodom Sihamoni officially ascended the throne in a coronation ceremony on October 29, 2004" (U.S. State Department 2006).

On March 14, 2006, Prime Minister Hun Sen fired co-minister of the interior, Norodom Sirivuth, and co-minister of defense, Nhiek Bun Chay. It was this catalyst that forced Prince Norodom Ranariddh to resign as president of the National Assembly. These events were indicative of a growing rift between the two men, with Prime Minister Hun Sen alleging that Ranariddh had made some ill-advised political appointments, one of these involving Ranariddh's mistress, and accusing Ranariddh of betraying their coalition agreement by courting the Sam Rainsy Party in a plot to overthrow the CPP (*Phnom Penh Post* 2006). Later, in October, the royalist FUNCINPEC Party made a shock announcement, voting to replace their party president, Prince Norodom Ranariddh, with Keo Puth Reamsy, Cambodia's current ambassador to Germany. Reamsy is not far removed from the throne; he is married to Princess Norodom Arunrasmy, King Norodom Sihanouk's youngest daughter. His former positions include head of the international politics section of the FUNCINPEC office in Bangkok; head of the king's secretariat (1994); and ambassador to Indonesia, the Philippines, Brunei, and Malaysia. Since his resignation, Ranariddh has spent most of his time overseas amid his rumored divorce. The prince's resignation is considered by some to be divisive for FUNCINPEC, with the party struggling to recover from its decline in popularity. The party has continued to lose National Assembly representation in successive elections in 1998 and 2003 and significantly in commune elections in 2004. On October 23, 2006, it was announced that 7.6 million Cambodians had registered for the next commune council elections scheduled to occur on April 1, 2007 (*Phnom Penh Post* 2006).

Opposition criticism of the current government looks set to continue over the signing of a border demarcation pact with Vietnam in October 2005. The opposition is accusing the government of ceding Cambodian territory to Vietnam (ISN 2006). Two of the opposition spokespeople, a radio journalist and a teachers union leader, jailed in October 2005, have only just been released from prison (*Phnom Penh Post* 2006). Another issue that could potentially trigger conflict with Vietnam is the construction of upstream hydro-dams on the Tonle Sesan, Tonle Srepok, and Tonle Sekong rivers. The projects are to be funded by Vietnam with

Cambodia buying back generated electricity from Vietnam. Despite having reached high-level approval by both countries, the projects will have a huge impact on many already marginalized communities living along the river systems.

LAW AND ORDER

Cambodia has a interesting legal system that blends elements of ''French-influenced codes from the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), royal decrees, and acts of legislature with influences of customary law and remnants of communist legal theory and common law influences (CIA *World Factbook* 2006). The judicial system itself comprises a Supreme Council of the Magistracy, a Supreme Court, and lower courts that exercise judicial authority.

In September 2006, three nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) laid a formal complaint with the United Nations Human Rights Council detailing the continuing lack of judicial and legislative independence in relation to several new repressive laws that had been enacted and used to quash opposition politicians.

A joint project between the United States and Cambodia is currently underway to put an end to human trafficking, protect the victims of trafficking, prosecute those responsible for trafficking, and facilitate the rehabilitation of victims. Human trafficking is not just restricted to the sale or trade of adults or children for sex, it extends to trafficking for labor, begging, and other forms of exploitation. Since the joint project began work in 2003, the United States has provided approximately $5 million to support anti-trafficking work and counter-trafficking programs. The United States has pledged another $4.5 million over the next three years to end this illicit trade (*Phnom Penh Post* 2006).

Drug trafficking and other narcotics-related corruption exist with suspected small-scale operations producing opium, heroin, and amphetamines—Cambodia is, after all, helplessly positioned within the notorious ''golden triangle'' of drug trading. Production of marijuana and cannabis-related products is sophisticated and organized for international drug markets. In addition to a thriving illicit drug trade, money laundering is on the rise with traders taking advantage of Cambodia's cash-based economy and weak border control. Other illegal activities involve logging and strip mining for gems along Cambodia's western border with Thailand. These activities are having a devastating effect on significant habitats and biodiversity (CIA *World Factbook* 2006).

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Cambodia is a member of several major international organizations including G-77, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Civil Aviation Organization, the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), the International Monetary Fund, the International Maritime Organization, Interpol, the United Nations (including the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, UNCTAD, UNESCO, UNIDO, and UNMIS), the World Health Organization, and the World Trade Organization.

Cambodia is also a member of the regional forum, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and was the first recipient of its conflict management assistance. The organization was initially established in 1967 by Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand to promote regional economic growth, political stability, social progress, and cultural development. Since then, Brunei (1984), Vietnam (1995), Laos (1997), and Myanmar and Cambodia (1999) have joined ASEAN. The Association and the concept of a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality illustrate these countries' attempts to maintain peace and security through regional mechanisms.

ASEAN made its first appearance in the arena of international conflict mediation in the Cambodian Civil War. ASEAN offered to mediate between the parties, but the offer was not accepted. This conflict has been intense, resulting in approximately 500,000 fatalities to date. At this time, ASEAN's ability to resolve it was directly affected by the presence of competing foreign interests in Southeast Asia and their potential to cause serious regional instability, in particular the interests of the USSR and the United States. Even though ASEAN's offers to mediate were refused, the organization provided a valuable forum for discussions between members of the ad hoc committee and ASEAN foreign ministers at Kuala Lumpur (July 6–8, 1985). Overall, ASEAN's performance during the Cambodian Civil War bolstered the organization's political solidarity (Sutterlin 1995), though any growth in organizational cohesiveness after ASEAN's effort in Cambodia was not particularly evident during the subsequent border war between China and Vietnam (January 1979–June 1982).

ASEAN still has no mechanism for conducting peacekeeping, but it has contributed to conflict management efforts by providing a "neutral" forum for dialogue and by contributing logistics to other operations, most notably the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) (Alley 1998). Now, the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), established in 1994, comprises 10 ASEAN foreign ministers and 10 ASEAN dialogue partners, including Australia, Canada, China, the European Union, India, Japan, New Zealand, the Republic of Korea, Russia, and the United States. The group discusses broader regional security issues and "complements the various bilateral alliances and dialogues which underpin the region's security architecture" (Australian government 2006).

During the Cambodia (Kampuchea)/Vietnam–Cambodian Civil War (January 1979—1994), the United Nations first engaged the UN Advance Mission in Cambodia (UNAMIC) with a mandate to provide good offices, though later on the UNAMIC's role expanded to include mine clearance (Acharya 1994, 304). This mission lasted from October 1991 to March 1992 and cost approximately $44.6 million. The later UNTAC peacekeeping mission began in February 1992. The mission was to "create the basis for a viable political system in Cambodia through electoral and constitutional mechanisms" ending, essentially a success, in September 1993 once elections had been held. UNTAC cost about $2.3 billion (Acharya 1994, 304; *Phnom Penh Post* 2006). With a mission strength of 26,000 personnel, this was the most comprehensive and ambitious peacekeeping mission of its time. The main problem limiting the effectiveness of the mission was the fact that its mandate did not include any type of enforcement action. Despite Khmer Rouge

recalcitrance, "the mission saw through the repatriation of close to 370,000 displaced persons from the Thai border, all political prisoners were released and political parties were able to organize and campaign in relative safety" (Evans 1994, 107).

SECURITY

In 2004, Cambodia was ranked 110th in the world with an estimated $112 million in military expenditure (CIA *World Factbook* 2006). A 2003 estimate put Cambodia's military expenditure at only 2.5 percent of gross domestic product (SIPRI 2005). The majority of available information on the size, strength, and capabilities of Cambodia's military forces is dated, with the most accurate estimates derived from 1987 intelligence. In 1987 the strength of the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea (NADK, also known as the Khmer Rouge) totaled around 40,000 to 50,000. Cambodia's armed forces include one naval battalion, one to two air force battalions, regional forces, and border patrols with local village militias. Women are heavily represented in the local militia forces. Many of Cambodia's weapons, including small arms, patrol craft, MiG-21/FISHBED fighter aircraft, and Mi-8 (HIP) transport helicopters, originate from China, the Soviet Union, Vietnam, and the United States. China was the primary source of military support for the NADK, and the level of Chinese military aid has been estimated to have been between $60–$100 million a year (Library of Congress 2006).

Cambodia's security issues have changed over periods of colonization, occupation, and civil war, but invariably its internal stability has been tied to regional and internal political developments. With the end of French military involvement in Laos and Cambodia, France devoted its full attention to the worsening situation in Vietnam, where Vietminh forces controlled most of the country and parts of Cambodia and Laos. The Vietminh were Communist forces led by Ho Chi Minh, who had begun a liberation movement in the 1920s. They were driven underground and returned to Vietnam during World War II to fight the Japanese. The army he raised upon his return, the Vietminh, attacked the French forces concentrated at Dienbienphu in March 1954. This was the climactic battle of the war, and it ended with the French surrendering on May 7, 1954. In July France accepted a negotiated settlement providing for full French withdrawal, the independence of Laos and Cambodia, and the partition of North and South Vietnam.

These early independence struggles cost at least 500,000 lives, including approximately 90,000 French fatalities and 40 or so British troops. Cambodia obtained independence from France in 1956 (Bercovitch and Fretter 2004, 165). Post-independence, Cambodia's regional relations were characterized by border conflicts, exacerbated by its own internal strife and brutal civil war.

Cambodia's first conflict post-independence was with Siam (Thailand), a border conflict involving the occupation of the Temple of Preah Vhear situated on Cambodia's Thai border (early 1953–May 1975). It was also Cambodia's first involvement with UN conflict management. As border tensions increased in 1954, Thailand requested that the UN Security Council consider the threat posed by the ongoing fighting by Vietminh forces in neighboring Laos and Cambodia. Once

Cambodia gained independence, Thai fears were further awakened with the neighboring Communist presence. As a precautionary measure, Thailand moved troops into the border region. Border tensions between the two countries flared on November 24, 1958, when Cambodia severed diplomatic relations with Thailand. Thailand responded by sealing off the border between them, and the situation suddenly became very tense.

Cambodia informed the UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld that Thailand was occupying the Temple of Preah Vihear on November 29, 1958. Both of the governments requested that the secretary-general send a special representative to assess the situation. Baron Johan Bech-Friis was appointed as the secretary-general's special representative and visited the area over January 20, 1959–February 23, 1959. While the special representative was visiting, normal relations between the states were restored with the return of the respective ambassadors to their posts on February 6. Bech-Friis managed to secure the release of 32 Siamese prisoners who were under arrest in Cambodia on charges of border violation. Cambodia approached the International Court of Justice (ICJ) on October 6, 1959, to resolve the issue of ownership over the Temple of Preah Vihear. The ICJ returned a judgment in favor of Cambodia and stated that Thailand should cease its occupation. On October 19, 1962, UN Secretary-General U Thant advised the Security Council that the two states were accusing each other of aggression and had requested a second visit by a special representative. The secretary-general appointed Nils Gussing to the position, and he remained in the region until the mission withdrew in December 1964. Both countries lodged similar complaints of border insurgency again in 1966, and after consulting with the parties the secretary-general appointed a new special representative, Herbert de Ribbing, on August 16, 1966, to investigate and propose ways of settling the border dispute. De Ribbing continued in this capacity until February 16, 1968.

Cambodia has been continually engaged in regional conflicts. The next conflict began in 1960 involving fighting with South Vietnam over anti-Vietminh cross-border raids. Beginning in 1960, South Vietnamese forces began to conduct intermittent cross-border operations into Cambodia on the pretext of pursuing the North Vietnamese sympathizers known as the Vietcong (or Vietminh) who conducted terrorist operations in South Vietnam with the aim of destabilizing the government.

The raids intensified in March 1964, after Cambodia continued to resist U.S. and South Vietnamese pressure to take action against the insurgents. In April 1964 Cambodia lodged a complaint with the UN Security Council, which passed a resolution calling for a halt to the border violations. A UN fact-finding mission recommended a remarcation of the border between Cambodia and South Vietnam. Cambodia rejected this suggestion, however, because it feared it would lose territory to South Vietnam. The dispute remained unresolved and gradually abated. About 100 fatalities resulted from the conflict. Beginning in 1965, with the North's large-scale troop infiltrations into South Vietnam, the conflict grew into all-out war involving the United States and North Vietnam.

Cambodia served as a major battlefield and transit area during the Vietnam War and was subjected to a massive aerial bombardment by the United States (January

1970–April 1975). Vietcong and North Vietnamese troops used the country as a transit area and supply line to the fighting in South Vietnam, and the United States responded to the traffic with punishing air strikes. Cambodia's ruler at the time was Prince Norodom Sihanouk. He was ousted in a 1970 military coup led by General Lon Nol. Lon Nol then took control of Cambodia, hoping to curb North Vietnam's military onslaughts. But the North Vietnamese simply stepped up their incursions into the South. By April 1970, U.S. ground troops were fighting in Cambodia. Although the bulk of U.S. troops were withdrawn from Cambodia in June 1970, three months later, the United States was still providing logistical support to South Vietnamese troops there. The United States made heavy bombing runs until 1973, causing thousands of fatalities. The U.S. bombing campaign turned many rural Cambodians into ardent supporters of the Communist Khmer Rouge rebellion, which deposed the Lon Nol regime in 1975.

Aside from a U.S. commando raid into Cambodia in 1975, all U.S. involvement in Cambodia ended with the signing of the Paris Peace Accords in January 1973. North Vietnamese and South Vietnamese troops continued operations in Cambodia until the fall of South Vietnam in 1975. Only two attempts were made at negotiation, and both failed. It is estimated that perhaps as many as 300,000 people lost their lives in Cambodia during this period of fighting.

U.S.-Cambodian relations were still quite strained in 1975 and post-Vietnam War tensions continued, most notably in what became known as the Mayaguez Incident (May 1975). This particular incident began when a U.S. merchant ship, the *Mayaguez*, was stopped and boarded by Cambodian forces near the island of Poulowai, which Cambodia and South Vietnam both claimed. The ship was seized in international waters, and, on charges of spying and carrying military cargo, the crew was detained and interrogated. The United States called the seizure an act of "piracy" and responded with aerial actions against the boat carrying the U.S. crew. The conflict escalated when the United States landed Marines near the Cambodian coast and began bombing raids on the Cambodian mainland, using Thailand as a military base for these operations, without Thai permission. The United States used a Chinese liaison to demand the release of the crew members, without success, and on May 14, 1975, appealed to UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim to secure their release. On May 15 the Cambodian authorities released the ship and crew, but the United States continued its air assaults on Cambodian targets with numerous Cambodian casualties. U.S. retaliation for the detention of the vessel and crew was heavy, in particular clashes with the Khmer Rouge and U.S. Marines around Koh Tong. About 50 people, including 15 U.S. soldiers and 23 U.S. Combat Security Police (non-combatants in transit), were killed during the conflict, and tensions remained high for some time (U.S. Maritime Service Veterans 2000). Offensive U.S. operations stopped on May 20, and the dispute eventually lapsed.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The 1993 Constitution calls for greater recognition of international human rights conventions in Cambodia. "On October 4, 2004, the Cambodian National Assembly ratified an agreement with the United Nations on the establishment of

a three-year tribunal to try senior leaders responsible for the atrocities committed by the Khmer Rouge'' (U.S. State Department 2006). International aid is covering the majority of the Tribunal's setup costs of approximately $43 million. Cambodia is to pay $13.3 million of the setup costs. Tribunal judges in July 2007 began to question the first of the suspects they believed should stand trial.

However, in Cambodia at present, the notion of human rights exists as more of a concept than a practice. The authoritarian roots of the judicial system remain perpetuating an environment where it is accepted that there is a "culture of impunity" enjoyed by the society's elites (Etcheson 2006). Recent events reveal that human rights are still not observed. In January 2005, Cambodian police were still arresting human rights activists and prompting other government critics, most notably the leader of an opposition party, Sam Rainsy, to flee the country to avoid arrest for defamation charges. Rainsy and another senior official of his opposition party, Cheam Channy, were both arrested in February 2005 after having been stripped of parliamentary immunity. Many saw the charges they faced as politically motivated and blatant abuses of human rights and political freedom. Rainsy fled to France in 2005 but was still sentenced in absentia to one and a half years imprisonment for defaming Hun Sen, Cambodia's prime minister and Prince Norodom Ranariddh, president of the National Assembly (ISN 2006). Rainsy had accused Hun Sen of trying to assassinate him in a grenade attack on an opposition rally in 1997 and of being complicit in the murder of SRP-affiliated union leader Chea Vichea on January 22, 2004.

It was not until February 5, 2006, that Rainsy was granted a royal pardon by King Norodom Sihamoni for the 2005 prison sentence. Strangely, it was Prime Minister Hun Sen who requested Rainsy's royal pardon. Rainsy returned to Cambodia on February 10, 2006.

CONCLUSION

The United States and Cambodia maintain open diplomatic relations with each other, maintaining embassies in Phnom Penh and Washington respectively. This has not always been the case. When Hun Sen ousted the first Prime Minister Ranariddh in 1997, the United States suspended bilateral aid to the Cambodian government. At the same time, approximately 40,000 Cambodians fled to Thailand and the government exacted numerous human rights abuses on the Cambodian people. U.S. and international aid has since resumed and is dispersed via a myriad of international aid agencies. In fact, the flow of international aid continues, and continues to sustain Cambodia's infrastructure.

Aid is generally granted on a conditional basis to ensure that funds are used for the specified purpose and are not diverted into other areas or privately held accounts. Most international aid agencies now deploy their own personnel on the ground to implement projects and oversee expenditure in an effort to avoid funds being siphoned off by officials. The United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID) announced a five-year aid package of $75 million to help Cambodia focus on improving Cambodia's natural resource management. On September 18, 2006, USAID Director Erin Soto and the Cambodian

Secretary of State for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation Long Visalo signed new bilateral agreements to provide $32.48 million to fund health and education projects (*Phnom Penh Post* 2006). The United States and Cambodia have a long-standing relationship based on aid. "Between 1955 and 1963 the United States provided $409.6 million in economic grant aid and $83.7 million in military assistance" (U.S. State Department 2006). The relationship broke down in May 1965 but was established again in 1969, amounting to $1.18 billion in military assistance and $503 in economic aid over the period from 1970–1975. In the 1970s the United States openly condemned the actions of the Khmer Rouge regime and opposed the Vietnamese invasion and occupation. It was very supportive of ASEAN's efforts to resolve the issue. Nowadays, the United States is assisting in the removal of unexploded ordnance (UXO).

The two countries have signed a cooperative trading relationship, a bilateral textile agreement which established a trading quota for U.S. textile imports and incentives for improving Cambodia's labor laws to meet international standards. With a World Trade Organization Agreement on Textiles and Clothing taking force in 2005, Cambodia was forced to trade directly with lower priced producers and in this competitive environment, Cambodia improved its labor standards to make its garments more favorable to international markets. The United States is now supportive of Cambodia's efforts to target terrorism, strengthen democracy and human rights, and is keen for Cambodia to deal with pervasive corruption in the government and public sector. The government has not yet passed an anticorruption law and in Cambodia corruption is even evident in the education system.

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China

Jian Yang

BACKGROUND

Located in the east of the Asian continent, on the western shore of the Pacific Ocean, China is bordered by North Korea to the east; Mongolia to the north; Russia to the northeast; Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan to the northwest; Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Nepal, and Bhutan to the west and southwest; and Myanmar, Laos, and Vietnam to the south. Across the seas to the east and southeast are the Republic of Korea, Japan, the Philippines, Brunei, Malaysia, and Indonesia.

According to new U.S. figures, China's total area is 9,596,960 square kilometers, slightly smaller than the United States (9,631,420 square kilometers) (CIA *World Factbook: China*, 2006). China has not officially recognized the U.S. figure and still claims that it is the third largest country ahead of the United States with a total area of about 9.6 million square kilometers. China is administratively divided into 23 provinces (including Taiwan), five autonomous regions, four centrally administrative municipalities which have the same political, economical, and jurisdictional rights as provinces, and two special administrative regions (Hong Kong and Macau).

Mountains, hills, and highlands take up about 70 percent of China's landmass. Plains, deltas, and hills are mostly in the east and mountains, high plateaus and deserts in the west. China shares with Nepal the Himalaya Mountains, the highest in the world with Mount Everest at 8,848 meters. Turpan Pendi in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region is 154 meters below sea level, the second lowest place in the world after the Dead Sea.

China is the world's largest producer of antimony, natural graphite, tungsten, and zinc. Other major minerals include bauxite, coal, crude petroleum, diamonds, gold, iron ore, lead, magnetite, manganese, mercury, molybdenum, natural gas, phosphate rock, tin, uranium, and vanadium. China's hydropower potential is the largest in the world.

China

Formal name of country: People's Republic of China

Size of country: 9,596,960 sq km

Natural resources: Antimony, bauxite, coal, crude petroleum, diamonds, gold, iron ore, lead, magnetite, manganese, mercury, molybdenum, natural gas, natural graphite, phosphate rock, tin, tungsten, uranium, vanadium, and zinc

Population: 1,320,456,437 (September 5, 2007 est.)

Life expectancy at birth: 72.58 (2006)

Key ethnic groups:

- Han 92%
- Zhuang (16 million)
- Manchu (10 million)
- Hui (9 million)
- Miao (8 million)
- Uyghur (7 million)
- Yi (7 million)
- Mongolian (5 million)
- Tibetan (5 million)
- Buyi (3 million)
- Korean (2 million)

Key religions: Buddhists (100 million), Muslims (20 million), Protestants (15 million), Catholics (5 million)

Political system: Socialism under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party

Key political groups/parties: Eight registered minor parties:

- the Revolutionary Committee of the Guomindang (Kuomintang)
- China Democratic League
- China Democratic National Construction Association
- China Association for Promoting Democracy
- Chinese Peasants' and Workers' Democratic Party
- China Party for Public Interest
- September 3 Society
- Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League

Legal System: No formal legal system before 1979; legislation on topics of all description since then; constitutional law emerging

Real GDP growth: 10.7 % (2006)

Population below the poverty line: 0.18% (23.65 million) (2005) based on China's poverty line of Rmb680 yuan (U.S.$85) per capita net income a year; about 10% (120–130 million), using the internationally accepted U.S.$1 per day guideline.

Size of military: 2,250,000 (active) (2006)

Relationship with the United States: Economic: relationship deepening with the United States as China's largest overseas market and China as the United States' fourth largest market; political: dialogues and frictions over China's human rights and political liberalization; security: cooperation on a range of issues, Taiwan a key issue, strategic uncertainties over the rise of China

Human security issues: Widening rich/urban-poor/rural wealth gap; environmental degradation; workplace safety; human rights

Important future security issues: Instability caused by the above-mentioned human security issues and political problems like corruption; Taiwan issue; territorial disputes such as South China Sea, Diaoyu Islands, and East China Sea; strategic competition with other great powers like the United States and Japan

Sources: CIA *World Factbook*; China Population and Information Center; *Zhongguo wang*, "Population"; Wikipedia, "Nationalities of China" and "People's Liberation Army"; Travel China Guide; Library of Congress; U.S. Department of State (April 2006); Xinhua (August 24, 2006).

Environmental degradation is threatening millions of Chinese. It is believed that half of China's 1.3 billion people drink water contaminated with chemicals and biological wastes (Wikipedia, "Environment of China"). According to the Worldwatch Institute based in Washington, D.C., 16 of the world's 20 most polluted cities are in China (Fincher 2006). A World Health Organization (WHO) report estimates that diseases caused by indoor and outdoor air pollution kill 656,000 Chinese citizens each year, and polluted drinking water kills another 95,600 (Platt, 2007). Other environmental issues include water shortages, deforestation, desertification and acid rain.

China, representing one of the earliest civilizations in the world, has a recorded history of about 3,600 years. The oldest Neolithic city found in China dates back to between 4,800 and 5,300 years ago. The first recognized dynasty—the Xia—lasted from about 2200 to 1750 BC and marked the transition from the late Neolithic Age to the Bronze Age. The Chinese polity was first consolidated and proclaimed an empire during the Qin Dynasty (221–206 BC). The Tang (618–907) and Song (960–1279) dynasties represented high points of Chinese cultural development and interaction with distant foreign lands. The last dynasty was established in 1644, when the Manchus overthrew the native Ming dynasty and established the Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty with Beijing as its capital.

A revolutionary military uprising on October 10, 1911, led to the abdication of the last Qing monarch and the founding of the Republic of China. The main figure in the revolutionary movement that overthrew imperial rule was Sun Yatsen (1866–1925). Sun organized the Guomindang (Kuomintang, KMT or "Chinese Nationalist Party") and entered into an alliance with the fledging Chinese Communist Party (CCP). In 1927, the Guomindang, led by Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek , 1888–1975), split with the CCP. The two parties nominally formed a united front to oppose the Japanese invaders in 1937. The war between the two parties resumed after the Japanese defeat in 1945. By 1949, the CCP, under the leadership of Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung), occupied most of the country and Jiang Jieshi fled to

Taiwan with the remnants of his Guomindang government and military forces. Taiwan still calls itself the "Republic of China."

The CCP established the People's Republic of China (PRC) on October 1, 1949. The PRC entered into the Korean War one year later. Chinese politics from the 1950s to the late 1970s were marked by destructive economic and political campaigns, particularly the Great Leap Forward (1958–1959) and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). The 1976 death of Mao ushered in a new period. Under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, the CCP launched its economic reform and opening-up policy in December 1978. The policy has resulted in the rise of China.

SOCIETY

When the PRC was founded in 1949, China had a population of 541.67 million. Two decades later, it reached 806.71 million (*Zhongguo wang*, "Population"). In the early 1970s, China began to implement a policy of family planning, often called the "One-Child Policy," to control population growth. The policy succeeded in reducing the fertility rate, from an average of 5.4 children per woman in 1971 to an estimated 1.7 children in 2004 (Library of Congress 2006, 10), resulting in 400 million fewer births by the end of 2005 (Xinhua, May 3, 2006). Nevertheless, China's population continued to grow, reaching 1.3 billion on January 5, 2005 (Xinhua, January 6, 2005).

China's family planning policy has resulted in some problems, including a serious gender imbalance. The ratio between males and females for the age group of 0–4 was 122.69:100 in 2004. The policy also contributed to a rapidly aging society. In 2005, 9.07 percent of the population was 65 years of age and older (*China Statistical Yearbook 2006*). That number is projected to increase to 11.8 percent in 2020 (Library of Congress 2006, 10).

China's overall population density was 135 persons per square kilometer in 2003. The most densely populated provinces are in the East and the least densely populated areas in the West, with Tibet having the lowest density at only two persons per square kilometer (*Zhongguo wang*, "Population"). In 2005, 57.01 percent of the population lived in rural areas, while 42.99 percent lived in urban settings (*China Statistical Yearbook 2006*). About 94 percent of the population lives on approximately 46 percent of the land (Library of Congress 2006, 9).

China is composed of 56 different nationalities or ethnic groups. The majority of the Chinese are the Hans, who make up about 92 percent of China's total population. It was in the Han Dynasty (206 BC–220 AD) that they adopted the name "Han." The major minority ethnic groups are Zhuang (16 million), Manchu (10 million), Hui (9 million), Miao (8 million), Uyghur (7 million), Yi (7 million), Mongolian (5 million), Tibetan (5 million), Buyi (3 million), and Korean (2 million). Fifty-three minority ethnic groups use spoken languages of their own and 23 of them have their own written languages (*Zhongguo wang*, "Population"; Wikipedia, "Nationalities of China"; Travel China Guide; Library of Congress 2006, 10).

China is a country with a great diversity of religious beliefs. The main religions are Buddhism, Taoism, Islam, Catholicism, and Protestantism. Buddhism is most

widely practiced, with an estimated 100 million adherents. Official figures indicate there are 20 million Muslims, 15 million Protestants, and five million Catholics. Unofficial estimates are much higher (U.S. Department of State, April 2006). Confucianism, which has guided Chinese society since the fifth century BC, is not a religion but a philosophy and system of ethical conduct.

While the Constitution of the PRC stipulates that "Citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of religious belief," the Chinese government places restrictions on religious practice outside officially recognized organizations. The constitution states that no one "may make use of religion to engage in activities that disrupt public order, impair the health of citizens or interfere with the educational system of the state" (Constitution of the PRC, December 4, 1982).

China's transportation networks have experienced dramatic expansion since the early 1980s. This is highlighted by the completion in 2006 of the railroad from Qinghai to Tibet, a remote area with seemingly insurmountable terrain.

China's telecommunications system has developed rapidly since the early 1980s. All parts of China are now linked by telephone, telegraph, radio, and television. Basic statistics are as follows:

Telephones - main lines in use	370 million (March 2007)
Telephones - mobile cellular	480 million (March 2007)
Internet users	162 million (June 30, 2007)
Number of Web sites	1.31 million (June 30, 2007)
Television sets	317 million (2001)
Radios	417 million (2001)
Television stations	352 (2006, broadcasting stations above county level)
Radio stations	273 (2006, broadcasting stations above county level)

Sources: Wikipedia, "Communications in the People's Republic of China"; China Internet Network Information Center; Xinhua (May 17, 2006); Library of Congress; *Zhongguo wang*, "Mass Media."

In 2003, China surpassed Japan to become the second largest consumer of primary energy, after the United States. China is also the third largest energy producer in the world, after the United States and Russia. Coal makes up the bulk of China's energy consumption (66.1 percent in 2002) and China is the largest producer and consumer of coal in the world. Petroleum fulfilled 13.5 percent and natural gas 3.0 percent of China's energy requirements in 2004 (Library of Congress 2006, 18). In 2004, crude imports surpassed 100 million tons and the country's dependence on imports stood at 40 percent (*PTI—The Press Trust of India Ltd.*, July 19, 2006). China's hydroelectric potential is the greatest in the world and the sixth largest in capacity. However, in 2002 hydroelectric power produced only 7.8 percent of China's energy needs. The Three Gorges hydropower project on the Yangzi River started delivering power to eastern and central provinces in July 2003 and is expected to produce 84.7 billion kilowatt hours per year when the project is completed in 2009. The main wall of the dam was completed in 2006, two years ahead of schedule (Library of Congress 2006, 19). In 2004, China's energy consumption grew by 15.5 percent, resulting in power cutoffs throughout most of

China's transportation

Airports:	486 (2006)
Airports with paved runways:	Total: 403
	over 3,047 m: 56
	2,438 to 3,047 m: 127
	1,524 to 2,437 m: 138
	914 to 1,523 m: 22
	under 914 m: 60 (2006)
Airports with unpaved runways:	Total: 83
	over 3,047 m: 4
	2,438 to 3,047 m: 2
	1,524 to 2,437 m: 13
	914 to 1,523 m: 25
	under 914 m: 39 (2006)
Heliports:	32 (2006)
Railways:	Total: 75,400 km (2005)
	multiple track: 24,100 km
	electrified: 18,900 km (2004)
Roadways:	Total: 1,930,543 km
	classified: 1,591,791 (with 41,005 km of expressways)
	non-classified: 338,752 km
	paved: 994,598 km
	unpaved: 935,945 km (2005)
Waterways:	123,300 km (2005)
Merchant marine:	waterway ships: 195,800
	coastal ships: 9,409
	ocean-going ships: 2,082 (2005)
Ports:	over 2,000

Sources: CIA *World Factbook; Zhongguo wang*, "Railways"; *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo jiaotongbu; China Statistical Yearbook 2006.*

the country. The situation was improved in 2005. In that year, the growth rate of energy consumption was 9.5 percent, while the country maintained a 9.9 percent economic growth rate (*BBC Monitoring International Reports* 2006). In 2006, China's energy consumption increased by 9.3 percent while its GDP grew by 10.7 percent (Reuters, 2007).

Since 1978 the Chinese government has been reforming its economy from a Soviet-style centrally planned economy to a more market-oriented economy. As a result, private ownership of production assets was legalized, although some nonagricultural and industrial facilities are still state-owned and centrally planned. With no intention to change China's political system, the CCP labeled the economic system "Socialism with Chinese characteristics."

China's economic reforms have not always been smooth. Price reforms in the late 1980s resulted in a surge of inflation, which contributed to the student

demonstrations in 1989. China's economy regained momentum in the early 1990s after China's paramount leader Deng Xiaoping's "southern tour" in early 1992. Deng made a series of political pronouncements designed to reinvigorate the process of economic reform. The 14th Party Congress later in the year backed Deng's renewed push for market reforms, stating that China's key task in the 1990s was to create a "socialist market economy."

The Chinese economy has been the world's fastest growing economy, with an average economic growth of 9.6 percent since 1979. In December 2005, China's National Bureau of Statistics revised its 2004 nominal GDP upwards by 16.8 percent or Rmb2,336.3 billion Yuan (U.S.$281.9 billion). In January 2006, the Chinese government announced that China achieved a national economic output of U.S. $2.26 trillion, surpassing France, Britain, and Italy to become the world's fourth-largest economy, after the United States, Japan, and Germany (Barboza 2005).

China's economic reforms started with agricultural reforms, which dismantled the commune system and introduced the household responsibility system that provided peasants greater decision making in agricultural activities. China ranks first worldwide in farm output. Just under half of China's labor force is engaged in agriculture, even though only about 15.4 percent of the land is suitable for cultivation. There are 329 million Chinese farmers (Wikipedia, "Economy of the People's Republic of China"). Virtually all arable land is used for food crops, and China is among the world's largest producers of rice, potatoes, sorghum, millet, barley, peanuts, tea, and pork. China is also a major exporter of nonfood crops, including cotton, other fibers, and oil seeds.

China ranks third worldwide in factory output. Industry and construction account for about 46 percent of China's GDP. Major industries are mining and ore processing; iron; steel; aluminum; coal; machinery; textiles and apparel; armaments; petroleum; cement; chemicals; fertilizers; consumer products including footwear, toys, and electronics; automobiles and other transportation equipment including rail cars and locomotives, ships, and aircraft; and telecommunications. China has become a preferred destination for the relocation of global manufacturing facilities. Its strength as an export platform has contributed to incomes and employment in China. The state-owned sector still accounts for about 40 percent of GDP (U.S. Department of State, April 2006).

Despite their successes in economic reforms, China's leaders face a variety of challenges to the nation's future economic development. They have to maintain a high growth rate to reduce unemployment, which is in the 8–10 percent range in urban areas (U.S. Department of State, April 2006), while protecting the environment and improving social equity. They also need to rebalance income distribution between urban and rural regions, and deal effectively with the rural work force. Other challenges include improving the financial system, continuing to reform the state-owned enterprises, fostering the productive private sector, establishing a social security system, improving scientific and educational development, promoting better international cooperation, and changing the role of the government in the economic system.

Rapid economic development has substantially improved the Chinese quality of life. They have more money to spend and bigger housing space. China's per

capita residence acreage in cities reached 23.67 square meters in 2003 (*Alestron* 2004).

According to the Chinese Ministry of Education, by the end of 2002, China had 456,900 primary schools and 65,600 junior high schools, with enrollment rates of 98.58 percent and 90 percent, respectively. China started to implement its nine-year compulsory education in 1986. By 2004, it had expanded to 90 percent of the population, the highest rate among the nine most populous countries in the world. The proportion of the government's fiscal investment in education to gross domestic product was 3.41 percent in 2002, up from 2.55 percent in 1998. Higher education had rapidly developed in size and quality, with 16 million students studying in 2,003 colleges and universities by the end of 2002, an enrolment rate of 15 percent. By the end of 2002, China had the world's biggest education system with 1.17 million schools and 318 million on-campus students. By 2004, illiteracy in the population had fallen to 6.72 percent from 80 percent before 1949 when the PRC was founded (Xinhua, January 6, 2004).

There is a widening gap between rich and poor in China. According to the Chinese government, the gap between the annual incomes of those below the poverty line (less than Rmb637 yuan [U.S.$77 per year] versus the national average annual income of Rmb2,622 yuan [U.S.$316]) widened from a ratio of 1:2.45 in 1992 to 1:4.12 in 2003 (*UPI NewsTrack* 2004). A September 2005 survey by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences showed that China's urban-rural wealth gap was already as large as 1:6, perhaps the worst in the world (*Duowei News* 2005).

China's economic reforms have unbraided the social safety net, dismantling collectives and sharply reducing central government spending on health care, leaving hundreds of millions of Chinese without affordable or competent service. A 2005 survey found that 49 percent of the Chinese could not afford to see a doctor when they became ill (Osnos 2005). The medicare reform has aroused many public complaints and is believed a failure. In 2002 China had nearly 1.7 physicians per 1,000 persons and about 2.4 beds per 1,000 persons. Health expenditures on a purchasing parity power (PPP) basis were U.S.$224 per capita in 2001, or 5.5 percent of gross domestic product. Some 37.2 percent of public expenditures were devoted to health care in China in 2001. However, about 80 percent of the health and medical care services were concentrated in cities, and timely medical care was not available to more than 100 million people in rural areas (Library of Congress 2006, 12).

Traditional Chinese culture discriminates against women. Women's social status was enhanced substantially after the CCP came to power in 1949. However, gender equality remains a challenge to China. Men still dominate the country's politics. Less than one fourth of the deputies in the Chinese People's Congress at various levels of government in China are women. It is usually easier for men to get training opportunities and job promotions than it is for women. A growing number of working women delay giving birth to children since they fear maternity leave would result in loss of promotions or even jobs. Women are the most common sufferers of domestic violence in China. According to a 2006 report of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, nine in ten victims of domestic violence are women (Xinhua, March 8, 2006).

China's growing ''floating population'' is a major concern. With economic reforms and a loosening of controls over where people live, millions of Chinese

have migrated from the countryside to urban areas, from developed economic areas to underdeveloped areas, and from the central and western regions to the eastern coastal region. The floating population increased from 70 million in 1993 to 140 million in 2003, thus exceeding 10 percent of the national population and accounting for 30 percent of all rural laborers (*People's Daily Online*, July 27, 2005). China's floating population has brought about a number of social issues. For instance, they have become a major factor in the spread of HIV. Government figures suggest that there were 650,000 HIV positive people in China in 2005, including 75,000 with AIDS. There were 25,000 AIDS-related deaths in China during 2005 alone (*Pharma Marketletter* 2006).

Before 1978, the needs of society were taken care of from cradle to grave by the government, including child care, education, job placement, housing, subsistence, health care, and elder care. As those systems disappeared or were reformed, the "iron rice bowl" approach to social security changed. Social security reforms since the late 1990s have included unemployment insurance, medical insurance, workers' compensation insurance, maternity benefits, communal pension funds, and individual pension accounts. It is believed that the Chinese government needs to do much more to stabilize the society.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

The PRC is an authoritarian state in which the CCP is the paramount source of power. Party members hold almost all top government, police, and military positions. Ultimate authority rests with members of the Politburo. The role of the Chinese government is to implement party policies. The primary organs of state power are the National People's Congress (NPC), the president (the head of state), and the State Council. The NPC is the highest organ of state power. The Standing Committee of the NPC is the permanent organ of the NPC. The term of office of the NPC and its Standing Committee is five years. The NPC and its Standing Committee are empowered with the rights of legislation, decision, supervision, election, and removal. The president is subordinate to the NPC and directly receives instructions from the supreme organ of state power. The State Council of the People's Republic of China, namely the Central People's Government, is the highest executive organ of state power, as well as the highest organ of state administration. The State Council is composed of a premier, vice premiers, state councillors, ministers in charge of ministries and commissions, the auditor-general, and the secretary general. The premier of the State Council is nominated by the president, reviewed by the NPC, and appointed and removed by the president. Other members of the State Council are nominated by the premier, reviewed by the NPC or its Standing Committee, and appointed and removed by the president. In the State Council, a single term of each office is five years, and incumbents cannot be reappointed after two successive terms.

The election of deputies to people's congresses at various levels follows these principles:

(1) universal suffrage: all citizens of the PRC who have reached the age of 18 have the right to vote and to stand for election, except persons deprived of political rights according to law;

(2) equal suffrage: each voter shall have the right to vote only once in an election, and zoning of electoral districts shall ensure that the number of people represented by each deputy from an electoral district is generally the same so as to protect the equal right of each voter;

(3) combining direct election with indirect election: deputies to the people's congresses at the county and township levels shall be elected directly by their constituencies, and deputies to the NPC and to the people's congresses of provinces, autonomous regions, municipalities directly under the Central government, cities divided into districts, and autonomous prefectures shall be elected by the people's congresses at the next lower level;

(4) secret ballot: the election of deputies to the people's congresses at various levels shall be by secret ballot;

(5) competitive election: the number of candidates for deputies to the people's congresses at various levels shall be greater than the number of deputies to be elected.

The democratic process of election exists on paper. In reality, the CCP maintains a close watch on electoral democracy at the grassroots levels and controls the outcome of elections at other levels.

The PRC is formally a multiparty state under the leadership of the CCP which, according to the official Xinhua News Agency, had 69 million CCP party members in 3.4 million CCP grass-root units in 2005 (*Asia Africa Intelligence Wire*, 2005). In practice the dominance over the political system is such that Mainland China is effectively a single-party state. The PRC political system does allow for the participation of some non-party members and minor parties within the NPC, but participants while not being party members themselves are vetted by the CCP.

The highest leading body of the CCP is the National Congress and the Central Committee elected by it. The National Congress of the Party is held once every five years and convened by the Central Committee.

The primary organs of power in the CCP include

- the Politburo Standing Committee, which currently (2007) consists of nine members;
- the Politburo, consisting of 24 full members, including the members of the Politburo Standing Committee;
- the Secretariat, the principal administrative mechanism of the CCP, headed by the general secretary;
- the Central Military Commission; and
- the Discipline Inspection Commission, which is charged with rooting out corruption and malfeasance among party cadres.

The eight registered minor parties include the Revolutionary Committee of the Guomindang (Kuomintang), China Democratic League, China Democratic National Construction Association, China Association for Promoting Democracy, Chinese Peasants' and Workers' Democratic Party, China Party for Public Interest, September 3 Society, and Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League.

The China Democracy Party is not officially recognized and therefore subject to official harassment.

China's current leadership under President Hu Jintao is the PRC's fourth generation leadership, after Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, and Jiang Zemin. Hu succeeded Jiang as CCP General Secretary in November 2002 at the 16th Congress of the CCP. It was the first normal transfer of power in the PRC's history. In every previous succession, either the incumbent had died, been physically incapacitated, or purged. Hu succeeded Jiang as president of China in March 2004 and then as chairman of the CCP Central Military Commission in September 2004, which marked the completion of power transfer.

Socialism has continued to provide the theoretical underpinning of national politics, but Marxist economic planning has given way to pragmatism, and economic decentralization increased the authority of local officials.

The CCP has largely succeeded in stabilizing the Chinese society and consolidating its control since the 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown. It achieved this by appealing to nationalism and patriotism, controlling personnel, media, and the security apparatus, and by substantially improving the living standards for most Chinese. However, China has shown signs of social instability. According to the Ministry of Public Security, in 2003 there were more than 58,000 "mass incidents"—the term the Chinese government uses to describe public protests—involving three million people, an increase of almost 15 percent over the year before (Lim 2004). The figure increased to 87,000 in 2005 (Bezlova 2006).

LAW AND ORDER

China's principal paramilitary organization is the People's Armed Police Force (PAP). The PAP was created in April 1983 by an amalgamation of the People's Liberation Army's (PLA's) border control and internal security units, as well as from Ministry of Public Security units. It was intended to remove domestic security functions from the PLA. There are militia forces of indeterminate strength under the control of CCP. Once a critical part of Mao Zedong's "people's war" strategy, militia units are no longer an essential part of China's military and have mostly disbanded.

The security apparatus is made up of the Ministry of State Security and the Ministry of Public Security, the People's Armed Police, the PLA, and the state judicial, procuratorial, and penal systems.

The Ministry of Public Security is the principal police authority in the PRC and the agency that is responsible for most of the day-to-day police work. It controls and administers the People's Armed Police. In general, however, the Ministry of Public Security does not undertake paramilitary functions, which are within the province of the People's Armed Police, nor does it generally conduct domestic intelligence which is the responsibility of the Ministry of State Security. Hong Kong and Macau have their own security bureaus/agencies and police forces.

The People's Armed Police Force, with its estimated total strength of 1.5 million personnel, is organized into 45 divisions (Library of Congress 2006, 40). These include internal security police, border defense personnel, guards for government buildings and embassies, and police communications specialists.

The Ministry of State Security was established in 1983. As the security agency of the PRC, it is the Chinese government's largest and most active foreign intelligence agency, though it is also involved in domestic security matters.

China is one of the countries with the lowest crime rates in the world. Of all the crimes reported, theft accounted for about 80 percent, but the violent crimes like murder and robbery are up. Crimes associated with gangs abroad, such as trafficking in narcotics, smuggling of gold and relics, and counterfeiting of currency and credit cards are also on the rise. Economic crimes have kept rising and are committed in a way more organized, more carefully plotted, and tactically disguised. Between 1990 and 2005, 6,819 officers died and 120,783 were injured in the line of duty. The number of fatalities during the 15-year period was almost five times the 1981–1989 figure and more than six times the total killed between 1949 and 1980 (Wang 2006). However, many of the casualties resulted from violent public protests instead of crimes.

Drug trafficking has increased dramatically since China opened up in the late 1970s. Police organs all over China cracked 52,500 drug trafficking cases from January 2005 to April 2006, according to the Ministry of Public Security. The police organs busted 1,279 drug trafficking gangs, arrested 66,800 suspects, seized 7.2 tons of heroin, 2.994 tons of opium, 6.3 tons of methamphetamine hydrochloride, 2.74 tons of ketamine, and 2.48 million Ecstasy pills. China had 785,000 drug addicts at the end of 2005, 89 percent of whom were addicted to heroin (Xinhua, July 14, 2006). Research has found that drug trafficking could be closely related to the spread of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in China. The HIV/AIDS epidemic appears to be spreading along drug trafficking routes extending from Yunnan Province, a trading center connecting China to Southeast Asia. By 1989, HIV infections had been discovered among intravenous drug users in western Yunnan Province, and the disease quickly spread to the Xinjiang Uighur and Guangxi Zhuang autonomous regions in northwest and southeast China, respectively (*Yomiuri Shimbun* 2005). Drug trafficking carries the death penalty in China.

According to the U.S. State Department's Trafficking in Persons Report of June 2006, China is a source, transit, and destination country for women, men, and children trafficked for purposes of sexual exploitation and forced labor. The majority of trafficking in China is internal, but there is also international trafficking of Chinese citizens to the rest of the world. It is estimated that at least 10,000–20,000 victims are trafficked internally each year. International organizations report that 90 percent are women and children, trafficked primarily from Anhui, Henan, Hunan, Sichuan, Yunnan, and Guizhou Provinces to prosperous provinces along China's east coast for sexual exploitation. The serious and prolonged imbalance in the male-female birth ratio may now be contributing to Chinese and foreign girls and women being trafficked as potential brides. While it has not complied with minimum standards for fighting the problem, China was praised in the report for "vigorously" investigating and prosecuting trafficking crimes. China also was said to have recognized a need to deal with the problem and to have made efforts to cooperate with international organizations (U.S. Department of State, June 2006).

China has a four-level court system. At the top is the Supreme People's Court in Beijing. Lower courts are the higher people's courts in provinces, autonomous regions and special municipalities; intermediate people's courts at the prefecture level and also in parts of provinces, autonomous regions, and special municipalities; and basic people's courts in counties, towns, and municipal districts. Special courts handle matters affecting the military, railroad transportation, water

transportation, and forestry. The court system is paralleled by a hierarchy of prosecuting organs called people's procuratorates; at the apex stands the Supreme People's Procuratorate.

Corruption has had a strong impact on the public's confidence in China's legal system. Human rights advocates say mistakes can easily be made in death penalty cases in China, where Amnesty International estimated that at least 3,400 people were executed in 2005—more than all other countries combined (Amnesty International). Beijing keeps the number of people executed a closely guarded secret and the actual figures are probably many times higher. Most Chinese support the use of the death penalty. But some are critical of its inconsistent application, especially when it comes to society's weak groups. In response, the government is introducing some reforms in a campaign the state press calls, "Kill fewer. Kill carefully." The Standing Committee of the NPC adopted an amendment on October 31, 2006, to the law on the country's court system, in an effort to restrict the power of provincial courts in issuing death sentences. Effective from January 1, 2007, all death penalties pronounced by provincial courts must be reviewed and ratified by the Supreme People's Court (*People's Daily Online*, October 31, 2006).

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

High-level party and government organizations such as the Central Committee, Political Bureau, party Secretariat, party and state Central Military Commissions, National People's Congress, and State Council and such leaders as the premier, president, and party general secretary all are involved in foreign relations to varying degrees. The party secretariat and the State Council together carry the major responsibility for foreign policy decisions.

The departments with foreign affairs responsibilities under the party secretariat include the International Liaison Department, the United Front Work Department, the Propaganda Department, and the Foreign Affairs Small Group.

Of the Chinese government institutions, the highest organ of state power, the National People's Congress, has only limited influence on foreign policy, mainly through its Standing Committee and its Foreign Affairs Committee. As the primary governmental organization under the National People's Congress, the State Council has a major role in foreign policy, particularly with regard to decisions on routine or specific matters, as opposed to greater questions of policy that might require party involvement. While the Ministry of Foreign Affairs remains the most important institution involved in conducting day-to-day foreign relations, many other ministries and organizations under the State Council have functions related to foreign affairs as well, such as the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade, Ministry of Finance, and Ministry of National Defense.

In the military system, there is the PLA General Staff Department. The Commission of Science, Technology and Industry for National Defense, which oversees China's defense research and development and defense industry, straddles the government and the military systems.

As a nation which was invaded by and lost territories to foreign powers in the "Century of Humiliation" (1840–1945), China is sensitive to national sovereignty.

To protect territorial integrity has always been China's foreign policy goal. Since the late 1970s, China has been focusing on economic development for domestic and international reasons. To create a peaceful international environment which is conducive to its economic development has been another key foreign policy goal. What has been influential is Deng Xiaoping's 16-character principle set after the 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown: *tao guang yang hui* (be skilful in hiding one's capacities and biding one's time), *shan yu shou zhuo* (be good at the tactics of low profile diplomacy), *jue bu dang tou* (never take the lead), and *you suo zuo wei* (take proper initiatives).

Officially, China has long stood for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. China also has a long-standing policy of never to be the first to use its nuclear weapons. However, it is believed that China is upgrading its nuclear arsenal and its "no first use" policy is also under pressure.

According to the Pentagon, China has only 20 missiles capable of reaching the American mainland. China has another 20 or so liquid-fueled DF-4s (also called CSS-3s) and as many as 50 DF-21s (CSS-5s) that can reach targets in Asia and Russia. The total number of nuclear warheads is usually estimated in the low hundreds, compared with America's more than 5,000 (*The Economist [US]* 2006). China's nuclear capability was enhanced with the deployment of DF-31s (CSS-9s). These are mounted on trucks or railcars, making them much harder to find. A longer-range version, the DF-31A with a range of 11,270 kilometers (about 7,000 miles) could be in operation in 2007 (Kim 2006). The JL-2, a submarine-launched missile, could be deployed between 2007 and 2010. These missiles are able to reach all of America (*The Economist [US]* 2006). China's effort to upgrade its nuclear arsenal is believed to be a reaction to U.S. policies, including a shift in U.S. nuclear targeting priorities away from Russia and toward China, U.S. determination to go ahead with its national missile defense system which may neutralize China's limited nuclear deterrent, and U.S. nuclear cooperation with India.

China holds a permanent seat, which affords it veto power, on the Security Council of the United Nations. China is an active member of numerous UN system organizations, including the UN General Assembly and Security Council; Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN; UN Conference on Trade and Development; UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization; UN Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees; and UN Truce Supervision Organization. China also holds memberships in the African Development Bank, Asian Development Bank, Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation, Association of Southeast Asian Nations (dialogue partner), Association of Southeast Asian Nations Regional Forum, Bank for International Settlements, Caribbean Development Bank, Group of 77, International Atomic Energy Agency, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, International Chamber of Commerce, International Civil Aviation Organization, International Criminal Police Organization, International Development Association, International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, International Finance Corporation, International Fund for Agricultural Development, International Hydrographic Organization, International Labor Organization, International Maritime Organization, International Monetary Fund, International Olympic Committee, International Organization for Migration (observer), International Organization for

Standardization, International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, International Telecommunication Union, Latin American Integration Association (observer), Non-Aligned Movement (observer), Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, Permanent Court of Arbitration, Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Universal Postal Union, World Customs Organization, World Health Organization, World Intellectual Property Organization, World Meteorological Organization, World Tourism Organization, World Trade Organization, and Zangger Committee.

China has no registration system for international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) operating in China. Even the government department has no official figures. However, more and more INGOs have entered China since the late 1970s. The estimates of INGOs in China range from 500 to 6,500 (Zhang 2005). All unregistered INGOs share the same problem of having no legal status, which causes trouble not only in developing members and receiving donations, but also in recruiting employees and entry-exit procedures. Although their status is unclear, their activities are not so affected, and many INGOs have begun to work together with government departments. Under most situations, INGOs pay great attention to cooperation with Chinese organizations to realize indigenization through recruiting and training local people. International human rights NGOs, such as Amnesty International, are not permitted to operate in China.

The number of China's NGOs varies substantially. According to the Ministry of Civil Affairs, there were approximately 165,600 NGOs in China in 2000 (Chen 2000). Some believe that by 2002 there were 230,000 officially registered NGOs, and up to two million unregistered NGOs in China (Economy 2004, 132). The official Xinhua News Agency indicated in 2004 that the number was just over 10,000 (Xinhua, March 12, 2004). The difference lies partly in different definitions of NGOs in China.

China completed its transition from aid recipient to international donor in 2005. The World Food Programme made its last donation to China in April 2005, marking the end of a 26-year program which started in 1979 and supported more than 30 million hungry people (Watts 2004). In 2005, China surpassed Japan to become the world's third largest food aid donor, following the United States and the European Union. Donations from China almost tripled to 636,000 tons and accounted for more than half of the rise in overall food aid donations in 2005 (Ang 2006). Most of China's aid went to hunger-stricken North Korea, its longtime communist ally, with the rest going to Liberia, Guinea Bissau, Sri Lanka, and a dozen other countries.

China first sent its military observers as peacekeeping personnel in 1990. From April 1992 to September 1993, China deployed a military construction brigade of 800 engineers to Cambodia (*Zhongguo jun wang*). This was the first Chinese peacekeeping force. Since then, China has been gradually increasing its participation in peacekeeping operations of the United Nations. The PLA had sent more than 2,000 servicemen to participate in 11 peacekeeping operations of the UN by the end of 2003. In 2004, China decided to send a 550-member peacekeeping force to Liberia (Xinhuanet, 2004). In the same year, China had peacekeepers in other areas, such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, Afghanistan, and the autonomous province of

Kosovo in Serbia and Montenegro. China also sent peacekeeping observers to Ethiopia and Eritrea, various Middle Eastern countries, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Sierra Leone, and Western Sahara. In addition, China deployed 95 riot police officers as part of a 125-member unit to Haiti for the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH), a nation with which Beijing does not have diplomatic relations. Chinese civil police were also sent to East Timor in 2004 (Library of Congress 2006, 40).

SECURITY

The PLA includes an army, navy, air force, and strategic nuclear forces, and serves as the military of the PRC. Its 2.25-million-strong force makes it the largest standing army in the world, in terms of the number of troops (3.25 million if active paramilitary personnel are included) (Wikipedia, "People's Liberation Army").

Within the PRC government, the PLA maintains a semi-autonomous existence. The PLA reports to two Central Military Commissions (CMC), one belonging to the state and one belonging to the party. The two CMCs normally are not in conflict because they are actually one organization with two names. Their membership is usually identical. The Party CMC is subordinate to the secretary general of the CCP while the State CMC is nominally subordinate to the State Council and the NPC which in practice have very little control over the CMC. The Minister of National Defense is not the head of the military and is usually a vice chairman of the CMC. Under the CMC are the General Staff Headquarters, the General Logistics Department, the General Armaments Department, and the General Political Department. The General Political Department maintains a system of political commissars which maintain a separate chain of command to ensure loyalty to the party and the civilian government. Under the General Staff Headquarters

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People's Liberation Army Military Manpower

Military age	18 years of age
Voluntary	Ages 18–49 to join
Availability	Males aged 18–49: 342,956,265 Females aged 18–49: 324,701,244 (2005 est.)
Fit for military service	Males aged 18–49: 281,240,272 Females aged 18–49: 269,025,517 (2005 est.)
Active troops	2,250,000
Total troops	18,224,000
Paramilitary force	1,500,000
Reaching military age annually	Males: 13,186,433 Females: 12,298,149 (2005 est.)

Source: Wikipedia, "People's Liberation Army."

are the seven military area commands: Shenyang, Beijing, Lanzhou, Jinan, Nanjing, Guangzhou, and Chengdu.

China defined its national security in excessively narrow military terms in the Cold War years. China believed it was under constant threat from the United States and then the Soviet Union. Beijing's ideology-oriented worldview determined that it would always have a strong sense of military insecurity.

Chinese analysts accept that security now means "comprehensive security" (*zonghe anquan*). It no longer is equal to national defense and diplomacy and is no longer limited to the defense of national sovereignty and territorial integrity. In addition to traditional military security, national security now includes, among other issues, economic security, political security, societal security, environmental security, human security, and technological security.

The fundamental change in China's understanding of national security is the realization that without a strong economy, the military dimension of national security is not sustainable. This understanding contributed to China's concept of "comprehensive national power" which has constituted the foundation of China's foreign and domestic policies. However, it is believed that military security is no less important than economic security. Chinese analysts still regard military security an effective guarantee of comprehensive security and the last resort.

Beijing's security map is different from those of many other governments in that Beijing has to take care of not only China's external and internal security, but also the complex Taiwan issue.

Chinese leaders see no major military clashes between China and other great powers before 2020. They have deemed this period "an important period of strategic opportunities" for China's economic development. This understanding is not unqualified. First, it can be challenged by the Taiwan issue and the possible U.S. involvement. Second, it does not mean that China has become very much relaxed with its strategic environment. A number of Chinese analysts have alerted policymakers that China's strategic environment has become more complicated. On the one hand, the United States is regarding China as the key potential rival. On the other hand, Japan has become more active militarily. Nevertheless, it is generally agreed that China's external environment will remain largely peaceful in the coming years.

China has territorial disputes with a number of countries, including the dispute over Kashmir with India, the Spratly Islands with Malaysia, Philippines, Vietnam, Brunei, and possibly Indonesia, some of the Paracel Islands with Vietnam, Diaoyu (Senkaku) Islands with Japan, Japan's unilaterally declared equidistance line in the East China Sea, and certain islands in the Yalu and Tumen rivers with North Korea. China's territorial disputes with Russia have been mostly resolved.

For Chinese leaders more imminent security concerns are not externally sourced but from within. As an undemocratically elected government in a globalized world, Beijing is acutely aware of its vulnerability. A Marxist or Communist utopia is no longer appealing to the Chinese and the Chinese economy is now more capitalist than socialist. Beijing has a persistent sense of internal crisis. It faces a number of explosive issues, especially the widening gap between rich and poor, mass unemployment, rampant corruption and environmental degradation.

The biggest threat to China is that internal and external threats combine forces. China's late paramount leader Deng Xiaoping used to remind his comrades that the 1989 Chinese students' antigovernment demonstrations were the result of the combination of external environment and internal problems. Externally, the West had been trying to "peacefully change China" by exporting Western values to China. Internally, antigovernment forces had played upon China's social problems, such as corruption and inflation. Similarly, Falun Gong and separatists in Tibet and Xinjiang have all been accused of plotting with foreign hostile forces for anti-China activities.

Muslim separatists in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region present China with its most significant terrorist threat, which emerged in the late 1980s. In 2003 Beijing published an "East Turkistan Terrorist List," which labeled organizations such as the World Uyghur Youth Congress and the East Turkistan Information Center as terrorist entities. These groups openly advocate independence for "East Turkistan" but have not been publicly linked to violent activity. However, the East Turkistan Islamic Movement is listed as terrorist by China, the United States, and the United Nations. This and other Uyghur separatist groups reputedly were trained in Afghanistan to fight with the Taliban and Al Qaeda. The East Turkistan Islamic Movement was established in 1990 and has links to the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, which operates throughout Central Asia. The separatists have resorted to violence, bomb attacks, assassinations, and street fighting. Beijing responds to these attacks with police and military action.

The deadly severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) epidemic has also alerted the Chinese that they need a more sophisticated nontraditional security system. The SARS crisis is the most dramatic event that has driven home China's vulnerability to nontraditional security threats.

The Taiwan issue is closely related to China's external security and internal stability. Externally, a military clash across the Taiwan Strait could end up with a China-U.S. military conflict. Internally, a soft stance on the Taiwan issue could trigger off social instability and a power struggle in China.

Taiwan's politics have been developing in Beijing's favor since April 2005 when Lien Chan, then Chairman of Kuomintang, which had been the CCP's rival for over seven decades, and the CCP General Secretary Hu Jintao had a historic meeting in Beijing. The meeting and the subsequent events have reduced the tension across the Taiwan Strait. However, strong opposition to and mistrust of Beijing still exists in Taiwan. While a large-scale military clash across the Strait is unlikely in the near future, Taiwan remains a long-term security concern to Beijing.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The observance of human rights in mainland China has been criticized by other nations, particularly Western democracies, and international organizations. Sustained Western attention to Chinese human rights abuses did not begin until Deng Xiaoping came to power and opened up China in 1978. Yet Deng's regime undoubtedly improved human rights. It rehabilitated tens of millions of political victims, dissolved the castle-like "class status" system, promoted economic freedom, and loosened political and religious repression.

Compared to the earlier years of stringent rule by the Maoist regime, China's citizens enjoy a much wider range of human rights and the basic exercising of their constitutional freedoms. China's economic growth and reform since 1978 has improved dramatically the lives of hundreds of millions of Chinese, increased social mobility, and expanded the scope of personal freedom. This has meant substantially greater freedom of travel, employment opportunity, educational and cultural pursuits, job and housing choices, and access to information. In recent years, China has also passed new criminal and civil laws that provide additional safeguards to citizens. Village elections have been carried out in over 90 percent of China's one million villages (U.S. Department of State, April 2006). Although tightly regulated, the mass media are relatively more freewheeling than in the past.

Some major foreign concerns with China's human rights have been as follows:

- Political imprisonment
- Religious repression
- Problems with criminal procedure
- Capital punishment
- Ethnic minorities, especially Tibetans and Uyghurs
- Coercive population planning
- Prison maltreatment and labor camp exports
- Denial of the right to strike
- Denial of freedom of the press
- Repatriation of North Korean refugees

The Chinese government used to rebut Western criticisms categorically. In recent years, it has acknowledged that China does have significant human rights problems but argues that these problems can be addressed under the current political system. It is argued that to push for fundamental changes risks stability and economic development. The government insists that the most important rights for the Chinese are those to survival and development. It points out that China has 22 percent of the world's population with only 7 percent of the world's arable land. Issues like food and housing have always been a challenge to the government.

China in 2004 amended Article 33 of its 1982 Constitution, adding, "The State respects and preserves human rights." The Article also states that "Every citizen enjoys the rights and at the same time must perform the duties prescribed by the Constitution and the law." Article 35 of the Constitution guarantees "freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of association, of procession and of demonstration" (Constitution of the PRC, December 4, 1982).

In 2004, China was a member of 21 international conventions on human rights, including the four Geneva Conventions of August 12, 1949, and their two Additional Protocols, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crimes of Apartheid, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention Relating to the Status of

Refugees, the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, the Convention on the Rights of Children and the Convention Concerning Equal Remuneration for Men and Women Workers for Work of Equal Value (Information Office of the State Council of the PRC, April 2005). In 1997 China signed the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. A year later it signed the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. This is a significant development for the promotion and implementation of international human rights standards in China. These International Covenants are considered the cornerstones of the United Nations human rights framework.

It took 30 years for the PRC to enact its first laws. Until 1979 there were no legal standards to guide judges to try criminals. The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the CCP held in December 1978, after 10 years of social and political instability caused by the ''Cultural Revolution,'' decided to reconstruct China's legal and justice systems. The Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China was adopted at the second session of the 5th National People's Congress in July 1979. The Criminal Procedure Law of the People's Republic of China was also adopted at the same session.

China's criminal justice system consists of police, procurates, courts, and correctional institutions. At the central level, the Ministry of Public Security and the Ministry of Justice administer China's police and correctional institutions, respectively. The Supreme People's Court is the highest judicial branch in the country. The Supreme People's Procurate is the highest state branch of legal supervision, with prosecution as its main function. The police departments or bureaus, the justice departments or bureaus, and procurates and courts at various levels are established to fulfill their respective duties in their own jurisdictions.

The Criminal Law provides that Principal Punishments are classified as control, criminal detention, fixed term imprisonment, life imprisonment, and death penalty. The people's procuratorates (public prosecutors) are responsible for initiating public prosecution. The people's procuratorates have the power to investigate criminal cases as well as the power to make decisions of prosecution, non-prosecution, or exemption from prosecution in each criminal case considering the evidence of the case and nature and circumstances of the crime. The people's courts are responsible for adjudication, and no other bodies are given the power to adjudicate criminal cases.

China's National People's Congress removed the ''counterrevolutionary'' offenses from the Criminal Law when it was revised in March 1997. The revised Criminal Law came into force in October 1997.

Corruption has seriously undermined confidence in China's legal and justice systems. However, few of the issues which most concern the international community have strong support in China. Most Chinese appear to be unconcerned with the protection of the rights of political dissidents, religious minorities, and criminal defendants. Most Han Chinese consider that the Central government has been generous to the Tibetans. Many urban Chinese support an aggressive program of population planning. Many Chinese agree with their government that organized religion is a threat to the country and social stability. It has been a widely shared concern in China that drastic political liberalization may jeopardize social stability

which is crucial to economic development. Nevertheless, support for political liberalization is growing.

Regarding the human rights issue as a matter of sovereignty and being suspicious of Western governments' human rights diplomacy, the Chinese government has been reluctant in promoting human rights in developing countries. In recent years, however, China has become more active in international human rights organizations and now has active human rights dialogues with a number of countries, including Australia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Germany, Hungary, Japan, Norway, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States, as well as with the European Union. China demands that the dialogues must be based on equality and mutual respect.

CONCLUSION

The Chinese have long maintained a "love-hate" sentiment toward the United States. Historically, America piggybacked on concessions won by Great Britain after the Opium War of the early 1840s that started China's "Century of Humiliation." Yet at the same time, America made efforts to protect China's territorial integrity against powers like Japan, although arguably the efforts were mainly for America's own interests. The Korean War of the early 1950s resulted in strong hatred among the Chinese for "American imperialists" in the following two decades. The hatred was then quickly replaced by their affection for America after President Richard Nixon's 1972 visit to Beijing. Notwithstanding some problems, the love affair between China and America continued until the Tiananmen Square crackdown in June 1989. Then the Cold War ended in the early 1990s, which resulted in a dramatic decrease of China's strategic importance to America. Since then, as the United States pressured China on a range of issues, the Chinese started to view America with suspicion. That suspicion turned into hatred in May 1999 when U.S. planes bombed the Chinese Embassy in the Yugoslav capital, Belgrade. The bombing stirred up fervent nationalism in China. Nevertheless, Sino-American relations remained stable in President Bill Clinton's second term (1997–2001) with Washington defining China as a U.S. "strategic partner."

Shortly after President George W. Bush came to office in 2001, Sino-American relations experienced a dramatic downturn. A series of events seriously strained the bilateral relationship, including Bush's determination to push forward the national missile defense system, the mid-air collision between a U.S. EP-3 surveillance plane and a Chinese interceptor (and the subsequent 11-day tense standoff over the 24 American crew members), the largest sale of American arms to Taiwan in a decade, and Bush's pledge to do "whatever it took" to help Taiwan defend itself against a mainland Chinese military attack. Chinese analysts were relieved to see the improvement of Sino-American relations after 9/11 although they remain concerned about future development.

Unlike U.S. policy toward China which is often criticized for lacking consistency, China has consistently shown restraint and caution to avoid unduly antagonizing the United States. In spite of Chinese suspicions toward U.S. strategic intentions, the top leadership has refrained from publicly endorsing any of the alarmist views. The Chinese leadership knows well that China can ill afford a

rupture in its relations with the United States. Among other issues, the United States is China's most important market and a key source of investment. Bilateral trade volume between China and the United States amounted to U.S.$211.51 billion in 2005 (*China Statistical Yearbook 2006*). According to U.S. statistics, the two-way trade in 2005 reached U.S.$242.6 billion with a U.S. trade deficit of U.S.$201.2 billion which China argues is an exaggeration (*PTI—The Press Trust of India Ltd.*, February 25, 2006). The deficit should be U.S.$114.17 billion according to Chinese statistics (China Daily Information Company, 2006). U.S. trade deficit with China jumped to U.S.$232.5 in 2006 based on U.S. statistics (Seager, 2007).

One of the biggest challenges to the Chinese leadership with regard to U.S. policy is the Taiwan issue. As a nation that historically suffered abuse at the hands of foreign powers, China is acutely sensitive to infringements of its sovereignty. As a government that can no longer ignore public opinion, Beijing could also find its hands tied in dealing with Washington. At the same time, however, Beijing is constrained by its desire to have a good relationship with Washington.

The achievements of China's economic reforms have been well recognized. Before 1978 when China started the reforms, the economy of the egalitarian China was at the brink of collapse and millions of Chinese starved. Since 1979, China's GDP has grown with an annual average of 9.6 percent. The economic development enabled China to dramatically reduce poverty, from 250 million in 1978 to 23.65 million in 2005—nearly three-quarters of the poverty alleviation by the developing world (Viswanath 2005; Xinhua, August 24, 2006).

The human security benefit of China's economic success was achieved only with a huge human security cost. As mentioned earlier, China's urban-rural wealth gap is perhaps the worst in the world. Environmental degradation is threatening millions of Chinese. Respiratory diseases have been a leading cause of death among both children and adults. Chinese environmental officials warn that China's economic miracle will soon be over because the environment will not be able to bear it much longer. Stability as a precondition for economic development has been the Chinese government's top priority. It is often achieved at a high human security cost. One of the key reasons why the outbreak of SARS in 2003 was initially covered up was that the officials wanted to maintain stability while people were celebrating the Chinese New Year, a politically and economically important time.

Against this background, the Chinese government proposed a "scientific concept of development." The concept is seen as the core thinking of the new leadership under President Hu Jintao. It puts social development, environmental protection, and sustainable growth ahead of a relentless push for GDP growth. It was acclaimed by the Chinese Communist Party's *People's Daily* as "a human-centred scientific concept of development featuring humanistic governance and comprehensive, coordinated and sustainable development of the economy and society."

The core elements of the concept are policies of "putting people first" and "creating a harmonious society," both essential to human security. More specifically, the "putting people first" policy consists of the following elements: adherence to the principle of centering on economic development; a coordinated development of the economy and society; the need to achieve a coordinated development between urban and rural areas; coordinated development among different regions;

a sustainable development, by coordinating a harmonious development between human beings and nature; adherence to China's reform and opening-up drive; and the principle of centering on people.

The concept has resulted in some positive changes. A major challenge to China has been the "three rural problems"—peasants, agriculture, and rural areas. Since 2004, Chinese peasants have been relieved from some taxes. The tax on special agricultural products was rescinded, and agricultural tax will be rescinded by 2009. Pupils in poor areas have been given free textbooks and exempted from school fees since 2004, a policy that will be extended to all rural areas by 2007.

The Chinese government has also shown concern for urban and rural residents who were forcibly evicted from their homes by greedy developers acting in collusion with corrupt local officials. There are now more regulations and enforcement to deal with the problem of forced relocation due to construction projects.

China also amended its constitution to protect private property rights and added to the constitution the first-ever mention of human rights in 2004. The amendments are largely symbolic. They nevertheless constitute another indication that the government is paying more attention to human security.

What is also conducive to the improvement of human security in China is the accountability of bureaucrats and political leaders for the loss of human life. In China, 370 workers get killed in industrial accidents and related mishaps on an average day (Lam 2004). Officials will be forced to resign for serious policy blunders and man-made disasters in their jurisdictions under a new accountability system. The concept is regarded as "revolutionary" for China's bureaucracy as Chinese officials have seldom left their positions due to poor performance since the Communist Party took power in 1949.

Despite these positive changes, the Chinese government's attention to human security issues should be put in perspective. Human security has "twin imperatives" — "protection" and "empowerment." Human security is protective as people and communities are deeply threatened by events largely beyond their control. On the other hand, the top-down approach is fundamentally undemocratic and potentially counterproductive. There is therefore a corresponding requirement to empower people—a bottom-up approach.

Beijing is not committed to empowering people at this stage. All the policies are made from the top with little participation of the people. Democracy is believed to be the key to empowering people. But Beijing is in no hurry to carry out democratization or dramatic political liberalization. Instead of democratization, Beijing has pledged more efforts for the government's "self-improvement," which involves a further transformation of government functions, scientific and democratic policy making, administration according to law, acceptance of public supervision, and a better civil service contingent. All this is included in the Communist Party Central Committee's Decision on Enhancing the Party's Ability to Govern which was officially adopted at the fourth plenum of the 16th Central Committee in September 2004.

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Colombia

Harvey F. Kline

BACKGROUND

Colombia is located in northern South America, bordering the Caribbean Sea, between Panama and Venezuela, and bordering the North Pacific Ocean, between Ecuador and Panama. The country has one of the most challenging topographies of the world, including three ranges of the Andes Mountains, the Amazon rainforest, and grasslands of the Orinoco River. In addition to the mainland, the country governs several Caribbean islands, the largest of which are San Andrés and Providencia. Colombia's natural resources include petroleum, natural gas, coal, iron ore, nickel, gold, copper, emeralds, and hydropower. Key environmental questions are waste management and the toxic effects of cocaine processing.

Outline of History from Settlement

When Colombia was settled by the Spanish in the sixteenth century, they encountered relatively advanced Amerindian groups, especially the Musicas in the high plains around what today is Bogotá. Independence came from the Spanish in 1820 and during the first 10 years the country (called "Nueva Granada") was a part of Gran Colombia along with Venezuela and Ecuador. After the disintegration of Gran Colombia, Colombia settled into patterns that have subsisted since: elections and civilian government; violence, first related between two political parties founded in the 1830s; and weak law enforcement. There were six civil wars between the two parties in the nineteenth century and two in the twentieth. While the first in the latter century was short, the longest and most violent (called "La Violencia" by Colombians) came from 1946 to 1964. During this confrontation at least 200,000 Colombians died.

Colombian politics has also been characterized by coalitions of the party leaders, with 12 occasions between 1854 and 1949 when one political party at the elite level entered into a coalition with all or part of the other political party. These elite

Colombia

Formal name of country: Republic of Colombia

Size of country: 1,138,910 sq km

Natural resources: Petroleum, natural gas, coal, iron ore, nickel, gold, copper, emeralds, and hydropower

Population: 41,242,948 (2005 Census)

Life expectancy at birth: 71

Key ethnic groups: Multi-ethnic society, with about three million indigenous people, divided into many groups.

Key religions: Roman Catholic Church is largest; evangelical protestant groups are growing.

Political system: Democracy, presidential system

Key political groups/parties: System in transition, with Liberal and Conservative parties being replaced as largest.

Legal system: Napoleonic code system, changing marginally since 1991 constitution in prosecutorial forms.

Real GDP growth: 5.1% (2005)

Population below poverty line: 49.2% (2005)

Size of military: Army (about 180,000 members), police (about 150,000), air force (about 10,000), and navy (about 5,000)

Relationship with the United States: The two governments have a very close relationship, with the United States government assisting the Colombian government in its counterinsurgency struggle through Plan Colombia.

Important human security issues: (1) Threat from Marxist insurgency; (2) threat, although lessening, from paramilitary groups; (3) extremely inequitable distribution of income; (4) violence that comes from drug groups

Future important security issues: (1) Continuing threat from Marxist insurgency; (2) increasing "common crime" as paramilitary groups demobilize; (3) violence related to drugs, emeralds, and other sources of wealth.

Sources: "Colombia" in CIA *World Factbook*, https://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/co.html; Population, "Colombia Ocupa el Puesto 28 en Población en el Mundo," Presidencia de la República de Colombia," July 11, 2006, http://www.presidencia.gov.co/sne/2006/julio/11/19112006.htm

coalitions tended to take place when presidents assumed dictatorial powers, when party hegemonies shifted, and, especially in the twentieth century, when elite-instigated violence got out of control. The longest, most formal coalition was the National Front (1958–1974). In a consociational agreement first proposed by leaders of the Liberal and Conservative parties but later approved in a national referendum and as a constitutional amendment by the Congress, the two parties share power equally. The presidency alternated between the two parties every four years (no other was legal), while all legislative bodies were divided equally, as were executive cabinets at all levels, governors, mayors, and non-civil-service bureaucrats.

After 1960 violence took new forms as Marxist revolutionary groups, paramilitary squads, and drug dealers emerged. In the 1960s and 1970s, four main guerrilla groups were operating in Colombia: the Armed Forces of the Colombian Revolution (FARC), the Army of National Liberation (ELN), the Nineteenth of April Movement (M-19), and the Popular Army of Liberation (EPL). The latter two

THE ARMED FORCES OF THE COLOMBIAN REVOLUTION (FARC)

The Armed Forces of the Colombian Revolution was founded in 1964. Since that date it has been trying to overthrow the Colombian government, making it the oldest and largest Marxist guerrilla movement in Latin America. Various Colombian Presidents have tried to negotiate peace with the FARC, most notably Andrés Pastrana (1998–2002). Pastrana granted a demilitarized zone the size of Switzerland to the FARC but in the end was unsuccessful in negotiating peace with the guerrilla group. Current President Alvaro Uribe refuses to grant demilitarized zones to the FARC, something they demand before any negotiations. Although it has troops throughout Colombia, the FARC is especially strong in the southern, Amazon region which is also the center of its coca growing and drug trafficking activities. Because of that economic activity, the FARC has great resources, allowing it to be well armed.

demobilized in 1990; the FARC and the ELN remain in combat today. The FARC, the largest, most militant, best-armed, and best-trained guerrilla group, had roughly 20,000 active combatants in 2006. It is financed by its role in the cocaine trade.

Private justice began early in Colombian history. In the nineteenth century private justice groups first appeared when large land-owners established their own justice system on their lands. After the end of La Violencia, in 1965 President Guillermo León Valencia issued Decree 3398 which gave legal status to paramilitary groups. The basic clause said that the government could use any citizen in activities to reestablish normalcy. In this way, the weak state could enlist the help of private groups to battle the guerrillas. The national army was to arm and train the private individuals, and close ties developed between many paramilitary groups and the military. The government support of paramilitary groups officially ended in the late 1980s. Human rights groups suggest that a strong linkage between the Colombian military and paramilitary groups still exists.

Colombia began a major role in the international marijuana trade in the 1970s. However, it developed its key function in the drug industry when leaders from Medellín first decided to diversify to cocaine and then to initiate large shipments of the drug. As a result a new economic group grew up around the illicit drug industry. While later the cartels of Medellín and Cali became internationally known, as early as December 1981 the Colombian drug industry held a secret national convention, at which 223 drug-gang bosses created a paramilitary group called "Death to Kidnappers" (*Muerte a Secuestradores*, MAS). Since the death of the Medellín group leader Pablo Escobar and the incarceration of the Cali leaders in the early 1990s, many smaller groups continue the illicit trade.

Colombian presidents since the 1980s have attempted to end the violence through increasing military strength, making the country more democratic, and improving the justice system. All efforts have so far failed (Kline, 1999, chapters 4 and 7).

SOCIETY

With 41 million inhabitants, Colombia ranks 28th in the world in population and third in Latin America. The population has a higher percentage of women than men, in the case of Bogotá 52.5 percent to 47.5 percent. Of each 100 Colombians, only 24 are legally married while 27 live in a common-law relationship or are separated or divorced. The average home has one or two people (27 percent). After leading the world in the 1960s with a birth rate of over 3 percent, the growth rate

today is similar to the United States: 1 percent. While a century ago on average women had 14 children, today it is 2.4. Life expectancy is 71 years (*Semana*, May 23, 2006)

Slightly over three-quarters (78 percent) of Colombians live in cities, and 37.3 percent live in the four largest cities and their suburbs. The four largest are Bogotá (7.88 million or 19.11 percent of the nation's total), Medellín (3.31 million, 8.03 percent), Cali (2.53 million, 6.13 percent), and Barranquilla (1.69 million, 4.11 percent) (*El Tiempo*, May 23, 2006).

Ethnic Groups

Colombia is a multiracial society, with members of all three racial groups plus all the possible combinations. No recent Colombian census has included race as one of the variables. While the Central Intelligence Agency publishes figures on the racial breakdown of the country, in fact no one knows what it is.

There are some three million indigenous people (defined in Colombia as individuals of indigenous ethnic background who still speak an indigenous language and dress in a traditional way). Their situation is dire. The 8 percent of the national population who live on reservations, which make up 30 percent of the national territory, have been devastated by both indiscriminate and selective murders, massive displacement, the forced recruitment of young people by insurgent groups, rape of women, and seizure of their land. Indigenous groups have organized meetings and marches to urge the government to protect them more efficiently. However, those actions have not had the desired positive effects.

Traditionally, members of the Afro Colombian community were defined as descendants of escaped slaves who had moved to isolated communities. Today, especially with the displacement of many Afro Colombians to the large cities because of the rampant violence, those descendants are found in all parts of the country, along with other people of similar ethnic background who have never lived in remote areas. They are estimated at about 10 million people, spread out across the country but concentrated in the major cities. While there is no legal discrimination against them and they have had some representatives in high levels of politics, Afro Colombians typically are of lower income, education, and social class.

Refugees and/or Internally Displaced People

Each year many Colombians are wounded, killed, or forced to flee their homes because of the violence of guerrilla and paramilitary groups. In 2003 some 250,000 citizens were displaced by the violence, bringing the number of displaced people in the country to 2.73 million, a total third largest in the world behind the Sudan and Congo (*El Tiempo*, May 28, 2004). One 2006 estimate was that the number of displaced people had reached three million. The Colombian government has few effective programs to assist these displaced people.

Religious Beliefs

While Colombia was traditionally one of the most Roman Catholic countries in the world, in the last 20 years large numbers of citizens have joined other religions,

including as many as 600,000 who have become evangelical Christians. While the Roman Catholic hierarchy is not controlled in any way by the government, and divorce has existed since the 1991 constitution, Colombians still observe numerous church holidays.

Economy

In 2006 Colombia ranked 99th in the world in gross domestic product per capita, at $8,600 a year (CIA). The economy still suffers from weak domestic and foreign demand, austere government budgets, and serious internal armed conflict, but seems poised for recovery. Other economic problems include reforming the pension system to reducing high unemployment. Two of Colombia's leading exports, oil and coffee, face uncertain futures; new exploration is needed to offset declining oil production, while coffee harvests and prices are depressed. On the positive side, several international financial institutions have praised the economic reforms introduced by President Uribe, which include measures designed to reduce the public-sector deficit below 2.5 percent of the GDP, in 2004. The government's economic policy and democratic security strategy have engendered a growing sense of confidence in the economy, particularly within the business sector, and GDP growth in 2003 was among the highest in Latin America.

In the past half century, the Colombian economy has diversified greatly. It is no longer dependent on coffee as its major export. In 2003 the major exports were oil and related products (26.0 percent); coal (10. 9 percent); basic chemicals (7.3 percent); coffee (6.2 percent); flowers (5.2 percent); apparel (5.2 percent); other light industry (15.0 percent); and others (24.1 percent).

Colombian legal trade is dominated by the United States, albeit not as much so as previously. Currently about 30 percent of Colombian imports come from the United States, while about 47 percent of exports go there.

In 2006 Colombia and the United States signed a free-trade agreement, at this writing still not approved by the congress of either nation. When it goes into effect, infrastructure problems will become even more detrimental to the Colombian economy.

Basic Infrastructure

Colombia's badly developed infrastructure has negative effects on the economy. Today it costs more to ship a ton of cargo from Bogotá to Buenaventura, the leading port of the nation which is located on the Pacific Coast ($34), than it does from Buenaventura to Tokyo ($20). The Colombian Chamber of Infrastructure states that land transportation is 60 years behind other nations. Seventy percent of cargo is shipped by land, as compared to 27 percent by air and 2 percent by river. The port of Buenaventura is obsolete and cannot accept ships of large tonnage. The Magdalena River, which could be a major way to send things through the Atlantic port of Barranquilla, needs dredging. The railroads are narrow gauge. There are only 312 kilometers of paved roads per capita, as compared to 994 in Chile and 900 in Mexico.

According to a World Bank estimate, Colombia should annually invest $815 million in transportation infrastructure, an amount equal to what the Colombian government spends in four years. In addition, in recent years the total investment in infrastructure has gone down, from 4.4 percent of GDP in 1997 to 2.6 percent in 2003 (Hernández Bolívar 2006).

In recent decades the electrical infrastructure (owned by the government) has not been dependable. Through its loans, the World Bank encouraged hydroelectrical development. While this seemed reasonable in a country with so many rivers and cascades, unusually dry years led to scheduled blackouts.

State ownership has always been lower in Colombia than in other Latin American countries. Hence privatization has been less. At present the government is considering selling 20 percent of the state petroleum company, a proposal which has caused considerable controversy.

In mid-2006 the official unemployment rate was 11.8 percent. A survey made at the same time concluded that 34.3 percent of Colombian workers were underemployed.

Social Indicators

Income in Colombia is very inequitably distributed, with many people at the bottom living on less than $1 a day and without government medical insurance, social security, or unemployment benefits, or any kind of welfare. Two-thirds of the population live in poverty. Overall the bottom 20 percent of the population have only 2.7 percent of the national income, while the top 20 percent have 61.8 percent.

As Álvaro Uribe was inaugurated for his second term on August 7, 2006, the newsmagazine *Semana* indicated the following problems:

1. One out of every four Colombians is underemployed, even when actual unemployment has decreased to 10.5 percent.
2. Between August 2002 and December 2005 the government awarded 310,547 housing subsidies to lower income people. The goal was 400,000 and housing is still a problem.
3. Half of Colombians are poor and of those 21 million, 7.5 million are indigent.
4. 13 million have no health care insurance.
5. Only one out of every four Colombians receives a pension when they retire. The biggest challenge is retirement benefits for poor people (*Semana*, August 7, 2006).

Formally the Colombian constitution prohibits discrimination on the basis of gender. Colombian women have the same literacy rate as men do (92 percent), and their participation at all levels of the educational system is equal to that of males, including university education. Yet that equality does not extend to employment opportunities in either the public or private sector. Unemployment is higher for women, and those employed tend to be in inferior positions.

Colombia combines the social problems of underdevelopment with those coming from the "modernization" of the richer sectors of the country. For the poor the problems include hunger, the absence of good jobs, and the lack of education and housing. For the middle and upper classes difficulties are similar to the

developed world—abortion, rights of homosexuals, quality of life for the elderly, and the disintegration of the family, following the legalization of divorce in the 1991 Constitution.

However, in recent years social issues have been secondary to the three problems: public order, including the activities of two guerrilla groups and paramilitary squads; political maneuvering, including the presidential reelection and the realignment of political parties; and the "Law of Justice and Peace," designed first for the demobilization of paramilitary groups and perhaps later to be used with guerrilla groups.

In a July 20, 2006, speech at the opening of the National Congress, President Uribe stated that guerrilla groups would be the highest priority during his second administration. The president called for agricultural subsidies, complete coverage of public education, social security reform to extend health benefits, and an increase of the funds for subsidized housing for the poor. In his inaugural address on August 7, 2006, he stated that "a prosperous nation, equitable and without exclusions and the hatred of classes, needs confidence, growth, the end of poverty, and a better distribution of wealth" (SNE, August 7, 2006).

DOMESTIC POLITICS

Colombians pride themselves on having one of the most democratic governments in Latin America. Indeed there were only three short dictatorships during the nineteenth century (only one of which was military) and only four years of military government during the twentieth century. Nevertheless, before 1953 the regime was far from truly democratic, and repeated periods of violence culminated in a partisan conflict between the two political parties between 1946 and 1964. As a way to end the partisan violence, party leaders proposed a National Front government. After this was approved by the people in a plebiscite and by the congress as a constitutional amendment, between 1958 and 1974 power was shared equally by the two parties. The presidency alternated every four years between them and all elective bodies and appointed positions not part of the civil service were divided equally between them. While this clearly was not a democracy, it did lead to the end of the violence between the parties.

Politics are dominated by individuals of the middle- and upper-income groups, with poor people having only the right to vote for candidates chosen by the upper-income groups.

The Political Landscape

Since 1974 Colombia has come closer to the ideal of a democracy. Presidential elections have been held every four years, as have those for the Senate and for the lower house of the national congress (every two years before 1991). Each election does include charges of fraud and intimidation of voters, but both major parties have seen their candidates elected to the presidency. President Uribe did not have the endorsement of either in 2002 or 2006. Members of other parties are also elected to the national and departmental legislatures. Although the executive is clearly the strongest branch of government, Colombia's traditional democratic

checks and balances have functioned more effectively than those in most other Latin American countries.

Political parties are granted government funds according to the number of votes received in the previous election, as well as private funds. The controls on the latter are weak; these funds allegedly include contributions from drug dealers, most notably in the 1994 election of Ernesto Samper. The lower house of congress debated Samper's impeachment as a result of these funds, but no vote took place, in part because so many of its members had also received monies from drug groups.

With increased democratization since the 1980s, including popular elections of governors and mayors, insurgent groups have expanded their power at the local level. There have been accusations that many politicians, including members of the national congress, are elected with the aid of paramilitary squads, drug dealers, or guerrilla groups.

Under the 1991 constitution, the president could serve only one term. During his first term, President Uribe proposed that the constitution be changed to allow immediate reelection. This constitutional amendment passed the Colombian Congress in the 2003 and 2004 sessions (passage by congress in two consecutive years is one way to amend the constitution). Uribe was reelected with 62 percent of the vote in March 2006.

Political parties are undergoing transitions. No longer are the Liberal and Conservative parties dominant as they were from the 1840s until the 1990s. The 2006 congressional elections led to a Senate with parties who supported Álvaro Uribe in the presidential election in the majority. They were the Social Party of National Unity with 20 seats, the Conservatives with 18, Radical Change with 15, Equipo Alas Colombia with five, and Democratic Colombia with three. It is not clear to what extent these different groups will support President Uribe.

Opposition parties include the Liberals with 18 seats in the Senate and Alternative Democratic Poll (a leftist group) with 10 (RCN, July 19, 2006).

Key Political Issues

Almost all of the paramilitary groups demobilized during the first Uribe administration. Yet one might continue to be cynical about this for three reasons. First, the government has failed to give promised support to demobilized troops. Second, the groups have failed to turn over property and other goods seized through their violent activities. Finally and perhaps most importantly, in May 2006 the Constitutional Court found unconstitutional parts of the Law of Justice and Peace. Since the stipulations of that law were the conditions under which more than 30,000 paramilitary troops turned in their arms, it is uncertain if they will remain demobilized.

The government and the ELN began conversations in Havana, Cuba, in 2005, reflecting both the increased military strength of the government due to Plan Colombia and the decrease in size and military power of the ELN. In mid-2007 those talks were stalemated by the question of where, if anywhere, the ELN troops would be located after the cease-fire.

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PARAMILITARY DEMOBILIZATION

From early 2003 to the end of 2006 some 30,000 paramilitary troops demobilized. While the process began between the government of Álvaro Uribe and the United Self-Defense Groups of Colombia (AUC), an umbrella organization set up by Carlos Castaño in 1997, it soon became apparent that the individual paramilitary groups had autonomy with distinct bases of income, including from the drug trade. The process took place with the verification of the Organization of American States. Under the Law of Justice and Peace, passed by the Colombian Congress in June 2005, paramilitary leaders are supposed to surrender, confess their crimes, and make reparations to their victims. Many leaders are still at large, confessions began only at the end of 2006, and few reparations have been made.

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The FARC argues that they exist because of the lack of true democracy and the social and economic plight of the majority of the Colombian people. It seems unlikely that either the socioeconomic problems or the FARC insurgency will be ended in the foreseeable future.

LAW AND ORDER

The rule of law has never applied in all of Colombia. In early 2004, of the 1,096 municipalities in the country, more than 180 had no police. The major theme of the Uribe presidency has been to bring the rule of law to all parts of the country. After his 2002 election, Uribe formulated an "integral strategy to win the war." The first major conclusion of a government-appointed commission was that the war and justice were too serious to leave in the hands of generals and lawyers. Therefore, it stated, the government should manage security and justice. That demanded coordination among the entities that make up the system.

The Uribe security policy was centered on two axes. The first was to regain control of the national territory through the creation of high mountain battalions (professional soldiers trained in special skills), of patrols of peasant soldiers (volunteers recruited by regional commanders in small towns) to assist the military and police, and of networks of cooperating individuals, based on rewards to informers. The second was a legal offensive with a declaration of internal disturbance, under which the government decreed a property tax (falling most heavily on businesses) and created two rehabilitation zones in which violence was particularly severe, necessitating greater military efforts and funds for recovery.

The security policy led to important qualitative achievements, such as civilians being able to travel from city to city during holidays in military-guarded caravans. A July 2004 Ministry of Defense report found dramatic increases in the capture of members of paramilitary squads, guerrillas, and drug traffickers. However, experts are divided about whether the FARC has in fact been defeated or if it has simply carried out a tactical retreat. In addition, some human rights groups have alleged that President Uribe has not managed to cut the ties between members of the security forces and paramilitaries.

Colombia has both civil and military court systems. The Constitutional Court is the final step in judicial review of laws, while the Supreme Court judges public officials who are accused of misbehavior. The Council of State rules on the constitutionality of decrees, as well as being the last appeal for cases of administrative law.

In theory the Colombian legal system is impartial and nondiscriminatory. However, the system has a class bias, with a greater likelihood of adjudication against members of lower income groups than against the middle and upper strata.

Likewise, security services have traditionally favored the rich. Police patrols are disproportionately more common in urban areas, particularly surrounding elite neighborhoods. In addition, the private security system that protects these people is larger than the public one, with no effective structure to supervise it.

The judiciary is independent from the executive and legislature, and funding is not used to control them. Judicial review has led to the upending of laws passed by the congress and decrees of the president. Judges at the higher level are elected by the congress in a fair manner. Lower level judges, however, are often recent law school graduates who lack adequate training and experience.

The legal system suffers from both disagreements over functions and the inability to adjudicate all criminal cases. For example, in early 2004 there were jurisdictional disagreements between the Constitutional Court and the Supreme Court, a difference that reoccurs from time to time.

There is no doubt that many criminal cases in Colombia do not lead to arrest, indictment, trial, and verdict. In 2004 there were 923,000 unresolved cases from previous years. The Supreme Council of the Judiciary said that between November 2001 and October 2002, 87.5 percent of the cases that entered the prosecutor's office were resolved, while that figure rose to 97.5 percent during the same months a year later.

The prosecutorial system took a new form with the constitution of 1991. Abandoning the Napoleonic law method, Colombia based the new system more on the U.S. model. However, the lack of adequate funding, as well as the wealth of some lawbreakers (notably the drug dealers), has made the complete implementation of the system difficult. Although a lawyer is appointed for defendants who are not able to afford one themselves, for minor offenses this is only a senior law school student who is uncompensated, thus being generally ineffective. The system is slightly more effective in the case of major offenses.

The Level of Crime and Its Nature

In the 1990s Colombia led the world in both per capita murder and kidnapping rates. While the conditions have improved during the Uribe government, both rates are still very high. Feeding all lawlessness in Colombia is the drug trade. Despite U.S. sponsored eradication programs, the cocaine production continues growing. While the large Medellín and Cali cartels of the 1980s and 1990s have disappeared, smaller groups continue producing the drug, receiving large profits from it, and returning much of it to the country in the form of arms shipments.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Regional Geopolitics

Colombia's most important regional relations are those with Venezuela and Ecuador.

The relations with Venezuela have suffered constant strains but have not broken into open conflict. The two countries share 2,050 kilometers of frontier, quite often poorly patrolled. Boundary disputes have occurred, as have problems of

undocumented Colombians who go to Venezuela for employment. Commerce between the two countries is very important, with Venezuela being Colombia's second most important trade partner (after the United States).

Relations between the two countries became tense in the 1990s after the election of Hugo Chávez in Venezuela. Chávez's "Bolivarian Revolution" has some similarity to the FARC in Colombia and rumor is that the Venezuelan government gives military aid to the guerrilla group. The ill-patrolled border between the two countries makes Venezuela a convenient safe-haven for the FARC and ELN operatives. According to a report of the Colombian foreign ministry in January 2005 seven FARC leaders had recently taken refuge in Venezuela. The FARC has promised assistance to the Chávez government if Venezuela is invaded by the United States.

The relationship between Colombia and Ecuador has never been as important nor has it contained the hostility of that with Venezuela. In part, that is because Ecuador has always been a poorer country than Colombia, even though commerce between the two countries is important. In 2004 Colombian exports of electricity to Ecuador had a value of $136 million.

Since the 590 kilometer border between the two countries is patrolled badly, it is inevitable that Colombian problems seep to Ecuador. Reports are that Colombian displaced people flee illegally to Ecuador. The success of Plan Colombia led Ecuadorian officials to fear that coca growing will creep across the border also. And the proximity of Ecuador to FARC concentrations in the Amazon region of Colombia makes it inevitable that the smaller, poor southern neighbor will become a safe haven for the FARC, especially as Plan Patriota (see below) makes staying in Colombia more dangerous.

The Foreign Policy Goals of the Current Government

The Colombian Ministry of Foreign Relations states the following as its three major goals:

1. to fortify diplomacy to better help the Colombian community abroad;
2. to develop a communication policy to better the image of Colombia in the world; and
3. to promote commercial and international cooperation for development programs.

Membership of International Bodies and Participation in These

In addition to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (deposited on April 8, 1986), Colombia is a signatory to the Antarctic Treaty (January 31, 1989), the Anti-Personnel Mine (APM) Convention (September 6, 2000), the Biological Weapons Convention (December 19, 1983), Certain Conventional Weapons Convention (March 6, 2000), Chemical Weapons Convention (April 5, 2000), and the Treaty of Tlatelolco (August 4, 1972). Colombia also signed the International Atomic Energy Agency Additional Protocol (November 25, 2004) but has not yet ratified it. It also signed the Outer Space Treaty and the Sea Bed Treaty, but neither has been ratified.

Interaction with Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs)

The relationship between the Colombian government and NGOs has been tense. In 2005, for example, a groups of NGOs criticized Uribe's Democratic Security policy, his economic and social policies, and the deterioration of human rights, especially among vulnerable groups like the indigenous and Afro-Colombian ones.

The government criticizes NGOs as either intentionally issuing reports that assist guerrilla groups or of doing it unwittingly. Perhaps most notable of the Uribe years, however, was a March 2004 capture of members of an NGO who were accused of having connections with a guerrilla group.

SECURITY

Size of Military

The army has about 180,000 members, while the air force has about 10,000, and the navy about 5,000. The National Police number about 150,000.

The major security issue, from a military standpoint, is dealing with the FARC. In early 2004 the Uribe government launched "Plan Patriota," the first phase of which was "Operation Liberty I" in Cundinamarca, the department around Bogotá, through which the army achieved the destruction of many FARC fronts. The second stage of the Plan started in September 2004 in the Amazon region in the south of the country, the heart of the FARC military operations and coca growing. To this point the national military has not been able to end FARC presence there, even though some mid-level leaders have been captured.

Past

Historically Colombia has feared an armed conflict with Venezuela. The Colombian armed forces are not as well armed as Venezuela and, although there has been greater fear during the presidency of Hugo Chávez there has been no armed conflict. There is no fear of armed conflict with any of Colombia's other neighbors.

The Marxist guerrilla groups have operated on the assumption that, given the great Colombian inequities of wealth, education, health care, and job opportunities, at some point the great mass of the poor will join them, as happened in Nicaragua and El Salvador. This has not happened.

Current and Potential

Generally the relations between President Uribe and President Chávez have been antagonistic. However, they became more positive in mid-2007 when Chávez intervened to attempt to help negotiate a prisoner exchange between the FARC and the government. Armed conflict between the two nations does seem unlikely.

Likewise there is a lack of a catalyst that would lead to a large number of the poor deciding to take up arms to support the guerrilla groups. As the increase of wealth

from drugs has increased over the past 20 years, more Colombians have seen guerrilla groups as economically motivated bandits. While the ELN has refrained from drug profits and it has seemed to be a more ideological group, following many of the tenets of liberation theology, the number of its troops has declined rapidly over recent years. As the national army increases in strength during Uribe's second term, there is a real possibility that the government and the ELN will reach a negotiated settlement.

One should not completely eliminate the possibility of a Chávez-type regime change through democratic means. After the 1991 constitution was approved, demobilized M-19 leader Antonio Navarro called for the guerrillas to leave their conflict and enter democratic politics. In October 2003 Polo Democrático candidate Luis Eduardo Garzón was elected mayor of Bogotá, with over 800,000 votes. That the Polo Democrático did so well in the 2006 congressional and presidential elections might be a indication that its candidate can win the 2010 presidential election.

Terrorism

The United States and the European Community have both the FARC and the ELN on their lists of terrorist organizations. The AUC was also on both lists prior to its demobilization during the first Uribe term.

FARC and ELN terrorist activities have been going on since 1964, although the terrorist expression was seldom if ever used. Recently the FARC has attempted to convince the European Union to remove that designation. In late 2005 the ELN refused to talk with Uribe government representatives until the government admitted that there were social reasons for their existence, a demand that was finally accepted by the Uribe government.

Key Terrorist Events in the Last 20 Years

The most dramatic cases of terrorism in the past years came after the Eighth National Conference of FARC in 1993: the FARC decided to construct a guerrilla army capable of defeating the armed forces in places of clear, strategic value. To that end, "blocks" of the FARC fronts were created and regional commands were strengthened. Likewise, the FARC repeated its goal of urbanizing the conflict through its "Bolivarian militias." Finally, the FARC announced a platform of 10 social and political reforms that would have to be taken to form a "government of national reconciliation and reconstruction" (Pizarro Leóngomez 1996–1998).

This change of the FARC strategy became dramatically apparent by 1996. The major attacks from April 1996 to November 1998 included defeats of the Colombian military, including an attack by El Billar, an elite group of soldiers with counterinsurgency training. The army was not capable of detecting or preventing the mobilization of nearly 800 guerrilla fighters. An attack at Miraflores was only four days before the inauguration of Andrés Pastrana in August 1998 and came after he had begun discussions with FARC leaders about peace talks. An attack at Mitú showed that the FARC was even capable of capturing a departmental capital, even if it was one of the smallest and most remote.

On February 7, 2003, the elite of Bogotá were attacked with the car bombing of the exclusive Club El Nogal. In this most dramatic case of urban terrorism, later proved to be done by the FARC, 33 were killed and over 150 were wounded.

Perhaps the most dramatic military action by the ELN happened on October 18, 1998. On that date, just after midnight, militants bombed a pipeline near Machuca, Antioquia. According to official investigations, the resulting spilled oil and the gases took six minutes to descend a slope, cross a river, and reach the town on the opposite bank. Many residents there depended on open flames for light and cooking. The mixture ignited, engulfing 64 dwellings and the sleeping families inside them. Seventy-three people, among them 36 children, ultimately perished (Human Rights Watch).

Another series of ELN terrorist events came in May 1999 with two kidnapping events. The first was when the insurgent group hijacked a commercial airplane flight with 46 passengers, keeping at least 25 as hostages. Next 30 ELN members kidnapped the worshippers at La María Catholic Church in Cali. By the end of the month the ELN held 85 hostages ("Colombian Gov't Won't Talk to Rebels").

In 2005 the FARC carried out a number of "armed strikes" in the Amazon region, stating that anyone traveling the highways would be a target. This led to economic hardships in those remote areas. In June the FARC declared an "armed strike" in Cauca, and during August the most dramatic series of incidents came in the Amazonian department of Putumayo where the FARC also declared a similar action. In the following month and a half, about 50 people were killed or wounded, buses were burned, and the guerrilla group attacked roads and bridges, the electrical system, and petroleum fields. As a result, buses stopped service, food and fuel were not delivered to towns, and nine of the 13 municipalities were without electricity. In the following months there were dozens of small FARC attacks throughout the country. But the clear conclusion is that the Plan Patriota has not succeeded to this point. In June 2007 eleven members of the Valle provincial legislature, who had been kidnapped six years earlier by the FARC, were killed in mysterious circumstances. The FARC and the government blamed each other for this.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Formally the Colombian constitution specifies a long list of human rights, but in practice many of the rights are violated. However, Human Rights Watch states that Colombia has more reported human rights and international humanitarian law violations than any other country in the hemisphere. In addition, international humanitarian rights are breached by guerrilla and paramilitary groups. Women and ethnic minorities have even more difficulty in securing their constitutional guarantees. While the Colombian government does not often interfere with press freedom, that liberty is seriously affected by the violence of the country. Between 1995 and 2005, of the 172 journalists assassinated in Latin America, 83 were Colombians (Radio Cadena Nacional, August 2, 2006).

The government denies these human rights allegations, questioning the methodology of the NGOs. It charges that guerrilla and paramilitary groups are the ones that violate rights in the country, and it alleges that, as human rights groups do not point out this fact, they are tacitly helping the insurgent groups.

In May 2004 Amnesty International (AI) charged that human rights violations were worsening in "security areas" of Colombia (those areas that the government has designated as having an especially high level of violence). While acknowledging that both kidnappings and the number of internal refugees were declining, AI added that government forces, paramilitary groups, and the armed opposition were guilty of massacring civilians. More than 3,000 civilians were murdered for political reasons and at least 600 disappeared in 2003. The report did point out that both paramilitary and guerrilla groups were responsible for violations of international humanitarian law.

International Conventions and Membership to International Bodies

Colombia is a charter member of the United Nations and has been active in the organization. It was the only Latin American country that sent troops to the Korean conflict. It has played an active role in both the General Assembly and the Security Council.

The United Nations has also assisted Colombia. Its representatives have played important roles as mediators, for example, during the negotiations with the FARC during the government of Andrés Pastrana. In early 2005 the Uribe government urged the United Nations to continue this mediation role.

Colombia played an active role in the founding of the Organization of American States (OAS). Two former Colombian presidents (Alberto Lleras Camargo, 1958–1962, and César Gaviria, 1990–1994) have subsequently been secretaries general of the OAS.

Colombia has also received assistance from the OAS, most recently in its negotiations with the paramilitary groups. On January 23, 2004, Colombia entered into an agreement with the OAS, under which the inter-American group would provide oversight of the cease-fire, the demobilization, and the reinsertion process. The "Mission to Help the Peace Process in Colombia" was headed by the Argentine Sergio Caramagna, who had experience in the contra demobilization in Nicaragua. Specifically the agreement stated that the mandate of the Mission was to provide an "ample and flexible" accompaniment in the peace policy, including the verification of the peace process; help for the government initiatives, civil society organizations, and other groups in the mobilization of resources for the programs and activities; verification of the turning in of arms and definition of programs for their destruction; and assistance to local initiatives in the conflict zone, promoting means to increase confidence and reconciliation that develop a culture of democracy, peace, and pacific resolution of violence, as well as the identification, formulation, and development of initiatives and projects with social content in those areas.

Colombia has loans from the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank (IABD), as well as a standby loan from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The World Bank evaluated Colombia as a country with stable economic growth rates that "have historically been instrumental to reduce poverty and increase public resources for social spending." During the second half of the 1990s, however, Colombia entered into a severe economic crisis, erasing over a

decade of progress. At the end of 1999, the government of Colombia requested World Bank support in developing a governance and anticorruption strategy. In November 2004 the country received a $200 million loan from the IABD, with a grace period of nine years, for labor and social development.

In May 2007 the IMF made a routine visit to Colombia. The visiting team reiterated the importance of centering monetary policy on inflation, especially by limiting demand.

CONCLUSION

Relationship with the United States

Colombian relations with the United States have generally been good despite the 1903 U.S. assistance in Panamanian independence. However, the relationship has never been better since Plan Colombia in the Clinton years in the United States and the presidency of Andrés Pastrana in Colombia. This has been even more the case in the Bush-Uribe years. For example, during a June 2006 visit to Washington, President Bush congratulated Uribe on his reelection and expressed his admiration for Uribe's work in favor of democracy, human rights, the fight against terrorism, and the search for peace. Uribe in turn thanked the United States for its continual assistance and opined that the two countries should continue to work together to end the long nightmare of terrorism in Colombia (Presidencia de la República, June 14, 2006)

In this very close relationship between the Uribe administration and the George W. Bush government, the political support is mutual. The United States supports one of the few elected presidents in South America who has been friendly in recent years. Likewise, Colombia verbally, and with votes in international organizations, backs the United States. This was seen in the case of the Iraq intervention, for which the Uribe government was an early supporter. In a speech, President Uribe stated that the Colombian government "publicly supported the use of force in Iraq to disarm that regime and to avoid that weapons of mass destruction continue as a threat to humanity and to its own people" (Presidencia de la República, March 20, 2003). While the rhetoric cooled over the following three years, Uribe continues to support U.S. policy, no doubt in an effort to encourage the continuation of Plan Colombia and military aid.

The relationship between the two countries has centered on legal trade and investments, drug-trafficking, military aid, and political support.

Colombian governments have traditionally welcomed private companies, privatization, and foreign investment. This attitude was reinforced when the economy "opened" in the early 1990s in a process geared to internationalize the country. The opening of the economy sparked important changes in legislation on foreign investment, the exchange rate, the financial sector, the labor regime, and taxes that brought the country in line with international globalization trends. According to the Banco de la República in 2001, foreign investment in Colombia reached $2 billion with a $414 million decrease with regards to that registered in the same period of the previous year. This result was due to the reduction of direct investment flows

($1.3 billion), partially compensated by the increase in the investment of the petro-leum sector ($953 million). The direct investments which registered the higher decreases between 2000 and 2001 were the financial sector ($580 million), manu-facturing ($452 million), transport and communications ($359 million), and min-ing and quarries ($131 million). On the other hand, portfolio investment registered net capital outflows of $41 million.

According to the Drug Enforcement Agency, the U.S./Mexico border is the pri-mary point of entry for cocaine shipments being smuggled into the United States. Approximately 65 percent of the cocaine smuggled into the United States crosses the southwest border. Organized crime groups operating in Colombia control the worldwide supply of cocaine. These organizations use a sophisticated infra-structure to move cocaine by land, sea, and air into the United States. In the United States, these Colombia-based groups operate cocaine distribution and drug money laundering networks comprising a vast infrastructure of multiple cells functioning in many major metropolitan areas. Each cell performs a specific function within the organization, for example, transportation, local distribution, or money move-ment. Key managers in Colombia continue to oversee the overall operation.

The U.S. government has attempted to limit this flow of illicit drugs through interdiction, arrests of drug dealers, and aid to the Colombian government in its efforts to end this industry. So far the efforts have been unsuccessful.

Colombia is the third largest recipient of U.S. military assistance in the world, largely because of efforts to end the drug trade. On July 13, 2000, the U.S. Congress approved a two-year funding package to assist Colombia in vital counter-drug efforts aimed at keeping illegal drugs off U.S. shores and to help Colombia promote peace, prosperity, and a stronger democracy. This Plan Colombia was one of the largest and most comprehensive efforts by the United States to help an ally in Latin America deal with a national drug emergency.

Summary of Social and Security Linkages

How events will develop in the future can best be inferred by how they have gone in the past year, during which three issues were dominant. One had to do with pub-lic order, including the activities of two guerrilla groups and paramilitary squads. The second involved political manoeuvring, including the question of presidential reelection and the realignment of political parties. And the third issue was the Con-gress's passage of a "Law of Justice and Peace," designed first for the demobiliza-tion of paramilitary groups and perhaps later to be used with guerrilla groups.

During the time period considered, the government of Álvaro Uribe had its greatest difficulty with the FARC. There was some promise in the case of the ELN, although at the time of writing it is not clear if the results will be favorable. The Law of Justice and Peace was passed by the National Congress and paramili-tary groups continued to demobilize. However, because of various difficulties it is not certain if the Uribe government will obtain the results it wanted.

Most of the period consisted of armed confrontation between the government and the FARC, including armed strikes and FARC attacks on members of munici-pal councils, with 122 municipal councils in 13 departments threatened by the group. In July 2005 the conflict centered in the departments of Cauca and

Putumayo, the later being a major coca producing area, as well as the site of one of the country's richest oil fields. Because of the international dimension, relations between Colombia and Ecuador degenerated during the time period. One of the most serious military defeats of the Uribe presidency came on May 25, 2005, when some 100 FARC guerrillas from Fronts 32 and 48 attacked army troops defending the Teteyé petroleum well in Putumayo, resulting in one officer and 18 soldiers being killed.

The possibility of a new peace initiative with the ELN had begun on June 9, 2005, when President Uribe proposed a peace process with a bilateral cease-fire and with an international verifier. On June 20 the government proposed that the two sides make the process public through a joint declaration and that the meetings of the two sides be somewhere outside of Colombia and that this could be set up by a person previously agreed to by both sides. President Uribe surprised many Colombians when, during the first week of September, he announced that he would accept that there was an "armed conflict" in Colombia if the ELN would enter into a cease-fire. Earlier the president had insisted that there was only terrorism in Colombia and that conversations with insurgent groups would only follow cease-fires. The ELN and the government later had conversations in Havana, Cuba, although these were suspended at the time of the presidential election in May 2006.

The greatest success of the Uribe government in conflict resolution during this period was with the United Self-Defense Groups of Colombia (AUC). On June 22, 2005, the Congress approved the Law of Peace and Justice. Although national and international controversy continued about the law, it was signed by the president and became law. However, by September it became apparent that the judicial system would not have the financial resources to apply it during the rest of 2005. Perhaps the most important matter was whether paramilitary leaders would be extradited to the United States for being drug dealers or not.

The second issue about the demobilized paramilitary groups was over their current and potential role in democratic politics. In an interview with a national magazine, paramilitary leader Vicente Castaño stated that 35 percent of the members of the national congress were "friends" of the paramilitary groups. Later when subpoenaed to the Supreme Court, Castaño gave no names and modified his statement that the paramilitary groups simply encouraged people to vote for people who would protect them.

The final issue had to do with the amount of land and other sources of wealth that the paramilitary groups had seized during their activities. In September the high commissioner for peace announced the first three names of the members of National Commission for Reparation and Reconciliation. This Commission was created by the Law of Justice and Peace. Under the law the vice president was to be the chair, but he gave that responsibility to Eduardo Pizarro, a university professor, to "disgovernize the process and give it more transparency." In an interview Chairperson Pizarro stated that the most important task was to determine whom the victims were and that they should therefore receive reparations (Entrevista, 2007).

As all this was going on, political maneuverings continued. Two major themes continued to dominate Colombian electoral politics: the question of presidential

reelection and the volatility of political parties. While the first is related to public order (or at least Álvaro Uribe and his supporters argue that a reelected Uribe will improve order), the latter is not so obviously connected.

The jockeying about presidential candidates was constant in late 2005 and early 2006. Until October 2005, when the Constitutional Court found the amendment to be correct in procedure, the greatest unknown came from the question of what the court would decide about reelection. This decision is expected by mid-October. It was certain that Álvaro Uribe would be reelected after the court ruled the amendment was constitutional. His approval rating rose from 75 to 80 percent.

A new political party, to support the reelections of Álvaro Uribe, was formed at the end of August in a meeting of Uribe supporters in the national congress. This was to unite two parties that already supported the president. Former minister Juan Manuel Santos had been given this task six months earlier, with the goal of uniting all Uribe supporters. They were the Nuevo Partido, the Partido Acción Social, most of Colombia Viva, some members of the Conservative party, and members of the Liberal party who had been expelled from that group after they voted in favor of the constitutional amendment for reelection. The members of the new group later chose the name "Party of National Unity" (*Partido de Unidad Nacional*) and decided that their symbol would be the letter "U," not coincidentally also the first letter of the president's name. In the end, five political parties supported Uribe's reelection bid.

Meanwhile matters were complicated in the two traditional parties, the Liberal Party and Conservatives, which had dominated Colombian politics almost all the time from the mid-1850s until the Uribe election in 2002. Conservatives were split between those, including its president, who thought that it was an error for his party to have a presidential candidate. Rather, the party president announced his support for the reelection of Álvaro Uribe. Conservatives became divided between those who thought that their leader had finished off their party and others who thought it was an intelligent strategy since no Conservative could beat Uribe.

Even more complicated were issues in the Liberal Party. On June 6, 2006 President Uribe (a Liberal but who had not been the official candidate of the party in 2002) accused former Liberal President César Gaviria (who was leader of the Liberal Party) of being a "sectarian" and questioned the economic policy of Gaviria's presidency. In a radio interview, the president stated that he would not have carried out the privatizations that Gaviria had and criticized him for other policies. The Liberal Party had five "pre-candidates," finally choosing Horacio Serpa through a "consultation," a kind of open primary.

Two leftist parties added to the confusion of party realignment. On June 2, 2006 Antonio Navarro Wolff was selected as the presidential candidate of the Polo Democrático, defeating Samuel Moreno by 530 to 344 votes in the convention of the leftist party. Hence the former M-19 guerrilla was to be the first presidential candidate of the united left in Colombian history. However, in the first week of August another party of the left, the Cambio Radical party, announced that they would soon set their position for the presidential election. The Polo and the Cambio Radical decided to have a single candidate, and it turned out to be Carlos

Gaviria. Gaviria finished second in the election with 22 percent percent of the vote, far behind Uribe with 62 percent.

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Cuba

Janet Adamski and Joan E. Supplee

BACKGROUND

The Republic of Cuba, 90 miles southwest of the Florida Keys, in the Caribbean Sea, is the largest island in the Antilles chain extending 750 miles in length with 44,200 square miles of territory and a coastline of approximately 2,500 miles. Numerous coastal keys and islets surround the main island. Cuba claims a 12-mile sea border and a 200-mile exclusive economic zone. There are 14 Cuban provinces, including the capital, Havana; the only portion of the island not under Cuban sovereignty is the U.S. Naval Base at Guantánamo. The terrain is mostly flat to rolling plains in the western part of the island changing to a rugged mountain chain, the Sierra Maestras, in the southeast. The highest point in Cuba is Pico Turquino, which rises to 6,500 feet above sea level. Two smaller mountain chains, the Guaniguanico and the Guamuhaya, also break up the island landscape.

Cuba has abundant arable land and natural resources. About 28 percent of the landmass is arable and nearly 7 percent of that total is permanently cultivated. Cuba produces sugar, tobacco, coffee, citrus and tropical fruits, rice, beans, and other vegetables. Cattle grazing is also important. Natural resources include nickel, cobalt, iron ore, copper, salt, timber, and manganese. Main primary exports are sugar, nickel, cobalt, tobacco, seafood, coffee, and citrus and tropical fruits.

Cuba has an industrial base. It refines sugar and petroleum, has a cement industry, produces electrical power and manufactures light consumer and industrial products. It also manufactures and exports pharmaceuticals.

The economy has posted an annual growth rate of 3 percent per year since 1999, and in 2004 the gross domestic product per capita was $3,000. Cuba's major export markets are the European Union (EU), Canada, Russia, and Venezuela. Its major import markets are Venezuela, Spain, Italy, China, and the United States.

Key environmental concerns are natural and man-made. Because of its Caribbean location, the island is subject to hurricanes and in the year 2006 it was particularly hard hit. It is also in a seismic zone and has had major earthquakes, the last serious one in 1932 in Oriente province. Other concerns are increasing

Cuba

Formal name of country: Republic of Cuba
Size of country: 110,860 sq km (44,200 sq mi)
Natural resources: Chromium, cobalt, copper, iron ore, manganese, natural gas, nickel, petroleum, salt, silica, and timber
Population: 11,346,670
Life expectancy at birth: 77.41
Key ethnic groups:

- mulatto
- white
- black
- Chinese

Key religions: Roman Catholic, Protestant, Jehovah's Witness, Jewish, and Santería
Political system: Communist state
Key political groups/parties: Communist Party of Cuba
Legal system: Civil law system based on Spanish civil law, U.S. legal concepts and Communist legal theory
Real GDP growth: 7.5%
Population below poverty line: N/A
Size of military: 49,000 active: 38,000 army, 3,000 navy, 8,000 air force, 39,000 reservists
Relationship with the United States: U.S.-Cuban relations continue to be defined by hardships resulting from the U.S. economic embargo and perceived violations of Cuban sovereignty by the United States, as well as disagreement over political freedoms and human rights and the influence of the exile community in U.S. policies.
Important human security issues:

- human rights
- degradation of the marine environment
- hurricanes

Future important security issues:

- transition period after Fidel Castro's demise
- continuing out-migration
- the exile community who are willing to target Cuba for violent actions

Sources: Central Intelligence Agency; Library of Congress.

air and water pollution, including Havana Bay, as well as biodiversity loss and deforestation.

In the colonial period, Cuba's importance in the Spanish empire was strategic rather than economic. The economy depended on cattle and hides for trade,

moving later to tobacco and sugar. African slaves replaced indigenous labor, diversifying the island's population and giving rise to a free black community in the eastern provinces. As European rivals moved into the Caribbean, menacing Spanish interests, the Spanish fortified Havana, bringing prosperity to the island's western end, while easterners relied on contraband to survive.

Sugar determined Cuba's path. The sugar elite, addicted to slavery and the protection of Spanish troops, eschewed independence when other Spanish colonies broke away after 1810. That loyalty was undermined with the slave trade's end in the 1820s. White and Chinese immigrants replaced slaves as the industry restructured. Also, Cubans, oppressed by heavy Spanish tariffs leading to an 1857 economic recession, embraced greater autonomy as key to their relationship with Spain. When the Spanish rejected reforms, raised tariffs, and cracked down on dissent in 1868, Cubans rebelled. Their struggle, the Ten Years' War, failed to liberate Cuba, but it bankrupted the sugar economy allowing U.S. investors to buy in cheaply, displacing Cuban planters. By 1890, the United States took 94 percent of Cuban sugar exports (Louis 2005). Finally, contradictions between Cuba's status as a Spanish colony and a U.S. economic outpost led to the final battle for political independence. In 1895, the Cuban populace, under José Martí, fought to establish republicanism and social justice. Despite the early loss of Martí, considered the father of Cuban independence, rebels were posed to win in 1898.

Before they could, the United States entered the conflict. Early Cuban entreaties for help, U.S. war fever, and destruction of U.S. sugar properties provided motivation . The explosion on the USS *Maine* in Havana harbor led President William McKinley to issue an ultimatum in 1898 that the Spanish failed to meet. Congress declared war, and passed the Teller Amendment, clarifying Washington's lack of territorial ambitions in Cuba. U.S. victories forced the Spanish to the peace table without the Cubans. While the United States did not annex Cuba, it occupied the island. It also pressured Cubans to add the Platt Amendment to their constitution. This allowed U.S. intervention to preserve domestic stability, required U.S. approval for all Cuban treaties, and permitted a U.S. naval base on the island. With the amendment in place, U.S. troops withdrew.

Independence reinforced colonial inequities and aided U.S. penetration of Cuban markets. An elite dependent upon government employment emerged as Cubans were pushed out of the private sector. Corruption flourished. Afro-Cubans were excluded from power. Deepening Cuban reliance on sugar created a volatile political atmosphere. U.S. Marines reappeared regularly to quell electoral turmoil.

Unstable governments and U.S. interference engendered a reform movement in the 1920s. Middle-class organizations called for an end to corruption and cronyism. Rural and urban workers unionized. Gerardo Machado rode the reform momentum to the presidency, but his second term was marred by the worldwide collapse in commodity prices, including sugar. He responded to the crisis and harsh criticism that followed by declaring a state of siege. The middle class, caught between Machado's oppression and increased union radicalism, called for relief under the Platt Amendment. President Franklin Roosevelt sent Assistant Secretary of State Sumner Wells to mediate. This resulted in Machado's replacement with a

weak reformist government, which soon fell in a coup led by National Guard officer, Fulgencio Batista.

Batista dominated Cuban politics from 1935 until 1959. His regime benefited from the Platt Amendment's abrogation, although the U.S. Naval Base at Guantánamo stayed. A lower U.S. sugar tariff boosted the economy helping his election to president in 1940 under a new progressive constitution. Moderate reformers from the 1930s won the 1944 and 1948 elections, but their ineffective governments prompted a 1952 coup that restored Batista. With the moderates gone, a more radical group under Fidel Castro emerged. He claimed inspiration from Martí and led an unsuccessful attack against the Moncada military base on July 26, 1953. When a general amnesty released him and his brother Raúl from prison, they fled to Mexico and founded the 26th of July movement with Argentine Ernesto "Che" Guevara. The following year, their revolutionary band sailed the *Granma* to start the Cuban revolution. Alerted, Batista's troops killed most of them. Fidel, Che, Raúl, and a few others escaped into the Sierra Maestra mountains. As Cubans became convinced political stability and economic growth could be restored only without Batista, Castro's 26th of July movement gained ground. The Eisenhower administration, alarmed by Batista's excesses and electoral fraud, suspended shipments of arms and withdrew recognition in 1958. Mounting pressure from the insurgency encouraged an army plot against Batista and he fled Cuba. Havana fell to Castro's forces on January 1, 1959.

Castro quickly dominated the provisional revolutionary government. Political moderates, alienated by Castro's rhetoric linking social justice to nationalism and revolution, soon found themselves targets of his attacks. When they withdrew from government, Castro became prime minister and issued decrees that established urban rent control, promised public housing projects, cut utility rates, restricted landholdings, and outlawed discrimination. By year's end, Castro's plan for more radical reforms required new international allies.

He incorporated the Cuban Communist Party into his government. Communists took over the Ministry of Labor and all trade unions. Raúl Castro assumed command of the military, cashiering anticommunist officers. In 1960, Cuba welcomed a Soviet trade delegation, which agreed to buy Cuban sugar and offered technical assistance and oil.

Eisenhower's administration viewed Castro's actions as hostile. Objecting to expropriation of U.S. properties and refusing Cuban reparations, the president authorized the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to train Cuban exiles for an early March 1960 invasion. He eliminated Cuba's export of sugar to the United States when Castro expropriated U.S. oil refineries for refusing to process Soviet oil. When Castro stepped up expropriations, Eisenhower instituted an embargo. In January 1961, the United States severed diplomatic relations.

Castro's revolution came under attack at home and abroad. His reforms compromised the economic well-being of many who had fought Batista. By the end of 1960, urban sabotage and guerrilla movements had increased. Between 1960 and 1962, 180,000 Cubans fled, confident that the United States would intervene (Louis 2005). It did. In April 1961, U.S.-equipped Cuban exiles invaded Cuba at

the Bay of Pigs. When no popular uprising materialized, the United States withdrew support, dooming the operation.

U.S.-Cuban relations continued to deteriorate. In 1962, the United States convinced the Organization of American States (OAS) to suspend Cuba, cutting it off diplomatically from all OAS members, except Mexico. Castro convinced the Soviets to install missile bases capable of launching nuclear warheads at U.S. targets. When Washington discovered this, an international crisis erupted. President John F. Kennedy demanded the missiles' removal; the Soviets refused. They agreed to negotiate only after the United States set up a naval quarantine around Cuba. With a U.S. promise not to invade Cuba and removal of U.S. missiles in Turkey, the Soviets dismantled their Cuban bases, to Castro's consternation. Castro redoubled his efforts to organize Cubans against the United States.

Castro's Soviet dependence and his desire to lead the developing world took Cuban troops into Latin America and Africa. Cuban intervention, except in the Americas, ended in the 1980s. The Soviet Union's collapse finished Cuba's ability to export its revolution.

SOCIETY

The Cuban population now exceeds 11 million with a 0.31 percent annual growth rate. There is a 70 to 30 percent split in urban-rural residence. A little over half the population is classified as mulatto, 37 percent white, 11 percent Afro-Cuban, and 1 percent Chinese. The indigenous population has disappeared as an identifiable ethnic group. A little over 20 percent is employed in agriculture, 14 percent in industry, and nearly 65 percent in services. The unemployment rate is below 2 percent. As a result of state investment in health care and education, the Cuban people have comparable life expectancies and higher literacy rates than the United States. Adequate housing remains a problem, despite government building programs, especially in the capital. In 2005, 43 percent of the housing stock was classified as mediocre or poor (Freedom House 2006). The birth rate is 11.89 per 1,000 while the death rate is 7.22 per 1,000. Another important population component is the net out-migration rate of 1.57 per 1,000—largely a result of illicit migration to the United States.

Until recently, the Cuban state was officially atheist. The revolutionary government prohibits religious institutions from running schools and has shut down over 400 Catholic schools. In 1992, the state became officially secular, rather than atheist. Before the revolution, most Cubans (85 percent) identified themselves as Roman Catholic. In addition to Catholics, there is a fast growing segment of evangelical Protestants. The African heritage has contributed Afro-Cuban religions, such as Santería. There are also a small number of Jehovah's Witnesses and a Jewish community in Havana.

The Cuban infrastructure is underdeveloped. There are nearly 850,000 telephones in use with another 75,800 cell phones. Reserved for government officials and foreigners, wireless service is expensive and restricted. Telephone line density is 10 per 100 inhabitants. International calls rely on one Intersputnik satellite.

"CHE" GUEVARA AND FOCO-STYLE REVOLUTION

The success of the small band of inexperienced, ill-equipped fighters in the Sierra Maestra Mountains, which defeated the Cuban military and overthrew the Batista regime during the Cuban Revolution, convinced Che Guevara that this technique would work elsewhere. Writing in 1960, he noted three characteristics of the Cubans' victory that he thought could lead to triumph in other cases. These could show the way to what Guevara described as "a Second or Third Vietnam or the Second and Third Vietnam," spreading revolution worldwide.[1]

The lessons from the Cuban experience, which he believed were replicable, were as follows:

1. Popular forces can win a war against regular military forces.
2. One does not have to wait until all the conditions for making revolution exist; one can create them.
3. In places as underdeveloped as Latin America, rural areas provide the best battlefield for popular forces to take on regular forces.[2]

The "popular forces" in Guevara's terminology were the "foco" or focus of the revolution, small groups (30-50 fighters) who practiced guerrilla warfare. By their activities, including sabotage and ambushes of the military, they would publicize and build support for their cause. Such challenges to the ruling regime would draw it into a spiral of ever-greater repression, further diminishing public support. Rural areas were the preferred battleground both for the advantages of terrain and because peasants would be less vulnerable to the regime's repressive machinery, so better able to support the foco. With peasant help—initially information and food, and eventually people to join the cause and fight—the rebels could survive and harass the military, the main tasks while building foco strength. Once the group achieved a certain potency, it could move to hit-and-run strikes on the military, destroying bases, and attacking infrastructure. Eventually, it would defeat the regular forces, and together with an uprising of popular support for the revolution, would conquer the ruling regime.

In the highlands of Bolivia from 1966-67, Guevara personally sought to implement this doctrine with the overthrow of General René Barrientos. Bringing a handful of battle-tested Cubans, he recruited and trained Bolivians in the rural Ñancahuazú River valley and launched surprise attacks against the military from a base in the southeast of the state. While the foco enjoyed a few initial victories in strikes on military targets, it never gained the trust or support of the peasants. Riven by dissent, victim of its own tactical mistakes and facing an alerted and organized military, the foco was routed by fall 1967. Captured by the Bolivian military on October 8, Guevara was executed the next day. His dream of leading worldwide revolution ended in the Bolivian highlands. This idea lives on however, employed by many who seek to overthrow the ruling regime, from Africa to Asia, from the Middle East to Latin America.

There are 169 AM stations and 55 FM stations plus one shortwave station. There are 58 broadcast stations in Cuba. Cuba has almost 2,000 Internet hosts and an estimated 150,000 legal Internet users. The electrical infrastructure is insufficient with chronic energy shortages and blackouts, particularly in the summer. Cuba has 170 airports, but only 78 have paved runways. It has 49 kilometers of gas pipelines and 230 for petroleum. There are 37,793 miles of road, but less than half are paved, and 2,985 miles of railroads, largely serving the sugar industry. Cuba has 11 ships in its merchant marine. Cienfuegos, Havana, and Matanzas are commercial ports (CIA *World Factbook* 2006).

Key social issues are discrimination against Afro-Cubans, the rise of prostitution and sex tourism, and illicit migration. These topics are discussed elsewhere.

Cuba's leadership has introduced a variety of economic policies since the Revolution, but never has strayed far from central planning. Following Castro's declaration of the "socialist" character of the Cuban Revolution in December 1961, after the failed Bay of Pigs invasion, Cuban policy focused on self-sufficiency, particularly through industrialization and diversification of the largely sugar-based economy. Head of the National Bank and Minister of Industry, Che Guevara argued that Cuba could accomplish this without foreign borrowing, by the voluntary sacrifice of all citizens, who would respond to moral rather than market incentives. As well, Havana continued nationalization of industrial, financial, and commerce entities and took control of the vast majority of agricultural lands.

When the move away from sugar and industrialization failed, self-sufficiency and diversification were de-emphasized; Guevara continued to press for the use of moral incentives to reward the "new man in a new society." A massive sugar harvest in 1970, brought in with the help of many volunteers, was to highlight the new Cuban idealism. When this effort fell short, the regime had to reassess its strategies.

Assuming responsibility for the 1970 harvest failure, Castro moved Cuba to a new strategy of "scientific socialism" that called for closer economic integration with the states of the Soviet bloc, including joining the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) in 1972. Thus, rather than self-sufficiency and industrialization, Cuba focused on international trade in which it exported agricultural and extractive products (sugar, citrus, and nickel) in exchange for industrial goods and fuel at concessionary rates. This greater assimilation into the Soviet economic sphere encouraged more multi-year planning and central control by the Cuban government. The economy's recovery and growth permitted use of market incentives, including some worker bonuses for meeting and exceeding production goals, a move to the "market socialism" advocated by the Soviets in the 1960s. This new economic model, the "System of Direction and Economic Planning," sought to marry central planning to supply and demand considerations.

While production concentrated on meeting export obligations, the Cuban economy developed so that many fewer consumer goods were rationed by the 1980s. Still, a limited range was available and goods often were of low quality. The opening of the island to family visitors in 1979 exposed many Cubans to a truer picture of what they were missing, and increased consumer discontent. Offsetting that though, were policies of greater material equality. The Cuban economy provided no-cost, comprehensive preventive and curative health services, as well as free education—nursery school through university—and a more equitable distribution of the state's resources than ever before. Further, Castro had ensured development of social services in rural, not just urban, areas. Some noted that now, even hardships were distributed more fairly than before the Revolution.

A poor economic performance in the late 1980s, followed by the disintegration of the Eastern European bloc starting in 1989 and collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, dramatically affected the Cuban economy. An end to Cuba's prerogatives within CMEA punished its markets and ushered in the "special period." Within a year of the disappearance of the Soviet Union, Cuba's oil imports dropped by more than half. The price the Russians charged reflected world market, rather than concessionary, prices and, they demanded payment in hard currency, not sugar. At the

same time, Cuba's imports dropped sharply, some estimate by more than half, and the economy contracted significantly, by at least a third. Rationing of consumer goods returned.

Unlike leaders of other Communist states in the post-Soviet era, Castro has been reluctant to allow the easing of control and the growing inequality that accompany even limited free market reforms. In the mid-1990s, his government increasingly turned to foreign tourism and investment for the hard currency they generate. Then, in 2000, Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez, a close ally to Castro, stepped up trade with Cuba, filling the oil deficit left by the Soviet collapse. An "oil for services" agreement brings Cuban refineries more than 90,000 barrels of crude oil a day, on favorable terms. In return, Cuba has sent Venezuela thousands of doctors and teachers to help with the delivery of Cuban-style social services. This gives Cuba oil beyond its daily needs; it sells the excess, gaining vital hard currency. This allowed Castro to foreswear additional free market reforms and reverse earlier compromises of the socialist economic orthodoxy.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

One person, Fidel Castro, "Maximum Leader" since the 1959 Revolution, dominates domestic politics in Cuba. He serves as head of state, head of government, commander in chief, and first secretary of the only legal political party on the island, the Cuban Communist Party (PCC). Equally long-serving, with a lower profile until 2006, has been Castro's younger brother Raúl. Raúl Castro is the state's first vice president and defense minister and serves as second secretary of the PCC. Fidel Castro's extended hospitalization, begun in 2006, and near disappearance from public and political life, was preceded by a temporary transfer of most of his functions to Raúl, in a letter published July 31, 2006. This confirmed Castro's earlier succession plans, which always had named Raúl. If there were a need to replace the younger but still elderly Raúl, Ricardo Alarcón, president of the Cuban National Assembly since 1993, often is mentioned as a possibility.

As noted, the PCC is Cuba's only legal political party, although officially it has no special place in the government. The 1976 Constitution recognizes its unique status in Article One. When Fidel Castro took power initially, he was not a member of the existing Popular Socialist Party (PSP), a traditional communist organization. The party had not supported him, believing that Cuba was not ripe for a socialist revolution because it had not passed beyond an agricultural economy. When Castro turned to the communists, many argued it was only because the party offered him a ready-made administrative organization, one that could help him take the reins of the bureaucracy and turn the revolutionary movement into a government. Thus, Castro took advantage of one of the few intact organizations left following the Revolution, after purging it of political rivals. Perhaps because of this need to consolidate personal control, the first PCC Congress did not take place until 1975. Since then, the party has grown in number with PCC membership considered necessary for advancement in any government-controlled field, including politics. Teenagers join the Young Pioneers, and then become Young

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THE HEALTH OF FIDEL CASTRO AND THE HEALTH OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

Fidel Castro Ruz, the "Maximum Leader," has been the embodiment of the Cuban Revolution since the fall of the Batista regime in 1959. His connection to the vigor of the Revolution is underscored by the fact that his health information is a state secret. In the early days of the Revolution, this secrecy resulted from several assassination attempts, some organized by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. As he aged, Castro intentionally and publicly adopted a healthier lifestyle. He quit smoking cigars and took up aerobic exercise. Rumors surrounding his health periodically have stirred the hopes of the exile community in Miami. In October 2004, Castro fell off the stage during a graduation ceremony, breaking his left knee and right arm. Despite his injuries, Castro assured the Cuban people a few days later that he had not taken sedatives and was attending to his duties as all good Cuban revolutionaries would. Not long after the fall, news that Castro had Parkinson's disease spread. The Cuban government denied that he was sick.

  The most recent health alarm for the 80-year-old leader came in July 2006 when he underwent unspecified intestinal surgery and temporarily turned over power for the first time to his brother Raúl. Since that point, Castro has made no public appearances although he has spoken with President Hugo Chávez of Venezuela on the latter's radio program and, in March 2007, he published an article in *Granma* criticizing President Bush's ethanol energy plan. Subsequently, he has continued to publish regularly in *Granma*. When or even if he will resume his duties is not apparent. What is plain is that the widespread disorder predicted by some when he relinquished power has not occurred. Fidel Castro's Revolution seems likely to continue, in some form, even if he is no longer there to direct it.

Communists. If they demonstrate dedication to the Revolution and other sought-after personal attributes, they then may win full party membership.

Every five years, the National Congress of the Party meets to elect a 126-member Central Committee and to decide broad policy outlines. A 24-member Political Bureau (Politburo) runs the Party, effectively holding the power of political decision making for the party, as well, essentially, as for the state. A secretariat, made up of a subgroup of members of the Central Committee serves as an executive, responsible for day-to-day operations. The PCC's official paper, the *Granma*, is the state's only national daily.

In addition to the PCC, the Confederation of Cuban Workers (CTC), founded in 1939, plays a special role in Cuban political life. It is guaranteed representation in the Politburo, the Central Committee, municipal and provincial party associations. As the union speaks for workers, a key group in a socialist society, it is vital to the Revolution's economic and political success. However, the PCC selects the CTC's leadership and no other union is legal in Cuba, limiting the voice allowed labor. Under Cuban law, the CTC has the right of legislative initiative. Other rights are much restricted; for example, union members may not bargain collectively or strike.

Cuban voters directly elect their legislators, but there are significant restrictions on those who run. While many positions do not require PCC membership, and there is no party slate of candidates in any election (no opposition party presents alternatives), membership can help potential candidates to prove worthiness to the official nomination authorities, who must approve them. Candidates also are prohibited from direct campaigning for office; doing so may result in

disqualification. Even with these restrictions, races are competitive. There are multiple candidates for each office, despite the unpaid, part-time nature of the positions.

Political opposition in Cuba is severely restricted. Public disagreement with the state, the system, or Fidel Castro may be punished with long prison terms. In one well-known case, Oswaldo José Payá Sardiñas of the Christian Liberation Movement organized the Varela Project, collecting enough signatures to force a referendum, as the Cuban Constitution permits. In May 2002, the group presented the National Assembly with a petition signed by more than 11,000, asking for a national vote on freedom of expression, association, free multiparty elections and free enterprise, as well as freedom for political prisoners. Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, while visiting Cuba, mentioned the Varela Project supportively on a live radio broadcast, greatly raising its profile. Cuban officials organized a countermovement that presented its own petition to the National Assembly. This led to a constitutional amendment that called the current socialist system permanent and "untouchable." Further, the Cuban government cracked down on the pro-democracy activists using laws against counterrevolutionary behavior and threats to national security. A number of Varela campaigners and other dissidents were arrested in 2003 and garnered lengthy prison sentences.

Disparity among the regions reinforces racial inequalities, providing another important political issue in Cuba. Inhabitants from the primarily Afro-Cuban eastern provinces, where foreign investments and economic opportunities are fewer, began migrating in large numbers to Havana, which offers significantly better economic opportunities, housing, education, and health services. In April 1997, the Cuban government passed a decree restricting further immigration. It also authorized officials to fine and remove those living illegally in Havana.

LAW AND ORDER

The Communist Party dominates the political system making the rule of law problematic. Official corruption, particularly in the management of mixed state and private enterprises, has damaged respect for the law. In 2003, the president of the state agency controlling investment in Cuba's tourist industry, Cubanacan, was fired for corruption (Freedom House 2006). In 2006, the Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index gave Cuba a score of 3.5, well below the 5.0 considered the minimum for government transparency.

Trafficking in minors for sexual exploitation is a concern. Sex tourism is frequent and aided by employees at state-run hotels, tourist agencies, bars and restaurants, as well as law enforcement personnel. The trafficking has been accompanied by a general increase in prostitution. While prostitution is legal for people over 17, facilitating and pandering is not (U.S. State, "Human Rights" 2005). Cuban government statistics for 2000–2004 show 1,377 convictions for pimping or procuring prostitutes. Decree 232 issued in 2003 gave the government authority to confiscate property belonging to pimps, pornographers, or those guilty of corruption of minors. A related problem is increasing violence against women (U.S. State, "Trafficking in Persons" 2005).

In terms of illicit drugs, Cuba is a transit point. Since 1989, there has been no evidence of drug related corruption among Cuban senior government officials. Decree 232 allowed for a crackdown on international drug traffickers and local consumption. The National Anti-Drug Directorate, under the Interior Ministry, oversees all drug enforcement efforts. The Cuban Border Guard brings in 90 percent of drugs seized. Other agencies involved are Cuban Customs, the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR), and the National Police and National Park Rangers (U.S. State, ''International Narcotics Control Strategy'' 2006). The National Anti-Drug Directorate handles initiatives for prevention and rehabilitation. Finally, the Cuban Border Guard has cooperated with U.S. Coast Guard drug seizures on the high seas and Cuba recently extradited a Norte del Valle cartel leader to Colombia; from there he will be sent to the United States for trial.

Cuba lacks an independent judiciary. The constitution subordinates courts and gives judicial appointment power to the National Assembly, local assemblies, and the Council of State. All are controlled by the Communist Party. The Council of State ''serves as a de facto judiciary and controls both the courts and the judicial process'' (IACHR 2005). Additionally, only lawyers from government sanctioned lawyers' collectives represent the accused. A defendant's revolutionary record can be part of the sentencing process. For those in Cuban prisons, conditions are substandard; cells are dark, poorly ventilated, and unhygienic (Amnesty International 2002). Security forces and prison guards reportedly beat and abuse prisoners with impunity. Prison authorities withhold medical treatment from prisoners as a method of control (U.S. State, ''Human Rights'' 2005).

The Cuban government has distinguished itself in the area of natural disaster relief. Civil Defense authorities are capable of rapid emergency response. When Hurricane Charley hit in August 2004, Civil Defense evacuated 215,532 from low-lying areas and provided temporary shelter for 35,794 refugees (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies 2006). Only 16 people died in Category IV Hurricane Dennis in July 2005 when 1.5 million Cubans were evacuated. Despite little money for rebuilding, Cubans can count on their government to respond quickly and efficiently to natural disaster.

Because of political constraints, it would be difficult to judge the general population's confidence in the legal system and law and order bodies.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

As with state security, it would be hard to understand Cuba's foreign relations without reference to its combative relations with the United States (see below). Other states' relations with Cuba cannot help but be colored by the effect that their decisions will have, positive or negative, on their dealings with Washington.

From the beginning of his rule, Castro has sought a world role for Cuba. When many of Cuba's neighbors rejected its revolutionary internationalism in the decade following Castro's rise to power, Cuba created a leadership role within the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), including Castro's election as its chair in 1979 and 2006. Further, Cuba developed an ambitious African policy, sending troops and support staff to aid revolutionary movements and governments in Algeria, Angola,

Ethiopia, and Zanzibar (Tanzania). It also supported revolutionary movements closer to home, including in Bolivia, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Venezuela. Over time, Cuba reestablished diplomatic relations with all of its hemispheric neighbors, except the United States.

Castro's 1992 announcement of the end of "Cuban internationalism" no doubt aided this reconciliation (Havana Cubavision 1992). Given the Cold War's end and Cuban economic crisis with the Soviet Union's disappearance, Cuba's focus on less costly ways of projecting itself, while preserving the Revolution, was a pragmatic choice. Further, Castro has worked to improve ties regionally, with EU states and with China, both to replace Soviet aid and to gain leverage in his struggle with Washington.

In terms of foreign policy broadly, Cuba does not have any forces currently committed to peacekeeping and has foresworn nuclear weapons. In 1995, it signed the Treaty of Tlatelolco, the Latin American nonproliferation agreement for the region. However, it was not until 2002, the same year that Cuba ratified the Non-Proliferation Treaty, that Castro pushed the Tlatelolco Treaty to ratification.

Caribbean

While Cuba remains defiantly outside organizations that it deems U.S. creations (thus subject to U.S. veto) or tools of neoliberalism (the Inter-American system, in the main), it has worked to build regional cooperation in areas of common interest with its neighbors. In 1993, it signed a limited trade deal with the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), after stripping out language about human rights and democracy, and completed a trade and economic cooperation agreement with CARICOM in 2002. In 1994, as it was expanding its tourism industry, Cuba joined the Caribbean Tourist Organization. That same year it helped found the Association of Caribbean States. As well, it joined the Latin American Integration Association in 1999 and the Caribbean Forum of the Asian, Caribbean and Pacific States in 2001. These memberships have paid political benefits as Caribbean states have supported Cuban positions, voting against punitive U.S. policies toward Cuba in the United Nations General Assembly (Domínguez 2001, 192–3).

Central and South America

Cuba's suspension from the OAS began in 1962 (although it remains a member, as well as a signatory to the 1947 Rio Treaty). Two years later, all OAS states except Mexico ended diplomatic and commercial ties with Cuba. Outside the OAS, on a multilateral and bilateral basis Cuba has redeveloped relations with Central and South American states. It interacts multilaterally through the 22-member Ibero-American Summit, founded in 1991. Bilateral relations have been particularly warm with countries now headed by leftist leaders, including Venezuela, Bolivia, Brazil, Nicaragua, Ecuador, and Argentina, each of whom has signed new trade agreements or opened other areas of cooperation with Cuba. Relations with Mexico proved difficult under center-right President Vicente Fox, but indications are that Mexico and Cuba are seeking a return to their traditional

close relationship. The perception of a vacuum caused by U.S. inattention after September 11, 2001, together with a series of leftist presidential victories, offered Castro an opportunity to strengthen Cuba's regional role.

Canada

The U.S. passage of laws with extraterritorial reach (more below) helped to spur greater bilateral cooperation between Canada and Cuba. Trade relations and significant Canadian tourism to Cuba predated increased U.S.-Cuban tensions in the 1990s. Following U.S. legislation in the 1990s, the Canadian government offered development aid directly to Cuba, provided businesses assistance to enhance their trade with the island—it now is one of Cuba's largest trading partners—and funded private Canadian groups' development of relations with Cuban counterparts (Domínguez 2001, 197–200).

European Union

With the disappearance of the eastern European trade bloc, Cuba explored better relations with western Europe. The region has been a source of tourists, foreign investment, loans, and trade. As well, the European Union, a veteran of the peace and development processes in Central America in the 1980s, has engaged actively with Cuba, seeking to encourage a better record on human rights and to reduce the effects of U.S. policies. In December 1996, EU members adopted a common position on Cuba focused on encouraging democratization and greater respect for human rights. It granted development assistance, especially linked to NGOs. As Cuba's record does not allow it to accede to the EU's Cotonou Accord, which introduces an element of automaticity to EU aid packages, the EU revisits its common position annually. While Cuba has proven intractable on human rights, what is read as U.S. intransigence toward Havana, and the deep human need on the island, have kept Europeans involved. Castro's 2003 crackdown on dissidents and reactivation of the use of the death penalty led to a near-complete suspension of EU aid. By 2005, however, the EU renewed its policy of constructive engagement, still seeking to encourage change by the Cuban regime. EU states, led by Spain, account for about half of Cuba's foreign trade (Library of Congress [LOC], 16).

The Vatican

Following years of hostile relations, in 1992, Jesuit-educated Fidel Castro oversaw amendment of the Cuban Constitution that changed Cuba from an "atheist" to a "secular" state. This followed by a year removal of the prohibition on religious affiliation for members of the PCC. Castro has noted with approval the liberation theology practiced by some with Catholic and Protestant ties. Then, in 1998, Pope John Paul II traveled to Cuba. He gave a number of open air masses in his five-day visit, and, as expected, condemned both the "blind market forces" of capitalism and the "deplorable" U.S. embargo on Cuba, while calling on Castro to free political prisoners. Since then, Cuba has continued to limit religious organizations, leading the Cuban Conference of Catholic Bishops in 2003 to criticize restrictions on the

church, including the prohibition on parochial education and restrictions on media access.

China

In 1998, China and Cuba signed a cooperation agreement on military intelligence. This has expanded to bilateral collaboration in other areas. Chinese President Hu Jintao visited Cuba in 2004 and signed a number of agreements to increase Chinese investment on the island significantly. As well, in 2004, Cuba and China held an Investment and Trade Forum that produced a variety of agreements on new commercial ventures. In 2005, China accounted for 10 percent of Cuba's foreign trade (LOC, 16).

SECURITY

The state has involved Cuban society fully in military preparedness as well as internal security. The premise of the state's security doctrine is that the United States is its primary offensive threat. In response to a U.S. attack, which presumably would involve overwhelming conventional forces, the doctrine calls both for a conventional response and for unconventional methods involving all Cubans in national defense—the "War of All the People." Preparing for this means some level of training and equipment for all civilians.

In the mid-1970s, along with greater Soviet economic cooperation, Castro also negotiated increased military assistance. This allowed the building of a formidable army, blue water navy, and air force, second in the Caribbean only to the United States. These allowed Cuba an internationalist role and a high regional profile. The paramilitary Territorial Militia Troops (MTT), created in 1980, support the regular forces. Together, they make up the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR).

The FAR encompasses ground, air, and naval forces. The Ground Forces (army), the largest part of the FAR with approximately 38,000 members, is organized geographically. There is an eastern (including the Guantánamo Frontier Guard Brigade, which defends the Guantánamo border), a central, and a western army, as well as the Youth Labor Army (EJT). The EJT combines economic production with military training activities. The FAR also includes an 8,000-person Antiaircraft Defense and Revolutionary Air Force (DAAFAR) and a Revolutionary Navy (MGR) of approximately 3000 (all troop sizes from LOC, 28).

Additional paramilitary and civilian units complete Cuba's defense architecture. The Territorial Defense System protects against external aggression or occupation, and supplies a framework for handling natural disasters. Its structure mirrors the state's political divisions, with a single National Defense Council under which serve 14 Provisional Defense Councils, 169 Municipal Defense Councils, and more than 1,400 Zone Defense Councils. More than 40,000 Cubans volunteer to serve on these councils. The Zone Defense Councils oversee the 3.5 million volunteers who make up more than 60,000 production and defense brigades, which can be mobilized to fight the "War of All the People."

As noted, the MTT play a supporting role for the regular forces. Generally assigned to tasks developed by the Defense Councils, the MTT has more than

one million volunteer members. A much smaller, 6,500-member Interior Ministry paramilitary Border Guard Troop (TGF) also supports the regular forces.

Finally, Castro established the Committees for Defense of the Revolution (CDRs) in 1960, as an additional means of militarizing society against U.S. attack. These local civil defense groups, which, in the case of such an assault, can be mobilized and armed, are organized in neighborhoods and workplaces. In peacetime, they function as local watch committees and neighborhood associations. They also provide grassroots listening posts for the government, as well as a means for dissemination of government information. The role of CDR leaders in guarding against threats to the Revolution and maintaining ideological purity in their districts has earned them a reputation as government spies.

Economic constraints and the international political shifts of the 1990s reduced Cuba's military capabilities. In 1992, Raúl Castro, Minister of the FAR, announced 50 percent reductions in military personnel, shifting more responsibility to reserve and irregular forces. Estimates from 2006 put Cuban forces at 49,000 active troops, a significant drop from the post-Revolution peak of 300,000 in the early 1960s. Further, the required male active military service has decreased from three years to two, with reports of an end to much basic training for conscripts. Moreover, community service progressively is replacing military service. Additionally, the military has taken on greater responsibility for control of illegal immigration and drug interdiction. Finally, much of the Soviet-era military equipment either has been cannibalized for parts or has been mothballed. Thus, in terms of numbers, training, equipment, and duties, Cuban forces no longer have the capacity they once did. China and Cuba's military cooperation agreement of 2001 has not mitigated fully the loss of earlier, substantial Soviet military transfers.

Following the 1990s' economic dislocations, retired and active officers have taken on greater economic roles, including those in the expanding tourism, construction, and services sectors. This is in addition to FAR's traditional responsibilities in making and repairing military equipment for domestic use and for sale abroad. The military now includes a Department of Economic Affairs to manage these various activities. Some observers believe that this increasing economic role, together with a growing number of military officers appointed to Politburo positions, will allow the military a significant role in shaping post-Fidel Cuba.

As well, the military has consolidated its control of potential rivals. In 1989, Hero of the Revolution and Army Major General Arnaldo Ochoa, Interior Ministry Colonel Antonio de la Guardia, and Interior Ministry Brigadier General Patricio de la Guardia were charged with drug trafficking and corruption. Following their convictions, a firing squad executed Ochoa and Antonio de la Guardia and the Interior Ministry came firmly under the control of the defense minister, Raúl Castro, who integrated a number of army officers into the Interior forces.

With outright control of the Interior Ministry, Raúl Castro now directs both major organs of Cuba's intelligence operations. These are the FAR, which houses the Military Counterintelligence Department and the Ministry of the Interior, home to the Department of State Security (DSE), and General Intelligence Directorate (DGI).

The Military Counterintelligence Department has, in the past, coordinated with the Soviet, then Russian, signal intelligence (SIGINT) gathering forces at the

Soviet-built facility at Lourdes, Cuba. While the facility is described as closed, it is reported that some Russians remain. Additionally, following a visit by Chinese President Jiang Zemin in 1993 and a reciprocal visit by Castro in 1995, the two leaders in 1998 signed an intelligence cooperation agreement. China began operating SIGINT facilities in Cuba, for collection of U.S. military and civilian communications. Many believe that the Chinese government also is providing Cuba the technology to block U.S. transmission of its anti-Castro broadcast, TV Martí.

The DSE operates a 20,000 member force that maintains internal political control by locating and suppressing dissent. The CDRs support DSE work. In addition to a military role in case of an aggressive external attack, as noted previously, the CDRs help ferret out internal dissent.

The DGI focuses on external operations and intelligence gathering. It is believed to use Cuba's diplomatic missions and exile communities, particularly in the United States, to collect information. Currently, the "Cuban Five," apprehended with the discovery of the "Wasp Network," a spy group that operated in the United States, sit in U.S. prisons, convicted of espionage. Cuba argues that it had to send spies to the United States to learn what terrorist activities exile groups there were plotting. The United States contends that the spy ring was gathering U.S. military information.

Cuba has been the subject of terrorist attacks by, and on the behalf of, some organizations of Cuban exiles. In 1997, several tourist hotels in Havana were bombed, killing one tourist and, no doubt, driving away many others, with their needed hard currency. In 1976, a bomb on a Cubana Airlines flight brought it down over the Caribbean, killing all 73 aboard. Both Cuba and Venezuela, the country of origin of the flight, have requested extradition of CIA-trained Cuban exile Luis Posada Carriles, linked to the bombing. He has been in the United States illegally, but visibly since 2005. President George H.W. Bush released Posadas' widely acknowledged co-conspirator in the bombing, Orlando Bosch, from a U.S. prison in 1990, where he had been serving time for illegal entry. The United States refuses requests for their extradition.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Cuba faces stiff criticism from international organizations, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), the United States, and the European Union for its human rights record. The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCHR) and the OAS Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) issue annual reports detailing Cuban violations and resistance to international observers. Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, Freedom House, and the U.S. State Department have also produced reports critical of Cuban practices. Some organizations list the U.S. embargo on Cuba as contributing to the violations. Additionally, Cuba has refused visits by the International Red Cross, Amnesty International, and other humanitarian organizations. In 1996, the European Union called for civil and political liberties as a condition of improved relations. Areas in which Cuba's record has met with international approval are access to education, literacy levels, women's rights legislation, and health care availability.

The Cuban government routinely suppresses freedom of expression. The IACHR reported that, "Cuba is the only country in the hemisphere where it can be stated categorically that freedom of expression does not exist" (IACHR 2005). Communist Party monopolization of the state and its institutions limits political choices for all Cubans. No other legal political groups exist. Castro's government has used the U.S. threat as an excuse to crack down periodically on political dissent. In 1999, the Cuban National Assembly approved legislation that mandated prison sentences of up to 20 years for those convicted of "activities that undermine state security" (U.S. State, "Human Rights" 2005). The law also set penalties for having unauthorized contact with, or importing materials from, the United States. It is estimated that Cuba today has fewer than 250 political prisoners.

Freedom of the press also is restricted. The constitution makes all print and electronic media state property. The Communist Party controls all media except church publications. Independent journalists and foreign correspondents are tightly restricted and frequently harassed by state security officials. Foreign news agencies are required to hire official Cuban journalists. Legally, Cubans can access the Internet only from state-approved sites and email is subject to censorship. The Cuban Council of Churches (CCC) is allowed to broadcast a monthly 15-minute program so long as it eschews political material. The government routinely jams transmissions from abroad.

The constitution recognizes freedom of religion, but the state restricts this right. Until 1991, practicing Catholics could not join the Communist Party, hindering their access to jobs, education, and other government services. The government regularly prohibits construction of new churches, requires religious groups to register with the Ministry of the Interior, and limits immigration of foreign priests. Responding to the proliferation of religious gatherings in private homes, the state has limited meetings to three a week and required that locations be at least a mile apart. Religious schools are prohibited, and religious literature can only be imported through and distributed to recognized religious groups.

Academic freedom also is hobbled by government regulations and control. Academics are restricted from meeting with foreign diplomats. The Ministry of Education requires teachers' evaluations of their students' and their parents' ideology in official school records. Teaching materials must include an approved ideological content. The government tightly controls access to information in public libraries and has raided independent libraries for violating state security rules.

The constitution allows for limited rights of assembly and association, but the Penal Code requires all groups to have state recognition. The Justice Ministry, in consultation with the Interior Ministry, which houses the state security archives, grants legal sanction. No human rights groups are licensed. All workers must join the CTC. A few professional associations exist without legal recognition as do other political groups outside the Communist Party. The penalty for unlawful assembly is three months in prison and a fine. The state organizes marches and rallies in public spaces to promote its agenda and harass its critics. Attendance is mandatory for students, government employees, and CTC members, and the state requires certification of participation.

Castro's government restricts freedom of movement. The government routinely denies exit permits to health care professionals, young men eligible for military

service, relatives of those who emigrated illegally, and dissidents. Legal emigrants have to pay fees equivalent to two years' salary while migrants to the United States have to pay more than twice that amount. Domestically, movement also is regulated. In 1997, the Council of State placed restrictions on in-migration to Havana. Regulations also commit HIV-positive Cubans to sanatoriums for mandatory treatment and require close monitoring of those who are released. Finally, Cuban law allows the government to bar individuals from certain areas of the country or to restrict a person to one area for up to 10 years (U.S. State, "Human Rights" 2005).

Cuba has ratified or signed a number of important conventions under the UNHCHR. It has ratified the Convention Against Torture and Other Inhumane or Degrading Punishment, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography. It has signed the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, and the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict.

CONCLUSION

The future of Cuba, as its past, remains tightly bound to the United States. While official enmity has shaped the relationship between the Cuban and U.S. governments for the last 45 years, the Cold War's end and a post-Fidel transition may provide opportunities for restructuring the relationship. Further, as the revolutionary generation passes from the scene in Cuba as well as the United States, new paths to change may open.

Certainly, there are the challenges to overcome. The U.S. embargo on Cuba routinely is condemned in the UN General Assembly, with no more than a handful of former trust territories and Israel standing with the United States. The April 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion left a sense, carefully nurtured by Castro, that the United States has no hesitation about using armed force to overthrow the regime. The 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis reaffirmed the importance of the island, so close to the Floridian coast, to Washington. While the détente of the 1970s allowed for some relaxation of strained relations, the 1980 Mariel exodus and Cuba's involvement with revolutionary movements in Africa and Central America corroborated for President Reagan Castro's status as adversary. The Reagan administration began Radio Martí, appropriating a beloved Cuban patriot to puncture, in Castro's eyes, Cuban sovereignty with propaganda broadcasts. Hostilities continued with the Cuban Democracy Act of 1992, banning foreign subsidiaries of U.S. companies from conducting business in Cuba and forbidding any ship that had visited Cuba recently from entering the United States. After Cuban Air Force MiGs shot down two Florida-based Brothers to the Rescue planes over Cuban airspace, killing all four aboard, President Bill Clinton signed a bill he had intended to veto, the Cuban Liberty and Democracy Solidarity Act commonly known as Helms-Burton. This

codified the U.S. embargo and fixed the conditions for normalization of relations. To the consternation of U.S. allies, it gave U.S. nationals and corporations the right to use federal courts to sue foreign companies "trafficking" in property expropriated by Cuba after 1959. In 2001, President Bush declared sanctions against Cuba a "moral statement" and later created the Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba, funded at 30 million dollars annually, to plan for the post-Castro transition. The U.S. interest section in Havana offers support and resources to the political opposition outlawed by the Cuban government, at times sparking crackdowns that the United States cites as evidence of the regime's undemocratic nature. Cuba has reemphasized its protests about the U.S. presence at Guantánamo Bay as a violation of Cuban sovereignty, to no avail.

The U.S. government hopes that once Fidel Castro is gone, the island will transform; that when Cubans have the chance, they will pick a different type of regime. The OAS has made it clear that democracy is the Western Hemisphere's talisman and both the OAS and the United Nations have urged Cuba to reform its human rights policies. Today there are moderate Cuban exile groups preparing for transition without engaging in the Cold War rhetoric that still guides official discourse. Miami investment groups are preparing to spend in Cuba. U.S. rice and corn farmers are anxious to sell in Cuba. Most Cubans and Miami Cubans have no memory of pre-Revolutionary Cuba. A political change in Washington, reducing the influence of conservative Cuban exiles on policy, also might help defrost relations.

For his part, Castro seems confident the Revolution is bigger than he is and will outlast him. His faith comes from the belief that the "bad old days" before the Revolution will continue to resonate with enough Cubans and that Cuban national pride and identity now are intertwined with preserving the Revolution. Further, Castro has been successful in reaching out to leaders of nearby countries, states with historic ties to Cuba, and governments that resent such U.S. policies as Helms-Burton and the continued embargo. As well, his government has allowed foreign investment in most sectors, which gives a number of outside players a stake in preventing something similar to "deBaathification" in Cuba. This, together with the coincidence of high prices for energy and the election of leftist leaders in oil- and gas-rich states in Latin America, who have been willing to support the Cuban Revolution, may allow Castro to leave his successor a legacy of economic and political space.

NOTES

1. Ernesto Guevara, "Message to the Tricontinental," in *Guerrilla Warfare*, 3rd ed. trans. J.P. Morray (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1997), 172.

2. Guevara, *Guerrilla Warfare*, 50.

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The Democratic Republic of Congo

Anne Etienne

BACKGROUND

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is located on the west coast of central Africa and the equator crosses it about in the middle. It has a coastline of 37 kilometers and shares borders with Angola to the south, Zambia to the southeast, Tanzania, Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda to the east, the Sudan to the northeast, the Central African Republic to the north, and the Republic of Congo to the west. Additionally, the DRC is one of the largest African nations. The national government has jurisdiction over the 10 provinces of the country and the capital, Kinshasa, has special jurisdiction. The geography of the country consists mainly of vast plateaus throughout the west which include dense tropical rain forests in the central river basin and eastern highlands and a central part with mountains in the eastern flanks. The highest elevation of the country stands at Mount Stanley at an altitude of 5,110 kilometers. Arable land represents about 2.9 percent of the territory while 0.5 percent is used for permanent crops.

The Democratic Republic of Congo is one of the wealthiest African countries in terms of natural resources for it is a world leader in diamond production. Furthermore, it also possesses a significant amount of gold, silver, copper, and cobalt. However, and similarly to many developing nations, the country suffers from several environmental issues pertaining to wildlife and deforestation. The most notable issues in these regards include wildlife damage related to the mining of coltan (mineral used to create diamonds and gold amongst others), deforestation due to refugee activities in different parts of the country, soil erosion, and wildlife poaching. Consequently, the activities that contribute the most to the domestic wealth of the DRC also substantively affect its long-term sustainability and growth insofar as these activities also erode the country's natural environment and wildlife. Unfortunately, as an underdeveloped nation, the DRC lacks the necessary funds to adequately address its severe environmental issues.

The main tribe group members directly descend from the first permanent settlers of the area, the Bantu, who settled on the land beginning 1000 BC; around

The Democratic Republic of Congo

Formal name: The Democratic Republic of Congo

Size of country: 2,345,410 sq km (about 1/4 the size of the United States)

Natural resources: Diamonds, gold, silver, coal, cobalt, copper, petroleum, zinc, uranium, and manganese

Population: 62,660,551 (July 2006 est. taking into account the mortality effects of AIDS)

Life expectancy at birth: 51.46 years

Key ethnic groups: Over 200 African ethnic groups including 45% of which are Bantu and Mangbetu-Azande

Key religious groups: Roman Catholic, Protestant, Kimbanguist, Muslims, and indigenous sects

Key political parties:

- Forces for Renovation for Union and Solidarity (FONUS)
- National Congolese Lumumbist Movement (MNC)
- Popular Movement of the Revolution (MPR)
- Union for Democracy and Social Progress (UDPS)
- Union of Federalists and Independent Republicans (UFERI)

Legal system: System under the jurisdiction of the compulsory International Court of Justice

Real GDP growth: 6.5% (2005 est.)

GDP per capita: $700 (2005 est.)

Population below poverty line: Not available

Size of Military: 51,000 (2007 est.)

Relationship with the United States: There is a close relationship between the Democratic Republic of Congo and the United States.

Human security issues: Issues are wide-ranging and include the poor quality of health, the lack of development, and the legacy of the civil war.

Important future security issues: These are again wide-ranging, but the threat of a return to conflict is perhaps the most serious.

Sources: CIA 2006; IISS 2007.

100 AD, Sudanic and Eastern African tribes also settled the area (Library of Congress 1993). During the nineteenth century, King Leopold's Belgium started to exploit the local riches and the country as it is known today became a Belgian colony in 1908, which led to the settlement of many Belgian colons with strong interests in the diamond industry. The country gained its independence in 1960 and underwent internal turmoil directly thereafter. The 32-year rule of Mobuto Sese Seko engendered plenty of internal and external displacements which were accompanied by the flux of populations from neighboring countries also undergoing internal turmoil (mainly Angola and Uganda, and later, Rwanda and Burundi). Most of the current-day population has been long established and originates from several African tribes. Thus, besides the influx of neighboring populations and the exodus of domestic populations, the demographics of the DRC has remained relatively the same over the years. However, in spite of the long history

of settlement of these tribes, the country still suffers from intertribal rivalries, especially to the east with the arrival of both Tutsis and Hutus from neighboring Burundi and Rwanda in the mid-1990s.

SOCIETY

The Democratic Republic of Congo contains 62,660,551 Congolese (2006 estimate, taking into account the excessive mortality rate due to AIDS) but suffers from high mortality rates as a result of the devastation of the AIDS epidemic. However, because the country enjoys a high fertility rate of 6.45 children born per woman and a birth rate of 43.69 births per 1,000 capita, the nation's population growth rate stands at 3.07 percent (2006 estimate). As a direct consequence of a strong fertility rate, a high birth rate, and a relatively short life expectancy at birth of 51.46 years, the median age is very low at 16.2 years old (2006 estimate). Thus, the age structure possesses the following characteristics: 0–14: 47.4 percent of the population; 15–64: 50.1 percent of the population; and above 65: 2.5 percent of the population (all 2006 estimates).

Overall, the quality of life of the DRC ranks among the worst in the world. The United Nations Human Development Programme (UNHDP) reports a Human Development Index (HDI) of 0.385 for 2005 (down from 0.414 in 1975 and 0.434 in 1985, its highest value to date); the country ranks 167 of 177 countries included in the series (UNHDP 2005). Like many other African nations, the Democratic Republic of Congo also suffers from the AIDS epidemic. Accordingly, the HIV/AIDS prevalence rate among adults reaches 4.2 percent with an estimated 1.1 million people living with either HIV or AIDS in the country causing an estimated 100,000 deaths per year (all 2003 estimates). Moreover, the country has been listed as a high disease risk by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) with the prevalence of many food or waterborne diseases (bacterial and protozoal diarrhea, hepatitis A, and typhoid fever), water contact diseases (schistosomiasis), and vectorborne diseases (malaria, plague, and African trypanosomiasis [sleeping sickness]). Amongst the local population, the UNHDP notes that malaria cases reach 2,960 per 100,000 capita and the rate of tuberculosis attains 437 cases per 100,000 capita.

In terms of education, the country enjoys a rather high level of adult literacy with a literacy rate of 65.3 percent for adults above 15 years old and a literacy rate of 68.7 percent for the youth (ages 15–24), though the latter has slightly declined over the last decade (UNHDP 2005). However, no reliable figures exist for enrollment in primary, secondary, or tertiary education. As far as quality of life goes, the UNHDP also demonstrates that the DRC shares many traits of other sub-Saharan nations insofar as only 29 percent of the population has access to improved sanitation (an increase from 18 percent in 1990) and 46 percent of the population has access to improved water (an increase from 43 percent in 1990). Though these indicators show improvements from previous decades, this is not the case for the quality of life of the population, children, and infants. Thus, the UNHDP also reports that 71 percent of the population suffers from undernourishment (versus only 32 percent in 1990); 38 percent of the children below the age of five are

underweight (versus 31 percent in 1990); and approximately 12 percent of infants have a low birthweight (UNHDP 2005).

Because of the ongoing internal crisis, few economic indicators are available in order to assess economic inequalities and income distribution trends. However, the UNHDP reports gender inequalities. Thus, men are significantly more empowered than women in terms of economic, political, and educational indicators. For instance, the average annual income for men is $900 versus $500 for women and the female economic activity rate represents 72 percent of that of men. The agency further states that 10 percent of the seats in parliament are held by women and women comprise 0.55 percent of the professional and technical workforce. Finally, the literacy rate of women reaches 65 percent of the rate of that of men. Consequently, women fare much worse than men in all societal dimensions (UNHDP 2005).

The country is comprised of as many as 250 ethnic groups, most of which speak Bantu (Library of Congress 1993). The main three ethnic groups, the Bantu tribes and the Zande- and Mangbetu-speaking tribes comprise about 45 percent of the population. In spite of the ethnic diversity of the country, the local population barely identifies itself with a specific ethnic group; instead, Congolese organize themselves within local communities or within a clan. With the exclusion of the arrival of refugees from neighboring countries (addressed below), who often share similar lineage or ethnic background, almost all of the Congolese population emanates from indigenous groups (most former Belgian colons have returned to their home country). Religiously, the majority of the population belongs to a Christian church: Roman Catholicism gathers the largest number of parishioners (24 to 28 percent), an additional 15 percent are Protestants, and roughly 10 percent belong to the indigenous Kibamguist Church. About 10 percent of the population practices Islam (CIA 2006) and the remainder of the population practices traditional African religions. However, citizens often have overlapping religious denominations for many of them possess overlapping affiliations through the use of witchcraft in a Christian service for instance.

The DRC represents both an important producer of refugees and internally displaced people as well as a recipient of asylum seekers and refugees from neighboring countries. As of 2003, the DRC had a total of 453,465 refugees who mainly resettled in neighboring countries (for instance, Tanzania, the main recipient, hosted 150,000 Congolese). Other recipients include the Congo, Zambia, Burundi, and Rwanda. On the other hand, during the same fiscal year, the DRC hosted approximately 200,000 refugees with more than half coming from Angola. Over the last decade, the number of refugees leaving the DRC has steadily increased while the number of refugees coming to the DRC has steadily decreased. The beginning of further internal turmoil in 1998 engendered an outburst in the number of internally displaced people (about 70,000 that year) and has gradually decreased since then (roughly 10,000 in 2003) (UNHCR 2005).

The infrastructure of the country remains overall underdeveloped. There is a total of 157,000 kilometers of roadways, including only 57 kilometers of expressway. The situation is rather identical in terms of railways since the country possesses only 5,138 kilometers thereof. Though one can find 232 airports in the

country, only 25 of them are paved and, amongst those, four have significant distances of runways (above 3,000 meters). As a consequence of a poor level of infrastructure at the national level, only 10,000 households and businesses benefit from landlines. However, though poorly developed in rural areas, there are 2.5 million cell phones in service throughout the country, representing the most reliable source of communication. Finally, approximately 50,000 Congolese use and have access to the Internet at home.

Most of the economic output of the country emanates from the agricultural and mining (industrial) sectors. No reliable data with regards to the distribution of the population by sector was found. However, this potentially wealthy country suffers from a drastic lack of infrastructure. As such, the main contributors to the GDP of the Democratic Republic of Congo are coffee, sugar, and oil in terms of primary goods and diamonds in terms of mined goods. Furthermore, though the unemployment rate of the country is also unavailable, the CIA reports that the economy has been disrupted due to the ongoing conflict, which also suggests that a significant portion of the population works in the informal sector (CIA 2006). However, the same source indicates that the transitional government's policies attempt to promote foreign investment and economic growth. Yet, most economic data remains so poorly documented that one cannot clearly determine either the actual economic output or the source of ownership of resources.

In the light of the information outlined directly above, most societal issues emanate from the ongoing crisis and the lack of strong infrastructure or economic output. Thus, the main problem facing the country directly relates to the years of corruption, lack of transparency, and a poor legal framework. Most of the population distrusts the government, the security forces, as well as the financial institutions, which hampers economic growth. Consequently, the World Bank reports that the major social issues include the fact that about 16 million people suffer from lack of food, most of the population survives thanks to activities in the informal sector, less than 30 percent of the population has access to health care, and the country has the highest infant mortality rate in Africa (The World Bank 2006).

DOMESTIC POLITICS

The country had been governed by a transitional government headed by Joseph Kabila Kabange (president) and co-governed by four vice-presidents who each represented a former rebel faction (CIA 2006). Joseph Kabila Kabange became his own successor after winning the first presidential elections since 1985 in July 2006, winning in the runoff in a heated contest against his former rebel rival, Jean-Pierre Bemba (*BBC News Online* 2007). Due to the 1998–2003 civil war and the turmoil that persists in the country, there still exists no official constitution that sets institutions, law and order apparatus, and domestic security bodies. Joseph Kabila is to propose a new constitution during his current term.

Though the current leadership managed to somewhat stabilize the political landscape, there exist many foreign-backed opposition factions in the Eastern parts of the country that undermine the political authority of the president as well as the legitimacy of the institutions. Thus, though the current president may enjoy

THE ROLE OF DIAMONDS IN THE CIVIL WAR: 1998–2003

The latest civil war the country underwent, though not initiated by diamonds, sustained itself through diamonds (Olsson and Fors 2004). The presence of lootable diamonds (so-called ''secondary'' diamonds) allowed extraction and production of diamonds without necessitating the possession of expensive machinery. Thus, rebels and their allies (Rwanda and Uganda) had a strong interest in sustaining the war since it allowed them to increase their personal wealth. On the other hand, since Zimbabwe had signed prior exploitation agreements with the Congolese government, it saw its interests jeopardized when the civil war started, which motivated it to send troops on behalf of the Congolese government. All foreign countries involved in the war strongly benefited from the exploitation of Congolese resources, which gave them incentives to continue fighting. Additionally, diamond revenues also provided rebel groups with the necessary funds to pursue the war efforts. Thus, the importance of diamonds for all sides involved in the conflict helped sustain the war and also poses a contemporary problem as the current government struggles in attempting to rid itself of foreign occupiers.

relatively strong support in the capital, Kinshasa, he fails to do so in rural areas (especially diamond-rich ones) and in the eastern part of the country. The elections of 2006 for the president, the 500-member National Assembly, and the 120-member Senate should increase popular support for the political elite and their legitimacy. So far, a lack of political culture and of experience with democratic institutions strongly hampers the population's willingness and/or ability to support the current government or any nationwide political organization.

The main political parties and contenders for presidential elections and legislative elections are the PPRD (People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy) of incumbent president Kabila; the MLC (Movement for the Liberation of Congo) of one of the current vice presidents, Jean-Pierre Bemba Gombo; the RDC-Goma (Congolese Rally for Democracy) of one of the current vice presidents, Azarias Ruberwa Manywa; the RDC-National (Congolese Rally for Democracy–National) headed by Roger Lumbala; the DCF-COFEDEC (Federalist Christian-Convention of Federalists for Christian Democracy) headed by Pierre Pay Pay; the FCN (Nationalist Common Front) headed by Gerard Kamanda; the Force of the Future Arthur Z'ahidi Ngoma; Palu (Unified Lumumbist Party) headed by Antoine Gizenga; the UDEMO (Union of Democratic Mobutist) headed by François Joseph Mobutu; and the DC (Christian Democracy) presided by Eugene Diomi Ndongala (*BBC News Online*, 2007). Due to the lack of democratic culture, the main ideology of most parties deals with the establishment of strong democratic institutions. The key parties' ideologies are underlined below.

The PPRR was founded by Joseph Kabila; however, the incumbent president ran as an independent in the last elections of 2006. Overall, and like many other Congolese parties, the ideology of the PPRD promotes democratic institutions insofar as the country is attempting a transition to a democratic regime. Politically, the party lies on the left of the political spectrum; it promotes a decentralized form of government through the establishment of democratic institutions at all levels of government. Additionally, the party puts a strong emphasis on the importance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a document often undermined by prior regimes. On the economic level, the party aims to increase the levels of transparency, attacking corruption, and pushing for privatization to strengthen domestic industries; the party notes that strong environmentalist policies need to be

followed to promote sustainable development. On the social level, the PPRD proposes to give better access to education and health care facilities—especially to fight the AIDS epidemic—for families. Independence of the judicial branch is portrayed as a critical feature to help citizens gain confidence in the system. Finally, in order to maintain internal security and to prevent foreign invasions, the party opts for a strong army with recruitment based on merit rather than patronage (PPRD 2002).

According to the official documents of the MLC, the party's ideology is a nationalist one on the political level, economically liberalist, based on solidarity socially, and philosophically humanist (MLC 2006). As such, the party aims at building fully democratic institutions, establishing a secular state that will respect fundamental rights, national integrity, and regional and ethnic harmonies. Furthermore, that party seeks to promote education of women and the youth and to prevent intellectuals from fleeing abroad. Finally, a strong emphasis lies on the importance of the private sector, coupled with good governance practices at the governmental level, in order to promote economic stability and growth. Jean-Pierre Bemba-Gombo heads the party and ran in the presidential elections in 2006.

The RCD hopes for a modern state guided by democratic ideals (RCD 2005). The overall ideology of the party is based on social democratic ideals that encompass environmental concerns. Thus, the party promotes equal access to social services for the entire population, social protections against unemployment, and the building of infrastructure in a manner that addresses environmental concerns. Here, the party also promotes transparency within the political institutions; it also puts a strong emphasis on justice and the independence of its bodies. As a political setup, the RCD promotes pluralism whereby most tribes and ethnic groups (as well as regional aspects) would be represented at the national level, consequently promoting a federalist system of governance at the national level.

The DCF-COFEDEC promotes the traditional values of Christian Democrats (DCF-COFEDEC 2006). As such, it also puts a strong emphasis on human rights and, similarly to other major parties, it promotes a federalist type of political system. Economically, this party promotes economic liberalism with a key role played by the private sector. The national institutions should simply act as a simplifier in economic matters. Additionally, the party notes that the lack of infrastructure hampers strong economic development and growth, making the building of adequate infrastructure a top priority. Finally, as a Christian party, the leaders note that unemployment and idleness should be fought not only through a more dynamic economy but also through the promotion of Christian values such as responsibility and hard work.

Other smaller parties mentioned earlier attempt to promote ideologies of former political leaders (for example UDEMO and Palu) or to promote ideologies very similar to other parties with either strong leftist or rightist tendencies. As mentioned earlier, due to the lack of experience with democratic institutions and the long history of political corruption, the population remains rather distrustful of politicians. However, the 2006 elections and their aftermath bring hope for improvements here. As such, key political issues deal with the establishment of democratic institutions, the best form of government to adopt, how to build a stronger economy, addressing all sorts of damage created by the ongoing crisis,

social issues such as education and the flight of intellectuals, and how to maintain the political integrity of the country against foreign invaders.

LAW AND ORDER

Due to the country's internal affairs, the law and order bodies have been somewhat nonexistent over the last decade. Under the regime of Mobutu (1965–1997), law and order forces represented the main tool to preempt opposition members. As such, police forces, the army, and paramilitary forces often abused the local population (on grounds of conspiracy against the state) and consistently committed gross human rights violations such as torture, rape, and random arrests. In 1999, the United Nations called for the creation of the UN Organization Mission in the DRC (MUNOC) in order to supervise and enforce the stipulation of the Lusaka Accord (1999) which called for the end of conflict, the establishment of law and order, and democratic elections amongst others (MONUC 1999). As such, the United Nations have assisted the local authorities in ensuring law and order and in training, assisting, and advising local police forces (MONUC 2001).

The current police forces as well as other law and order bodies have been under reconstruction (work still in progress) since the arrival of the United Nations Peacekeeping operation in 1999. The MONUC Police role aims to advise the Congolese Police (PNC), train them, and evaluate their capacities. According to the MONUC, the main challenges of the local police emanate from their current lack of respect for international human rights, their incapacity to adequately maintain border security, and to be representative of all provinces; however, the MONUC also notes that the PNC successfully managed to ensure the security of the 2006 presidential and legislative elections (MONUC 2006). Thus, local police operations under the MONUC mandate should address the proper implementation of law and order. Again, insofar as the country is under a transitional government, no permanent provisions and regulations have been formulated with regards to the mission, capacities, and boundaries of the police forces.

As noted by the United Nations, the majority of criminal activity was perpetrated by high level officials of the government and rebel groups. Such crimes included gross human rights violations, the forced inclusion of children within armed groups, and high levels of corruption. The U.S. State Department also notes that lower level crime is motivated by the poor economic conditions and includes vehicle theft, burglary, carjacking, and even police corruption (U.S. Department of State 2006). Thus, security forces whose purpose is to enforce law and order remain strongly distrusted by local populations and should be addressed with caution by foreigners as well. Yet, the presence of a UN-mandated peacekeeping operation that includes a police training unit leads one to think that criminal activity, either committed by the population or by the authorities, should diminish drastically in the coming years. Again, due to the transitional nature of all official bodies in the country, no reliable figures on crime and criminal activities could be found.

The current transitional government recognizes the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, which mainly deals with war crimes and human rights violations. At the national level, a weak judicial system deals with low-level crimes, but little evidence about its legitimacy and public support exists. Overall,

the decades of dictatorship under Mobutu have eroded and corrupted judicial institutions. The United Nations works with local authorities to educate the population and lawmakers to help build more transparent judicial institutions that will promote the rule of law and garner the support and approval of the population.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The current minister of foreign affairs in the DRC is Raymond Ramazani. The main priority in terms of foreign affairs directly deals with the ongoing crisis. Insofar as Rwanda and Uganda had supported the rebel forces in the late 1990s, the country aims to restore normal diplomatic missions with all neighboring countries, especially with the antagonists in the current hostilities. As noted by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the political stabilization of the country represents a major component of peace in sub-Saharan Africa (Ministère des Affaires Etrangères 2006). In other words, as long as there is a conflict in the DRC, peace will be hardly achievable in neighboring countries and other African countries. As a matter of fact, the UN peacekeeping mission currently works towards that goal and possesses many troops and technical advisers to that end.

The main foreign partners are Belgium, France, and the United States. Also, the European Union has played a key role in the transition and continues to do so. Additionally, as the uncontested economic leader of the region, South Africa has played an important role in the current transition and neighboring Angola has also contributed to it. Though relations with Rwanda have improved, they remain rather difficult with Uganda. Foreign policy goals thus deal with economic growth and trade (with European partners) and with sovereignty concerns at the regional level.

The Democratic Republic of Congo has ratified the Non-Proliferation Treaty and does not have any intention to develop nuclear technology for military purposes. The country belongs and participates in the following intergovernmental organizations (IGOs): the ACP (African Caribbean and Pacific Group of States), AfDB (African Development Bank), AU (African Union), CEPGL (Economic Community of Great Lake Countries), COMESA (Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa), IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency), IBRD (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development), ICCt (International Criminal Court), IMF (International Monetary Fund), Interpol, SADC (Southern African Development Community), UN (United Nations) and many of its bodies, WHO (World Health Organization), and WTO (World Trade Organization).

Within these many international organizations, especially the development and economic communities it belongs to, the Democratic Republic of the Congo attempts to promote its economic development. The African organizations in which the country belongs and participates aim (1) at promoting the nation's and the region's economic development and cooperation; (2) at assisting all members in their potential internal and external crises; and (3) at helping build more democratic institutions within the participating member states. As such, the AU, the SADC, and the COMESA, to name a few, present institutions that should provide tools for the DRC to rebuild its economy and political system. Finally, as a member of several diplomatic and security African unions, the DRC also actively

participates in military operations in other African states and has done so in the recent past in Angola especially.

Additionally, due to its history as a colonial dependence of Belgium, the country possesses special economic and military alliances with the former colonist as well as with the European Union. The country receives considerable assistance both from multinational institutions, such as the WTO, the IMF, or the EU, for instance, and from individual donors, especially from its economic partners named directly above. Though the country barely donates aid to foreign countries (whether directly or through IGOs), it is an important recipient of foreign aid. For 2005, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) estimated the total amount of aid received by the DRC at approximately 1,828 million U.S. dollars (OECD 2006). The three major contributors are the United Kingdom, France, and the United States.

As mentioned earlier, the country has been undergoing a transition from a civil war to an attempt at establishing democratic institutions for the first time since the early years of independence in 1960. As such, the authorities have welcomed many nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), notably, the Red Cross and Doctors without Borders; other smaller organizations also operate in the country for humanitarian purposes. The ongoing crisis has made the presence of doctors necessary since an important portion of infant and young children suffer from malnutrition and other common diseases. Most of these nongovernmental organizations operate in the eastern part of the country close to the Rwandan border. They have played a key role in providing food and medications to the local populations, though all organizations underline the fact that they lack both funding and manpower to adequately address the situation at hand.

Since 1999, a UN-mandated peacekeeping force, known as MONUC has worked to reestablish law and order, assist the local authorities in maintaining peace and security, prepare new elections towards the establishment of a democratic government, and insure that foreign troops respect the integrity of the country (United Nations 2006). Using the words of the UN statement on the mission, "The United Nations Security Council established MONUC to facilitate the implementation of the Lusaka Accord signed in 1999. With a budget exceeding one billion dollars, it is the largest and most expensive mission in the Department of Peace Keeping Operations (DPKO)" (United Nations 2006). In order to achieve its goals, the mission possesses about 15,000 military personnel with extensive liberties in terms of use of force. As mentioned earlier, the UN mission is also accompanied by many NGOs.

SECURITY

As of 2007 the DRC had 51,000 military personnel (IISS 2007, 270). The military forces possess a budget of $103.7 million or 1.5 percent of the country's GDP (CIA 2006). The agency further notes that the DRC has approximately 6.5 million people fit for military service (men aged between 18 and 49 years). The military is comprised of the army, navy, and air force. The National Intelligence Agency (Agence Nantionale de Reseignements, ANR) is responsible for

maintaining internal and external security (AFP 2001). As the country has been undergoing transition since the coming to power of Joseph Kabila, no information pertaining to the current activities of the ANR or to the infrastructure of the military forces was found. Rather than being recruited on merit, military leaders and intelligence personnel have been traditionally recruited based on allegiance and personal connections with the political leadership. This trend lasted at least until the end of the Mobutu regime and probably until the assassination of Laurent Désiré Kabila. In general, maybe with the exception of the last couple of years, the internal security forces as well as the military forces have often abused their power, a phenomenon emanating from the political leadership using them to maintain and reinforce their position within and outside the country's borders. As such, the population has never really trusted the military and intelligence forces throughout the years.

Past security issues mainly deal with internal turmoil directly related to either the patriarchal regime of Mobutu or to the coup d'état of Laurent Désiré Kabila. During the Mobutu regime, sporadic antigovernment activity took place, especially in the northern and eastern parts of the country. However, these uprisings were usually quickly put down by the army. Indeed, the Library of Congress (1993) reports that though political protest was often frequent, it was usually violently put down by the army under the Mobutu regime. Externally, the Zarian troops have been involved in interventions in neighboring Angola and suffered many setbacks there which led to the ensuing invasion of Angolan troops. Throughout the Mobutu regime, the country was threatened by political unrest in almost every neighboring country, especially Angola, Burundi, and Rwanda. Finally, certain countries have been supporting rebel groups, notably Uganda and Rwanda, in attempts to upset the Mobutu regime.

During Laurent Désiré Kabila's reign, the country was constantly under internal and external threats including activities from antigovernmental groups that attempted to destabilize the new regime. Furthermore, factions in the eastern parts of the country, often backed by either Rwanda or Uganda, had been working to gain more political independence in their diamond-rich region. Overall, the country faced internal and external security issues during the entire duration of the Laurent Désiré Kabila regime. In effect, since its independence the Democratic Republic of the Congo has never been stabilized in terms of internal and external security, which has strongly hampered the country's capacity to promote its economic, social, and political advancement (many argue that the country is one of the naturally richest of the African continent, yet, it is one of the lesser developed). The current authorities are constantly working towards achieving this goal as will be demonstrated below.

The current political leadership has to deal with the country's legacy of civil war and foreign intervention. Though the new government, with the assistance of the UN mission there, has managed to negotiate the removal of foreign troops from Rwanda and Uganda, it still faces ongoing unrest in its eastern region (MONUC 2006). Though, politically, the country seems to be moving towards stabilization and democratization, there still exists a strong popular resentment towards security forces. Thus, current security issues directly emanate from the legacy of previous regimes and include attempting to restore order in the eastern part of the country,

preventing intervention from neighboring countries, and smoothly transitioning to a democratic type of regime. Additionally, the legacy of human rights abuses needs to be reversed and the MUNOC is actively working towards that goal. Due to the lack of popular trust in the security institutions of the country, the current leadership has to strongly rely on the policing powers of the UN peacekeeping personnel in order to promote national integrity both internally and externally. As mentioned earlier, the external threat of potential support for opposition groups from foreign countries or military intervention from foreign countries has been removed considerably; combat activities still remain in the eastern part of the country, though with diminished intensity. In addition to the ongoing military crises, the country also has to deal with the political crisis that emanated from the presidential and legislative elections that were held in late July 2006. Specific political groups protested the results, which led to heightened levels of opposition and to a revival of the ongoing conflict. Though there is no formal terrorist organization operating in the country, there exist several armed opposition groups that represent a strong security threat. Thus, the country's security forces, the MONUC, and other NGOs had to actively work to legitimize the last elections, which explains why it took over a month to officialize the results of the presidential election. It was finally made official that Kabila had won. The security issues that the country has been facing since its independence have directly been linked to a history of systematic human rights violations as will be demonstrated below.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Since the seizing of power by Joseph Kabila (2001), the DRC has recognized the International Court of Justice (ICJ) as the main legal instrument in the country with a few restrictions (CIA 2006). Thus, a few rebel and former governmental officials have already been under process under the ICJ jurisdiction. The proposed Constitution of 2003 (updated May 2005) established the Supreme Court as the highest legal authority in the country (Kabila 2005). The document formally incorporated international human rights as the guiding principle behind the entire legal system and also established parity between men and women. Additionally, the proposed constitution also recognizes citizens' civil rights such as freedom of expression, thought, association, and the press and grants civil and political liberties. Finally, the constitution stipulates that the judicial power is to be independent of the legislative and executive powers and that all courts, at all levels, must apply ratified international treaties. The main three organs of the judicial system are the military and civil courts which are both responsible to the Court de Cassation, the highest judicial authority in the country.

Though the proposed constitution formally acknowledges the importance and predominance of international law, the country has a strong history of a lack of observance thereof, both by political leaders and opposition members. There exists a long history of abuse from the police and military forces, a phenomenon that was especially true during the Mobutu regime. Thus, up until the collapse of the patriotic dictatorship in 1997, the population was accustomed to not trusting the security forces (whether the police or the military) and the country was amongst those

with the least respected international laws and bodies even though it had ratified many of them. Though Laurent Désiré Kabila promised to reestablish law and order, the laws continued to be disrespected under his rule. When Joseph Kabila took over after the assassination of his father, he promised to better implement international law and further allowed the international forces present there to ascertain the respect of international law and to denounce police and military personnel who fail to do so. However, in spite of these positive changes, there is still plenty of room for improvement.

Notable areas of abuse usually involve police forces. Amnesty International sums up the situation in the following manner:

> Extrajudicial executions and other unlawful killings, arbitrary arrests, unlawful detentions, acts of torture or ill-treatment, and life-threatening prison conditions were reported across the country. The security forces used indiscriminate or excessive force to break up political protests. Ethnic tensions were manipulated for political ends in politically or militarily strategic areas, including Katanga and North-Kivu provinces. Insecurity persisted in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), where war crimes were committed by Congolese armed factions and foreign armed groups from Rwanda and Uganda, including unlawful killings, rape, torture and the use of child soldiers. The government and the international community largely failed to address the immense humanitarian needs of a population brought about by insecurity, displacement and lack of access to humanitarian and medical care.
>
> (Amnesty International 2006)

JOSEPH KABILA

Joseph Kabila came into power after the assassination of his father, Laurent Désiré Kabila, on January 26, 2001 (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs 2006). Shortly after taking power and in a departure from his father's policies, he called for peace talks and demanded negotiations for the establishment of a new constitution and ensuing elections. In spite of his good intentions, the new leader received criticism at home due to the fact he was perceived as a foreigner. Born in 1971 in the eastern mountains of the country, his family was exiled to Tanzania shortly after Joseph finished primary school. He spent most of his adult life in exile and came back to his homeland with his father-led rebellion in 1996. Acclaimed as a military leader, his capacities as a political leader still need to be shown. By winning the last presidential elections, Kabila became the youngest-ever democratically elected president.

Indeed, in spite of signs of improvement over the last decade (since the beginning of the current civil war), the agency demonstrates that there is still plenty of room for improvement. The agency also notes that the population generally mistrusts both the political elites and the security forces of the government, which hampered the country's capacity to quickly reestablish the rule of law and to promote international and domestic law. Yet, one may think that the situation in terms of the population's confidence in the country's capacity to promote human rights may improve as a consequence of the continuing efforts of both the international community (exemplified by the work of the UN mission there) and the local authorities.

Though the country still falls behind in terms of its commitments to international law and human rights, it aims to present itself as an example to follow in the region. Insofar as it is surrounded by countries that have also systematically violated the rights of their citizens (especially Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi, and Angola), the DRC could represent a major player in promoting human rights and

international law in central Africa. Indeed, many observers note that stability and respect of international law in the Democratic Republic of Congo is a necessary step towards peace and stability in the region (CIA 2006). Thus, progress in the DRC could directly lead to improvements at the regional level.

CONCLUSION

Historically, the former Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo) has been a key ally of the United States. Indeed, the coming to power of Mobutu was directly staged by the United States as a means to oust supposedly Communist-backed Lumumba and to install a pro-American regime in the region. As such, the United States (along with Belgium) strongly supported the Mobutu regime both financially and militarily and Mobutu fought Communism in the region by sending troops to war-torn Angola several times. U.S. support started to erode in the early 1990s, when the threat of Communism diminished following the collapse of the Soviet Union. This directly led to the fall of the Mobutu regime. In spite of the negative effect of the close partnership with the United States, the Democratic Republic of Congo remains a close partner of the United States.

The current democratic transition could help the United States in its attempt to promote democracy throughout the world. Again, were the DRC to successfully manage a transition to democracy, observers believe that it could help spread democracy in central Africa, a phenomenon that would promote American foreign policy. A strong American contingent is present within the UN mission and many others take part in the work of NGOs there. Attitudes towards the United States are mixed due to the history of support of a strongly repressive regime from the United States (the United States was the most fervent supporter of the Mobutu regime). However, many political asylum seekers do claim asylum in the United States, which demonstrates that political refugees do still trust the country in ensuring their physical integrity. In the near and longer term future, both countries could play an important role in promoting African stability and economic growth were they able to work together and with the international community to help the country reach political stability. The United States has represented one of the biggest foreign aid contributors to the country as well as one of the main sources of military goods (weapons and technical advising).

Again, the many social issues that the Democratic Republic of Congo faces represent the strongest barrier to political stability there. The secessionist movement in the East continues to slow down the political transition underway and to undermine the efforts of the international and local communities. Furthermore, the implication of many neighboring countries also hamper the legitimacy of the political leadership of the country. On the other hand, and conversely to many countries in the region, ethnic rivalries are almost nonexistent in the country thanks to Mobutu's politics of Zarianization, which aimed at building a national identity around the idea of being from Zaire as opposed to belonging to a specific ethnic group. This positive aspect should further help the country in its transition to a full democracy.

The near future appears rather promising for the country. The national authorities have fully accepted the intervention, assistance, and monitoring of the United Nations in the transitional process. Additionally, the current leader, Joseph Kabila, fully recognized the importance of establishing democratic institutions as soon as he took power. The mere fact that the transitional government includes leaders from the former government, Kabila's supporters, and opposition groups demonstrates the leadership's willingness to compromise. Yet, in spite of those very promising signs, internal security, the ongoing conflict, and the slow process of the elections may illegitimatize the leadership. The outcome of the elections and the conflicts (or lack thereof) that accompany them may play an important role in the country's future outlook.

The main tasks the country faces in the future, other than ensuring the legitimacy of the elections, lay in the new government's capacity to absorb the opposition groups in politics. Thus, the new political elite will have to formulate ways through which to integrate the military opposition politically and to manage to make them use the political arena instead of the military one to reach their aim. Additionally, the country has to manage to disarm all opposition groups and to find ways to occupy members of the opposition either within the military or political elite. The success of the democratic transition directly lies in the country's capacity to integrate all political and military groups within the new institutions. To achieve this goal active support from the international community is required.

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Egypt

Riad A. Attar

BACKGROUND

Egypt, officially the Arab Republic of Egypt, is located in northeastern Africa and southwestern Asia. Most of the country lies in Africa, but the easternmost portion of Egypt, the Sinai Peninsula, is usually considered part of Asia. Egypt is bounded on the north by the Mediterranean Sea; on the east by the Gaza Strip, Israel, and the Red Sea; on the south by the Sudan; and on the west by Libya.

Territories and Jurisdiction

Egypt has been a coherent political entity with recorded history since about 3200 BC. The president of Egypt is de facto both head of state and head of government; executive power is exercised by the government. Legislative power is vested in both the government and the two chambers of parliament (the people's assembly and the Shura council).

Egypt has a maximum length from north to south of 1,105 kilometers (687 miles) and a maximum width, near the southern border, of 1,129 kilometers (702 miles). It has a total area of 1,001,450 square kilometers (386,662 square miles). Less than one-tenth of the land area of Egypt is settled or under cultivation. More than 90 percent of the country consists of desert.

Natural Resources and Level of Development

Egypt has a wide variety of mineral deposits: phosphates, manganese, iron ore, zinc, limestone, gypsum, tale asbestos, lead, and uranium. The chief resource of contemporary value is petroleum, found mainly in the Red Sea coastal region and on the Sinai Peninsula; natural gas is also extracted.

In June 2002 the United Nations unveiled the first report on Egypt's progress towards meeting the millennium development goals (MDG), which was followed by the second report in 2004. Both reports show that the Egyptian government continued to give attention to critical areas of development such as health,

Egypt

Formal name of country: the Arab Republic of Egypt

Size of country: 1,001,450 sq km (386,662.06 sq mi)

Natural resources: Mineral deposits, phosphates, uranium, iron ore, manganese, limestone, gypsum, talc asbestos, lead, zinc, petroleum, and natural gas

Population: 78,887,007

Life expectancy at birth: 71.29

Key ethnic groups:

- Egyptians 98%, Berber, Nubian, Bedouins, Beja
- Greek, Armenian, other European (primarily Italian and French) 1%

Key religions: Muslims (90%), Coptic Christians (9%), other Christians (1%)

Political system: Republican

Key political groups/parties:

- the National Democratic Party
- the New Wafd Party
- the National Progressive Unionist Party
- the Tomorrow Party
- the Muslim Brotherhood
- the Arab Democratic Nasserist Party
- Kifaya movement

Legal system: Based on English common law, Islamic law, and Napoleonic codes; the Supreme Court and council of state oversee validity of administrative decisions. The Emergency Law empowers the president to appoint military officers to these courts.

Real GDP growth: 4.9% (2005 est.)

Population below poverty line: 20% (2005 est.)

Size of military: 340,000 plus 375,000 reservists

Relationship with the United States: Since the 1970s, the United States has been Egypt's leading partner in economic, political, and social reforms. Despite some disturbances in the American-Egyptian relationship, the political turmoil in the Middle East brings the two countries together in order to maintain regional stability.

Important human security issues: Restrictions on nongovernmental organizations, detention of children, arbitrary arrest of political opposition, low water quality and quantity, soil loss, high level of pollution

Future important security issues: Sectarian violence between Copts and Muslims, increase in crime rate, higher unemployment rate, military Coups d'etat, conflict with the Sudan, increase in HIV cases

education, access to water and sanitation, as well as improving the livelihoods of the most deprived segment of the population. However, the pace of progress varies among the goals: fast and sustained in some areas (child and maternal mortality, water and sanitation), at an acceptable level for others (education and poverty reduction), while somewhat slowly in others (environment and the empowerment

of women). In addition, Egypt will have to increase its efforts in investments in order to keep the current rate of progress with respect to some specific indicators: poverty, the mortality rate, and combating major diseases.

Environmental Issues

The quality of the Nile river water is seriously threatened by untreated industrial and agricultural wastes and sewage. Moreover, the Aswan High Dam has reduced the flow of the Nile and trapped the nutrient-rich silt, which once fertilized the country's farmland. Year-round irrigation, using the water impounded behind the High Dam, causes salts to accumulate in the soil, leading to the loss of some agricultural land. Dense urban areas such as Cairo, Alexandria, and Al Minyā have poor air quality, worsened by lax enforcement measures to reduce emissions from industrial plants and motor vehicles. The waste disposals in new tourist centers along the eastern coast have seriously degraded the water quality of the Red Sea.

History

Historically, the diversion of Ottoman resources in war with European states, and the campaign against warlords reduced the empire's ability to maintain administrative control over several of its provinces. This was evident in the case of Egypt which by the early nineteenth century had become an autonomous state led by Muhammad Ali from 1805 to 1848. Ali led Egypt through an intense period of transformation and established the dynasty that ruled the country until 1952. On July 23, 1952, the Free Officers Movement led by Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918–1970) seized power, and on July 25 King Faruq was forced to abdicate. After the death of Nasser, Vice President Anwar al-Sadat was selected as his successor. In 1979 President Sadat signed the Camp David Treaty that established peace between Israel and Egypt. Sadat was assassinated in 1981 by Muslim extremists. His successor, Husni Mubarak consolidated his power and still reigns as president of Egypt.

SOCIETY

The population of Egypt is 80,335,036 (July 2007 est.). The people live almost exclusively in the Nile Valley, the Nile Delta, the Suez Canal region, and the northern coastal region of the Sinai Peninsula. There are small communities in the oases of the Libyan Desert and in the oil-drilling and mining towns of the Arabian Desert; there is also a small population of nomadic Bedouins.

The population growth rate is 1.721 percent (2007 est.); the birth rate is 22.53 per 1,000 population (2007 est.); the death rate is 5.11 per 1,000 population (2007 est.); the infant mortality rate is 29.5 deaths per 1,000 live births; the life expectancy at birth is 71.57; and the total fertility rate is 2.77 children born per woman (2007 est.). The HIV/AIDS adult prevalence rate is less than 0.1 (2003 est.); and the literacy rate (those age 15 and over who can read and write) is 71.4 percent: 83 percent males, and 59.4 percent females (2005 est.). (See https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/eg.html#People.)

Ethnic and Religious Composition

The Egyptian people are made up of different ethnic and religious groups. The Egyptians compose 98 percent of the population; other ethnic groups include Berber, Nubian, Bedouins, and Bejal 1 percent; and Greek, Armenian, and other Europeans (primarily Italian and French) 1 percent. The dominant religious group is Muslims (mostly Sunni) 90 percent; other groups include Coptic 9 percent, and other Christians 1 percent. Refugees constitute a very small segment of the total population: Iraqis 60,000 to 80,000; Palestinian 70,255; and Sudanese 13,466 (2006 est.). (See https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/eg.html#People.)

Infrastructure

Egypt's main sources of electricity are hydroelectric power plants at the Aswan High Dam and steam-driven power plants that burn natural gas. Egypt's own oil and natural gas provides almost all of the country's fuel needs. Pipelines supply gas to all major urban centers.

Egypt has 64,000 kilometers (39,768 miles) of total roadways: 49,984 kilometers (31,058.55 miles) paved and 14,016 kilometers (8,709 miles) unpaved (1999 est.); the country has 5,063 kilometers (3,146 miles) of railways (2005 est.); 3,500 kilometers (2,175 miles) of waterways (2005 est.); 76 merchant ships (2005 est.); and ports and terminals are Alexandria, Damietta, El Dekeila, Port Said, Suez, and Zeit. The inland waterways of Egypt are used extensively for transportation. EgyptAir, the government-owned airline, also provides domestic and foreign service. The country has about 80 airports and airfields.

Egypt's press, publishing, and media facilities are the largest and most developed in the Arab world. The government controls the national radio and television services, as well as the basic telephone system. Foreign companies have begun to install cellular telephone networks and to operate private payphone systems. In 2006 there were 10.801 million telephone main lines, and 18,001 cellular telephones. As of 2005 there were 1,702 Internet hosts, and five million Internet users. Principal centers at Alexandria, Cairo, Al Mansurah, Ismailia, Suez, and Tanta are connected by coaxial cables and microwave radio. In 1997 there were 317 radios and 175 television sets for every 1,000 people. (See Microsoft Encarta Premium 2007; CIA *World Factbook*, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/eg.html#People.)

Economy

In the past 35 years, the Egyptian leaders attempted to reform the centralized socialist economy, which they had inherited from President Nasser. Despite the economic reforms of Presidents Sadat and Mubarak, Egypt remains a relatively poor country by the developed world's standards: the gross domestic product (GDP) is $334.5 billion, and the GDP per capita income is $4,200 (2006 est.). In 2005, Prime Minister Ahmed Nazif reduced personal and corporate tax rates, reduced energy subsidies, and privatized several enterprises. Consequently, the

stock market boomed, and the GDP grew about 5 percent. Despite Nazif's efforts, poverty continues to haunt the Egyptian society. The population below the poverty line remains as high as 20 percent and the unemployment rate is 10 percent (the labor force is 21.34 million). Therefore, the government has continued providing subsidies for basic necessities, which contributed to a growing budget deficit of more than 10 percent of the GDP in 2006. (See http://www.terrorism.com/ modules.php?op=modload&Name=Countries&file=index&view=72#economics; https: // www.cia.gov / library / publications / the-world-factbook / geos / eg.html# People.)

The economic policy of *infitah* (openness), which had been expounded by Sadat and continues during Mubarak's regime, was meant to end state control of economic activities. State bureaucracy, however, remained firmly in control of the commanding heights of the economy.

Social Issues

The control of Islamic groups over some villages and urban quarters, universities, and mosques has replaced the traditional authority and subjected free individuals, liberal thinkers in particular, to physical violence and assassination.

The government periodically conducts mass arrest campaigns of street children. Typically, the children are homeless, beggars, or truants from school but have committed no crime. In custody, they often face beatings, sexual abuse, and extortion by police and adult suspects; police routinely deny them access to food, bedding, and medical care.

Egypt's most serious social issues are poverty and overpopulation. There are few wealthy people and many poor people. Overpopulation has strained the physical infrastructure including roads, sewer systems, water supply, and utility lines, and social service networks of Cairo and other cities. Middle-class housing is expensive and difficult to find. The number of HIV cases is increasing. Experts estimate at least 12,000 cases of HIV.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

The constitution of Egypt, which was approved in 1979, declared Egypt to be a democratic and socialist republic operating under a multiparty system. Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak succeeded Anwar Sadat in 1981 after his assassination and was reelected to five six-year terms subsequently. The results of the elections were of questionable validity since no other candidate ran against the president. However, in February 2005 Mubarak passed a constitutional amendment allowing for competitive elections.

Experts say it is difficult to gauge Mubarak's popularity, since Mubarak has eviscerated the opposition by refusing to license their parties or allowing their papers to be published, jailing opponents, and monopolizing the Egyptian media. A poll released by the Pew Research Center indicates that an overwhelming majority of Egyptians express confidence in Mubarak's leadership, with some 86 percent of those polled indicating they had either "a lot of confidence" or "some confidence" in Mubarak's leadership.

Political Parties

Since its establishment by President Anwar Sadat in 1978, the National Democratic Party (NDP; in Arabic, Al-Hizb Al-Watany Al-Demqcraty) has been the dominant party. Since Sadat's assassination in 1981, the party has been chaired by Mubarak and is the current ruling political party in Egypt. The NDP embraces the centrality of the Egyptian national identity; believes in the private sector in attaining economic development; seeks to enhance the role of youth and women in public life; and believes in openness to the world in order to achieve Egypt's national interests.

The old guards of the NDP are made up of politicians that have been on the political scene for a long time. Among these characters are Safwat Al Sherif (the NDP General Secretary), Mr. Kamal Al Shazli, and Mr. Yousef Wali (the NDP vice chairman). It is speculated that a conflict of power lies between the young and old guards. The new generation is led by Mr. Gamal Mubarak, the younger son of the president. The rise of Gamal Mubarak to the NDP's helm has raised speculations that the president is grooming his son for succession. At the September 21–23, 2006, NDP's conference Gamal projected himself as the next leader of Egypt.

Although the government tolerates opposition parties, it often restricts their ability to propagate their policies and to run for national or local elections. Legal opposition parties include the following:

1. The New Wafd Party (Hizb al-Wafd-al-Jadid) is one of the main opposition nationalist liberal parties. The party presses for introducing political, economic, and social reforms; promoting democracy; ensuring the basic freedoms and human rights; and maintaining the national unity. The party also calls for abolishing the Emergency Law, solving unemployment and housing problems, upgrading the health services, and developing the education system. Currently, the party appears in crisis following the poor performance of the party during the December 2005 election. The current chairman of the party and its 2005 presidential candidate is Numan Gumaa.

2. The National Progressive Unionist Party (Hizb al Tagammu' al Watani al Taqadomi al Wahdawi) is a major socialist political party. It calls for standing against attempts to reverse the 1952 revolution's social gains of labors and the poor, and those in the limited income brackets. The NPUP boycotted the first presidential election in 2005. But it participated in the last legislative election and won two seats. Khaled Mohey Eddin, a member of the 1952 Revolutionary Command Council, is the party's founder. The current chairman is Mohamed Rafaat El-Saeed.

3. The Tomorrow Party (Hizb al-Ghad) was granted license in October 2004. Al-Ghad is a centrist liberal party pressing for widening the scope of political participation and for the peaceful rotation of power. The Al-Ghad party does not hold any seats in either the Lower House (the People's Assembly), or the Upper House (the Shura Council). Ayman Nour is the current chairman of the party. Nour became famous around the world following his January imprisonment by Mubarak's government. Internal anger as well as foreign pressure, especially U.S efforts, led to his release.

4. The Muslim Brotherhood (al-ikhwān al-muslimūn) is the most influential movement in Egypt. The MB was founded in 1928 by Hassan al-Banna. The MB advocates the creation of Islamic government. Generally, the MB's leaders and members have

demonstrated a commitment to a nonviolent reformist approach within the established political order. However, the idea of Sayyid Qutub (1906–1966) sowed the seeds of the most radical Islamic movements in Egypt and around the world. In the 2005 parliamentary election, the MB's candidates won 88 seats (20 percent of the total) to form the largest opposition bloc. The current leader of the MB in Egypt is Mohamed Mahdy Akef.

5. The Arab Democratic Nasserist Party (Al-Hizb al-Arabi al-Demqcraty al-Nasseri) advocates political and economic development, a strong national economy, sticking to the gains of the 1952 "revolution" encouraging inter-Arab economic integration, and protecting human rights. In the 2005 election, the party failed to win any seat. The current chairman of the party is Diya al-din Dawud.

6. The Egyptian Movement for Change (Kifaya) seeks to establish democratic reform in Egypt. It is mostly composed of leftist activists, although the movement has earned the support of some Islamists, liberals, and nationalists.

Popular Interests and Political Participation

Egyptians have been living under Emergency Law since 1967. These laws sharply circumscribe any nongovernmental political activities such as street demonstrations, non-approved political organizations, and unregistered financial donations.

In 2005 the agenda shifted towards democratic reforms. Mubarak announced that he had ordered the reform of the country's presidential electoral law, paving the way for competitive elections. For the first time since 1952, the Egyptian people had an apparent chance to elect a leader from a list of various candidates. However, the new law placed many restrictions on filing for presidential candidacies. It was designed to prevent well-known candidates such as Ayman Nour from standing against President Mubarak. Violence by pro-Mubarak supporters against opposition demonstrators and police brutality were evident during the election. As a result, most Egyptians are skeptical about the process of democratization and the possibility of political reforms. A very small proportion of those eligible to vote actually turned out for the 2005 election.

Political Issues

There are several important political issues that concern the government and the populace in Egypt: terrorism, political violence, Mubarak's succession, and the Palestinian-Israeli peace process.

The attacks on Taba and other Egyptian resort towns on the Red Sea in October 2004 indicated a growing power of terrorist organizations. The use of violence against opposition groups is a drawback in Egypt's political development. The Egyptian opposition fears that Mubarak will follow the Syrian model in establishing a hereditary political system. The Palestinian-Israeli peace process is one of the most important elements in the Egyptian political agenda.

LAW AND ORDER

Egypt is divided into *muhafazat* (governorates). In each *muhafaza* the director of police and the governor are responsible for maintaining public order. Both the

director of police and the governor report to the Ministry of Interior on all security matters. In the subdivisions of the *muhafza*, district police commandants have authority and functions that are similar to the director at the governorate level. In urban areas, police have modern facilities and equipment such as computers and communications equipment. In smaller, more remote villages, police have less sophisticated facilities and equipment. The national police are responsible for maintaining law and order, preventing and detecting crime, and supporting the court system through the collection of evidence.

About 300,000 members of the paramilitary Central Security Forces (CSF) augment the police force. The CSF was formed in 1977 to obviate the need to call upon the armed forces to deal with domestic disturbances. The government has continued to use the CSF as the main force for dealing with serious unrest. (See http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-4186.html [accessed August 29, 2006].)

On August 21, 2006, Egypt deployed 1,300 police officers to beef up security along the Gaza-Egypt border over fears that Palestinian militants might attempt to breach the frontier. The police joined 750 Egyptian border guards already in place along the border. The Emergency Law of 1958 authorized the judicial system to detain people without charging them or guaranteeing them due process while an investigation was under way.

Level and Nature of Crimes

Ordinary crime, that is crime unconnected to political dissent or sectarian strife, was perceived to be a major problem during the 1980s. Minor crimes such as petty theft, pick-pocketing, and purse snatching were widespread in the streets of metropolitan Cairo. In rural areas, crime victims generally sought retribution without going to the authorities, especially in cases where the honor of an individual or a family was tarnished. White-collar crime, smuggling, black marketing in currency, and other economic offenses were rampant and increased under the Sadat and Mubarak regimes.

Economic crimes continue to be widespread. These crimes include embezzlement, tax and customs evasion, illegal currency transactions, smuggling and trading contraband, diversion of subsidized goods, leakages from free trade zones, kickbacks, and bribes to officials. The use of narcotics became an increasingly serious problem in Egypt. Egypt is a transit country for women trafficked from Eastern Europe to Israel for the purpose of sexual exploitation; these women generally arrive as tourists and subsequently are trafficked through the Sinai Desert by Bedouin tribes.

Confidence in Law and Order

According to the 1988 report of the human rights organization Amnesty International, there were many allegations of torture and the poor treatment of detainees, particularly in parts of the Tora Prison complex. A report by the Egyptian Organization for Human Rights in the early 1990s claimed that there was a marked increase in the use of torture in 1989, not only against members of

subversive organizations but also against ordinary citizens with no political affiliations. Violence and intimidation against Egyptian voters during the 2005 election by various state agencies led many Egyptians to lose confidence in them. It is common knowledge in Egypt that bribes and corruption plague most levels of the law and order agencies.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The great risks and opportunities inherent in Egypt's foreign relations made it inevitable that foreign policy would dominate the leader's political agenda. Performance on foreign policy could make or break the leadership. It was not surprising, therefore, that foreign policy became virtually a ''reserved sphere'' of the presidency.

Organization and Nature of Foreign Policy

The bureaucracy of the Egyptian foreign policy has been the most sophisticated and influential in the Arab world. The minister of foreign affairs is assisted by a minister of state for foreign affairs; under them are a first undersecretary and a series of other undersecretaries in charge of geographical areas (the United States, Africa, Asia, Europe, and so on) and functional departments (economic affairs, cultural affairs, and the like). Al Ahram's Center for Political and Strategic Studies acts as a think-tank in support of decision makers. Ahmed Aboul Gheit is the current Egyptian foreign minister.

Foreign Policy Goals

Mubarak's astute diplomacy and the mistakes of his rivals allowed him to achieve one of the most important goals of the Egyptian foreign policy: the reintegration of Egypt into the Arab world without prejudice to Egypt's Israeli links. The first break in Egypt's isolation came when Yasir Arafat's 1983 quarrel with Syria enabled Egypt to extend him protection and resume patronage of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Then the Arab oil states, fearful of Iran and of the spread of Shia Islamic activism, looked to Egypt for a counterbalance. Egypt's 1989 readmission to the League of Arab States crowned Mubarak's efforts in breaking the isolation of his country. Mubarak's Egypt viewed its role in the Arab world as that of a mediator, particularly in trying to advance the peace process between Israel and the Arabs. The restoration of ties between Egypt and Syria amounted to a Syrian acknowledgment that Egypt's peace with Israel was irreversible. Thus, Egypt's rehabilitation as a major power in the Arab world was completed.

Alliances

Egypt is a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). Nevertheless, between 1979 and 2003, the United States provided Egypt with about $30 billion in military aid making Egypt the second largest recipient of U.S. military aid after Israel. Also, Egypt received about $30 billion in economic aid within

the same time frame. Military cooperation between the United States and Egypt is probably the strongest aspect of their strategic partnership. Although Egypt cooperates with the United States and other countries, it claims that it conducts its foreign policy based on nonalignment principles.

Nuclear Proliferation

Egypt's nuclear policy is a delicate balance of championing nuclear nonproliferation in the Middle East and developing a civilian nuclear industry to address its economic and electricity needs, while at the same time seeking some guarantee of security concerning the Middle Eastern countries that possess nuclear powers. The country maintains an active nuclear research program with two research reactors aimed at developing an independent nuclear fuel cycle. Since April 2005, however, there have been conflicting reports of negotiations between Egypt and Russia for a nuclear power station. In 2005, the Egyptian government repeatedly proclaimed its adherence and transparency in regards to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and its relations with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

Cooperation for Political and Economic Development

The European Union relations with Egypt are based on partnership within the Euro-Mediterranean and Middle Eastern area. Egypt has taken an active role regarding the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (MEDA) such as its participation in the technical meeting of which it was the speaker for the Arab group. Egypt has been one of the leading recipients among the Mediterranean partners in terms of total funds received from the MEDA program (the principal financial instrument of the European Union for the implementation of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership). Trade between the European Union and Egypt has risen by more than 5 percent from 1999 to reach around 11.6 billion Euros in 2004.

Egypt is a member of several organizations that advocate political and economic development such as the European Bank for Reconstruction and Economic Development (EBRD), the International Maritime Organization (IMO), The Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa (AFESD), the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations (FAO); the International Labor Organization (ILO), the Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the World Federation of Trade Union (WFTU), the World Trade Organization (WTO), and the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO).

Membership and Participation in International Relational Bodies

Egypt was a leading state in the formation of the Arab league and was a charter member of the United Nations—both had been founded in 1945. Egypt became the first Arab state to sign a peace treaty with Israel and is a key partner in the search for peace in the Middle East. Egypt is a participant member of several international relations bodies: the United Nations, the International Atomic

Energy Agency (IAEA), the International Olympic Committee (IOC), the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

Egypt has sent peacekeeping troops and observers to several hot spots around the world including Bosnia and Herzegovina, Somalia, Mozambique, Rwanda, Angola, Western Sahara, and Liberia. On August 11, 2005, 60 Egyptian soldiers left Egypt to Darfur in the Sudan taking part in the African Union's force in the Western Sudanese region of Darfur to observe the cease-fire between the government of Sudan and the rebel groups.

Interaction with NGOs

Egypt foreign activities aim at serving Egypt's political and economic interests. This was reflected in Egypt's move through the WTO ministerial meetings, held in Tokyo on February 14, 2003, and in hosting the WTO consultative meeting attended by 30 ministers of trade on June 21–22 in order to promote cooperation in trade with other nations. Furthermore, Egypt participated in the meeting of the World Economic Forum (WEF), held in Davos, Switzerland, in January 2003. In addition, Egypt presented its efforts in the field of structural reform and trade liberalization in the meeting of the forum, held in Jordan on June 21, 2003.

SECURITY

Internal security was the responsibility of three intelligence organizations: General Intelligence, attached to the presidency; Military Intelligence, attached to the Ministry of Defense; and the General Directorate for State Security Investigations (GDSSI) under direct control of the Minister of Interior. Any of these agencies could undertake investigations of matters pertaining to national security, but the GDSSI was the main organization for domestic security matters.

The armed forces of Egypt are among the largest in the region, consisting of the Egyptian Army, Egyptian Navy, and the Egyptian Air Force. The Egyptian Army is the largest service within the military establishment of Egypt. It is estimated to number around 320,000; the Egyptian Navy has a total of 20,000 personnel; and there are a total of 375,000 reservists. The paramilitary force numbered around 330,000, which consists of the Central Security Forces, the National Guard, the Border Guard Forces, and the Coast Guard.

Past Security Issues

Egypt's human rights record showed little improvement during 2004. The government set up a National Council for Human Rights and appointed several respected independent activists to its board, but serious issues like the routine torture of persons in detention and suppression of nonviolent political dissent remain unaddressed. Emergency laws continue, providing the basis for arbitrary detention and trials before military and state security courts. Nongovernmental organizations are subjected to stringent controls under the new law on associations, and the authorities arbitrarily reject the applications of several organizations to

register as NGOs. Women and girls face systematic discrimination under personal status and other laws, and violence directed at women and girls frequently goes unpunished.

The authorities do not routinely monitor conditions of detention for children, nor do they investigate cases of arbitrary arrest or abuse while in custody. In many cases, children are detained illegally for days before going before the public prosecutor. Police often do not notify parents of the arrest. And children who have fled parental abuse or who lack guardians have no recourse for assistance.

Egypt has many environmental problems, and some of them complicate efforts to promote economic and social development. The primary issues are water quality and quantity, soil loss, urban growth, air pollution, and the environmental effects of tourism. Egypt gets almost all of its water from the Nile. The quality of the river water is seriously threatened by untreated industrial and agricultural wastes, sewage, and municipal wastewater. In addition, the Aswan High Dam has reduced the flow of the Nile and trapped the nutrient-rich silt, which once fertilized the country's farmland, behind it.

On January 18, 1977, in an effort to reduce the cost of subsidies, the Egyptian government increased prices on a number of commodities by as much as 31 percent—and the worst riots since 1952 broke out. President Sadat's government rescinded the price increases and, as a further appeasement, left in place a wage increase that had been intended to help soften the blow of the price raise.

Current Security Issues

The expansion of urban areas into nearby farming areas infringes on the already limited agricultural land in the Nile Delta and Valley. Dense urban areas such as Cairo, Alexandria, Al Minyā, and Aswan have poor air quality, worsened by the lax enforcement of measures to reduce emissions from industrial plants and motor vehicles. In these overcrowded cities, streets are filled with pollution-spewing cars and trucks, public transportation is poorly developed, and factories contaminate the air. Poorly controlled construction and waste disposal in new tourist centers along the eastern coast have seriously degraded the water quality of the Red Sea. In addition, large concentrations of tourists threaten the fragile desert areas and the marine corals along the coast. None of Egypt's environmental difficulties is impossible to solve. However, in an economy that is short on financial resources, it is often hard to find the political will and money to invest in long-term environmental protection. Despite the potential benefits of globalization, it also involves threats such as inequitable income distribution, economic fluctuations, the collapse of national industry, and loss of cultural identity.

Nasser's repression of the Muslim Brotherhood organization radicalized it. Sayyid Qutb, executed by Nasser in 1966, was one of the most important figures in the development of the jihadi fundamentalist ideology. Qutb argued that Muslim societies had degenerated into a state of decadence and unfairness similar to the pre-Islamic era. Qutb advocated the violent overthrow of apostate "Muslim" rulers to return to authentic Islamic values. Mohammed Abd al-Salam Faraj transformed Qutb's jihadi ideas into operational terms and constructed the extreme

violent framework of Jihad in Islamic faith. He argued that violent jihad to over-throw the local apostate ruler was the forgotten duty of each Muslim, on par with the five pillars of Islam. The assassination of President Sadat in 1981 was a manifestation of Faraj's framework of Jihad. The current main threat to Egypt's security comes from the Islamic Jihad Organization led by the second man in the Al Qaeda terrorist network, Ayman al-Zawahri.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Egypt has lived under Emergency Law (EL) since 1967. Based on EL, the government has the right to imprison individuals for any period of time, and for virtually no reason, thus keeping them in prison without trials as long as the government wishes. The main justification presented by the government to keep that state of emergency going is to "fight terrorism." The method used to end investigations of any political or criminal case (a standard method in most Middle Eastern countries) is to torment a suspect until he confesses the "crime," thus "closing his file." Justice in Egypt does not meet the standards of international justice, nor does it observe the basic human rights.

Protection of Human Rights

In January 2003, the Egyptian Organization for Human Rights (EOHR) released a report in which it documented 13 cases of torture that occurred in police stations during the latter half of 1991, two of which ended in death. On May 12, 2001, the Supreme State Security Court in Cairo sentenced Dr. Saad Eddin Ibrahim, a prominent human rights defender, to seven years' imprisonment. Twenty-seven other human rights activists were also convicted and received sentences ranging from one to five years. In a joint statement, the UN special representative of Human Rights Defenders, and the UN Special Rapporteur on the Independence of Judges and Lawyers remarked, "We believe that the conviction of these members of civil societies for their human rights activities will have a chilling effect on the activities of other human rights defender[s] in Egypt." (See http://web.amnesty.org/library/index/engMDE120162001!Open.)

In May 2000, the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights called for the amendment or repeal of Law No. 153 in order to bring Egypt into conformity with its international obligations. The Committee expressed concerns that the law "gives the government control over the rights of NGOs to manage their own activities, including external funding." Furthermore, the International Commission of Justice (ICJ) wrote on April 5, 2006, to President Mubarak and the minister of justice to express its serious concerns regarding the lifting of immunity of seven judges in order to interrogate them for having reported voting irregularities during the November 2005 parliamentary elections.

International Convention and Membership

Egypt has acceded to the seven major UN conventions on human rights, namely, the two international conventions on Civil and Political Rights; on Economic,

Social and Cultural Rights (1982); the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination against Women (1981); the Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1986); the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1990); and the Convention on the Protection of Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (1993). Moreover, Egypt has acceded to the optional protocol of the Rights of the Child Convention concerned with the involvement of children in armed conflicts, exploiting children in prostitution and pornographic materials (2002). Egypt has also acceded to the eight International Labor Organization (ILO) conventions on human rights. Egypt is a member of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA).

The Justice System

The legal system in Egypt is based on English common law, Islamic law, and Napoleonic codes. The judicial system comprises both ordinary court and exceptional court systems. However, the elaborate exceptional court system continues to undermine the jurisdiction of ordinary courts, particularly in sensitive cases. The ordinary courts consist of the civil and criminal courts, the State Council (a separate administrative court structure), and constitutional court. The civil court includes a Court of Cassation, Courts of Appeal, and Magistrate Courts. The Magistrate Courts have general jurisdiction over small claims and minor offenses. The Supreme Constitutional Courts form an independent judicial body entrusted with the task of examining the constitutionality of laws as well as the interpretation of legislative texts. An elaborate exceptional court system exists parallel to the ordinary court system (it can be traced back to 1980) and operates under the framework of a state of emergency.

Areas of Abuse

Areas of abuse in the Egyptian justice system can be found in several levels of Egyptian political, economic, and social life:

1. The independence of the legal profession in Egypt as well as other professional syndicates has been undermined by the adoption of Law 100 of 1993, which provides very strict conditions for validating the election processes of professional syndicates.

2. Egypt's divorce system does not provide Egyptian women with equal rights to divorce: the *isma* (the right to divorce) belongs to men.

3. The Coptic community does not receive enough protection against religious discrimination. They are subjected to possible maltreatment by local police and by some extremist Islamic organizations.

4. The introduction of the anti-terror laws in the early 1990s gave the security and intelligence services greater powers of arrest and detention. While fiercely suppressing opposition of political activists, the authorities have attempted to gain the support of the Muslim Brotherhood by delegating to them the authority to censor

artistic expression, intellectual debate touching on matters of religion, and social mores.

Human Rights

The Egyptian people, similar to most peoples in the Middle East, do not have confidence in practicing human rights. Awareness of human rights is limited and given little place in formal education. In general, human rights activists are accused of being agents of external powers, anti-national culture, and spies. These accusations make people hesitate before engaging in human rights activities.

Egyptian officials appear to be banking on the strategic linkage with the United States to deflect the attention from the country's poor human rights record. Therefore, Egyptian officials want recognition from the Western countries to accept the Egyptian model (and not to think of Egypt in terms of human rights) as part of the fight against terrorism. President Mubarak told an interviewer in October 2001, "Human rights arguments should not be put forward on all occasions." (See http://www.hrw.org/backgrounder/mena/egypt-bck-1001.htm.) Also, former Prime Minister Atef Abeid lashed out at U.S. criticism of torture and unfair trials in Egypt by saying, "Maybe Western countries should begin to think of Egypt's own fight against terror as their new model." (See ibid.)

CONCLUSION

There are essential American interests in maintaining good relations with Egypt: to capitalize on Egypt's leadership role in the Arab world; to sustain Egypt's moderate voice in Arab councils; to rely upon Egypt to modulate radical Arab states and movements; to maintain the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty; and to cooperate in opposing aggression against neighboring countries.

The American economic aid to Egypt has had an enormous impact on the level of Egyptian cooperation with the United States in maintaining the stability in the Middle East for more than two decades. Egypt has affirmed its viability and benefits to the United States through its effective contributions in opposing aggression against neighboring countries, as was demonstrated in the 1991 liberation of Kuwait.

Egypt has legitimate worries concerning the unbalanced powers in the Middle East, the Iranian ideological and organizational expansions, and the linkages between Hamas and some Egyptian Islamic organizations; thus, the Egyptian government has become critically sensitive to the American projects in the region such as establishing a "New Middle East" and a "Greater Middle East."

Despite the abundant American economic aid to Egypt, the United States is not seen favorably by the majority of Egyptians. According to the Pew Global Attitude Survey (2006), 70 percent of the Egyptians think that war with Iraq made the world more dangerous; 88 percent think that the American presence in Iraq poses a great danger to the stability of the Middle East; and 69 percent have an unfavorable opinion of the United States. The survey's results are distressing and exhort both the Egyptian and the American governments to make a serious reevaluation of their relationship.

Generally, the Egyptian government has respected the human rights of its citizens in some areas such as health, education, and access to water and sanitation, as well as improved the livelihoods of the most deprived segment of the population. However, the government record has remained poor with respect to freedom of association, torture, and the use of excessive police violence against civil and political rights activists. The Egyptian government's claim to respect the rule of law was exposed as false by the cases of Ayman Nour and Saad Eddin Ibrahim. The criteria to granting economic aid to Egypt should be relegated to the governmental success in implementing social welfare programs and enhancing the levels of civil and political liberties.

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Ethiopia

Amanda Espy-Brown

BACKGROUND

The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia is situated in the Horn of Africa, surrounded by neighbors Eritrea and Djibouti to the north, Somalia to the east, Kenya to the south, and the Sudan to the west. Landlocked since Eritrea's secession in 1993, Ethiopia is 1,127,127 square kilometers (435,071 square miles) in area, roughly twice the size of France. Ethiopia is a highland country, dominated by the Ethiopian plateau that ranges in elevation from 1,800 to 3,000 meters (6,000 to 10,000 feet). The plateau is divided by the terminal end of the north-south running Great Rift Valley, a fissure created millions of years ago when the African and Arabian plates began to diverge from one another. Magma continues to rise beneath the rift, approximately 30 kilometers in width, creating earthquakes and volcanic activity in Ethiopia. The plateau is the most agriculturally productive, densely populated region of Ethiopia. Rainfall from the highlands feed the rivers of Ethiopia, including the Blue Nile, Atbara, and other Nile tributaries. The more inhospitable plains dip southeast of the highlands toward the Red Sea, Gulf of Aden, and Indian Ocean. Within these plains lies the Denakil Depression, one of the lowest (125 meters below sea level) and hottest places on earth (Last 2005).

Ethiopia lies entirely within the Tropics but possesses climatic variability due to its wide-ranging topography. Most of the country has a tropical climate with a distinct wet season between April and September and heaviest rainfall between July and August. Rains are associated with a monsoonal pattern, a seasonal shift in winds that brings moisture from the surrounding water bodies inland. Rainfall totals are typically 1,000 millimeters (40 inches) in the highlands and up to 2,000 milimeters (80 inches) in the western portion of the country. The lowlands in the eastern and northeastern portion of the country are hot and dry with a semi-arid to desert climate. Rainfall averages may be up to 500 milimeters (20 inches) a year, but tend to vary greatly, making this area susceptible to drought. The highlands experience warm temperatures year-round averaging between 10° and 20° C (50° and 68° F) (BBC 2007).

Ethiopia

Formal name of country: Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
Size of country: 1,119,683 sq km
Capital: Addis Ababa
Natural resources: Small reserves of gold, platinum, copper, potash, natural gas, and hydropower
Population: 74,777,981
Life expectancy at birth: 49 years
Literacy rate: 42.7%
Key ethnic groups:

- Oromo
- Amhar
- Tigre
- Sidamo
- Shankella
- Somali
- Afar
- Gurage

Key religions: Orthodox Christianity, Islam, Indigenous religion
Political system: Federal Republic
Key political groups:

- Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPDRF)
- Coalition for Unity and Democratic Party (CUDPP)
- United Ethiopian Democratic Front (UEDP)
- Somali People's Democratic Party (SPDP)
- Ethiopian People's Patriotic Front (EPPF)
- Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF)
- Oromo Liberation Front (OLF)

Legal system: Transitional mix of national and regional courts
Real GDP growth: 9.6%
GDP per capita: $1,000
Population below poverty line: 38.7%
Important human security issues: Conflict with Eritrea; involvement in stabilizing Somalia; under-development; rural poverty; privatization and land-tenure issues; HIV/AIDS epidemic; famine vulnerability
Future important human security issues: The threat of renewed conflict with Eritrea, famine, AIDS, and the continued violation of human rights
Relationship with the United States: Warm relations; Ethiopia considered to be ally in War on Terror and Islamic fundamentalism in east Africa

Source: CIA *World Factbook* 2007.

Eighty percent of Ethiopia's population is dependent on farming, making land its most valuable natural resource. Less than one-third of Ethiopia's territory is considered arable and only about 20 percent is cultivated. Approximately 63 percent of agricultural activity is crop-based while 30 percent is in livestock and the remaining portion is in forestry. Ethiopia has the largest livestock population of any country in Africa with an estimated 38.5 million cattle, 17 million sheep, 9.6 million goats, and 53 million chickens as well as other types of livestock (FAOSTAT 2006). The vagaries of weather in Ethiopia cause crop production and livestock totals to typically fluctuate from year to year. Low levels of irrigation and soil degradation contribute to agricultural production inconsistencies.

Almost 40 percent of Ethiopia was once covered by forest, but that total has plummeted to a mere 2.7 percent of total land area due to forest fires and clearing for crop cultivation. It is estimated that up to 200,000 hectares a year are being lost and that the forests of Ethiopia might be completely wiped out by 2020 (Bhalla 2002).

Ethiopia has sizeable mineral resources although they are still largely underdeveloped. These resources include gold, platinum, copper, iron, manganese, nickel, zinc, potash, salt, tantalite, and natural gas. Most mining in Ethiopia has historically been done on a small-scale basis and has only contributed nominally to the GDP of the country. The ongoing process of privatization, however, is increasing its importance to the Ethiopian economy. Ethiopia's single gold mine was privatized in 1998 and realized about $34 million in 2002, making it the third leading export for that year . Cement is the most important mineral-based industry in value and quantity. Cement factories are now owned by both the state and private ventures. Coal and natural gas resources are also beginning to be developed by private companies.

Rich in water resources, hydroelectricity presently supplies 97.6 percent of Ethiopia's electricity. Nevertheless, potential still far exceeds exploitation in a country which has one of the lowest levels of per capita consumption of electricity in the world. A major hydroelectric power station project is slated to begin in 2008 on the Beles River in the Benishangul Gumuz state with a price tag of six billion birr (approximately $650,000). Additional projects are planned along the Blue Nile, the largest of Ethiopia's rivers (Hailu 1998).

Multiple factors prevent Ethiopia from fully utilizing its natural resources. The general economic situation and lack of basic infrastructure inhibits state development and discourages foreign investment and exploration projects. Ethiopia's lingering land tenure and privatization issues hinder increased agricultural and industrial growth. Environmental problems such as drought, deforestation, overgrazing, soil erosion, desertification and water shortage will increasingly hamper resource development.

Present-day Ethiopia, commonly hailed as the birthplace of humankind, is one of the world's oldest nations. The predecessor to modern Ethiopia was the ancient city-state of Axum (Aksum), established before 200 AD. Tradition holds that the first Axumite emperor, Menelik I, was the son of King Solomon of Israel and the Queen of Sheba. The kingdom reached its height of power around the fourth century AD, approximately the same time that it adopted Christianity. The Axumite

kingdom collapsed in the eighth century AD, but Christianity survived. At the end of the eighteenth century, power in the region had passed through many ethnic groups and ultimately ended in the hands of nobles from Tigray, Oromo, and Amhara (Munro-Hay 2002).

Emperor Menelik II ruled the region from 1889 to 1913 and was responsible for uniting many of the small kingdoms and repelling the invading Italians, allowing Ethiopia to remain independent during a time in which Ethiopia's African neighbors were all succumbing to colonial powers. Menelik expanded Ethiopia's territory while beginning the process of modernization, establishing the first modern schools and hospitals. In 1930, Menelik's eventual successor, Emperor Haile Selassie I, continued the process of modernization and began the process of centralization. Under Selassie, Ethiopia adopted a written constitution and formed its first parliament. Selassie's rule was temporarily interrupted by Italy's occupation from 1936 to 1941, but he was subsequently returned to the throne. Selassie focused a great deal of attention toward international relations, becoming an ally of the United States and securing Addis Ababa as the headquarters of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and UN Economic Commission for Africa (Adejumobi 2007).

Following World War II, the United Nations federated Eritrea with Ethiopia. Numerous domestic troubles and conflict associated with Eritrea's push for independence incited opposition groups and Selassie was eventually deposed in 1974. The monarchy was abolished and replaced by the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC). The centralized dictatorship, known as the Derg, was ruled by Mengistu Haile Mariam. Ethiopia became a socialist state under which businesses and land were nationalized. The Red Terror campaign under Mengistu resulted in the detention, torture, and murder of thousands of opposition members. Civil war with Eritrea, conflict with Somalia, and devastating famine and the end of the Cold War culminated in Mengistu's overthrow in 1991 by rebels from the Ethiopian People's Democratic Front (EPRDF), a coalition of opposition groups with the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) at the helm (Gilkes 2005). Mengistu fled to Zimbabwe and was ultimately found guilty (in absentia) of genocide by Ethiopia's Federal High Court in 2006.

In 1993 the new Ethiopian government granted independence to Eritrea although it made Ethiopia a landlocked state. Ethiopia transformed into an ethnically based federation with a new constitution and open, although flawed, elections. Meles Zenawi, the first prime minister of Ethiopia, was reelected in 2000 and again in 2005. Despite notable advances under the EPRDF, peace and prosperity have remained elusive. Post-election violence in 2005, food insecurity, ethnic tensions, and a reignited conflict in Eritrea continue to plague the fragile country.

SOCIETY OF ETHIOPIA

Ethiopia is the second most populous country in sub-Saharan Africa and one of the most rural in the world. It has a current population of 74,777,981 and a 2.31 percent growth rate (CIA 2006). Ethiopia has a total fertility rate of 5.2 and

THE BADME CONFLICT

In 1993, Eritrea gained independence from Ethiopia after 30 years as an unwitting province. Amicable relations between the two countries' presidents, said to be distant cousins, made future conflict seem unlikely. Therefore, in the haste to make peace, large portions of the border were left ill-defined. The fuzzy boundaries lay in some of the most inhospitable territory in the world and seemed unworthy of too much concern. As relations soured later in the decade, however, these boundaries became a major stumbling block to continued peace. The 1998–2000 war over the border ended in the deaths of tens of thousands and, finally, a peace accord signed in Algiers. Both sides agreed to allow a UN team (UNMEE) to monitor and delineate the border without the right to appeal. When the decision was handed down in 2002, Ethiopia was unhappy about the town of Badme being awarded to Eritrea. Badme is a village of 5,000 subsistence farmers who have little more to offer a country than a school, a few bars, and a hotel. Badme was originally so insignificant in the scheme of delimitation that the commission left it off its decision maps altogether. Nevertheless, this dry little village may become the eye of the growing storm as Ethiopian troops continue to build along the border and Eritrean troops breach the 25-kilometer buffer zone. With over $1 billion invested by the United Nations in hopes of resolution, and thousands of lives taken from Ethiopia and Eritrea in war, this seems to be a very big price tag to be paid for a very small town (Adebajo 2004; Wrong 2005).

is expected to double its population in the next 28 years. By 2025 its population will be over 107 million and will climb to over 144 million by 2050 (PRB 2007). As almost half of its population is presently under the age of 15 years, the alarming growth rate is not predicted to slow in the near future (CIA 2007).

Inhabitants of sub-Saharan Africa have the lowest life expectancies of any realm on earth. Within sub-Saharan Africa, Ethiopia ranks among the lowest with an average life expectancy of 49 years (CIA 2007). A meager 4 percent of Ethiopia's population is aged 64 or older. According to the World Health Organization, healthy life expectancy at birth is presently 41 for women and 42 for men (WHO 2007). Low rates of literacy and education exacerbate health problems. Although education is free through secondary school, enrollment is less than 50 percent in primary school, and tapers to a mere 13 percent at the secondary level (Library of Congress 2005).

Ethiopia has long had a consistent flow of refugees into and out of the country depending on the political climate within its own borders and that of its neighbors. Ethiopia sent out and took in large numbers of refugees during the 1980s. Because of fighting in Sudan, over 350,000 Sudanese came to the Gambela region in Ethiopia starting in 1983. In the late 1980s approximately 365,000 Somalis sought refuge in Ethiopia (UN State of World Refugees 2000). As of January 2007, Ethiopia was hosting roughly 99,000 refugees in large part from the Sudan, Somalia, and Eritrea (UNHCR 2007). Currently, internal displacement of persons is estimated to be between 151,000 and 168,000 due to domestic ethnic conflict and continued conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea (Refugees International 2006). Resettlement programs in Ethiopia are a chief factor in internal displacement within Ethiopia. These programs have been used by the government since the 1970s as a strategy of dealing with and preventing famines. A resettlement effort by Mengistu in the 1980s moved hundreds of thousands but resulted in the deaths of tens of thousands and separation of countless families. In 2004 the government embarked on a massive relocation scheme in which farmers were moved from the crowded highlands

to the lowlands. This has been met with moderate success in some places and complete failure in others (Lacey 2004).

Ethiopia is home to an estimated 83 different ethnic groups and a comparable number of languages, most belonging to the Afro-Asiatic or Nilo-Saharan language families (Country Studies 2006). The official language of Ethiopia is Amharic, and the most widely spoken foreign language, and the language of higher education, is English (Ethnologue 2005). Tigrinya, Oromo, and Somali are also languages of large numbers of Ethiopians. More than three-fourths of the Ethiopian population are either Oromo, Amharic, or Tigrayan. The largest ethnic group in terms of numbers is the Oromo ethnic group. The Amhara represent the largest ethnic group and have historically been one of the most politically and economically powerful groups within the country. The Tigray people comprise about 6 percent of the Ethiopian population and about 50 percent of the Eritrean population. Within Ethiopia they live primarily in the northern highland area of the State of Tigray. Smaller ethnic groups include the Sidamo, Shankella, Somali, Afar, and Gurage as well as others (CIA 2007).

Christianity, reportedly Ethiopia's largest religion by numbers, was introduced to the area in the fourth century AD when Christians from Tyre (close to present-day Beirut, Lebanon) were shipwrecked along the coast. Tradition holds that from this encounter, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church was born. It became the religion of the monarchy, developed as an important element in Amhara and Tigray ethnic identities and in 1955 officially became the official church of Ethiopia. While the church was disestablished under Mengistu in 1975, Orthodox Christianity has stayed an important part of culture, social order, and politics (Munro-Hay 2002). The large majority of Christians within Ethiopia are Orthodox Christians, but the Christian evangelical and Pentecostal churches are the fastest growing. The Lutherans, Sudan Interior Mission, and Mennonite Mission gained particularly strong inroads through their missionary activities in the twentieth century (African Christianity 2004).

Islam was introduced into Ethiopia in the seventh century AD. A little less than half of the people of Ethiopia are believed to be Sunni Muslims. Most live in Somali, Afar, and Oromo. In recent years there has been an increase in Wahhabism, an austere branch of Islam from Saudi Arabia that typically displays less tolerance for other religions. Although fundamental Islam is increasing in some neighboring countries, especially the Sudan and Somalia, Christians and Muslims in Ethiopia have historically experienced less conflict than in many other African countries. Conversions are even accepted in the urban areas and some intermarriage between Christians and Muslims take place (McCrummen 2007).

In reality, much of the Christian and Muslim religion in Ethiopia is syncretistic. Many of the religious practices are infused with traditional religion, which is practiced in its purest form by only a very small minority of Ethiopians. Constitutionally, Ethiopia cannot declare a state religion and all religions are to be treated equally within the country. All religious groups must register with the government as do nongovernmental organizations. Political parties based on religion are not permitted. Religious organizations may be provided free land for churches, cemeteries, schools, or hospitals, but the government reserves the right to withdraw

the land at any time. Schools may not teach religious courses although morals courses are allowed (Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor 2005).

Inadequate infrastructure in Ethiopia produces radiating negative effects, particularly within the economy. Much of the country is remote and topographically challenging, thus making the need for good roads critical to development. Other than the nearly 5,000 kilometers (3,000 miles) of good roads built by the Italians during their occupation, roads are largely unimproved and road density is low, even by African standards. A single railroad exists and connects Addis Ababa with the port city of Djibouti, Djibouti. Most Ethiopian rivers cannot be navigated or can be only during rainy seasons. A surprisingly well-developed airline system helps surmount some of the transportation problems but is little help to the majority of rural inhabitants. The Ethiopian government recognizes the handicap of its infrastructure and is working to improve the situation with programs such as the Road Sector Development Program being undertaken with development partners such as the World Bank and European Union (African Development Bank 2006).

Ethiopia is one of the poorest countries in sub-Saharan Africa, a realm that is itself the least developed on earth. It ranked 170 out of 177 countries on the United Nation's Human Development Index, a measure composed of per capita income, health and education (United Nations 2004). Almost 80 percent of the Ethiopian population lives on less than $2 a day and 44 percent of the population falls below the basic needs poverty line (WHO 2006).

Following the transition to a federal government in the early 1990s, Ethiopia developed a broad economic plan. Although drought, war with Eritrea, and a collapse in coffee prices have led to uneven economic successes, Ethiopia's gross domestic product did increase by 4 percent on average between 1991 and 2003 and jumped as high as 11 percent in one year. The real GDP was an estimated $13.3 billion and per capita income was estimated to be $130 in 2006. The annual growth rate was 9.6 percent and average inflation rate 13 percent in 2006. Ethiopia consistently experiences significant trade deficits. In 2006 exports totaled $1.1 billion while imports totaled $4.1 billion (U.S. State Department 2006). Ethiopia's primary trading partners include Djibouti, Germany, Japan, Saudi Arabia, the United States, and Italy. The Ethiopian economy remains heavily reliant on external donor funding.

Government attempts to stimulate the economy include increasing budget allocations for improving crumbling infrastructure and a simplification and reduction in external tariffs since 1991. The EPRDF economic plan strives to transform the present subsistence farm-based system to one of commercial agriculture and agriculturally based manufacturing. Privatization is hoped to stimulate the other industrial and service sectors as well. Agriculture has dropped from constituting 57 percent of the GDP in 1991 to 47 percent in 2006 (FAO 2006).

The majority of Ethiopians (80 percent) are engaged in agriculture for their livelihood while 8 percent are involved in industry and 12 percent in services. Agriculture provides 46.7 percent of the gross domestic product and 60 percent of all exports. Meanwhile, industry provides 12.9 percent and services provide 40.4 percent of the gross domestic product (CIA 2007). The central agricultural product in terms of exports is coffee, earning approximately $350 million in export

dollars in 2006 and representing up to 66 percent of export earnings over the past 40 years. However, coffee is vulnerable to world price fluctuations. A price drop caused a significant reduction in export earnings in the past several years. The Ethiopian government has made numerous unsuccessful attempts at encouraging diversification, especially in flowers, fruits, and vegetables for export. It is now pushing the production of premium brands of coffee to boost earnings (Styan 2005).

A major challenge to economic reform has been the privatization of state-owned businesses and land. Accusations of corruption have plagued the privatization process. Public contracts are often awarded to businesses linked to the ruling party or favored ethnic groups. Average Ethiopians are kept from truly engaging in debates on the economy because of limited press freedoms in reporting on policy. Most Ethiopians have a limited understanding of the policy-making process within the government (Styan 2005).

The Ethiopian Privatization Agency (EPA) was established in 1994 and tasked with transferring state-owned enterprises to private ownership. They are selling off businesses and looking for strategic partners to buy into utilities companies such as the Ethiopian Telecommunications Corporation (ETC). The goal is to generate revenue for the government while promoting economic development via the private sector.

Manufactured exports include primarily agriculturally based products such as leather products, food, and textiles. Weak infrastructure and restricted foreign investment limit growth and diversification in the industrial sector. Moreover, Ethiopian industry has been unsuccessful in building forward and backward linkages and remains dependent on numerous imports for production needs. Basic necessities such as electricity and telecommunications are most accessible in urban areas; therefore, Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa now account for the large majority of all industrial activity and employment (UNDP 2006).

Ethiopia developed a Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program aimed at halving poverty by 2015 and boosting economic growth by 7 percent a year (World Bank 2005). Although some aid was withheld due to post-election violence in 2005, the World Bank and others are continuing to support development programs that will provide basic services to the population and encourage economic growth in the rural areas. Poverty and its associated ills remain one of Ethiopia's greatest challenges.

DOMESTIC POLITICS IN ETHIOPIA

The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia is a decentralized federation with nine states delineated on the basis of ethnicity and two chartered cities, Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa. The states of Ethiopia are Afar, Amhara, Benshangul/Gumuz, Gambella, Harari Peoples, Oromia, Somali National Regional, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region, and Tigray.

The federal government, based in Addis Ababa, is headed by a prime minister, president, and two-house legislature. The legislature is composed of the House of the Federation, consisting of 108 members elected by the states, and the House of People's Representatives, consisting of 548 members popularly elected by

districts. The Parliament is not truly bicameral as the two houses have distinct functions, primarily based on the need to safeguard the rights of the numerous national groups within Ethiopia. The House of Peoples' Representatives passes legislation and has some control over budgetary matters. The House of Federation is tasked with representing and protecting the various nationalities of Ethiopia. It has quasi-judicial powers in that it may interpret the constitution in matters pertaining to the protection and autonomy of national groups. In addition, the House of Federation controls the allotment of revenue from joint federal and state tax sources.

The president, who is mainly ceremonial and serves a six-year term, is chosen by both houses of parliament. The prime minister is the chief executive of the country, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, and the commander in chief of the armed forces. He or she is appointed by the party in power following legislative elections and serves a five-year term. The states each hold local elections for membership into state parliamentary assemblies. Meles Zenawi, reelected in 2005 for a third term, is the current prime minister and Girma Wolde-Giorgis, elected in 2001, is the current president (Ethiopia Embassy of Washington 2007).

The judicial branch is officially independent of government. The Federal Supreme Court holds the highest judicial power over federal matters while state supreme courts have power over state judicial matters. The president and vice-president of the federal and state courts are appointed by the lower legislative body.

Most opposition parties boycotted the first democratic elections in Ethiopia in 1995 in which Meles Zenawi, head of EPDRF, was elected as the first prime minister and Negasso Gidada as the first president of Ethiopia. Therefore, Ethiopia's first true multiparty elections were held in 2000. The 2005 elections in Ethiopia, monitored by international observers, have been deemed the most open in Ethiopian history. An estimated 90 percent of eligible voters cast their ballots (Ethiopia Embassy of Washington 2007). The Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD), a four-party coalition and the primary opposition group to the government, did win seats, raising its representation to 174 out of 547 seats in parliament. Much of the CUD's successes were in cities, particularly Addis Ababa where they won all 23 seats in the capital. EPDRF has had weak support in the cities where the most politically active population lives, particularly because of pressing issues such as unemployment and the destruction of slums. The other significant opposition group, the United Ethiopia Democratic Forces (UEDF), an association of 15 parties, also gained seats, primarily in the Oromia and Southern Regions (Adow 2005). The EPRDF faired much better in the rural areas than it did in the urban centers for several reasons. The CUD also holds as a central point the issue of land tenure and the push for privatization.

Despite improvements in opposition representation, the elections have been disputed and fraud allegations made on both the government's and opposition's sides. The government has been accused of using excessive force in quelling protests. Claims of random searches, use of lethal force, and detention of opposition leaders, journalists, and aid workers by the government have been made (Carter Center 2006). Outside of disapproval of post-election violence, the European Union and

other monitors have concluded that while the process was assuredly flawed, the outcome was not in doubt (African Development Bank Group 2006).

Lack of access to telecommunications and unbiased mass media limits the amount and type of information available to the average Ethiopian and therefore constrains their full participation in politics. In 2005 there were approximately 610,300 main telephone lines in use and 410,600 cellular phones in Ethiopia. Roughly 150,000 Ethiopians owned personal computers in 2003, with 75,000 of those having access to the Internet (Library of Congress 2005). An estimated 682,000 televisions and 15.2 million radios were owned by Ethiopians in 2002 (CIA *World Factbook* 2007).

For those Ethiopians with access to mass media, the diversity of sources is unfortunately limited. The bulk of radio and television are either state-owned or are viewed as pro-government. State-affiliated media has a history of not reporting on violent conflict while the admittedly limited opposition press has been accused of inflating reports of conflict (FAST 2006). Third-party media sources remain an important source of objective information; however, following the post-election onslaught on political dissenters, several independent journalists, editors, and publishers were harassed, intimidated, or arrested. Licenses of several *Voice of America* and *Radio Deutsche-Welle* journalists were revoked in the crackdown. The only domestic television broadcast network is Ethiopian Television. Newspapers and magazines have seen a recent growth in diversity but have a relatively low circulation rate outside of the cities because of low literacy rates and poor distribution. Repressive regulations continue to stifle true freedom of press (Human Rights World Watch 2007).

Regardless of post-election violence, persistent ethnic tensions, enduring poverty, conflict with Eritrea, and a flawed human rights record, it appears that no serious alternative to the present government exists within Ethiopia. The EPDRF has been criticized by allies and donors for not making greater strides toward democratization, but has made some progress in the areas of decentralization and economic liberalization. The ethnic federalism was theoretically established to provide equitable distribution of wealth and power to the various ethnic groups. The constitution even allows for secession of ethnic groups. Nevertheless, ethnic tensions persist, bolstering critics' claims that the present system only exacerbates ethnic discord (Woseen-Taffesse 2006). Fears about Meles Zenawi's leadership may stem from Africa's history of rebel leaders evolving into dictators and from the alleged domination of the government by his ethnic group, the Tigray. Many in the West, however, feel that Zenawi is a strong leader whose timetable may be slow, but whose progress is generally in the right direction.

LAW AND ORDER IN ETHIOPIA

The highest federal court in Ethiopia is the Federal Supreme Court which has jurisdiction over all federal matters. The president and vice president of the Federal Supreme Court are appointed by the prime minister and approved by the House of People's Representatives. In recent years the federal government of Ethiopia has attempted to decentralize the courts by strengthening the state systems and by establishing courts on the zonal, district, and local levels. Traditional

systems of justice, such as religious courts and councils of elders, still function and are often used in rural areas that are outside the practical reach of the formal judicial system (Library of Congress 2005).

Because of shortfalls in funding and staff, the official court system is often ineffective and backlogged with cases. Citizens are frequently detained without warrant and then denied access to counsel or family. Many are not informed of the charges against them within 48 hours as the law requires. Some citizens, particularly those who oppose the government, are purportedly denied fair, speedy, and public trials. Up to 50,000 protestors were reportedly held after the 2005 elections for three months in remote detention centers without access to council (Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor 2006). Conditions in Ethiopian detention centers and prisons are reportedly deplorable with unsanitary facilities and inadequate food provisions (OSAC 2007). The courts have also been accused of impunity and lax investigation with regards to criminal activity linked to police, military personnel, and political allies of the government.

Ethiopia has been rated high for crime by the United States Department of State; however, crime in Ethiopia is of a similar nature to that found in other developing countries, especially in larger cities. Addis Ababa, a city of approximately four million, experiences burglaries and robberies, mainly of poorly protected businesses, petty theft and pick-pocketing, muggings and swindling due to confidence schemes. Crimes carried out with weapons are uncommon (OSAC 2007).

Crimes against women such as domestic violence, rape, abduction, and female genital mutilation are sadly commonplace in Ethiopia. Many women believe that their spouses have a right to beat them and therefore never seek legal recourse. This widely held belief among women, combined with the inefficient court system, translates into very few prosecutions for spousal abuse. An estimated 25 percent of Ethiopian women are raped in their lifetimes (World Bank 2004). Rape is also inadequately prosecuted, but those convicted generally receive 10 to 15 years in prison (Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor 2006).

Crimes of international concern originating within Ethiopia include human trafficking and drug trafficking, particularly of heroin. The International Organization for Migration has deemed human trafficking pervasive in Ethiopia and reports that it is on the rise (IOM 2006). Ethiopia serves as a staging point for heroin coming from Southwest and Southeast Asia and going to Europe and for cocaine headed for southern Africa. It also produces qat (khat) for internal and external sale. Qat, deemd a drug of abuse by the World Health Organization, is consumed primarily in East Africa, where it is mainly legal, and to Southwest Asia where it is a controlled substance that is illegal to use or sell. Recent kidnappings of foreign tourists and crimes against Chinese nationals have raised international concerns (OSAC 2007).

While estimates of numbers of police operating in Ethiopia at present are unreliable, it is known that the budget for public order and security has risen significantly in the past decade. As is common in many African countries, the Ethiopian police and other emergency services are for the most part poorly trained and limited by the paucity of resources. Lack of access to appropriate communications technology causes response times to be particularly slow.

The Ethiopian police force has been implicated in unlawful detentions, beatings, and killings. These are often related to antigovernment protestors and to those with links to opposition political parties. The killings of 193 people by police and military following the 2005 elections were internationally condemned and Ethiopia has since issued statements admitting wrongdoing. Police brutality and illegal detention reportedly continues in areas known for ethnic unrest such as Oromia and Gambella. The government is now conducting human rights training of police and has recently dismissed hundreds believed to be involved in misconduct (*AllAfrica* 2007).

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Ethiopia has had active relationships with its African neighbors for centuries but began to enter world politics in the late nineteenth century. Emperor Haile Selassie, who ruled from 1930 to 1974, ushered Ethiopia into many international arenas. Under Selassie, Ethiopia became a founding member of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), now the African Union (AU). Ethiopia sent troops to Korea and Congo in association with UN missions during the 1950s and 1960s.

During the Derg's regime, Ethiopia was associated with the nonaligned movement but ultimately established close ties to the Soviet Union and its allies. Cuban troops were directly involved in its conflicts with Eritrea and Somalia in the 1970s and 1980s. Since the overthrow of the Derg in 1991, Ethiopia has reestablished strong connections to the United States and European Union. Ethiopia is viewed by many as a key ally in the fight against Islamic fundamentalism, particularly that threatening Somalia.

The Foreign Ministry of Affairs of Ethiopia, led by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, is the primary body responsible for formulating foreign policy, signing treaties with international organizations, coordinating relations with foreign powers, and strengthening relations with neighboring countries. According to the Ministry, the basic principles of their foreign and national security policy are built on the need to ensure national safety, to establish democracy, and to encourage development, stability, and peace (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia 2007).

Ethiopia currently has relatively sound relationships with fellow African countries, outside of small border disputes and larger involvement in conflicts with Eritrea and Somalia. There have been occasional bouts of violence along the border with Kenya, some involving cattle rustling or conflict over resources, but these appear to be relatively minor. Relations with Sudan have been occasionally strained due to ill-defined borders but the two countries have recently made progress in promoting trade and communications. Ethiopia has a particularly close relationship with Djibouti and uses its port for commerce since losing access to ports in Eritrea.

Ethiopia is a member of numerous international organizations. It belongs to the United Nations, including many of its subsidiary agencies such as the Food and Agriculture Organization and the World Health Organization. It holds membership in the World Trade Organization and is an active part of the African Development Bank and African Union. In addition, Meles Zenawi was recently invited by

Britain's prime minister to play an instrumental role in his Commission for Africa which is working on ways to resolve Africa's most difficult problems (Library of Congress 2005; Human Rights World Watch 2007).

Ethiopia has contributed to and has been a recipient of UN peacekeeping forces. They have had recent involvement in UN peacekeeping missions in Burundi, Liberia, Rwanda, and Somalia (Library of Congress 2005). A United Nations mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE) currently has around 3,300 troops and military observers along the countries' armistice line (Human Rights World Watch 2007). The United Nations is also poised to take over peacekeeping efforts from Ethiopia in Somalia where their troops arrived in December 2006 in support of the transitional government against the Union of Islamist Courts (UIC) (BBC 2007).

Ethiopia has signed and/or ratified several major international treaties including those prohibiting the use of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. Among the most important are the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the African Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone Treaty and the Convention of the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Chemical Weapons. They are a party to conventions to protect the environment, such as the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, as well as those to protect human rights, such as the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Human Rights Library, University of Minnesota 2007).

Foreign governments, international institutions, and nongovernmental organizations have been critical of Ethiopia's efforts towards development and economic growth. In the late 1990s Ethiopia had more than $10 billion in debts to multilateral, bilateral, and private creditors. In 1999 the states of the former Soviet Union forgave over $5 billion in debt which had been accrued under the Derg. Additionally, Ethiopia's acceptance into the World Bank/IMF-sponsored highly indebted poor countries (HIPC) debt reduction program has helped it reduce or eliminate up to $3 billion of its debts from countries and international lenders. External debt had been reduced to $6.038 billion in 2006 (Library of Congress 2005; CIA *World Factbook* 2006).

Because of Soviet alliances, aid from most foreign governments was limited during the 1980s to food aid. Since the overthrow of the Marxist Derg in 1991, Ethiopia has been the recipient of significant aid designated for reconstruction, political stabilization, economic development, and humanitarian relief. Much of this aid has been from the European Union and individual European countries, the United States, Japan, the World Bank and the African Development Bank. The World Bank currently supports a host of projects targeting, among other things, governance, rural development, private sector development, health, and education. Contributions since 1950 total $4.4 billion. Currently, 21 active World Bank projects are underway with a price tag of $1.9 billion (World Bank Country Brief 2007). Nongovernmental organizations also contribute significantly to development and humanitarian efforts within Ethiopia.

Efforts at encouraging foreign investment in Ethiopia have not been nearly as successful as those for obtaining foreign aid. Immediately following the overthrow of the Derg, the EPRDF was sluggish in opening the country to foreign investors.

Privatization issues were, as they are now, problematic. The war with Eritrea from 1998 to 2000 further discouraged investors. Inferior infrastructure, even by African standards, has proven a further deterrent. Arrests of senior officials on corruption charges in 2002 in connection to the sale of state-owned businesses and promotion of foreign investment have hampered progress (Styan 2005). Foreign investment is badly needed simply to meet internal needs for products such as cement. The government is making moves toward speeding up privatization and instituting new regulations that would benefit foreign companies, but growth has been slow (Library of Congress 2005).

SECURITY

Ethiopia developed its formal armed forces in 1942 and established military alliances with Britain and the United States in the 1950s that lasted until the mid-1970s. During the rule of Mengistu's communist government, the Soviet Union became Ethiopia's closest ally. The country relied on Cuba and the Soviet Union for support during clashes with Eritrea and Somalia. As the Cold War ended, so too did Ethiopia's ties to its communist allies. When the Derg was overthrown in 1991, Ethiopia had over 200,000 troops with 150 military aircraft and over 1,000 tanks (Library of Congress 2005).

During the 1990s the military effectively transformed from a militia force to a structured military with ranks and conventional units. Assistance in this transformation was given by the United States but was interrupted by the 1998–2000 conflict with Eritrea. The troop number hit a high of around 350,000 during the war and have since been reduced to approximately 180,000. Restructuring in the military is continuing and three military districts will ultimately be created with a headquarters in Addis Ababa.

Ethiopia had a buildup in arms during the 1998–2000 conflict, purchasing most from Russia. In May 2000 the United Nations put into effect an arms embargo, but Ethiopia retains combat aircraft, helicopters, tanks, rocket launchers, and surface-to-air missiles. Ethiopia has signed weapons treaties and is believed to have no usable nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons. The Ethiopian military remains one of the largest in Africa and spent approximately 3.4 percent of its GDP ($300 million) in 2005 on military expenditures (CIA 2007).

The conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea has been described as "two bald men fighting over a comb," but this reality has not reduced the threat of renewed fighting (Adebajo 2006, 577). A fragile peace was reached in the form of a cease-fire negotiated at an OAU summit in Algiers in July of 1999. Both sides agreed to withdraw from disputed territory and military observers were sent in to oversee the process. A demilitarized Temporary Security Zone 25 kilometers (15 miles) in width was established and a Boundary Commission was launched to work on demarcating the boundary between the two countries. The Boundary Commission issued its decision in April 2002 and both sides agreed to accept the decision as legal and binding.

A stalemate, however, continues as serious humanitarian issues mount along the border. Drought and reduced agricultural production continue to press both countries. Ethiopia has failed to submit to the Boundary Commission's decision while

Eritrea is staying committed to instituting the new boundaries. The Ethiopian government refuses to negotiate despite attempts at mediation from international groups. Increased troop concentration along the border in 2005 has increased fears of renewed fighting. Even if military action does not reignite, a "nonmilitary war" certainly continues unabated. Persistent tensions have affected Eritrea's internal stability. Eritrea has responded through proxy war in which it supports opposition groups within Ethiopia in hopes that an overthrow of the EPDRF might lead to a handover of the disputed territories. This conflict will undoubtedly continue in the near future as neither side has succumbed to international pressure to find a mutually acceptable solution.

Another serious threat to Ethiopia's national security has always been tied closely to war and political upheaval: famine. Ethiopia has a devastating history of famines and general food shortages. Widespread East African drought in the early 1970s and then concentrated Ethiopian famine in the mid-1980s were together responsible for millions of deaths within the country. The Ethiopian famine of 1984–1985 is viewed by many as a watershed moment in international humanitarian aid (Hammond 2004). Horrific conditions, viewed around the world for the first time, drew enormous response from the international community.

Conflict, variable weather conditions, environmental degradation, population growth, agricultural backwardness, land tenure problems, disease, and poor government response all contribute to the making of a famine. But even in non-famine years, Ethiopia perches delicately on the edge of hunger. Even during years of adequate harvest, an estimated five million in Ethiopia continue to rely on food aid. Over half of the population is classified as food insecure (World Bank 2005). Compared to its African neighbors, countries which themselves rank among the most malnourished in the world, Ethiopia has one of the highest rates of malnutrition. In the period between 1996 and 2004, 47 percent of all children under the age of five were moderately to severely underweight, 11 percent were moderately to severely wasted, and 52 percent were stunted (Haub 2006). This level of malnutrition weakens immune systems, inhibits nervous system development, and can lower IQ by ten points or greater.

THE CONTINUED THREAT OF FAMINE IN ETHIOPIA

Famines are extreme shortages of food traditionally linked to drought. The 1984–1985 famine in Ethiopia, however, changed forever how the world would see famines. For the first time in history, famine was delivered directly to the living rooms of Westerners as real-time images of emaciated and dying Ethiopians were shown on television. The response was overwhelming and more donations were given than to any other previous single humanitarian effort. Unfortunately, the reality of aid delivery was not so forthcoming. The Ethiopian government, engaged in internal conflicts with both Eritrea and Tigray, used the developing disaster to weaken its opponents. Military campaigns strategically targeted food-producing areas and markets. Crops and livestock were destroyed and large portions of the population were relocated, reducing access to food. The government insisted that all aid go through official channels, resulting in only a small percentage of the population receiving the bulk of aid. Eventually, nongovernmental organizations and foreign governments resorted to funneling aid through unofficial channels, such as over the Sudanese border directly into hard-hit Tigray. The famine ultimately caused the world to reevaluate what truly produces a famine and how it needs to respond. Famine unfortunately still lurks at the door in Ethiopia, with conflict, poverty, environmental degradation, and now AIDS, ready to give it an opening (Barrow 2001).

Long-term mental effects and short-term inability to concentrate produce negative social and economic consequences for individuals, families, and society as a whole. Circular causation, in which a family experiences an economic downward spiral as poorly nourished family members are less able to work and provide, can ravage families already on the brink of hunger.

Privatization and land-tenure policies are linked to agricultural production and must be addressed before long-term improvement will be realized. Under the reigning land-tenure system, the Ethiopian government owns all land and leases it to individuals and businesses for extended periods of time. Farmers cannot sell or leave their farms uncultivated without the government's permission. Many believe the land-tenure system, in conjunction with decreasing plot size (on average one hectare), contributes greatly to land degradation in Ethiopia. Smallholders who do not own their farms are reluctant to invest in long-term improvements such as terracing to stop soil erosion. The tenuous nature of landholdings discourages community-wide environmental programs as well.

Privatization is far from universally supported, even among smallholders. The government maintains that the present system protects smallholders from losing their land to large landowners or to others through crime and corruption (Haileselassie 2004). However, most Ethiopians feel that the issue of land tenure must be effectively addressed soon. Agricultural increases in recent years have been primarily due to good weather and an increase in area under cultivation, not in improvements in productivity. At current rates, agricultural productivity is doomed to fall below population growth. The World Bank is presently working with the government to issue land-tenure certificates to farmers in some areas. The land-tenure issue is being approached with extreme caution in light of land privatization failures in Kenya and some Latin American countries.

A comprehensive plan including disaster prevention, rural development, and relief assistance is needed to avert future famines. The Ethiopian government, in concert with outside agencies such as USAID, has worked to build systems which will prevent future food shocks instead of merely relieve their effects. Ethiopia developed a famine early-warning system in 1991 to protect people from devastating food shortages such as those experienced in the mid-1980s. This system has developed an emergency food reserve, food relief storage, and distributor networks (Styan 2005). The Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program (SDPRP), established in 2002 in concert with the World Bank and IMF, is directed toward the root of agricultural failure—rural poverty. Without protection from agricultural collapse and without significant growth in the agricultural sector, it is doubtful that Ethiopia will be able to diversify its economy or provide for growing numbers of city dwellers.

Malnutrition, poverty, and low levels of development are contributing to what may ultimately be Ethiopia's greatest challenge—the growing HIV/AIDS epidemic. High rates of infectious disease in general and HIV/AIDS in particular, along with an ailing health care system, have the potential to cripple Ethiopian society. The average life span for Ethiopians in 2005 was 49 years (CIA 2007). Ethiopia ranks fifth among all African countries in numbers of infected persons with three million known AIDS cases. Although Ethiopia has only 1 percent of the world's population, it now accounts for 7 percent of the world's HIV/AIDS

cases. An estimated 5,000 Ethiopians are infected weekly and (at least) 4.4 percent of all adults are HIV positive. The disease strikes three times as many women as men in Ethiopia, usually in their peak reproductive years between 15 and 24. This trend has led to a startlingly high incidence of mother-to-child infections, the second highest rate in the world. One in 16 children in Ethiopia dies from AIDS and over 720,000 were orphaned by the disease in 2003 (Federal Ministry of Health of Ethiopia 2006).

The heavy burden of AIDS cases, malnutrition, and infectious disease in Ethiopia today would overtax even the world's premier health care systems. Ethiopia spends an average of $4.50 per person on health care as opposed to the average of $10 within sub-Saharan Africa as a whole (Library of Congress 2005). Approximately one-third of the population has no access to health care facilities, while over half the population must walk more than six miles to reach the nearest one (WHO 2006). The available health care facilities are often understaffed, lacking appropriate medications and burdened with failing and out-of-date equipment. In 2006 there were a mere three physicians for every 100,000 people (WHO 2006).

One need only look to AIDS-ravaged African countries such as Zimbabwe and Botswana to understand the threat that AIDS constitutes for an already-vulnerable country such as Ethiopia. Unemployment in resource-rich Zimbabwe was estimated to be 70 percent in 2002 and life expectancy was less than 40 years. Parental deaths, childhood infections, and growing numbers of orphans will stress the extended family system of Ethiopia. Aging grandparents, tasked with raising AIDS orphans, will spiral deeper into poverty. Social and economic breakdowns are unwelcome companions to the AIDS epidemic in Africa. Support from other governments and nongovernmental organizations, such as that pledged recently by the United States, will bolster Ethiopia's ability to fight the epidemic, but radical improvements in education, health care, and overall development levels may be the only long-term solution to the epidemic in Ethiopia.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The Ethiopian constitution grants its citizens the freedom of speech and the right to protection and safety regardless of sex, race, nation, language, religion, or political party. Ethiopians have the right to assemble and demonstrate and the press is guaranteed freedom from censorship (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia 2007). In addition, Ethiopia has signed multiple treaties in protection of human rights. These include the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (1998), the Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (2002), the Convention Concerning Forced or Compulsory Labour (2003), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1981), and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1993) (University of Minnesota 2004).

Despite constitutional guarantees and signed conventions, Ethiopia has been criticized of its human rights record by a host of international organizations including Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch. Arbitrary arrests, denial of judicial due process, disappearances, killings, and beatings are among the human rights violations leveled at the Ethiopian government, military, and

police force. The independent press has been stifled and journalists, editors, and publishers have been jailed. Protestors have been quieted through heavy-handed means, including beatings and death. Educators and university students have been illegally imprisoned for speaking out against the government. Reports from rural areas indicate that local officials oppress individuals, often by withholding agricultural inputs if they speak out against them (Human Rights Watch 2004).

Human rights abuses continue within the Ethiopian population with women and children as frequent victims. Abductions of women and girls for marriage continue in many regions including Amhara and Oromo. Girls as young as seven are forced to marry in some areas although the legal age is eighteen. An estimated 74 percent of females in Ethiopia undergo female genital mutilation (FGM) although the practice has been outlawed. Those convicted of various procedures may be sentenced to three months to ten years. However, no one has ever been prosecuted for FGM (Adow 2005). The practice is being discouraged primarily through education programs and mass media campaigns (Planned Parenthood 2007).

Child labor is another criminal activity seriously under-prosecuted within Ethiopia. Despite laws against child labor, the problem persists in both urban and rural areas. A study conducted in 2001 revealed that 40 percent of children under the age of six were working, some up to 74 hours a week. These children are much more likely to suffer physical, sexual, and emotional abuse than those who do not work. The majority of these children gave their earnings to parents or guardians. Female children are at particular risk of abuse and child slavery. A recent study shows that girls in Ethiopia are among the most likely to be harmed by their mothers or step-mothers. A shocking 71 percent of all girls in Ethiopia report being physically abused by their female caregivers (Assefa 2007).

The problem of human trafficking is considerable and on the increase. In Ethiopia men, women, and children are trafficked for commercial and domestic labor and sexual exploitation. While many of these modern-day slaves are kept within Ethiopia, others are trafficked to other African countries, and the Middle East. Nongovernmental organizations estimate that as many as 25,000 people might be trafficked each year in Ethiopia. The victims are often uneducated, rural women and children who are lured to the city by the hope of employment (U.S. Department of State 2007).

Persistent poverty and extremely low levels of development make combating human rights abuses, within the government and population, difficult. Ethiopia also has one human rights organization, the Ethiopian Human Rights Council (EHRCO). It has been accused, however, of having an antigovernment position and its members report being harassed and intimidated (Human Rights World Watch Report 2007). Increased international pressure may achieve results in the human rights arena in Ethiopia, but many donors have stopped short of punitive measures.

CONCLUSION

Internal conflict between ethnic groups will likely remain a major stumbling block for the EPRDF in coming years. Struggles in the ethnically based states continue as impoverished citizens compete over political power and access to scarce

resources. The unending flow of refugees and internally displaced persons adds an additional element of stress in regions where population growth continues unabated. Strife between some states and the federal government, especially Oromo and Gambella, poses a threat to overall stability. Marginalization of smaller ethnic groups, most of whom are rural, is encouraged by weak geographic linkages, stifled political voice, and a constrained, often inaccessible, media.

External conflicts have historically diverted much-needed funds and attention away from pressing domestic issues to those of national security. The relentless conflict with Eritrea appears intractable despite international attempts at negotiation and applied pressure for resolution. The complicated involvement of Ethiopia and Eritrea in each other's internal conflicts may prove disastrous. Ethiopia's recent involvement in Somalia in which troops helped wrest Mogadishu from the Union of Islamic Courts for the transitional government is viewed as commendable by some and worrisome by others. Certainly Ethiopia's stand against Islamic fundamentalism is viewed warmly by the West, particularly the United States which considers Ethiopia to be one of its strongest allies in the War on Terror. While terrorism is currently limited within Ethiopia, cells allegedly operating along its borders may present future problems.

Domestic issues may ultimately prove the greatest challenge for Ethiopia. The economy has experienced growth in recent years but with the threat of drought and rising oil and gas prices, a downturn is possible. Economic reforms, principally those affecting privatization and foreign investment, will need to speed up if Ethiopia is to take advantage of recent favorable conditions. The agricultural sector will need to continue to experience growth, not based on good weather or increased land cultivation, but on increased inputs, mechanization, environmentally friendly agricultural practices, land reform, diversification, and improved infrastructure. The present economic program hinges on this increased production and the resulting rise in agriculturally based manufacturing.

The government of Ethiopia is considered by many in the West as a model for Africa. It has strong government relations with the United States and its population has not displayed the anti-American sentiment present in so many other developing countries. In many ways, however, it is among the most fragile of all states. It persistently teeters on the edge of violence, both within and along its borders. Human rights are limited, the economy is growing but underdeveloped, health conditions are appalling, and the food situation is tenuous. Nevertheless, the federation of diverse nations has held despite the onslaught and even shows signs of progression. Within east Africa it remains a strong ally of the West and a bulwark to growing Islamic fundamentalism.

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Former Soviet Republics

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BACKGROUND

The geographic area that comprises the 14 republics of the former Soviet Union (excluding the Russian Federation) encompasses a vast portion of the Eurasian landmass, spanning from the Baltic Sea coast in Northern Europe to the Hindu Kush mountain range that forms the northwestern border of Afghanistan. Because of their tremendous diversity and extensive land area, it is therefore most useful to identify this group of countries in terms of their location in separate and respective subregions: the Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania); eastern Europe or the "Slavic republics" (Belarus, Ukraine, and Moldova); the Transcaucasus (South Caucasus) and Caspian littoral (Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan); and central Asia (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan). The five central Asian republics alone occupy a total area larger than India (4.1 million sq km), while Kazakhstan shares extensive borders with major powers such as Russia (6,846 km) and China (1,533 km) (Nichol 2006, 2). The Baltic nations are also notable in their proximity to the Nordic/Scandinavian countries, while the borders shared by Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Turkmenistan with Iran denote comparability with the Middle East.

When the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was officially dissolved in December 1991, 11 of its former constituent countries opted to become members of an alliance formally known as the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). While membership and participation in the CIS was declared on a voluntary basis, as the former Union republics were now fully sovereign from Russia, the arrangement was designed to maintain stability in the post-Soviet space by allowing them to retain strong diplomatic and organizational ties with Moscow. At the same time, the Baltic republics (and initially Azerbaijan and Georgia) rejected the CIS treaty, as their governments sought to reorient their foreign and security policies toward the West and greater Europe. Yet, nearly two decades later, the international relations of these states, particularly those in east Europe, the Caucasus, and central Asia which share common borders, are still often defined

Former Soviet Republics

Armenia
Size of country: 29,800 sq km
Political system: Presidential republic
Key political groups/parties: Multi-party system
Real GDP growth: 13.9% (2005 est.)
Important human security issues: Nagorno-Karabakh dispute, refugees

Azerbaijan
Size of country: 86,600 sq km
Political system: Presidential authoritarian
Key political groups/parties: New Azerbaijan Party (YAP)
Real GDP growth: 26.4% (2005 est.)
Important human security issues: Nagorno-Karabakh dispute

Belarus
Size of country: 207,600 sq km
Political system: Presidential authoritarian
Key political groups/parties: Agrarian Party of Belarus (Agrarnaya Partyia Belarusi), Communist Party of Belarus (Kamunistychnaya Partyia Belarusi), Liberal Democratic Party of Belarus (Liberalna-Demakratychnaya Partyia Belarusi), Party of Communists of Belarus (Partyia Kamunistaw Belaruskaya)
Real GDP growth: 8% (2005 est.)
Important human security issues: Human and drug trafficking, money laundering, environmental pollution

Estonia
Size of country: 45,200 sq km
Political system: Parliamentary democracy
Key political groups/parties: Center Party of Estonia
Real GDP growth: 9.6% (2005 est.)
Important human security issues: Drug trafficking

Georgia
Size of country: 69,700 sq km
Political system: Multi-party system
Key political groups/parties: National Democratic Party
Real GDP growth: 7% (2005 est.)
Important human security issues: Unresolved status of Abkhazia and South Ossetia; internal displacement

Kazakhstan
Size of country: 2,717,000 sq km
Political system: Presidential authoritarian
Key political groups/parties: Nur-Otan (Fatherland's Ray of Light)
Real GDP growth: 9.2% (2005 est.)
Important human security issues: Economic inequality, interethnic relations

Kyrgyzstan
Size of country: 198,500 sq km
Political system: Presidential republic
Key political groups/parties: Multi-party system
Real GDP growth: 2% (2005 est.)
Important human security issues: Terrorism, drug trafficking

Latvia
Size of country: 64,589 sq km
Political system: Parliamentary democracy
Key political groups/parties: Multi-party system
Real GDP growth: 10.2% (2005 est.)
Important human security issues: Terrorism, HIV/AIDS infections

Lithuania
Size of country: 65,200 sq km
Political system: Semi-presidential democracy
Key political groups/parties: Multi-party system
Real GDP growth: 7.5% (2005 est.)
Important human security issues: Organized crime

Moldova
Size of country: 33,700 sq km
Political system: Republic
Key political groups/parties: Communist Party of the Republic of Moldova (PCRM)
Real GDP growth: 7.1% (2005 est.)
Important human security issues: Unresolved status of Transnistria; internal displacement

Tajikistan
Size of country: 143,100 sq km
Political system: Presidential authoritarian
Key political groups/parties: People's Democratic Party of Tajikistan
Real GDP growth: 8% (2005 est.)
Important human security issues: Internal displacement from 1992–1997 civil war

Turkmenistan
Size of country: 488,000 sq km
Political system: Autocracy
Key political groups/parties: Democratic Party of Turkmenistan (DPT)
Real GDP growth: 4% (IMF est.)
Important human security issues: Drug trafficking

Ukraine
Size of country: 603,700 sq km
Political system: Semi-presidential republic
Key political groups/parties: Multi-party system
Real GDP growth: 2.4% (2005 est.)
Important human security issues: Human trafficking

Uzbekistan
Size of country: 447,400 sq km
Political system: Presidential authoritarian
Key political groups/parties: People's Democratic Party (PDP)
Real GDP growth: 7.2% (2005 est.)
Important human security issues: Islamic militant groups

in terms of their relationship with the Russian Federation, which continues to be the major locus of power and influence in the region. In recent years, some states (Belarus, Moldova during the Communist presidency from 2001 to 2005) have also pursued more direct political reintegration with Russia, as exemplified by the Union State of Russia and Belarus, though with minimal or unsatisfactory results. Others, such as Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and initially Moldova created the GUAM bloc in 1997, which was perceived with some hostility by Russia. While Russia maintains sovereignty over its internationally recognized exclave of Kaliningrad (Königsberg) which was acquired in World War II and borders Lithuania on the south, it also has a special role in the Caucasus and east European separatist conflicts. Here four de facto self-proclaimed states (Transnistria in Moldova, Abkhazia and South Ossetia in Georgia, and Nagorno-Karabakh in Azerbaijan) contain pro-Russian forces that receive political and military support from Moscow but are recognized neither by the international community or their host governments.

While the geography of the Baltic states is signified by their access to the Baltic Sea on their eastern coasts, their internal landscape is also at significantly low elevation and features marshes (Estonia), forested lands (Latvia), and plains and hilly uplands (Lithuania). The region of eastern Europe also features generally flat terrain due to the prehistoric passage of glaciers, leaving large areas of marshland and lakes (Belarus), fertile plains and plateaus (Ukraine), and gradually sloping steppes (Moldova). Conversely, the physical makeup of the Transcaucasian states is essentially defined by their location in the Caucasus Mountains (Greater and Lesser Caucasus ranges) and the Caspian Sea basin, with largely mountainous areas (the North and South Caucasus ranges in Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia)—though with significant variation in types of topography within the territory of Georgia—and broad lowlands that are mostly below sea level (the Kura-Aras in Azerbaijan). In contrast with the rest of the former Soviet space, the geography of the central Asian states is distinguished by vast deserts (the Karakum in Turkmenistan, the Kyzyl Kum in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan) and high altitude mountain ranges (the Tien Shan in Kyrgyzstan, the Pamirs in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, and the Kopet Dag in southeastern Turkmenistan). In some central Asian countries (Tajikistan) as much as 90 percent of the national territory is mountainous and this makes even internal travel difficult.

The natural resource endowments of the former Soviet republics are differentiated between those states that possess general self-sufficiency in fuel and energy sources and significant potential for exploitation of minerals and precious metals, and those that have few natural assets and are largely dependent on external suppliers of essential goods such as water, foodstuffs, fuel, and electricity (Kuznestova 1999, 125). This condition generally reflects the close integration of these countries with the former Soviet energy and industrial infrastructure. Belarus and Moldova are perhaps the most resource-poor of the CIS countries, with few domestic sources of fuel and nearly complete dependence on pipelines for delivery of Russian oil and natural gas. Armenia lacks indigenous fuel production, but has some oil and gas reserves, operates the only nuclear power plant (using Russian nuclear fuel) in the region which allows it to export excess electricity to neighboring Georgia and Iran, and has large reserves of molybdenum, as well as copper, zinc, and gold (Levine 1996). Ukraine, while a key agricultural producer and steel exporter, also serves

as a major transit route for fossil fuels, while Georgia and Moldova are also largely dependent on foreign energy supplies, although they possess some promising mineral deposits. In contrast, the Caspian and central Asian republics are endowed with vast untapped mineral and fuel resources that in the post-independence period have driven economic policy to an unprecedented extent. These include oil and natural gas reserves (Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and Turkmenistan); cotton, gold, and natural gas (Uzbekistan); and cotton, gold, and aluminum (Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan). Kazakhstan also possesses rich and unexploited uranium deposits.

Many of the countries within the former Soviet area have suffered environmental damage or man-made hazards resulting from decades of unregulated industrial pollution or mismanaged use of natural resources. A major cause of this situation was the emphasis on meeting centrally determined national production targets and quotas. While the Baltic countries experienced serious industrial air and water pollution during the Soviet era, these conditions have largely improved due to reform of economic activities, and toxic emission levels have gradually declined as they have been brought into agreement with European Union standards. The east European countries (Ukraine and Belarus) continue to be affected by remaining contamination from the Chernobyl nuclear power plant disaster in 1986. In the Caucasus, the natural environment has been most affected by soil contamination and severe pollution of the Caspian Sea due to oil and chemical spills caused by industries in each of the littoral states. Additionally, poaching is a significant problem in the Caspian, leading to the near-extinction of the sturgeon and resulting in United Nations' imposed quotas. One of the most serious environmental concerns in the central Asian region is the desertification of the Aral Sea resulting from the diversion of water from the Amu Darya river to supply irrigation for the cotton monoculture (Uzbekistan). Another problem facing the Caspian region is the gradually rising sea level, a total of almost 7.5 feet since 1978 (U.S. DOE EIA 2003).

The primary distinction in the origins of the former Soviet republics as nation-states lies in the difference between those which were historically kingdoms or regional powers (Lithuania, Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan) and those whose territorial boundaries and national identities were largely constituted through a century of Russian and Soviet colonization (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan) or are a byproduct of the annexation of east European territories (Moldova). Notably, although the genesis of central Asian national identity could be traced to the medieval emirates and khanates of Bukhara, Khokand, Khiva, and Samarkand, the newly independent republics had no precedent of a modern nation-state prior to their Sovietization in the 1920s.

SOCIETY

The population characteristics of the former Soviet region vary widely, from the dense urban settlements of the Baltic republics, to the more dispersed habitations of East Europe (Belarus) and the Caucasus (excepting Armenia and Moldova, the first and second most heavily populated former Soviet states), to the desert and mountain areas of the central Asian states, in which vast areas of the national territory are sparsely if at all inhabited. Two variables that are essential for analyzing national population trends are the fertility rate and the mortality rate. While most of

the central Asia countries once featured both high birth and death rates, they have slowly begun a transition to minimal or zero population growth. Infant mortality continues to be a significant problem in several countries, particularly Kyrgyzstan. The national population indicators of Uzbekistan present the single greatest exception to trends in the region, with the number of individuals below the age of 25 years expected to grow rapidly in the coming years (Grabman 2004, 229; Sulaimanova 2004, 178–82). At the same time, some countries have experienced drastic changes in their demographic makeup due to depopulation and mass emigration, particularly in countries which once possessed a majority of ethnic Russian nationals (Georgia and Kazakhstan). Like elsewhere in the developing world, the continuing trend toward urbanization and industrialization is prevalent in many countries.

The traditional roots of the modern societies that compose the former Soviet countries vary widely across regions and countries. These differences are reflected in their basic cultural and social makeup. Many of the post-Communist states are predominantly European cultures that reflect the centuries-long transition from feudal to modern civilization. In the central Asian nations, statehood arose only after over a century of Russian and Soviet colonization and were essentially tribal societies of pastoral nomads (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Turkmenistan) or sedentary farmers which were linked together by networks of clan affiliations (Uzbekistan and Tajikistan).

Both central Asia and the Caucasus have a large number of refugees and IDPs, mostly due to the bloody conflicts of the late 1980s and early 1990s. In the case of the Caucasus, there are up to 300,000 ethnic Georgian IDPs from separatist Abkhazia, some 240,000 ethnic Armenian refugees from Azerbaijan, and over 200,000 ethnic Azerbaijani and some Kurdish refugees from Armenia. Additionally, there are about 600,000 ethnic Azerbaijani IDPs from the western Azerbaijani regions (for example, Nagorno-Karabakh) occupied by Armenian forces. As such, Azerbaijan's refugee and IDP population was 12 percent, which is one of the largest in the world. There are also Chechen refugees in Azerbaijan and Georgia—10,000 and 5,000, respectively, some 50,000 Meskheti Turk refugees mainly from Uzbekistan, and hundreds of Afghan refugees in Azerbaijan. Meanwhile, in central Asia most of the refugees are from Afghanistan and Xinjiang (eastern Turkistan or Uyghuristan autonomous region of China), the latter being mostly in Kazakhstan. The country most affected is Tajikistan, with some 13,000 ethnic Tajik refugees in Kyrgyzstan, 60,000 in Afghanistan and another 600,000 internally displaced (World Bank 2007).

One of the most prominent characteristics of the countries that comprise the former Soviet space is the tremendous diversity of ethnic identities and affiliations within many states. In some instances, these differences have or threaten to foster social instability or conflict. While certain nations are basically homogenous in that their populations are composed of at least 90 percent of the dominant ethnic group (Armenia and Azerbaijan), a large number of countries continue to reflect the migration patterns of the Soviet era. Despite strong national identities, in the Baltic states a sizeable proportion of the total population (at least 15–20 percent) are ethnic Russian and eastern European immigrants, with Russians being the social majority in some cities. Similarly, in east Europe and part of the Caucasus, while 70–80 percent of the population is the dominant ethnic category, the remainder consists of Russians or regional Diasporas (Ukraine, Belarus, and Georgia). In

Ukraine, the Russian enclave of Crimea in the southeast sought political independence until it was granted autonomous status in 1995, while in Moldova, the societal majority is actually of Romanian origin, which has caused some controversy as to the status of their national identity. Conversely, the ethnic composition of the central Asian region is a mosaic of Slavic, Turkic, Mongol, and Persian Diasporas, though with relative majorities of singular ethnic groups (Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Uzbek, Tajik, and Turkmen).

The religious faiths practiced by the populations of the former Soviet region range from Lutheran, Roman Catholic, and Orthodox Christian in the Baltic and eastern European countries, to highly variegated belief systems such as Orthodox (Georgia), Gregorian Christian (Armenia), and Shiite (majority) and Sunni (minority) Muslim (Azerbaijan) in the Caucasus, to the relatively more homogenous Sunni Muslim traditions of the central Asian republics. While all of the post-Soviet countries possess secular governments, there are differences to the extent in which they either endorse or restrict religious expression or faith. The Baltic and east European governments, cognizant of the historic repression of the church and religious practices, have taken an active role in recognizing and promoting the importance of religious festivals and holidays in their respective national cultures. At the same time, the highly secular authoritarian regimes in the central Asian states have increasingly moved to suppress Islamic interest groups or opposition movements that are characterized as radical.

Unlike many developing or post-colonial countries which adopted state-led development projects in order to build modern societies, the level of infrastructure in the former Soviet states is comparatively high as a result of decades of centrally planned industrialization, even in the relatively impoverished central Asian states. However, there are qualitative distinctions between types of infrastructure and its condition in the post-independence period. While the Soviet system featured extensive railway construction in order to link the economies of the Union republics to the Russian center, the extent of paved roads and reliable public transportation routes remains limited. However, nearly all countries have made basic infrastructure development a priority, especially in Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, as well as Georgia and Armenia, using a combination of increased state revenues (for example, export of hydrocarbons), international assistance (for example, the Millenium Challenge Account and World Bank loans) and privatization.

Of all the former Soviet states, the Baltic countries have made the most extensive and successful transition to market-based economic systems, including high levels of integration with regional trade and foreign direct investment. Between 1999 and 2004, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania became full members of the European Union and World Trade Organization (WTO), and these exhibit the highest rates of growth in the GDP, as well as diversified domestic industries (the technology sector in Latvia). In contrast, despite also joining the WTO (Kyrgyzstan, Georgia, Moldova, and Armenia, in order of accession), the countries of eastern Europe have experienced a greater degree of difficulty with the establishment of free-market economies, including significant hardship from the dismantling of centralized planning bureaucracies and state-owned industries. Ukraine's national economy has remained heavily dependent on supplies of natural gas from Russia, while

Belarus maintains virtually the only remaining "command economy" model in Europe, in which roughly 80 percent of industry continues to be state controlled. Despite the above mentioned difficulties, Kazakhstan, Georgia, and Armenia have been experiencing a double-digit growth of their economies. As a result of its booming petroleum industry, Azerbaijan was recorded as the fastest growing economy in the world in 2005 and 2006 (AFP 2006) and projected to keep that record in 2007 (IMF 2006). Kazakhstan, along with Baltic Republics, has been granted investment-grade status by international rating agencies, while Azerbaijan is currently just one step below.

Standard measures of the quality of life in the former Soviet countries are also reflective of the national condition in terms of the state of the economy, social services, and public health. Social indicators in the Baltic republics are largely representative of other transitional or formerly socialist states in Europe; negative population growth (a greater number of deaths than births), moderate levels of life expectancy and infant mortality, and improving economic security (though with a slightly lower unemployment rate in Lithuania). The eastern European states conversely generally feature lower levels of life expectancy and higher levels of infant mortality, with substantial underemployment of workers (Belarus and Ukraine) and a significant percentage of the population living below the poverty line. Moldova is distinct in the region in exhibiting a positive population growth rate, despite relatively high levels of infant deaths. Social problems, poverty, and low quality of life remain at the highest levels in the central Asian republics. According to a 2005 Economist Intelligence Unit quality-of-life index, a broad measure of nine political, social, health, economic, gender, climatic, and geographic indicators, the Baltic republics ranked highest (63, 66, and 68), followed by Armenia (85), Azerbaijan (86), Georgia (87), Kazakhstan (96), Ukraine (98), Moldova (99), Belarus (100), Turkmenistan (102), Kyrgyzstan (103), Russia (105), Uzbekistan (106), and Tajikistan (107) (EIU 2005). Meanwhile, in the more comprehensive 2006 UN Human Development Report, which uses 2004 data, Estonia is ranked highest (40), followed by Lithuania (41), Latvia (45), Russia (65), Belarus (67), Ukraine (77), Kazakhstan (79), Armenia (80), Georgia (97), Azerbaijan (99), Turkmenistan (105), Kyrgyzstan (110), Uzbekistan (113), Moldova (114), and Tajikistan (122) (UN HDI 2006).

DOMESTIC POLITICS

The regime types and political systems of the former Soviet states exemplify a continuum which ranges from successful transitional democracies to entrenched autocratic regimes which largely retain Soviet administrative patterns, to hybrid regimes that are neither wholly democratic nor authoritarian (Guliyev 2005). Of the 14 countries constituting the region, these may be classified as follows: consolidated democracies (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania); advancing democracies (Georgia, Ukraine, and Moldova); democratic "reversals" (Belarus and Kyrgyzstan); entrenched autocracies (Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Kazakhstan); and neo-Soviet polities that could be said to possess totalitarian characteristics in terms of their degree of surveillance, ideological promotion, and social control (Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan).

While a large number of the former Soviet regimes have continued to exhibit the characteristics of authoritarian rule in the post-independence period, there have at the same time been a significant number of transitions, successions, or minor transfers of power in nearly all of the CIS countries. As of 2007, only two (Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan) still retain the same executives in power that were in office during the final years of the Soviet era. A sudden change in leadership occurred in Turkmenistan in December 2006, when Soviet-era ruler President Saparmurat Niyazov (Turkmenbashi) died of health complications and was succeeded by his former minister of health. Belarus, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan will continue to retain their respective strongmen for the immediate future, with no successors clearly identifiable. All three of the Baltic republics have introduced competitive elections and multiparty governments. In Georgia, the democratic gains of the 2003 Rose Revolution which forced the resignation of Eduard Shevardnadze have been largely consolidated. However, protests against President Mikhail Saakashvili led to him declaring a state of emergency in October 2007. In Ukraine, where the 2004 Orange Revolution propelled Viktor Yushchenko to the presidency, a reversal has been experienced, with pro-Russian Viktor Yanukovich appointed to the position of prime minister, and reconsideration of the previous decision to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 2006. The 2005 Tulip Revolution in Kyrgyzstan followed by the exit of Soviet-era leader Askar Akayev has made the country unstable. Regime stability and continuity is exemplified in Azerbaijan, with the succession of Ilham Aliyev to the presidency following his father's withdrawal from a third-term presidential race and death in 2003. Dynastic succession also seems to exhibit appeal in Kazakhstan, where President Nursultan Nazarbayev is poised to eventually transfer power to his influential relatives such as Dariga Nazarbaeyeva. A somewhat similar fate awaits Armenia, where President Robert Kocharyan is expected to support his longtime supporter, Defense Minister and (since April 2007) Prime Minister Serzh Sarkisian, for the presidency in March 2008.

The respective former Soviet regions have followed somewhat divergent trajectories in the evolution of their domestic politics. In those post-Soviet states in which both democratization and economic liberalization advanced relatively quickly, while in Georgia, Ukraine, and Kyrgyzstan, the phenomenon of the "Color Revolutions" of 2003–2005 has brought varying degrees of success. "Color revolutions" is a post-Communist political phenomenon recalling the 1989 "velvet revolution" led by dissident leader Vaclav Havel in the former Czechoslovakia, where nonviolent popular demonstrations follow fraudulent elections in soft autocracies or competitive-authoritarian regimes, directed against widely unpopular leaders (McFaul 2005; Fairbanks 2007). A significant factor is that each of these revolutions occurred when countries were entering a period of succession, with the incumbent too advanced in years, too unpopular, or too wary of legal term limits to continue (Hale 2005; Fairbanks 2007). In contrast, expectations of similar upheavals in Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Kazakhstan were met with disappointment. Most importantly, these events set an example for entrenched authoritarian regimes to take measures to shore up their survival in office, such as in Uzbekistan in May 2005 in which mass demonstrations for the release of political prisoners in the

eastern province of Andijan provoked a crackdown by the security forces that left several hundred civilians dead.

In following a European-style model of democratization, the majority of the 14 republics have generally allowed independent political parties and interest groups to proliferate. A case in point is the Caucasus. Over 100 parties and opposition groups are officially registered in Georgia, over 60 in both Armenia and Azerbaijan, approximately 50 in Ukraine, and dozens in Moldova and Kazakhstan. However, in much of central Asia party development has stumbled, most notably in Turkmenistan, where until recently only one party was allowed to function and only one person could stand in presidential elections.

The December 2006 passing of President Niyazov in Turkmenistan presented evidence of minimal liberalization such as the first multi-candidate presidential elections held in February 2007. As a rule, most of the influential parties also happen to be the incumbent parties in the CIS. Exceptions can be found in Kazakhstan, with the recently established Atameken party, which claims to be larger than the ruling Otan of President Nazarbayev, and in Ukraine. Here the Party of Regions of the pro-Moscow PM Yanukovich became the biggest party after its parliamentary elections victory in March 2006, followed by a second place for the former PM Yulia Timoshenko Bloc, and only a third place for the previously ruling Our Ukraine party of President Yushchenko (Cohen 2006). The next parliamentary elections took place in September 2007. The Party of Regions won the most seats, followed by the Yulia Timoshenko Bloc, and Our Ukraine-People's Self Defense Party.

The most significant and pressing issues that occupy citizens and governments of the former Soviet republics involve the greater improvement of livelihood, job creation, and general economic recovery, as some of the former Soviet states have still not achieved even their pre-independence levels of GDP (Kotz 2003; Kalyuzhnova, Kaser 2005; Hodgson 2006); freedom of elections and democratization of political processes and daily life (for example, aside from Baltic states as well as Georgia and Ukraine, none of the remaining countries had free and fair elections); eradication of corruption, integration with Western international organizations and blocs such as NATO (for example, the International Partnership Action Plan) and European Union (EU) (for example, European Neighbourhood Policy), preservation of political, economic and social stability and order (especially given the turbulence of the late 1980s and early 1990s), and restoration of territorial integrity and sovereignty over separatist regions (for example, for Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Moldova, as well as, to an opposite degree, Armenia). For the countries bordering Iran and Afghanistan, issues related to the U.S.-led Global War on Terror and possible military intervention against the Islamic regime in Iran are of particular interest to the local policymakers, pundits, and public at large. With the improvement of economic conditions, advancement of freedom in the region, and greater overall integration with the West, coupled with stronger domestic pressure, for most of the 14 republics continuing democratization is irreversible.

LAW AND ORDER

Due to increasing cooperation with foreign, and especially Western and specifically NATO, partners, the former Soviet law enforcement and emergency

responders are overhauling their practices, modernizing equipment, and adopting the best practices of the West and Russia, which has been the regional pioneer in creating an effective Ministry of Emergency Situations. The police of all states have also become members of Interpol, thus further increasing cross-border co-operation among police forces. On the Caspian Sea, the United States funded the establishment of a "Caspian Guards" initiative, which was a collection of all security-related federal grants and aid, designed to deter illicit drug, weapons, and nuclear technologies transfers and smuggling by providing powerful naval radar stations, small cutters, and speedboats, and training and technical assistance to Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) has also been cooperating extensively with its Russian, Azerbaijani, and Georgian colleagues on a range of cases. Although during the 1990s many law enforcement and border patrol personnel took part in activities such as coups and civil wars, in the subsequent decade they have been largely limited to their respective roles in domestic and international affairs. However, endemic corruption, outdated procedures and equipment, poor training, and a host of other problems persist, especially with police, border control, and customs.

Criminal activity increased significantly in many former Soviet countries during the first decade of the post-independence era as a result of a combination of factors: the relaxing of social control, economic collapse, as well as civil and inter-boundary conflicts. By the mid-1990s and the subsequent decade some countries were able to shrug off this legacy (Baltic states, Belarus, and Azerbaijan), others made significant strides (Armenia, Georgia, and Moldova), while some were only moderately successful or largely unsuccessful or otherwise experienced reversals in public security and order (Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan), and yet others have turned from an oasis of stability into an island of instability (Kyrgyzstan). For autocratic countries like Turkmenistan, crime was less a societal problem than a governmental one, owing to high levels of corruption and black market activity by government officials. Owing to tourism and other economic development, as well as for reasons of enhanced international image, most countries are implementing a wide range of initiatives to curb crime across the board.

Criminal activity in the 14 post-Soviet republics has continued to evolve in the years of independence. New challenges include "cyber-crime" whereby hackers from the ex-Soviet bloc inundate primarily European and American Internet users. This has become a subject of inquiry with new laws introduced in several of the Baltic and eastern European countries. However, the most significant problem remains that of organized crime involving the international drug trade and human trafficking. The issue of drug trade and transit is especially acute in central Asia, most notably in Tajikistan, due to its porous border with Afghanistan, where over half of the world's illicit supply of opium is grown (Dikaev 2005; UNESCO 1999). Despite a relatively stable autocratic regime, drug transit also appears to use routes through Turkmenistan in the northwest direction towards European markets. Weapons and arms trading, along with the drug trade, has long been alleged a problem in "uncontrolled territories" of the four separatist regions of the Caucasus and eastern Europe, especially Nagorno-Karabakh in Azerbaijan and Transdniestr in Moldova (*The Economist* 2004).

Aside from the Baltic states, most citizens of the former Soviet countries experience a lack of trust in formal legal codes or procedures, which persists due to the slow pace of reforms and the continuation of law enforcement practices which do not adhere to either stated domestic laws or international laws and obligations (World Values Survey 2005). While reform of all law enforcement bodies and courts are proceeding and yielding varying progress, the pace of change fluctuates significantly across countries. The Baltic states are especially ahead of the other FSU republics, due to being members of the European Union and lack of ethno-territorial conflicts. However, due to the gradual overall democratization of the region, the process of globalization of world relations, the "Internet effect," and expressed interest in the EU membership or taking part in the EU Neighborhood Partnership agreements by seven more former Soviet states, there is a great expectation of more positive changes soon.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

As in those countries that comprise former imperial territories (for example, the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East), Soviet bureaucratic patterns persist in the diplomatic training and tradition. The chief organ tasked with international affairs in all FSU countries are the respective Ministries of Foreign Affairs (MFA), which sometimes also include diplomatic academies for training the corps. Generally, these ministries, while being leading and largely independent foreign policy conduits, work closely with the variations of foreign policy or international relations departments of the president's office (similar to the National Security Council in the United States). Additionally, in the case of Azerbaijan, a unique independent committee was created, tasked with working with the Azerbaijani Diasporas living around the world, setting a precedent to be replicated by others.

All countries also have Foreign Relations Committees in their respective parliaments, although they play a rather distant secondary role in nearly all countries due to stronger executive and weaker legislative branches. Additionally, some of the countries are attempting to build semi-independent think-tanks patterned after such leading institutions in the West to advise government officials on major policy decisions. However, at this time only Russia has been visibly successful in building up such policy research centers.

The former Soviet republics have exhibited a wide range of foreign policy positions, which have evolved and shifted during the 15 years of independence (Nikitin 2007). These range from close engagement with the Western powers, NATO, and the European Union to a more limited diplomatic engagement with Russia and to the active pursuit of autonomy. After having accomplished the initial goal of reintegration with greater Europe, the governments of the Baltic region have been increasingly orientated toward broadening economic and security cooperation with the Nordic states. The changes in leadership that occurred in Georgia and Ukraine in 2003 and 2004 rapidly altered their close association with Russia, with Georgia remaining to be committed to a solely pro-Western course, and Ukraine split in its bitter internal struggle between the pro-Western president and pro-Russian prime minister. In contrast, in the past decade Belarus and Moldova until the 2005 elections have sought to reestablish Soviet-era ties with Russia, and in

the case of Belarus, remain largely isolated from the West. Perhaps the most unique foreign policy orientation in the Eurasian region is exemplified by Turkmenistan's doctrine of "permanent neutrality," which was recognized unanimously by the UN General Assembly in 1995 and is enshrined in its national constitution. According to this formula, Ashgabat adheres strictly to bilateral relations, abstaining from all regional collective or multilateral institutions, and even withdrew from active membership in the CIS in 2005. In sum, the GUAM countries—Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova—want greater Western integration, while the other states are either not as committed or are staunchly in the pro-Russian camp due to a variety of reasons.

Immediately after the dissolution of the USSR, an organization called the Commonwealth of Independent States was established, to loosely unify 12 of the 15 Soviet republics (except Baltic states), thus allowing for visa-free travel between the member countries, and attempting to bring together the economic and cultural, as well as military and political, space. As President Vladimir Putin admitted in 2006, the CIS was created for a purpose of a "civilized divorce" from the USSR, as from its outset it became obvious that all republics wanted to benefit from their independence. The primary international organization related to military and defense affairs in the former Soviet region is the Collective Security Treaty (CST). This was established within the framework of the CIS in May 1992, and in September 2003 transformed into a more functional and viable Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO). The initial CST members were Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan; Georgia and Belarus joined in 1993. Azerbaijan joined the defensive pact in 1994 but did not prolong its membership five years later, the same as Georgia. Uzbekistan quit the organization along with Azerbaijan, only to rejoin in 2006. According to the CSTO rules, if there is a threat of aggression against one country, other member states can give help, including military aid and troops, essentially replicating the NATO and Warsaw Pact rule on collective self-defense and causing uneasiness among several former Soviet republics, notably Georgia and Azerbaijan. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) was formed in June 2001 on the basis of the Shanghai Five agreement by Tajikistan and China, Russia, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan. Currently, SCO members include China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan; while India, Iran, Mongolia, and Pakistan hold observer status. Like CSTO, the CSO stages its own joint military exercises.

One of the most prominent issues in post-Soviet foreign affairs has been the eventual inclusion of the former eastern bloc countries into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). While initially directed at the central eastern European states whose governments made a priority of returning to the Western fold, the agenda of NATO expansion has more recently extended to Russia's geographic neighbors. The Baltic states sought membership in NATO at an early stage after independence, as they pursued active integration with the Western security architecture. Similarly, many CIS countries have participated in the NATO-sponsored Partnership for Peace (PfP). Some have gone further with the Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP) as have Azerbaijan, Ukraine, Armenia, Kazakhstan, and even NATO Intensive Dialogue (ID) in Georgia. This is only one step away from

the final stage in seeking NATO membership, which is the Membership Agreement Plan (MAP). Also, recognizing the special strategic importance of Ukraine, a special NATO-Ukraine Council was established (similar to the NATO-Russia Council). Additionally, Moldova, Ukraine, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia have applied for the EU European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) program, to bring themselves closer to a much-desired eventual full EU membership.

Beginning in the immediate post-independence period, policymakers in the United States expressed serious concerns regarding the security status of the former Soviet nuclear arsenal based in the four republics: Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan. The elimination of the command-and-control system centered in Moscow created uncertainty regarding both the safety of unregulated nuclear materials and the increased danger of their theft or accidental use. In response, in 1992 the U.S. Congress introduced a bill that initiated the Cooperative Threat Reduction (CTR) program, which contained both financial and technical assistance. Due to successful diplomacy and the offer of incentives, Belarus, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan went nuclear-free, dismantling their stocks under the CTR, while Russia and the United States reduced their stocks. The most recent and significant nonproliferation policy effort in the former Soviet region is the Central Asian Nuclear Weapon Free Zone (CANWFZ) established by Kazakhstan, Krygyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan in September 2006, after an eight-year process of negotiations. Most countries have an exemplary record on nuclear nonproliferation, while companies from some countries, such as Armenia and Belarus, have been sanctioned by the U.S. State Department for violating the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) regime, and allegedly transferring some of the sensitive technologies to Iran.

One of the earliest efforts at the establishment of regional institutions was the Central Asian Cooperation Organization (CACO), whose membership consisted of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Russia. In response to collective concerns that CIS was intended to facilitate the maintenance of Russian hegemony in the region, several states initiated the GUAM grouping in 1996. Uzbekistan joined the group in 1999, expanding its name to GUUAM, but then suspended its membership in 2001 and finally withdrew from it in 2004. In May 2006, the organization was retitled GUAM–Organization for Democracy and Economic Development. The third and most recent international development is the Eurasian Economic Community (EURASEC), which was established by Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan in 2000.

Each of the former Soviet states have joined the United Nations and its member organizations (UNESCO, UNDP, and so on), the World Bank (IBRD), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), NATO PFP, and others. States in eastern Europe, Caucasus and Kazakhstan have also joined the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and its Parliamentary Assembly (OSCE PA), the Council of Europe (COE), and its Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE). Some of the states have already joined the World Trade Organization (WTO). All predominantly Muslim republics of central Asia and Azerbaijan have also joined the Organization for Islamic Cooperation (OIC) and Asian Development Bank (ADB).

Most of the large international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) have been present and working with the ex-Soviet republics, particularly those dealing with humanitarian aid, refugees and IDPs, war prisoners and hostages, and human rights. These include the Medecines Sans Frontier, Red Cross and Red Crescent, Mercy Corps, as well as the Soros Foundation, Human Rights Watch (HRW), Amnesty International, Freedom House and Reporters Without Borders, as well as the International Republican Institute (IRI), the National Democratic Institute (NDI), and the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). However, while the former have had a very productive record of cooperation, the latter, dealing with human rights, have become largely unwelcome everywhere save Georgia, Ukraine, and Moldova.

The collective commitment of military forces for the preservation of peace is based upon the mutual recognition of security threats and interests among regional governments. While security assistance between countries may be extended as a part of general diplomatic relations in terms of sharing capabilities, it becomes a basis for intervention when internal conflicts may spill across national borders or affect the well-being of neighboring societies. Conflicts in the former Soviet region such as in the unrecognized territories of Abkhazia and Nagorno-Karabakh, and the resolution of the civil war in Tajikistan, have motivated the commitment and continued presence of Russian peacekeeping forces. These have operated either in a border patrol or stability and support capacity.

SECURITY

Since their separation from the aegis of Moscow in 1991, many of the former Soviet states have sought to establish an autonomous national military, including the reorientation of operations and restructuring of forces and weapons platforms. However, there have been differences in the overall necessity, as well as level of available resources, for post-Soviet governments to upgrade or transform their militaries. After the last Russian forces withdrew from the Baltics in 1994, leaders were faced with a serious lack of infrastructure and equipment, making procurement a prominent goal (Herd and Huang 2000). In contrast, in the central Asian countries the priority has been on acquiring security assistance from external powers (the U.S., Russia, China, and India) and professionalization of the officer corps rather than on hardware upgrades (Marten 2006). Also among the central Asian countries, Uzbekistan, with the largest army in the region, has followed Kazakhstan in the establishment of new Military Districts (MDs) in order to reorient the deployment of its forces, while Turkmenistan continues to rely on a relatively small conscript force employed more for internal security (i.e., policing and border guard) and civil defense than for providing protection from external threats (Allison 2003; Marat 2007, 98).

The primary distinction in the role of domestic security agencies among the former Soviet countries is between those whose function and operations have shifted largely from internal security and surveillance to intelligence gathering and law enforcement, and those who continue to operate as state security services, whose main directive includes the active suppression of real or suspected opposition to incumbent regimes. The intelligence services of Belarus, Kazakhstan, and

Uzbekistan are essentially successors to the Soviet Komitet Gosudarstevnoii Bezopastnosti (KGB), with minimal restructuring or changes in roles and function. In Turkmenistan, the domestic security sector was revolutionized after an assassination attempt against the late president Niyazov in November 2002. This elevated the Soviet-era police services first to the level of a ministry, and then to the position of State Security Council, which has taken an increasingly leading role in the regime (Fredholm 2003).

While international historians have often regarded the dissolution of the Soviet Union as a relatively peaceful event, several low-intensity conflicts flared both during and in the years following the declaration of independence by the respective republics. Secessionist violence in the Transniester region of Moldova began in late 1990 and 1992, the Crimea in Ukraine in 1993, and the disputed Nagorno-Karabakh enclave in 1992–1994. In addition, the former Soviet region experienced two major civil or intrastate wars in the years following independence: Georgia from 1993–1995 and Tajikistan from 1992–1997.

The conventional understanding of international security as protection against military threats to the territorial integrity of the state has been challenged significantly in the post-Cold War world, as the social and economic dimensions of national well-being have also become increasingly prominent. The nature of national security in the former Soviet region particularly exemplifies this condition because of the manner in which security concerns have often become interconnected. This is represented by recent increases in the proportion of the population infected with the AIDS virus (Latvia) and organized criminal activity, particularly drug and human trafficking (Belarus, Estonia, Lithuania, and Ukraine).

The prevalence of weak states in the Caucasus and central Asia also contributes to instability and security problems. This is because of the lack of institutional capacity and limited ability to control territory, while ineffective institutions are often associated with economic practices that foster corruption, as well as social pathologies such as ethnic and religious extremism, and transnational crime (Cornell 2003, 8–10). The security environment in the central Asian countries is defined by linkages between internal and external threats, due to the prevalence of porous international boundaries (Moroney 2004). Narcotics trafficking, corruption, small arms proliferation, poverty, unemployment, and environmental and energy security are all issues. While understood conventionally as related to corruption, the drug trade further threatens the security and stability of the state as it is a source of financing for terrorist groups (Lubin 2004, 366–367).

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

A large number of the national constitutions of the former Soviet states contain references to international legal conventions and treaty provisions as enforceable domestic law that has a superior status to other constitutionally defined legal practices (Goodman 2002, 541). Most noteworthy are the manner in which the definitions of national laws in countries such as Georgia, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan present international legal standards or norms as a basis to adjudicate the conduct of domestic actors, which suggests a strong recognition of the validity of international customary law. In addition, within the past 15 years a majority of

the former Soviet countries have ratified the major human rights treaties. These include the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and the First Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR): Armenia (1993), Estonia (1991), Georgia (1994), Kyrgyzstan (1994, 1995), Latvia (1992, 1994), Lithuania (1991), Tajikistan (1999), Turkmenistan (1997), and Uzbekistan (1995) (UNHCR 2004). However, it should also be recognized that nondemocratic states in the former Soviet region may also have ratified human rights treaties without reservations for symbolic purposes or to simulate conformity with international norms, which does not override government decisions in regard to domestic legal practice (Goodman 2002, 551).

The governments of Belarus, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan have been the most strongly criticized or censured by international organizations and advocacy groups regarding their human rights practices.

The development of independent judiciaries (for example, rule by law) is regarded as a central aspect of the consolidation of democratic governance, particularly in the case of those former Soviet states which possess few precedents of liberal legal systems.

The governments of several states in the former Soviet region continue to occupy a status in the international community as flagrant violators of recognized human rights standards, including extrajudicial arrests, imprisonment, and torture. Several autocratic governments (Belarus, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan) have demonstrated a substantial record of abuse and intimidation of dissidents, opposition figures, and domestic and foreign journalists.

CONCLUSION

During the ten-year period between the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, U.S. relations with the western CIS countries were directed largely at forging bilateral diplomacy. These prioritized the issue of NATO expansion and the extension of economic aid and security assistance. However, for most of the decade, the central Asian "near abroad" was considered largely within Russia's sphere of interest, occupying a peripheral status in comparison with threats and potential "hot spots" located in the Middle East or northeastern Asia. This orientation was changed drastically with the initiation of Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan beginning in October 2001. This established an unprecedented basis for diplomatic engagements and security cooperation with neighboring governments, such as the United States-Uzbekistan Declaration on the Strategic Partnership and Cooperation Framework, concluded in March 2002.

The rapid expansion of the security presence of the United States on the world stage since the initiation of the Global War on Terror policy in late 2001, followed by the invasion and occupation of Iraq in 2003, has had a major impact on the perceptions of the United States and its foreign policies abroad. This is no less true in the former Soviet states, particularly on the part of the central Asian governments whose states share territorial borders with Afghanistan (Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan), or who have hosted and provided facilities for U.S. forces (Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan). Yet, the scope and quality of these reactions are also affected by the orientation of the policy to impose democratization on non-Western regimes. This issue came to the foreground in 2005 when the Uzbek

government instructed the United States to vacate the Karshi-Khanabad (K-2) air-base due to bilateral tensions over its human rights policies.

In sum, the security issues affecting the populations of the former Soviet regions are differentiated across varying types of societies. In the Baltic states, security problems are more representative of the by-products of post-Communist economic reform, such as organized crime and decline in public health, whereas in East Europe, human security threats are more an issue of weak administrative systems and the resultant expansion of black markets. In the Caucasus, by contrast, the quality of life continues to be affected by the more severe and historic issues of ethnic affiliation and territorial conflict. Finally, in the central Asian republics, the drug trade, corruption, and the real or perceived threat of terrorism threaten to upset the delicate balance of relations between state and society in authoritarian and reforming post-Soviet regimes.

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France

Anne Etienne

BACKGROUND

France is located in western Europe and shares borders with Belgium, Luxembourg, and Germany to the northeast; with Switzerland to the east; Italy and Monaco to the southeast; and Spain and Andorra to the southwest. Additionally, the entire western part of France has a coast on the Atlantic Ocean and the country also has a coastline on the Mediterranean and the English Channel, making the country located southeast of the United Kingdom have a total coastline of 3,427 kilometers. Metropolitan France covers an area of 547,030 square kilometers (CIA 2006) excluding its overseas territories. These territories include (1) départements: Guadeloupe, French Guiana, Martinique, and the Reunion; and (2) territories: Mayotte, French Polynesia, St-Pierre-and-Miquelon, and Wallis-and-Futuna; and New Caledonia benefits from a special status.

France is the largest European nation (not accounting for Russia) and possesses an interesting variety of geographic features. France has the highest mountain in Europe, the Mont Blanc, at 4,807 meters, located in the Alps by the border with Switzerland. The country possesses several mountain chains including the Alps (east), the Pyrenees (southwest), the Jura (east), the Vosges (northeast), and the Massif Central (center). Additionally, there exists a wide range of valleys, plateau, and plains throughout the country. About 33 percent of the land is arable; 2 percent is used for permanent crops; and the rest is used for other purposes. Overall, the climate ranges from oceanic to semi-continental with a Mediterranean climate in the Southeast. The main natural resources include coal, iron ore, bauxite, zinc, uranium, antimony, arsenic, potash, feldspar, fluorospar, gypsum, timber, and fish. France is often described as the "garden of Europe" insofar as it possesses the strongest agricultural sector in the region. Nevertheless, the country is also the home of many high-tech industries and companies and belongs to the "West."

Common natural hazards usually consist of flooding (especially common in the Southeast in the fall); avalanches (in the mountainous regions of the country), and droughts (they have become extremely frequent over the last years) which are often

France

Formal name: French Republic
Size of country: 547,030 km^2
Natural resources: Coal, iron ore, bauxite, uranium, zinc, antimony, arsenic, and timber
Population: 60,876,136 (July 2006 est.)
Life expectancy at birth: 79.73 years (male 76.1; female 83.54)
Key ethnic groups:

- Celtic
- Latin
- Teutonic
- Slavic
- North African
- Indochinese

Key religious groups: Roman Catholic (83%–86%), Muslim (5%–10%), Protestant (2%), Jewish (1%), unaffiliated (4%)
Key political parties:

- Union pour la un Movement Populaire (UMP)
- Parti Socialiste (PS)
- Union pour la Démocracie Française (UDF)
- Parti Communiste Français (PCF)
- Front National (FN)
- les Verts

Legal system: Civil law system
Real GDP growth: 1.4% (2005 est.)
GDP per capita: $29,900 (2005 est.)
Population below poverty line: 6.5% (2000)
Size of military: 300,000
Relationship with the United States: France is a major ally of the United States but tensions have arisen over the war in Iraq.
Important human security issues: These issues range from terrorism to domestic protests encouraged by socio-economic inequalities, especially along racial lines.
Future important human security issues: There is the potential for further social unrest and the threat of terrorism will remain.

Source: CIA (2006).

accompanied by forest fires (mainly in the Mediterranean region). Since the early 2000s, most of France has undergone major droughts in the summer, leading to a decrease in agricultural productivity. Because the country is located close to the center of Europe in terms of industrial and economic output, major environmental

concerns emanate from the accumulation of industry-related pollution over the years. As such, the main environmental concerns include acid rains and their potentially negative effect on forests; air pollution from industries and vehicles; water pollution from urban waste, and agricultural runoff. Furthermore, France also stocks a lot of nuclear waste from domestic and foreign nuclear power plants, which has led to a growing concern over the long-term effect of the presence of radioactive material in the territory.

France was first inhabited by the Gauls and was then taken over by the Romans under Caesar in 53 BC after the battle of Alésia. The Franks, under Clovis and running away from the Huns in eastern Europe, subsequently managed to oust the Romans in 400 AD. The name of the country comes from the Franks and, after being baptized in Reims, Clovis originated the evolution of France as we know it today. However, due to numerous wars, invasions, and colonization, the French people do not represent a homogenous group.

SOCIETY

As of 2006, France was estimated to have a population of 60,876,136. Being an advanced nation, it has an aging population and a birth rate barely sufficient enough to ensure population growth. As a result, only 18 percent of the population is between 0 and 14 years old; 65.3 percent of the population is between 15 and 64 years old; while 16.4 percent of the population is above 65. The median age of the overall population is 39.1. The country has a life expectancy of 79.73 (76.1 for men and 83.54 for women). The birth rate is 11.99 births per 1,000; the immigration rate is 0.66 migrant per 1,000 population; and the death rate is 9.14 deaths per 1,000; all this totaling to a growth rate of 0.35 percent. The infant mortality rate reflects the level of development of the country with 4.21 deaths per 1,000 live births and the fertility rate is 1.84 children per woman, slightly below the 2.1 necessary for natural growth (thus, immigration accounts for population growth). Finally, there are 0.95 male per female as a result of the longer life expectancy of women (the ratio is 1.05 male per female at birth) (CIA 2006).

France cannot really be said to have any indigenous population since it was originally settled a long time ago and most of the current inhabitants are a mixture of the different ethnic groups that at one point in time invaded the country or settled there. Insofar as the country has not undergone a civil war or international war in recent history, there are no internally displaced people in the territory either—though France accepts political refugees and asylum seekers from many countries. The mainstream ethnic group (that of the "typical" French person) is a mixture between Celtic, Teutonic, and Latin. Additionally, as a consequence of colonization and decolonization, there is also an important population originating from Northern Africa, Western Africa, and Indochina. National minorities include the Basques and Corsicans. The main religion is Catholicism with about 83 percent to 88 percent of the population, Islam comes second with about 5 percent to 10 percent of the population; other religions include Judaism and Christian groups. Though most people identify with a religion, it is necessary to note that few French actually practice religion or believe in religious dogmas.

There are a total of 479 airports on the territory; 288 of which are paved. Paris is home of the major airports, Charles de Gaulle and Orly. Other important airports are located in Lyon, Lille, and Toulouse. France has a total of 891,290 kilometers of paved roadways of which 10,390 are expressways. The railways cover 29,519 kilometers of which 14,481 are electrified. The railway system, thanks to the building of the Train à Grande Vitesse (TGV) is usually preferred to flying as a means of transportation for business people going from city to city. There is a total of 33,870,200 main lines in use and 44,551,800 cellular phones, the latter category often replacing the former as in many other developed nations. The overall telephone system is highly developed and the country possesses several telecommunication satellites and antennas. There are 41 AM stations and about 3,500 FM stations. Finally, Internet usage is developing quickly after a phase during which the country was far behind in terms of Internet technology and Internet usage (due to the competition of the Minitel, a French-only post-Internet computer system that works through the telephone line) with an estimated 26,214,174 users. Most of the electricity of the country comes from nuclear power plants and the total production is of 536.9 billion kWh, with a consumption of 433.3 billion kWh (in 2003) making France a major exporter of electricity. The country relies heavily on oil imports to fuel its economy and cars though there have been pushes to develop alternative technologies such as those that utilize natural gas.

France is undergoing a transition from a modern economy that entailed strong government ownership and intervention to an economy that relies more on the forces of the market. Over the last two decades, the government has privatized or semi-privatized many of the companies it controlled especially in the communication, energy, and transport industries. The government has also fully privatized many banks and insurance companies but it retains the majority in the most important companies, especially in transport, car manufacturing, telecommunication, and the defense industries. The entrance into the free market zone has led to the opening of competition in sectors where the state owned the monopoly, particularly in the communication industries. The government has become more and more committed to capitalism through its legal mechanism. It has also tried to enact laws to fight with chronic and high unemployment rates (almost continuously in double digit figures since the first oil crisis in 1973). Such measures include the reduction of income taxes and the reduction of the working week from 39 hours to 35 hours. However, the tax burden remains extremely high (nearly 50 percent of GDP) and the ongoing economic slowdown has led France to go above the economic provisions of the European Union in terms of budget deficit.

As a result the GDP per capita is $30,000 (2005 estimate). The composition of the GDP by sector is as follows: agriculture 2.5 percent; industry 21.4 percent; and services 76.1 percent. The labor force is composed of 27.1 million people who work in the three sectors as follows: agriculture 4.1 percent; industry 24.4 percent; and services 71.5 percent. Again, the unemployment rate has been an ongoing problem and is located somewhere around 9.5 percent (April 2006) and has been representing one of the main economic issues on the government's agenda for several years.

Due to the social system in place in the country, social equalities have been minimized relative to other capitalist nations. Nevertheless, the difference between rich and poor has increased over the last decade. An estimated 6.5 percent of the population lives below the poverty level. In terms of consumption, the top 10 percent of the population consumes about 25.1 percent overall while the bottom 10 percent only consumes 2.8 percent. The Gini coefficient for France is 32.7, much better than the United States or the United Kingdom, but worse than all Scandinavian nations. According to the United Nations, France is ranked 16 in the world in terms of quality of life based on the Human Development Index (HDI). The combined enrollment in primary, secondary, and tertiary education reaches 92 percent with a literacy rate that approaches perfection with 99 percent of people 15 and above literate. In terms of housing, the government usually provides lower rent housing for low income families, however, there is ongoing law reform that seeks to privatize the low rent apartment system, potentially jeopardizing the living conditions of many.

Key social issues come from racial movements whereby families of immigrants usually live in low income districts and face employment discrimination which led to street riots for over a month in late 2005. Most social issues come from the high level of unemployment, and especially youth unemployment, as demonstrated by the difficulty the government faced in passing youth employment reforms at the beginning of 2006 (the government altogether withdrew the plan). Finally, the definition of separation of state and church within the political documents also creates further social tensions. Rather than letting everyone express their religious beliefs publicly, the French secular system posits that religion belongs to the private sphere and that believers should not practice their religion in public. This has led to the ban of religious signs in public schools and on the job if one is employed by the government. This has led to a feeling of alienation within the Muslim population and has created further tensions between people of different backgrounds.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

France has a democratic republic that uses a semi-presidential political system. The country is currently under its Fifth Constitution that was adopted on September 28, 1958, through a referendum. The current head of state is Nicolas Sarkozy (elected on May 6, 2007); there is no term limit for presidents. The head of government is prime minister François Fillion (since June 18, 2007). Presidents are elected under a run-off election system. Drawing from the National Assembly's majority, the president appoints a prime minister who subsequently forms a government. In the last elections, UMP candidate Nicolas Sarkozy faced PS candidate Ségolène Royal; in the run-off, Nicolas Sarkozy gathered the popular vote with 53.03 percent of the ballots (*Le Monde* 2007). The government has enjoyed broad popular support since coming into power.

The bicameral parliament, or parlement, consists of the Senate, or Sénat, (321 seats—296 for metropolitan France, 13 for overseas departments and territories, and 12 for French nationals abroad; members are indirectly elected by an electoral college to serve nine-year terms; elected by thirds every three years) and the National Assembly, or Assemblée Nationale, (577 seats; members are elected by

popular vote under a single-member majority system to serve five-year terms). In senatorial elections, the 321 members of the Senate are elected by indirect universal suffrage by an electoral college in each department made up of deputies, general councilors, regional councilors, and representatives of the municipal councils. Senators are elected for a nine-year term, with one third of their number replaced every three years. This system has traditionally helped overrepresent rural areas, making the Senate much more conservative than the National Assembly. One needs to note that between 2004 and 2010, 25 new seats will be added to the Senate for a total of 346 seats (326 for metropolitan France and overseas departments, two for New Caledonia, two for Mayotte, one for Saint-Pierre and Miquelon, three for overseas territories, and 12 for French nationals abroad). Starting in 2008, members of the Senate will be indirectly elected by an electoral college to serve six-year terms, with one-half of the seats being renewed every three years. The last senatorial elections were held on September 26, 2004, and the National Assembly elections occurred on June 10, 2007 (first round) and June 17, 2007 (run-off). The elections gave the following results: Senate (seats by party): UMP 157, PS 96, UDF 30, PCF 23, RDSE 16, other 8 (Sénat, 2007); National Assembly (seats by party): UMP 324, PS 206, Nouveau Centre 22, PCF 18, Les Verts 4, and UDF 4.

Since the adoption of the Fifth Constitution, the main political parties have been the UMP (Union pour un Mouvement Populaire), the PS (Parti Socialiste), the FN (Front National), the UDF (Union pour la Démocratie Française), the PCF (Parti Communiste Français), and les Verts (Green). The UMP is a center-right conservative party that holds a majority in the National Assembly and Senate. The current president, Nicolas Sarkozy, also emanates from this party. The party seeks to reduce taxation to increase employment and strongly supports the European Union and European Integration (UMP 2006). The PS, a left-wing party, has traditionally been the main opposition party within the national legislature. Its members include the prominent pro-European Jacques Delors, along with former presidential candidate Ségolène Royal. The party strongly supports the separation of state and church, promotes an active government role in economic affairs (mainly welfare programs and income redistribution to reduce inequalities and boost the economy), and has traditionally defended the causes of workers (PS 2006).

The FN is an extreme-right party headed by Jean-Marie le Pen who stunned the country by coming ahead of Lionel Jospin (PS) in the 2002 elections. The party strongly promotes French identity and seeks to reduce immigration and to potentially expatriate first-, second-, and even third- generation immigrants as a means to "bring France back to the French." Furthermore, the party places a strong emphasis on domestic security and policing to fight urban delinquency. The party strongly opposes the European Union and its policies as it claims it undermines the sovereignty of France (FN 2006). The UDF was headed by François Bayrou. It used to be ideologically close to the UMP and split after the 2007 presidential elections as its leader tried to distance himself from Nicolas Sarkozy. Subsequently, Bayrou created the Modem, a purely centrist party, while the remainder of the party continues under the UDF labels and partakes in the current UMP-led

government. The PCF of Marie George Buffet promotes a moderate communist ideology that seeks to protect the rights of workers through heavily taxing the middle and upper classes, as well as support the state ownership of many key industries and businesses. Les Verts is a center-left party headed by Jean-Marie Mamère. It promotes ecologically sound policies and a more active government role in ensuring sustainable development. Moreover, the party stresses the need for gender equality in everyday life.

Similar to their European counterparts, French come to the polls in masses. For instance, 71.6 percent of registered voters voted in the first round of the 2002 presidential elections (79 percent in the second round), and 64.4 percent went to the polls in the first round of the 2002 legislative elections (CEVIDOF 2006). In spite of the high levels of turnout for major elections, French people tend to be very skeptical about the level of trustworthiness of politicians as a majority of people believe policymakers are corrupt. Nevertheless, the French remain proud of their political system and the fact the country originated the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Similar to other democracies, many people are active members of political parties and the main parties also possess branches for the youth—even for groups that do not have the legal right to vote. Furthermore, French people commonly use petitions and protests to attempt to have an impact on their representatives, the legislative branch, and the government. Key political issues include dealing with secessionist movements in Corsica, New Caledonia, and, to a lesser extent, French Polynesia. Political repression is mainly verbal and occurs between different factions rather than being government sponsored—far-right wing groups often interfere in far-left wing protests and vice versa, leading to street violence and arrests by the national authorities.

LAW AND ORDER

The Ministère de la Justice monitors and implements all laws passed and prosecutes violators; the current Ministère is headed by Rachida Dati (Ministère de la Justice 2006). France operates under a system of separation of powers whereby the judicial body remains totally independent of both the legislature and the executive body. The main sources of law include the Fifth Constitution, laws passed by the legislature, decrees, international agreement, EU law, precedence, and habits. Under the Fifth Constitution, every citizen is entitled to a free right to justice, a right to appeal decisions of lower courts, a transparent trial (each citizen can access all court documents), and the right to a fair process. The higher courts are the "Court de Cassation" for judicial matters and the "Conseil d'Etat" for administrative matters.

Within the territory, several bodies are responsible for ensuring that citizens abide by the laws whether they concern traffic control, criminal behavior, domestic mistreatment, or fraud. The Ministère de l'Intérieur, headed by François Baroin, and the Ministère de la Defense, headed by Hervé Morin, share the control over the application of the law by citizens and companies. The former controls the police, the national police organization to which all cities that have a police body belong. The city police, though belonging to the broader national police body, only have jurisdiction over the boundaries of the city proper. In instances where a

city does not have a policing body (due to size reasons), one can resort to the national police proper (which has national units who have jurisdiction over the whole nation. Additionally, the defense department possesses a policing corps, la Gendarmerie National, a sub-branch of the army, which has similar powers as the national police throughout the territory—with the exception of within cities that have a police body. The Gendarmerie usually deals with highway patrol. Finally, the defense department is also in charge of border patrol; however, with the passage of the Maastricht Treaty, and the subsequent disappearance of external borders, the border patrol units operate everywhere within France with a strong concentration in ports and airports. There exists a strong rivalry between the police and the military bodies which often leads to abuse of powers by both bodies.

As far as emergency services are concerned, with the exception of the fire departments, which are at the city level and have jurisdiction over their city and neighboring cities, the ambulance and first rescue services are dually private and public. Fire departments operate using both professional and voluntary firemen, the latter having to undergo training to keep abreast with technological advances on a regular basis. Both the public and private sector operate ambulances (often one of each is dispatched, leading to a potential loss of time in the event several emergency calls are made at once), which also leads to rivalries and a certain level of inefficiency.

In 2004 (the last year for which data are made public), there was a total of 66,898 incarcerations (according to the Police Nationale), a decrease of 2.71 percent from the previous year. Overall, the policies undertaken by Nicolas Sarkozy have contributed to a reduction of criminal activity throughout France, yet, to an increase in the intensity and gravity thereof. The most publicized activities include illegal immigration, youth delinquency, and financial fraud, especially with regards to high officials within the government and private companies. Overall, most French remain rather skeptical regarding the impartiality of the police and the legal system with claims that minorities tend to receive longer and stronger sentences than non-minorities. Additionally, much police violence is reported in impoverished urban areas, generally targeted against minorities. This creates a lot of animosity between second and third generation immigrant youth and the security forces throughout the country, which supposedly led to the outbursts of violence in Paris in late 2005.

SECURITY

Military Services

Historically, France has relied heavily on conscription, whereby every man had to serve at least two years in the military. However, in 1996, President Jacques Chirac decided to make the military solely for career soldiers and abolished the conscription. The number of military personnel reaches approximately 300,000; 100,000 of whom are in the Gendarmerie, a military corps that is used in everyday law enforcement inside France and that is not fit for external operations. The military contains four different branches: the army (Armée de Terre), which includes the Chasseurs Alpins (mountain units), the Foreign Legion, marine troops, light aviation, and engineers; the navy (Marine Nationale), including naval air and naval

fusiliers and commandos; the air force (Armée Nationale); and the Gendarmerie, a military police force which mainly operates in rural areas.

Historically, the French army services struggled with invasions from neighbors, especially England during most of the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance period. During the Napoleonic era, the French army represented the backbone of the emperor's desire to conquer most of Europe, but after the collapse of the Napoleonic empire, the army went back to its traditional defensive role, with a mission of protecting the country from invasion by neighbors and hostile units. Unfortunately, the different governments throughout the centuries have struggled with issues pertaining to the independence of the military and how this can interfere with political life. This phenomenon was flagrant when the civilian heads of defense clashed with military leaders over whether the French army should remain a mainly defensive and reactive unit or whether it should become more offensive and proactive as Charles de Gaulle desired. Over the last century France underwent invasion from its German neighbor, during the two world wars. However, with the advent of the European Union and of strong cooperation amongst members, the role of the French army has changed significantly since the end of World War II, starting with the Cold War and the need to prevent a potential Soviet invasion. With the Soviet block collapsing, the mission and policies of the defense forces have yet again shifted in a new direction.

Though its main role still is the protection of the territory from potential invasions, the aim of the French defense is to construct a stable international environment, respecting its own engagements, and defending its interests (Ministère de la Défense 2006). According to the Ministry of Defense, democratization should be promoted throughout the world in order to promote international stability; additionally, the department of defense sees the European Union as a strong tool to promote democracy in the world. In terms of engagements, France belongs to several military organizations, most notably the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and is a permanent member of the Security Council of the United Nations, which makes the country a prominent player in the international system in terms of world peace and military decisions. Finally, the protection of national interests relates to vital interests of national integrity, strategic interests pertaining to promoting peace in the region, and power interests such as maintaining its military prestige within the international community. Thus, France remains a key player in UN missions as well as in training personnel in new democracies in order to promote peace in these countries.

Intelligence Services

The main external intelligence agency is the DGSE (Direction Générale de la Sécurité Extérieure) and the main internal intelligence agency is the DST (Direction de la Surveillance du Territoire). The DGSE operates under the supervision of the Department of Defense while the DST reports to the Department of State. The DGSE has 4,000 personnel, 2,700 of whom are civil agents; the main purpose of the organization is to "search for and exploit intelligence interesting for France's security, as well as detecting and isolating, outside of the French territory, acts of spying against the interests of France so as to prevent its potential consequences"

(Mitterrand 1982). On the other hand, the DST was historically in charge of counterespionage on French territory only; however, with the collapse of the Soviet block, the organization focuses more on anti-terrorism, anti-proliferation, and the protection of the French economic and scientific patrimony (Ministère de l'Intérieur 2006).

For most of the pre-1990s, the intelligence services mainly dealt with issues of espionage from foreign agents as well as with espionage on foreign territory to gather information for the wellbeing of French security vis-à-vis potential invaders. For instance, during the Cold War era, intelligence services helped gather information on Soviet weapons and also worked on attempting to locate Soviet agents on the French territory. However, since the early 1990s, the country no longer has a clearly defined potential threat within the international community (since Germany and the former Soviet Union have now become credible allies). Thus, since the end of the Cold War, intelligence services have changed their mission and mode of operation drastically.

With the collapse of Communism came the constant rise of terrorist attacks and of potential chemical and biological attacks. Throughout the mid 1990s, France underwent a series of terrorist attacks from members of the Front de Libération National (an Algerian Islamist group that was engaged in a civil war against the French-backed Algerian government) on the public transportation system; similarly, the intelligence services played a major role in identifying the key members of the terrorist organizations at play and helped eventually capture the head thereof. The terrorist threat remains the most important threat to French internal security and integrity. However, France does still conduct important intelligence gathering operations in potentially dangerous nations such as those that harbor terrorist organizations. Additionally, these organizations conduct surveillance missions on local terrorist groups such at the Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA, Basque Independentist group) and the Fronte di Liberazione Naziunale di a Corsica (FLNC, Corsican Independendist group) alongside gathering intelligence on transnational terrorist groups such as Al Qaeda.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Admittedly, the country devised the first Declaration of Human Rights directly after the 1789 revolution. This declaration was adopted in each constitution the country has had since that date. At the international level, France ratified the International Criminal Court and ratified the Rome Statute on June 9, 1998 (International Criminal Court 2006). Additionally, as a member of the European Union, France is obligated to promote and protect the basic human rights of its citizens under the European Court of Human Rights rulings and decisions. As such, similarly to its western European counterparts, France actively supports the protection of basic human rights both domestically and externally. However, though France is a member of many international and regional conventions and bodies, it often remains reluctant to abide by specific principles—as illustrated by the testing of nuclear weapons despite its participation in the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Nevertheless, the country remains regarded as an example at the

international level in terms of respect for basic human rights and for international law and bodies in general.

In addition to France's judicial system described above, the country also has to respect all European law. As such, in the event that a citizen or group of citizens believes that the country has violated some of its own laws, France can be sued by the latter in front of the European Court of Justice in Brussels. According to EU law scholars, France tends to violate EU laws at a higher level than most of its European counterparts (Huelshoff *et al.* 2005). In spite of this relative lack of respect for its laws (since the EU court system ensures that countries abide by both their own laws and EU laws—which are technically also all members' laws), compared to other nations in the world, France ranks similarly to other developed nations.

Yet, though the country does overall abide by its own standards, there exist a few areas of abuse, especially with regards to racism, poverty reduction, and immigration. In its annual report, Amnesty International (AI) notes that the government declared a state of emergency following serious unrest in

> ### FRANCE'S POSITION ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS
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> France belongs to the close club of countries that have officially developed nuclear weapons. Indeed, the country acquired its first atomic bomb in 1960, making France the fourth country in the world to acquire military nuclear power (GlobalSecurity.org 2006). France quit nuclear testing in April 1992, upon a decision of then-President François Mitterrand. Shortly after coming to power, Jacques Chirac announced that France would resume nuclear tests in June 1995, leading to international protests. In spite of pressure from Greenpeace and other groups, the country successfully undertook eight tests between September 1995 and January 1996 when it put a legal end to nuclear weapon tests by signing a Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). Though its arsenal declines, the country still owns a significant arsenal as it abides by a deterrence strategy that would allow the nation to retaliate against an aggressor with damage out of proportion of the stakes at hand. In spite of its arrogant behavior in the mid-1990s, France is the only nuclear armed country having dismantled all its nuclear testing facilities and having allowed international atomic experts access to its test site (ibid.).

November 2005 (Amnesty International 2006). The organization further reports that this state of emergency led to the immediate expulsion of non-natives involved in the riots. Additionally, in early 2006, then Interior Minister Nicolas Sarkozy succeeded in passing a law that restricts immigration and the right to seek asylum. Furthermore, the "AI report demonstrated 10-year pattern of racist ill-treatment and killings by the police, and of failures of the judicial system to hold those responsible to account" (Amnesty International 2006). Finally, the organization also claims that anti-terrorist laws undermine a number of civil rights and due process rights by removing safeguards against torture and strengthening judicial officials. In spite of the few instances noted by AI, France still represents a good international standard of respect for its own laws.

Amongst others, France is also a member of several international organizations including the CE (Council of Europe), EBRD (European Bank of Reconstruction and Development), EIB (European Investment Bank), EU (European Union) G-5, G-7, G-8, G-10, IBRD (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development), ICCt (International Criminal Court), IDA (International Development Association), IFC (International Finance Corporation), IFRCS (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies), IMF (International Monetary Fund), Interpol, IPU (International Parliamentary Union), MIGA (Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency), NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization),

OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development), OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe), PCA (Permanent Court of Arbitration), UN (United Nations), UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), and WTO (World Trade Organization).

As a consolidated democracy and a member of many human-rights related organizations, France likes to portray itself as a strong promoter of human rights in the world. Through the rhetoric of consecutive governments and via broader European rhetoric (especially the stance of the EU delegation at the Vienna Conference of 1993), France has been integrating human rights in its diplomatic relations with other states as well as in its foreign aid allocation patterns (though no strong evidence has been demonstrated that principles and practices match one another). Without regards to foreign aid allocation, the French government is often one of the first to denounce human rights abuses, as was demonstrated in the case of the Rwandan genocide and, to a lesser extent, in the former Yugoslavia and Somalia. However, and similarly to co-OECD members, the authorities remain reluctant to give themselves the means to act when other governments conduct acts of gross human rights violations against their own citizens. Despite these shortcomings common to developed countries (emanating from the prevalence of sovereignty rights of each country), France presents itself as one of the strongest promoters of human rights abroad, with a special focus on its former colonies of Africa.

CONCLUSIONS

France shares many characteristics with the United States beginning with its political landscape and its institutions. Additionally, France, alongside the United States, belongs to the OECD, the group of developed nations. As such, France shares similar economic, social, and foreign policy objectives as the United States. As a member of NATO, France represents a major military ally to the United States and, as such, has participated in many military operations over the last decades including the recent operations in Afghanistan.

In terms of the current efforts to fight terrorism throughout the world, again, France represents an important partner in the international community in this struggle, and the country also works very closely with its European counterparts, the OECD members, and other nations in order to better coordinate intelligence gathering operations and police work across nations. Furthermore, France has a rather long history of terrorism within its borders starting with Communist terrorism directly after World War II and then with Islamic terrorism in the 1990s. In addition, nationalist movements including the Corsicans, Basques, Alsatians, and Bretons have often used terrorist tactics in order to obtain specific concessions from the government—these terrorist organizations, with the exception of the Corsicans, have neither shown sustained and damaging operations, nor have they had much success in terms of policy change.

In spite of the fact that the United States and France belong to the most important military alliance, France has remained reluctant to abdicate to the American supremacy. As a matter of fact, France often posits itself as a criticizer of U.S. foreign policy as depicted by the speech of then Foreign Minister Dominique de

Villepin at the UN security meeting over the Iraqi crisis. Nevertheless, in spite of the diplomatic crisis that ensued, France has since reaffirmed itself as a strong ally of the Untied States insofar as it has largely contributed to anti-terrorist operations in Europe and to intelligence gathering throughout the world.

Current migration flows involve the movement of persons from former French colonies of Africa who come on economic grounds. These migrants, often illegal, do not appear to pose a threat to the national security of France though they face immigration laws under which they are increasingly likely to be repatriated shortly upon arrival. Thus, though immigration represents a concern in terms of the employment and legitimacy of the newcomers, the government does not perceive immigrants—whether legal or not—as a potential threat to the country's security. On the other hand, internal migration mostly emanates from changes in employment of French citizens or in attempts from some to seek better opportunities in urban centers. Consequently, neither international migration nor internal migration appear to pose a security threat to France.

In terms of ethnicity, some native ethnic minorities have posed a valid threat to the national security and the integration of the country. The most consistent and most violent ethnic group over the last decades has been the Corsican. The group, based on the island of Corsica, between France and Italy, requests more autonomy to eventually achieve full self-determination and have total control over their territory. Since the central government of France has been relatively slow to politically respond to these requests, some groups resort to terrorist tactics in hopes of getting political change faster. Additionally, the latest proposed political changes have met strong opposition from the Corsican population and have all failed to achieve their targeted goal or to even pass.

Finally, many view the ever growing proportion of Muslims as a potential threat to France's culture and integrity. Both immigration and faster rates of growth are such that the number of Muslims (compared to other religions, especially Christian ones) grows much faster than the number of original inhabitants of France. As seen in the mid-1990s, France has already undergone terrorist attacks from Muslim groups. Furthermore, France underwent street riots originated by ethnic and religious groups who live in unacceptable conditions. With a continued lack of effort from successive governments to integrate these groups along with a growing minority, one can expect that temporary street riots may turn into

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THE CONTROVERSY OVER IRAQ

In late 2002 and early 2003, the potential nuclear threat of Iraq presented a threat to the military cooperation of France and the United States. While the former wanted to pursue the diplomatic route, the latter objected by claiming the leader of Iraq, Saddam Hussein, could not be trusted and that military invasion was the only solution to guaranteeing that Iraq would not attempt to develop nuclear weapons. The majority of permanent members of the UN Security Council backed France (China and Russia) while the United Kingdom was the only one to back the United States. Then France foreign minister, Dominique de Villepin, reiterated France's opposition to resorting to war, claiming that war would equate acknowledging failure and it would lead to irreparable consequences (CNN 2003). France believed that the international community should show a unified face in order to better build for the future not only of the Middle East but of the world. As such, unlike its American counterparts, French diplomats claimed the United Nations could be the only apparatus through which the Iraqi crisis could be solved. Ultimately, the crisis led to animosity between the citizens of France and of the United States which many thought would take time to mend. In spite of the countries' differences over Iraq, today France continues to closely cooperate with its many allies (including the United States) on international security issues.

chronic ones or that these minorities may turn to even more drastic techniques such as terrorism.

Though France does not seem to face strong security threats in the near future, mismanaged immigration and a lack of successful integration of the minority populations may eventually pose a threat to the country's culture and, in the longer run, its integration and security. However, one need take a rather moderate approach with regard to the potential threat of this issue in order to either let it grow out of proportion (in the case one overlooks the issue) or to reduce the freedoms of all citizens, putting the country even more at risk (in the case one takes a strong stance on the issue).

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India

David B. MacDonald

BACKGROUND

India is located in southern Asia, bordering the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal, between Burma and Pakistan, 20° 00 N, 77° 00 E (CIA 2006). It has a total area of 3,287,590 square kilometers; land 2,973,190 square kilometers; and water 314,400 square kilometers (CIA 2006). Its border countries are Bangladesh (4,053 kilometers), Bhutan (605 kilometers), Burma (1,463 kilometers), China (3,380 kilometers), Nepal (1,690 kilometers), and Pakistan (2,912 kilometers) (CIA 2006). Key geographic features include upland plains (Deccan Plateau) in the South, flat to rolling plains along the Ganges, deserts in the West, and the Himalayan mountains in the North (CIA 2006). In terms of natural resources, India possesses coal, iron ore, manganese, mica, bauxite, titanium ore, chromite, natural gas, diamonds, petroleum, and limestone. The percentage of landmass that is arable is 48.83 (CIA 2006).

KEY ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

Air and water pollution are becoming serious problems in India. Land and other natural resources are being exploited. *National Geographic* recently listed 23 sites ''in danger'' from pollution and other problems, including the Taj Mahal, the Ajanta and Ellora Caves, and Humayan's Tomb (Blackwell 2004, 165–66). Overcrowding and congestion in cities have increased, as have problems of sprawling urban slums. Health statistics remain poor, primarily due to deplorable sanitation conditions, where unsafe drinking water and poor sewage removal are responsible for 80 percent of diseases.

Despite massive modernization in some sectors, India's infrastructure remains outdated and expensive to maintain and improve. While India possesses large coal and natural gas reserves, it imports most of its oil and its electricity consumption is steadily increasing.

India

Formal name of country: Republic of India

Size of country: 3.1 million sq km (1.2 million sq mi), excluding Indian-administered Kashmir (100,569 sq km/38,830 sq mi)

Natural resources: Coal, iron ore, manganese, mica, bauxite, titanium ore, chromite, natural gas, diamonds, and petroleum

Population: 1.1 billion (2005)

Life expectancy at birth: 62 years (men), 65 years (women)

Key ethnic groups:

- Indo-Aryan
- Dravidian
- Mongoloid (2006)

Key religions: Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Sikhism, Buddhism, and Jainism

Political system: Secular democratic republic; federal Westminster style parliamentary system

Key political parties:

- The Indian National Congress
- Bharatiya Janata Party
- Communist Party of India (Marxist)
- Samajwadi Party
- Rashtriya Janata Dal
- Bahujan Samaj Party, etc. (top five from 2004 election)

Legal system: English common law with some U.S. precedents

Real GDP growth: 7.6 percent (2005 est.)

Population below poverty line: 25 percent (2002)

Size of military: Spending: $19 billion (2005 est.); army (2002) 980,000 troops, 300,000 reservists; five tactical area commands and 34 divisions; navy is fifth largest in the world, including an aircraft carrier and over a dozen submarines, four regional commands, two major naval bases, a coast guard, and a marine commando force; air force is world's fourth largest, with 110,000 personnel (1994), over 600 combat aircraft, over 500 transports and helicopters, five operational commands

Relationship with the United States: Very good economic and military relations since 1990s. America is now India's biggest trading partner and a key source of military equipment and training.

Important human security issues: In human security terms, rural poverty and illiteracy remain serious problems, alongside air and water pollution, overcrowded urban slums, major air- and waterborne diseases, government corruption, and communal violence.

Future important security issues: The threat of terrorism and nuclear war coming from Pakistan is the primary security issue. Since 1990, 80,000 people have been killed in the conflict over Jammu and Kashmir, ongoing with Pakistan since 1948. Domestically, India faces separatist movements, extremist and terrorist organizations. Trouble spots include Manipur and Tripura in the Northeast, Tamil Nadu in the South, and Punjab and Kashmir in the Northwest. Pakistan is suspected of encouraging anti-Indian violence through its support of separatist groups in Jammu and Kashmir.

Sources: BBC 2006a; CIA 2006; Defense Industry Daily 2005; Global Security 2006; Library of Congress 1995.

A series of natural and other disasters have made life difficult. This includes the 1999 cyclone in Orissa; massive earthquakes in Gujarat in 2001 which killed 30,000 people; the 2004 tsunami which also killed thousands; the Mumbai floods and landslides of 2005; the avian flu; dengue fever; and the earthquake in 2005 in the Kargil region of Jammu and Kashmir.

HISTORY FROM SETTLEMENT

India has been inhabited for tens of thousands of years by Dravidian peoples. Persian Aryan invaders entered about 1500 BC, bringing with them the Sanskrit written language, Hinduism, and a rigid class/caste system. Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, and Sikhism all trace their origins to India. Arab invasions in the eighth century were followed by later Turkish incursions in the twelfth century. European trade began in the fifteenth century and much of India came under British rule by the eighteenth century. In 1885 the Indian National Congress was founded, which by 1920 was at the forefront of an anti-British civil disobedience campaign led by Mohandas K. Gandhi. In 1947 India gained its independence, and a Congress government led by Jawarhalal Nehru took power, creating a socialist society with a large state infrastructure and a nonaligned foreign policy. The country is a secular republic with a Westminster style parliamentary system and a federal arrangement with a central government and 27 states. India has been dominated by the Congress Party and the Nehru-Gandhi dynasty, although from 1998 to 2004, a coalition of Hindu nationalist parties led by the BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) held power at the federal level. Pakistan was also created from British India, and the two countries have been in conflict since independence over the status of the northern state of Jammu and Kashmir. India and Pakistan have fought three wars over this issue. India has also faced security threats from China and Sri Lanka and has become the victim of Islamic terrorism and violence by regional secessionist groups, including Manipur, Nagaland, and Tripura in the Northeast; Tamil Nadu in the South; and Punjab in the Northwest. Since 1991, India has liberalized its economy and has become one of the fastest growing economies in the world, with a rising middle class and thriving English-language service and computer industries.

SOCIETY

Population and Demographics

Population: 1,095,351,995 (July 2006 est.)
Age structure (2006):

- 0–14 years: 30.8 percent (male 173,478,760; female 163,852,827)
  15–64 years: 64.3 percent (male 363,876,219; female 340,181,764)
  65 years and over: 4.9 percent (male 27,258,020; female 26,704,405) (CIA 2006)

Median age:

- Total: 24.9 years
  Male: 24.9 years
  Female: 24.9 years (2006 est.)

Population growth rate: 1.38 percent (2006 est.) (CIA 2006).

Despite birth control efforts, India's population is well over one billion people and growing. From 1991 to 2001 the population increased by 21.3 percent. India's population is set to eclipse China's by 2045 to become the world's largest. Seventy percent of the population live in India's 650,000 villages, the rest in India's 200 towns and cities. Mass urbanization occurred during the 1990s, primarily in central and southern India, where 20 cities saw rates of population growth of over 100 percent between 1981 and 1991 (Indian Child 2006; Elliot 2006, 16).

Refugees and/or internally displaced people (IDP):

Refugees: 92,394 (Tibet/China); 57,274 (Sri Lanka); 9,761 (Afghanistan); IDPs: 600,000 (resulting from December 26, 2004, tsunami); 500,000 (Jammu and Kashmir conflicts; most IDPs are Kashmiri Hindus) (Library of Congress 2005).

Ethnic groups: Indo-Aryan 72 percent; Dravidian 25 percent; Mongoloid, others 3 percent (CIA 2006).

Religious Beliefs

India's population consists of 80.5 percent of Hindu religion, with 13.4 percent Muslim. Smaller religious minorities include Christians (2.3 percent), Sikhs (1.84 percent), Buddhists (0.76 percent), Jains (0.40 percent), Jews, Zoroastrians, Ahmadi-muslims, and Bahá'ís (Census India 2001). While India is a secular state, the dominant religion is Hinduism. There are over 120 million Muslims, making India the world's most populous Muslim country, and a large number of other religious minorities listed above. Language also remains a key determinant of political and social organization. There are 18 official languages, although Hindi is the most widely used.

Another dividing line in India is the caste and subcaste system. These are traditional religious and occupational hierarchies. The four highest castes or varnas were derived from Hindu traditions introduced by the Aryan invaders and were designed to maintain racial divisions between the lighter skinned invaders and the darker Dravidian peoples. Outside the system were outcastes or "untouchables" now known as "Dalits" who were vigorously discriminated against. They are now covered by antidiscrimination legislation. Below are thousands of subcastes or jati, based on traditional occupations. These vary by region, but intermarriage outside the jati is frowned upon, and such divisions remain extremely important both for the perpetuation of family and community and also for the local and national political life of the country (for discussion see Bayly 2001; Milner 1994).

Basic Infrastructure

Transport infrastructure is adequate but antiquated. There are 341 airports, 28 helipads, 63,230 kilometers of railway track, 14,500 kilometers of waterways, and 3,851,440 kilometers of roads, 2.4 million kilometers of which are paved (CIA 2006). While China spent $260 billion (20 percent of the GDP) in 2002 on infrastructure (including construction, transportation, real estate, and telecommunications) India in the same period spent $31 billion, under 6 percent of GDP. Power outages remain a serious problem throughout much of the country (Hiscock 2004).

Communications infrastructure remains basic in rural areas. In 2005, 49.75 million people had telephones—a rate of seven per 100 in rural areas—while over 69 million people in 2006 used mobile phones. There is a national waiting list for telephone lines of over 1.7 million people. Private service providers are improving the situation. India currently maintains one of world's largest domestic satellite systems, with five satellites and a network of 33,000 very small aperture terminals (VSAT). As of 2005 there were over 50 million Internet users (CIA 2006).

India is the world's eleventh greatest energy producer, accounting for 2.4 percent of annual world energy. It is the sixth largest consumer (about 3.3 percent of energy consumption). In 2003 India produced 556.8 billion kWh while consuming 519 billion kWh. Its projected rate of increase is between 8–10 percent annually to 2020. India is self-sufficient in natural gas, producing and consuming 27.1 billion cu m annually (2003). However, India is a major and growing consumer of oil. It imports oil every day over and above its domestic production rate of 785,000 billion barrels per day. India maintains relatively large reserves of many commodities: some five billion barrels of oil (4.5 percent of total world supply); 29–32 trillion cubic feet of natural gas (0.5 percent of total world supply); and 90 billion tons of coal (10 percent of total world supply) (CSLF 2006; CIA 2006).

Economy

During the Cold War, India's economy was highly protected, a legacy of Nehru's socialist beliefs and distrust of Western capitalism. Foreign investment and foreign ownership of business was discouraged by successive Congress-led governments (Sankaran 1994). This changed in 1991, in part due to the collapse of the Soviet Union, then one of India's largest trading partners. India faced a 14 percent rate of inflation and internal debt repayment consumed 20 percent of the budget.

INDIAN NATIONALISM

From the early twentieth century, there have been five main competing visions of Indian nationalism. The Gandhian vision promotes a village, community-based nationalism based on simple values, religious belief (of whatever form), co-operation, and tolerance. The Nehruvian vision is focused on industrialization, modernization, and secularization, promoting voters and individuals. A Hindu Revivalist vision promotes India as a "Hindu Rashtra" or Hindu nation, with Muslims and other non-Hindus as foreign and even corruptive influences. Mohammed Iqbal's ''Two Nations'' theory, promoted by Mohammed Ali Jinnah, argued that Hindus and Muslims constituted separate nations, both of whom required territorial and political autonomy. Finally, many ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups have promoted their own regional identity, at odds with the centralizing forces of Indian politics.

Under the premiership of Narasimha Rao and Finance Minister Manmohan Singh, Congress opened India to foreign investment and ownership. From 1994 to 2005 the economy grew more than 7 percent annually with a 7.6 percent growth rate in 2005. The biggest productivity increase has been in manufacturing and services. The government has also allowed for some privatization of state commercial holdings and is selling many of its shares in already privatized companies. A recent poll of 118 American companies found 93 percent agreed that the business climate was ''excellent.'' Nevertheless, there is some concern that national and state-level budget deficits are high (9 percent of GDP), while government borrowing has led to continued high interest rates (Blackwell 2004, 56–58, 66; CIA 2006).

India now has a large and growing urban middle class estimated at almost 300 million people, and a thriving service economy. Computers are a key growth industry, with Bangalore developing into India's ''Silicon Plain.'' Over 100 IT and science-based firms have recently located their research and development labs in India. High-tech companies are coming to India to recruit new graduates in software and other areas. The impact of the IT industry has been enormous, accounting for 3 percent of the GDP in 2004 and continuing to grow. By 2005, some $35 billion was generated by the Internet technology industry. There have also been important spin-offs for pharmaceutical and biotechnology companies (Elliot 2006, 17; *New Scientist* 2005). Mumbai, formerly Bombay, remains the corporate hub of the country accounting for 25 percent of India's GDP (Hiscock 2004). Roughly 350 million people in India speak some English, making this the largest English speaking country in the world. This has opened up new opportunities, as India is rapidly becoming a base of Western call centers. Forty percent of the world's top 500 companies currently do some back-office processing in India. Recent estimates indicate that 350,000 Indians now work in call centers. It is predicted that by 2008, the IT service and back-office industries will provide four million jobs, which will account for $57 billion in annual exports (Dhillon 2004). However, this represents a minority of the 490 million workers in India; the vast majority are not able to access these new opportunities.

Social Indicators

India is a developing country, and most social indicators demonstrate this clearly. With an infant mortality rate of 54.63 deaths per 1,000 live births India stands 55th in the world for infant morality, between Gabon and the Maldives. Life expectancy at birth, at 64.71 years, ranks the country 164th in the world overall, only slightly higher than Uzbekistan. The unemployment rate is 8.9 percent (CIA 2006). India remains highly unequal in economic and social terms. The urban economic boom has created larger disparities between the educated and illiterate and increased the rural-urban split. Small industries and agriculture remain neglected. Recent estimates indicate that while agriculture employs 65 percent of India's workers, it produces only 25 percent of the GDP. Roughly one third of the population is constantly hungry while about half of India's children are malnourished, statistics comparable to those in sub-Saharan Africa. The UN's Human Development Index ranks India 127th in the world, two places above Burma and over 70 places below Cuba and Mexico. While poverty levels have dropped, some 380

million Indians subsist on less than a dollar a day. Further, 2.5 million Indian children die every year (Blackwell 2004, 65, 69–70; Mishra 2006).

While much of west and south India may become middle class by 2020, more backward states like Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and Orissa will need at least another 20 years to catch up (Das 2001). Per capita consumption has increased by 40 percent along the top 20 percent since 1989–1990, and by 20 percent among the top 20 percent of rural people. By contrast, consumption has increased only by 14 percent among the bottom 40 percent of urban residents (including those living in slums), while consumption has actually declined during the same period for the bottom 80 percent of the rural population, which represents almost 600 million people (Ghosh 2004). Urban sprawl has become another

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A GROWING ECONOMY

Like Japan, the Asian Tigers, and China, India's economy is growing rapidly, creating one of the world's largest markets. Concentrating in both manufacturing and services, India is poised to become the world's largest English speaking country, and the largest provider of English-language services. This ranges from banking and accounting to computer programming and online tutorials for European students. However, India remains a developing country with hundreds of millions of very poor people, primarily in rural areas. Many of the United Nation's Millennium Goals will take a very long time to achieve. As urban areas become more wealthy, the gap between rich and poor grows. If India is to become a developed country, strong efforts will be required to ensure that everyone benefits from India's newfound prosperity.

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problem, with Delhi's expansion to 16 million people and Calcutta's to 132 million. Massive urban slums are a feature of all of India's larger cities, resulting in high rates of crime and trans-generational poverty. Massive overcrowding and irresponsible urbanization has led to serious problems of pollution which are unlikely to be cleared up in the near future (Blackwell 2004, 73).

Literacy rates and levels of educational attainment have improved since Independence but still have a long way to go. The World Bank's Development Policy Review for India recently noted some serious problems with the educational system. First, teacher presence in schools is less than 50 percent in most states. Reading and math levels are currently well below what they should be in rural schools (*Times of India* 2006). Currently literacy rates are low but improving. In 2001 they stood at 75.85 percent for males and at 54.16 percent for females, up considerably from 1991. The absolute number of illiterate people has dropped from 328 million in 1991 to 296 million in 2001 (Government of India 2002). India is not producing the number of skilled workers needed to sustain growth in the long term. There is a widespread view that Indian universities need a fundamental overhaul. Many are inefficient, poorly funded, and subject to political interference (*New Scientist* 2005, 31).

While India has made some progress towards alleviating some of its more pressing health problems, serious problems of communicable and noncommunicable diseases remain. Common illnesses include malaria, yellow fever, polio, jaundice, and hepatitis A and E. In the late 1990s, 500,000 children died every year from bacterial diarrhoea. Goiter and leprosy are also common. Eighty percent of diseases were caused by contaminated water supplies, poor sanitation, and inadequate sewage disposal. Most diseases are waterborne, and the vast majority of the rural population does not have indoor toilets. In cities, public toilets are overused and usually unsanitary. During the 1990s, 80 percent of rural people were infected with

A DEMOCRACY

As the world's largest democracy, India's electorate has almost tripled in size since 1947. Its federal democratic institutions are modelled on those of the United States and western Europe, with two houses of parliament, a prime minister and cabinet, and an elected president, chosen every five years. While several notable poor and low caste people have achieved high political office, like the "untouchable" President K.R. Narayanan, Indian politics remains dominated by high caste, affluent elites. The rise of a prominent middle class may change the future dynamics of Indian politics.

parasites (Cooper 1997; Library of Congress 1995). Children are the most seriously affected with health problems. Persistent malnutrition is a serious concern. 46 percent of children under three are too small for their age, while 47 percent are underweight. One in three of the world's malnourished children live in India. Seventy-four percent of girls under three are anaemic, a problem which also affects over 90 percent of adolescent girls and roughly 50 percent of women. Iodine deficiency due to a lack of iodized salt is also widespread, as is vitamin A deficiency (UNIFEC India 2006).

Domestic Politics

India is the world's largest democracy. It is a federal secular republic, with a Westminster style bicameral parliament. This is composed of a 545 seat *Lok Sabha* (or Assembly of the People) with five-year terms. The upper house, the *Rajya Sabha* (Assembly of States) has 250 members, with two-year terms. One-third of the Rajya are elected, while the remainder are chosen in a complicated process which involves individual states, the prime minister, the president, and minority groups.

The head of state is the president, selected by parliament for a five-year term. The head of government is the prime minister, who either represents the majority party in the Lok or a coalition of parties. The prime minister chooses a cabinet from elected officials in the lower house—often assigning ministerial portfolios to coalition party leaders in return for support. Supporting the national government is a large bureaucratic machine. The elite are part of the Indian Administrative Service and are the heirs of the British elite Indian Civil Service (Blackwell 2004, 83).

Each state also has its own legislature which operates according to the Westminster model, complete with its own ministries and bureaucracies. A governor is appointed for each state by the prime minister, but political power is in the hands of a chief minister, who is the leader of the dominant political party in the state legislature. Each state is divided into administrative districts and presided over by chief administrative officers chosen by the state's chief minister. India's six union territories are administered by governors appointed by the national government (Blackwell 2004, 85).

The current prime minister is Manmohan Singh, head of an Indian Congress Party-led coalition government. The president, since 2002, is A.P.J. Abdul Kalam. Other key officials include Foreign Minister Pranab Mukherjee, Finance Minister Palaniappan Chidambaram, and Defense Minister A.K. Antony. Prime Minister Singh is perceived as a technocrat and intellectual, as well as someone of integrity, but is not particularly charismatic. Singh has slashed red tape, created a simplified tax system, and has generally tried to improve the economic climate for business. He is perceived to be a leader with clean hands and has a loyal popular following (Biswas 2005). An NDTV-Mode poll in May 2006 revealed a high level of public

support, with more respondents supporting Singh than either Indian Congress Party (ICP) chair Sonia Gandhi or former Prime Minister Vajpayee. The government currently enjoys a 60 percent support rate. Seventy-six percent of respondents support Singh's close ties with the United States while 72 percent support his rapprochement with Pakistan (*India Daily* 2006).

Currently, the ICP governs as part of the United Progressive Alliance (UPA), a coalition of parties formed after the 2004 Lok Sabha elections. The other members of the UPA are the Nationalist Congress Party, the Rashtriya Janata Dal, two Tamil regional parties (the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam and Pattali Makkal Katchi), the southern regional party Telangana Rashtra Samithi, the Kerala Congress, Jharkhand Mukti Morcha, the Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, and the Lok Jan Shakti Party. A number of small parties have contributed one Member of Parliament (MP): the Indian Union Muslim League, the Jammu and Kashmir Peoples Democratic Party, the Republican Party of India, and the All India Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimen. Last, four leftist parties with 57 MPs have agreed to support the government, primarily to keep the BJP out of power. Coalition politics are messy and shifting, and Singh has to perform an extremely delicate and precarious balancing act (*Times of India* 2006).

The Political Landscape

India has a bewildering number of regional, ethnic, class-based, and national parties. Some are devoted to the unity of the country, some to bringing about the revolutionary overthrow of the state. Still others are keen to promote regional autonomy or independence. In order of the number of seats obtained in the 2004 elections, the most influential political parties are, in rank order with the number of seats, the Indian National Congress (INC) (145), Bharatiya Janata Party (138), Communist Party of India–Marxist (43), Samajwadi Party (36), Rashtriya Janata Dal (24), the Bahujan Samaj Party (19), and the Dravida Munnetra Kazagham (16) (CIA 2006). Most governments, including the current INC government and the previous BJP-led government are comprised of coalitions.

The Indian National Congress Party is the dominant force in Indian politics. It was founded in 1885 as a multiracial, multiconfessional political movement. Since independence, the party has been dominated by the Nehru-Gandhi dynasty. Congress had tried to promote a modernized, secular India, one which respects communal differences along ethnic, religious, caste, and linguistic lines. Power struggles within the party continue behind the scenes. Many judged Italian-born Congress leader Sonia Gandhi unsuitable to be prime minister, paving the way for Singh as a compromise candidate. Gandhi's leadership provoked a split in the party, which is now called Congress (I) with the "I" short for Indira. Congress (I) currently forms the government, and also forms the government in a majority of Indian states. The largest breakaway party is the Nationalist Congress party, which was formed in 1999 as a reaction to Sonia's leadership. They are currently in coalition with Congress (I) (Webindia123.com 2006; Indian Elections 2006).

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) is India's main opposition party. It was created in 1980, as a merger of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh and Janata Party. A Hindu nationalist party, the BJP gained the largest number of seats in the 1996 Lok Sabha

elections. From 1999 to 2004, the BJP under Atal Bihari Vajpayee, led a coalition government called the National Democratic Alliance. They also hold power in a number of Indian states: Arunachal Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Goa, Gujarat, Jharkand, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, and Rajasthan (Webindia123.com 2006). The BJP bills itself as the champion of traditional Hindu values and advocates "value based politics." It is one of a cluster of parties promoting *Hindutva* or Hindu revivalist nationalism. Revivalists argue that the only true national identity of India was one based on its majority religion—Hinduism. Revivalists reject the westernizing influences of Nehru (Indian Elections 2006).

The Communist Party of India–Marxist was formed in 1964 and is currently supporting the ICP-led government. Guided by Marxist-Leninist principles, the party is led by Jyoti Basu. As of 2006, the CPI(M) is the governing party in the states of Kerala, West Bengal, and Tripura (Webindia123.com 2006).

The Samajwadi Party (Socialist Party) was founded in 1992 and is led by Mulayam Singh Yadav. Yadav was former defense minister and is currently the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh where the SP has its stronghold. The party primarily champions the cause of Dalits or Other Backward Castes at the federal level. It favors special quotas in employment for Dalits, the promotion of agriculture and small- and medium-sized industry, and seeks the elimination of poverty. Allied to the SP is the Bahujan Samaj Party, founded in 1984 by Kanshi Ram, in an effort to promote Dalit causes in federal politics. They have regional strongholds in the northern states of Haryana, Madhya Pradesh Punjab, and Uttar Pardesh (Webindia123.com 2006; Indian Elections 2006).

The Rashtriya Janata Dal, or "National People's Party," is led by the charismatic Lalooo Prasad Yadav, who formed the party in 1997. He has been a staunch ICP ally and has taken over the Railway Ministry portfolio. The party has traditionally counted on the support of Bihari Muslims and Yadavs, two disenfranchised minorities in the state (*Times of India* 2006).

Popular Interest and Participation in Politics

Civil society is strong in India, with the general public interested and reasonably well informed about local- and state-level issues. While the public remains engaged with political issues, voting rates for the most recent elections in 2005 (at 58.3 percent) were slightly lower than the turnout in 1999. Some states like Gujarat, Bihar, and Uttar Pradesh registered voting levels below 50 percent. Only 11 percent felt the elections were "not at all fair." Sixty-two percent of men voted, versus 54 percent of women. Since the 1990s, Dalits have increasingly entered the political arena and are voting in larger numbers (Palshikar and Kumar 2004, 1–3). Women generally have a lesser role in politics and less faith in the political system. In 2002, only 8.8 percent of seats in the Lok Sabha were occupied by women, making India 82 of 180 countries for women's political participation. At the local and state levels, women's representation is similarly low, from a low in Pondicherry, Mizoram, and Nagaland of 0 percent (1998 and 2001 state elections) to a high of 13 percent in the 2001 Delhi elections. These are not encouraging statistics and overall have only marginally increased since the post-Cold War era (Chhibber 2002, 409–17).

Key Political Issues

The recent promotion of Hindutva has exacerbated traditional cleavages between Hindus and Muslims. Veer Savarkar, one of the architects of the early nationalist organization Rashtriya Swayam Sevak (National Self-Help Association), outlined three principles of Hindutva: *Pitrabhoomi* (Fatherland), *jati* (bloodline), and *sanskriti* (culture). Revivalists see India as both a Hindu *rashtra* (state) and a *punyabhoomi* (holy land), and condemn both the Muslim invasions of the twelfth century and British rule as anathema to traditional Hindu Indian culture and values. Such themes were echoed in the BJP's 1996 election manifesto. Hindutva relies on a monolithic ideal that Hindu and Muslim have unified and separate identities that can be traced over time, and further, that Indian history has been characterized by Muslim violence and Hindu victimization (Das 2002, 80). Such views have inflamed Indian politics.

A key flashpoint was centerd on the town of Ayodhya in the State of Uttar Pradesh. Ayodhya is said to be the birthplace of the legendary Hindu god Ram. According to many Hindus, a temple built to commemorate Ram's birthplace was destroyed by the Muslim emperor Babur in 1528 to make room for a mosque. The Ayodhya Mosque was closed in 1949 due to fighting between Hindus and Muslims for control of the site, but in 1986, a petition was granted to have the building reopened as a Hindu shrine. A year later, Muslims staged a huge demonstration of 300,000 people in Delhi. By 1992, protesters tore down the mosque. In the riots that followed, over 2,000 people were killed. Some 10 years later further riots ensued over the site. In February 2002, two railway cars primarily filled with Hindu women and children were set alight when returning from Ayodhya through Gujarat; 58 passengers were killed, provoking massive riots, rapes, beheadings, pillage, and looting in Gujarat. Over a thousand Indians were killed, primarily Muslims, and a Muslim MP was kidnapped and tortured before being beheaded. The BJP and its supporters attempted to capitalize on anti-Muslim sentiment to garner electoral support for its conservative pro-Hindu policies. They are closely affiliated with a more radical group—the Visva Hindu Parishad or World Hindu Council. While billing itself as a cultural organization, the VHP has been stoking the fires of the Ayodhya Mosque controversy, encouraging the building of a Hindu temple on the site (Blackwell 2004, 127–29).

Despite these problems, Hindus are very diverse and see their primary identity in terms of caste, jati, family, or region rather than as Hindus first and foremost. India has been subject to "fissiparous tendencies" or "communalism," where the individual's focus of primary identity is first to the community, defined as a combination of "family, ethnic group, caste and subcaste, religion, language, village and region, state, educational status, and socioeconomic class" (Blackwell 2004, 8–9). As a result there is no overarching sense of being Indian as such that can be easily defined.

Punjab

One of the most fertile regions in Asia, Punjab enjoyed India's highest per capita income. A large part of the Punjab is dominated by the Sikhs who form a majority

here. Since Independence there had been an increasing growth in Sikh political consciousness, led by the main Sikh party, the Akali Dal, which consistently won state elections. In 1976, wanting to split the nationalist vote, Indira Gandhi sponsored her own Sikh fundamentalist movement, led by militant Jamail Singh Bhindranwale. By 1983 Bhindranwale proved to be an extreme nationalist and called for an independent Sikh homeland—Khalistan. His most controversial move was to establish his headquarters at the Golden Temple in Amritsar, the holiest shrine in the Sikh religion. By the end of 1984 he and his followers had murdered hundreds of moderate Sikhs and Hindus. The government through the army intervened, and in May 1984, the Golden Temple was reduced to rubble during "Operation Bluestar." The political consequences of the siege were devastating. Many held Indira Gandhi personally responsible, and in October 1984, she was assassinated by two of her Sikh bodyguards. Delhi exploded into a frenzy of rioting. Anti-Sikh mobs roamed the city seeking revenge—an estimated 5,000 Sikhs were murdered—the first major incidence of Sikh-Hindu hostility in history. Currently, the Punjab is doing well economically, and as Prime Minister Singh is a Sikh, Sikh-Hindu relations have greatly improved.

Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka

India also faced problems when first Indira Gandhi, then her son Rajiv, committed forces to the civil conflict in Sri Lanka between Tamils and Sinhalese. Sri Lanka had an ethnic Tamil minority on the island of about 2.5 million people, who were ethnically tied to India's large 55 million strong Tamil community in Tamil Nadu. When the Sri Lankan Tamils started fighting for independence against the Sinhalese majority in the early 1980s, Indira began funding a terrorist group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), in order to promote their independence cause. After Indira's death, the Sri Lanka government declared war on the LTTE but also on the Tamil population, and thousands of refugees began to pour into India. Rajiv decided to diffuse the refugee problem by supplying the beleaguered Sri Lankan Tamils. By June 1987, Indian aircraft had air-dropped some 40 tons of supplies. By July, the Sri Lanka government signed the *Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement*, setting up the north of the island as a Tamil homeland. When the Sinhalese began to riot against these measures, the LTTE launched a full-scale war. Into this mess, Rajiv sent 70,000 Indian peacekeepers, who ended up simply replacing the Sri Lankan government's former role in hunting down and stopping the LTTE. By October 1987, the LTTE openly attacked Indian peacekeepers. In May 1991, Rajiv was assassinated by a local Tamil woman working for the LTTE. Eventually, most of the conspirators were tracked down and arrested.

Northeast India

This region has been the locus of violent separatist actions. With a long history of autonomy during the British era and before, Nagaland, Mizoram, Manipur, and Assam have differences in culture and tradition from the rest of the country. The region has become very violent, especially after the central government began

violently cracking down on separatist ethnic militia groups. Federal funds for economic development have been pumped into the region, but separatists claim that corrupt government officials have siphoned much of this off. While the fighting remains primarily within India proper, ethnic militia groups sometimes have the support of co-nationals in neighboring Bhutan, Burma, and Bangladesh. In 1986, the Indian government signed a peace settlement in Mizoram with the Mizo National Front which has brought two decades of peace to the region. Since 1998, the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), Nagaland's most prominent rebel group, has been negotiating with the government. Manipur, however, remains troubled. Located along the border with Burma, a number of separatist groups in this state have committed violence against the state, in efforts to seek independence from India. Groups include the outlawed People's Liberation Army (PLA) and the United National Liberation Front (UNLF) (BBC 2004). Tripura, also located in the Northeast has been another trouble spot. Thousands of abductions and hundreds of killings over the past decade are the result primarily of two separatist rebel organizations—the National Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT) and the All Tripura Tiger Force (ATTF). Both demand independence for tribal areas of the state (BBC 2000).

LAW AND ORDER

In 1949 an Indian Police Service was created under the direction of the Ministry of Home Affairs. Each state and union territory has its own police force. Each state has its own director general of police (DGP). However the legal underpinnings of the police service are based on the 1861 Police Act which has remained unchanged since British rule. In practice: "Political control over the police remained intact. Implanting mechanisms to assure accountability of the police to the public it serves did not become a priority, as it should have. The managerial philosophy, value system, and ethos of the police remained militaristic in design, and suppressive in practice" (CHRI 2006).

On the surface, crime rates in India appear to be very low. However, there are high rates of unreported crime, and police often fob off complaints, to keep the official rate down. Similarly, many crimes are classified in such a way as to keep statistics low. In 1999 there were almost 25,000 unidentified bodies, in order to keep the homicide rate down to 3.8 per 100,000. In general, there seems to be a low level of respect for the police when it comes to everything from traffic violations to much more serious concerns (Raghavan 2001). Well publicized instances of police officers raping women detained for questioning have greatly soured public perception of police forces. There is a public belief that police are unaccountable and bias in how they treat the population at large. The wealthy and powerful are privileged while the poor, particularly those living in urban slums, are unfairly treated.

Notable Criminal Activities

India is the largest producer of licit opium for medicinal use. There is, however, illicit trade in opium to the international drug market. Large shipments of psychotropic drugs have also been seized in Delhi, which is becoming a regional hub for

the illicit trade in drugs. The UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) recently cited India as a supplier of ephedrine, methaqualone, and mandrax (Mohan 2006). Human trafficking is also a serious concern. In addition to being a transit country for trafficked human beings, India is also a destination and a source for men, women, and children who are trafficked for forced or bonded labor, as well as commercial sexual exploitation. Millions of people face the perils of debt bondage and involuntary servitude: making bricks, farming rice, and working in embroidery factories. Commercial sexual exploitation and forced marriages also take place. India's efforts to halt this traffic are seen as half-hearted, and rampant corruption amongst law enforcement officials is cited as a serious obstacle to tackling these problems (USDS 2006).

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The prime minister is in charge of formulating his/her government's overall vision of their country's foreign policy, using the influential office of the prime minister. Foreign policy is administered and implemented by the Ministry of External Affairs, which is led by the minister of external affairs. An Indian Foreign Service is responsible for training diplomats and other staff through its Foreign Service Training Institute. The Ministry maintains 13 territorial divisions, a series of functional divisions, and 18 specialized divisions and units. Perhaps the two most important of these are the Policy Planning and Research Division and the Economic Division, which handles foreign economic relations and is tasked with administering foreign aid. Ministers of defense, finance, and commerce are also theoretically involved in foreign policy decision making through their participation in Cabinet level discussions. In practice however, most foreign policy decisions are centered in the prime minister's office (Library of Congress 1995).

The foreign policy goals of the current government include fostering strong ties with regional powers like China, Russia, Japan, and other ASEAN states, while promoting good relations with the United States, Israel, and the European Union. Other friendly states include Iran, South Africa, Mexico, and Brazil. India has long cultivated good regional ties with Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives, Nepal, and Sri Lanka in order to enhance its border security. Fostering economic growth through industrialization and exports is a crucial priority of the government, as is attracting increased foreign investment. No less important is promoting India as a world power—an independent and self-sufficient country able to operate as a permanent member of the UN Security Council and on other major international bodies. In many respects India feels left behind and unrecognized as a great power, and seeks to change its global status.

Alliances of a Military/Defense Nature

Since the late 1990s, India has made a concerted effort to draw closer to the United States. It has also created strong ties with Israel since 2003. India currently maintains good relations with the United States. This has not always been the case. As a leader in the Non-Aligned Movement from 1961, India was openly critical of many American policies during the Cold War (Shukul 1994, 45). After the 1965

War with Pakistan, India drew much closer to the Soviet Union and gained military and other forms of assistance. Following its liberalization in the 1990s, the Indo-American relationship has dramatically improved. After the 9/11 attacks, India proved a valuable ally to the United States, providing much needed intelligence on terrorist groups operating in Pakistan and Afghanistan. This alliance will continue to grow for the foreseeable future. The United States sees India as a democratic ally and a potential buffer against the rapid rise of China. While American-Chinese trade is five times the level of American-Indian trade, India has become a significant player in American eyes.

Since 9/11 India and America have participated in joint warfare exercises, and Washington soon offered fighter planes for the Indian Air Force. America is currently India's largest trading partner. Further, India has introduced new patent laws restricting the production of low-cost generic drugs. India has also signed an "open skies" agreement which will enable American airline companies to participate in the now booming Indian market (Sengupta 2005). India has also abandoned its traditional opposition to Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) and has publicly supported it in what is a startling reversal from its stance during the 1980s (Tellis 2006, 134–37). In March 2006, President Bush visited India on a four-day trip and followed this up with a civilian nuclear trade agreement with India, yet to be ratified by the U.S. Congress. This is an unprecedented move given that India has not signed the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Under the agreement, India will separate its military and civilian nuclear capabilities and civilian nuclear technology will be sold to India.

Nuclear Weapons and Their Proliferation

During the Cold War India stood strongly against the arms race, condemning both America and the Soviet Union. When it did detonate a nuclear device in 1974, India only engaged in nuclear weapons research in 1989, after Rajiv Gandhi became convinced that Pakistan had been pursuing nuclear weapons research since 1987 (Tellis 2006, 117–18). India currently possesses nuclear weapons and in 1998 successfully completed its own tests, the same year as Pakistan. India claims its nuclear position is defensive only. In light of traditional rivals China and Pakistan both possessing nuclear weapons (with the potential for North Korea to develop them), India's nuclear capabilities appear reasonable. This is doubly true when considering the possibility for Pakistan to become a failed state, or at the least one which is not entirely controlled from the center.

Overall India participates in the following international organizations: the African Development Bank; ASEAN Regional Forum; Asian Development Bank; Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) (dialogue partner); Bay of Bengal Initiative for MultiSectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation; Bank for International Settlements; European Organization for Nuclear Research (observer); Commonwealth; Colombo Plan; Food and Agriculture Organization; Group of 6; Group of 15; Group of 24; Group of 77; International Atomic Energy Agency; International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank); International Civil Aviation Organization; International Chamber of Commerce; International Confederation of Free Trade Unions; International Red Cross and

Red Crescent Movement; International Development Association; International Fund for Agricultural Development; International Finance Corporation; International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies; International Hydrographic Organization; International Labour Organization; International Monetary Fund; International Maritime Organization; International Criminal Police Organization; International Olympic Committee; International Organization for Migration (observer); Inter-parliamentary Union; International Organization for Standardization; International Telecommunication Union; Multilateral Investment Geographic Agency; United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo; Non-Aligned Movement; Organization of American States (observer); United Nations Operation in Burundi; Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons; Permanent Court of Arbitration; Pacific Islands Forum (partner); South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC); South Asia Co-operative Environment Programme; Shanghai Co-operation Organization (observer); United Nations (UN); United Nations Conference on Trade and Development; United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization; United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; United Nations Industrial Development Organization; United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon; United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea; United Nations Mission in Sudan; United Nations Monitoring, Verification, and Inspection Commission; United Nations Operation in Cote d'Ivoire; Universal Postal Union; World Confederation of Labor; World Customs Organization; World Federation of Trade Unions; World Health Organization; World Intellectual Property Organization; World Meteorological Organization; World Tourism Organization; and the World Trade Organization (CIA 2006).

India remains a preeminent player in the United Nations. It recently made a bid to become a permanent member of the Security Council, alongside other hopefuls Germany, Japan, and Brazil. None of these countries have yet attained this coveted prize, which at any rate would not necessarily have included the veto power the "Permanent Five" now possess. India is also a dominant player in the World Trade Organization, G20, the Asian Development Bank, and the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). Many of these regional memberships are of recent standing and reflect India's newfound openness to foreign trade and investment. However, SAARC talks ground to a standstill recently over the issue of Pakistan. Indian-Pakistani rivalry continues to bedevil the working of this organization. India has also tried to prevent Pakistan from participating in other regional fora, like ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations).

Foreign and Humanitarian Aid

From 1951 to 1992, India received the largest amount of foreign aid of any developing country since World War II—some $55 billion. However, it did little to achieve any tangible levels of industrial growth, due to a certain degree of mismanagement, corruption, and an emphasis on state-controlled industries (Kamath 1992). Currently, India receives approximately $5 billion in aid annually, primarily from the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, and Japan (Cahturbedi 2004). Prime Minister Singh has signaled his interest in having India "graduate" from

being a recipient of aid to being primarily a donor, in order to increase India's economic and diplomatic clout. India has become a key donor for African countries through its India Development Initiative and has channeled low interest loans through its Exim bank—about $110 million in 2003. Through state-owned banks, India recently established a further $700 million in lines of credit and loans. This generosity in part reflects India's desire to export its products to the region, while investing heavily in African oil supplies (Cahturbedi 2004). After the 2004 tsunami, India initially refused offers of foreign assistance until it had exhausted its own domestic emergency funds. It even refused to allow UN humanitarian intervention. This was perceived externally as motivated by national pride rather than expressing India's ability to deal effectively with the crisis. India's finance minister later stated in January 2005 that the government would welcome foreign assistance for "rehabilitation programs" in tsunami affected regions (Indiainfo.com 2005).

Peacekeeping

India is currently the second largest contributor of troops to peacekeeping operations and has been active since the Korean War, when India provided a paramedical unit and then chaired the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, part of whose task was to take custody of some 22,000 prisoners of war. India has been active in the Middle East (from 1956 during the Suez Crisis), and in Vietnam from 1954, helping to implement a cease-fire agreement between Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and France. India was also involved in Congo, Yemen, and Cyprus, along the Iran-Iraq border, and as part of the UN Iraq-Kuwait Observer Mission following the first Gulf War. In Namibia, Indian forces facilitated the "smooth withdrawal of foreign troops, elections and subsequent handing over of the authority to the government." Other operations in Rwanda, Angola, Sierra Leone, Haiti, Lebanon, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and elsewhere buttress India's reputation as a strong contributor to peacekeeping and a firm believer in the United Nations. From 1992 to 1993, India's Lieutenant General Satish Nambiar served as force commander of the United Nations Protection Force (Yugoslavia) in former Yugoslavia. India also contributes to demining operations in such places as Rwanda, Mozambique, Somalia, Angola, and Cambodia (Indian Embassy 2006).

SECURITY

Size and Structure of Security Organizations

India has all-volunteer armed forces and has the fourth largest in the world. It has preserved a tradition of being a-political and does not interfere in government. Unlike Pakistan, the military remains firmly in civilian hands. Total military spending was approximately $19 billion in 2005. In 2002, the Indian Army was comprised of 980,000 troops and 300,000 reservists, divided into five tactical area commands and 34 divisions. India's navy is the fifth largest in the world. Its equipment includes an aircraft carrier and over a dozen submarines, four regional commands, two major naval bases, a coast guard, and a marine commando force. The Indian Air Force is the world's fourth largest, with 110,000 personnel (1994); over

600 combat aircraft; over 500 transports and helicopters; and five operational commands (Defense Industry Daily 2005; Global Security 2006).

India maintains a number of intelligence agencies. The most powerful is the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) of the Cabinet Secretariat, responsible for external intelligence. RAW was formed in 1968. It maintains an extensive network of agents in Pakistan and participates in disinformation campaigns, espionage, and sabotage. By some reports, 35,000 RAW agents have been operating in Pakistan since 1992/1993 and are trained in a network of 40 bases run by RAW's Special Services Bureau. It also has agents in a variety of separatist movements within India and fields operatives in Sri Lanka and Bangladesh (Global Security 2006b). The Intelligence Bureau (IB) is tasked with collecting domestic intelligence information and intelligence from border regions. It is reputedly the world's oldest intelligence agency, and most of its activities are shielded from public scrutiny. All three armed forces have their own intelligence agency, and the Ministry of Defense maintains a Defense Intelligence Agency and a Joint Cipher Bureau. The Ministry of Home Affairs also maintains its Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) founded in 1961 to investigate criminal activities and other matters related to national security. The Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC) is tasked with analyzing intelligence information from the Intelligence Bureau and RAW, the Directorates of Military Intelligence, Naval Intelligence, and Air Intelligence (Kasturi 1995; Global Security 2006c).

Past Security Issues

India's most obvious security concern is Pakistan. The partition of the subcontinent clouded relations between the two countries from the onset. West Pakistan was created in what is now Pakistan, East Pakistan in what is now Bangladesh. In 1948, conflict set in over the disputed region of Jammu and Kashmir. Home to a Muslim majority, this kingdom was ruled by a Hindu Maharajah who eventually pledged to join India. Pakistan invaded in 1948, resulting in a full-scale war and the eventual creation of a Line of Control, bisecting the region. Pakistan tried to take control of Indian Kashmir in 1965, following Nehru's death. Lal Bahadur Shastri's administration proved adept at halting Pakistan's expansionist plans. A further conflict with Pakistan ensued in 1971, when the Awami League, East Pakistan's main political party, won the national elections. A bloodbath ensued when West Pakistan armed forces crushed the League and slaughtered tens of thousands of ethnic Bengalis. This resulted in a flood of 10 million refugees into India and a third military encounter between India and Pakistan. In the aftermath of conflict, East Pakistan gained its independence and the refugee crisis was resolved. Since 1998, a nuclear standoff between the two countries has escalated tensions. Since June 2004, a nuclear test ban has been agreed upon between the two countries, together with a "hotline" to prevent any further misunderstanding. The presence of nuclear weapons has not prevented conventional conflicts between the two countries.

From May to July 1999, a short war developed in the Kashmir region of Kargil. Kashmiri militants and Pakistani soldiers infiltrated into Indian-held Kashmir. While Pakistan's government blamed Kashmiri militants, later documents and

statements by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and Chief of Army Staff Pervez Musharraf indicate otherwise. The incident was halted when Indian armed forces attacked Pakistani positions, and buttressed with diplomatic pressure, obliged Pakistani forces to retreat to their side of the Line of Control.

Tensions increased after General Musharraf (who was largely responsible for the Kargil debacle) staged a bloodless coup in October 1999. This was followed by a series of Islamic terrorist attacks against India. The best known attack was on the Indian Parliament and the taking of hostages on December 13, 2001. India firmly believes that Pakistan was behind at least some of the terrorist activity against India. The Kashmir situation has momentarily stabilized. In November 2003, both sides agreed to a cease-fire, and by early 2004 talks were held between the government and moderate Kashmiri separatists. By the end of the year, India began withdrawing some of its forces.

Further regional security concerns include a short war with China in 1962 over several disputed northern regions. Chinese forces occupied some 50,000 square miles of Indian territory. Courting America and western Europe, India obliged China to pull back due to mounting international pressure. For the next 30 years, Indian-Chinese relations were characterized by hostility and mistrust. The Chinese invasion was one of India's most humiliating failures, and India began investing in a much larger armed force after that. In the aftermath of this conflict, China and Pakistan became key allies, while India drew closer to the Soviet Union. America cemented its alliance with Pakistan, which it perceived as a counterweight to India, especially after India tacitly supported the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. Indian-Chinese relations improved greatly following the collapse of the Soviet Union. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi worked hard to promote good relations, a trend picked up by Rao and later Indian leaders. Recently, both countries met to resolve their outstanding border disagreements. In 2003, India agreed to formally recognize China's claims to Tibet, and the following year, China in turn recognized India's claim to the tiny Himalayan kingdom of Sikkim.

Current and Potential Security Issues

Terrorism remains a serious problem in India. Some theorists see India as a laboratory for terrorists, to test out atrocities before committing them against Western countries. Thus the mid-air bombing of an Air-India flight in 1985 was replicated in the 1988 Lockerbie bombing, while the 1993 attacks on the World Trade Center were starkly similar to the Bombay bombings only weeks earlier, where high-rise buildings were targeted, killing hundreds. The 1999 hijacking of an Indian Airlines flight to Kandahar was similar in nature to the 9/11 hijackings including the use of box cutters. Pakistan-trained Jihadis were suspected to have been used in Kashmir before being deployed against America (Chellaney 2002, 97–98). From 2000–2004 some 23,314 Indians were killed in terrorist violence. In general, the violence can be broken down into four main areas: ''State-sponsored and state-supported trans-border terrorist campaigns in J&K and the Northeast; Disruptive influence of pan-Islamic extremist and terrorist outfits; Activities of Maoist insurgent groups; and Ethno-centric militancy, including possible spillover from Sri Lanka'' (Swaminathan 2005).

The Institute for Conflict Management recently listed over 100 terrorist and extremist groups operating against the Indian state. These include 36 groups in Assam, including the United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA), and a number of groups sponsored by the Pakistani Inter Services Agency, including the Muslim United Liberation Tigers of Assam (MULTA) and the Muslim United Liberation Front of Assam (MULFA), both reported to be part of the All Muslim United Liberation Forum of Assam (AMULFA) (SATP 2006).

There are an estimated 36 terrorist, extremist, and secessionist groups in Jammu and Kashmir. In November 1990, the Muttahida Jehad Council (MJC) was formed as a conglomerate of Pakistan-based Jihadi outfits, in order to allow Pakistani intelligence to have a tighter level of coordination and control over Jihadi activities. To the original 13 organizations were added another three: the Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT), Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM), and Al-Badr Mujahideen. Some of the most prominent include the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen (HM), Lashkar-e-Omar (LeO), the Harkat ul-Ansar, and the Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) responsible for the terrorist attacks on the Indian Parliament. Most of these and other organizations have as their goal the removal of Indian security forces from J&K and the merging of the region into Pakistan. Added to these are another 39 groups in Manipur, four in Meghalaya, three in Nagaland, 12 in the Punjab, 30 in Tripura, and several others. Punjab-based groups like the Khalistan Zindabad Force, the International Sikh Youth Federation, and Babbar Khalsa International seek an independent state for Sikhs in the Punjab known as Khalistan (SATP 2006).

There are a further 17 terrorist and extremist groups. These include a series of organizations aiming to gain the independence of Tamil Nadu, including the Tamil Nadu Liberation Army (TNLA) linked to a number of attacks and the most lethal of this group—the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), whose goal it is to establish a separate Tamil homeland in Sri Lanka. A series of left-wing and communist organizations have as their goal to bring about a communist-controlled state in parts of India. These include the Communist Party of India (Marxist Leninist) (People's War) and the Maoist Communist Centre. The People's Guerrilla Army has been linked to a large number of terror attacks and massacres in Central Bihar (SATP 2006).

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

While India is a pillar of UN peacekeeping, its record in Jammu and Kashmir is less stellar. Recent studies by Human Rights Watch and other NGOs reveal widespread abuse by the Indian Army, including arbitrary arrests, torture, "disappearances," and "faked encounters" (ambushes of civilians by military forces). In 2002, Jammu and Kashmir's chief minister, Ghulam Nabi Azad condemned custodial killings by army forces and police, strong words backed up by the Chief of Army Staff and Prime Minister Singh in 2006. Unfortunately, many reported abuses have not been investigated. Disciplinary measures in the police and armed forces are rare, and lack transparency. Civilians continue to be shot under the authority of legislation like the Jammu and Kashmir Disturbed Areas Act and the Armed Forces (Jammu and Kashmir) Special Powers Act. The latter ambiguously

allows lethal force to be employed "against any person who is acting in contravention of any law or order for the time being in force in the disturbed area" (Human Rights Watch 2006). In light of the large number of terrorist and extremist organizations operating within India, such laws are not surprising. Nevertheless, official excesses need to be curbed, as they encourage further criminal acts against the state, while reducing public confidence in the government, police, and the military.

Justice System and the Government's Adherence to the Law

India has an integrated system of courts, a legacy of British rule. The legal system relies on British common law, and also uses key American court rulings as precedents. At the top is the Supreme Court which was established in 1950, followed by 18 High Courts at the state level, some of which have jurisdiction over more than one state. Some of these date back to the mid-nineteenth century. Each state is divided into judicial districts presided by district and sessions judges. A series of lower courts are divided into criminal and civil branches. The legal profession is regulated by the All India Bar Council, established in 1961 (Dayanand 2004; Indian Courts 2006).

Notable Areas of Abuse

Corruption at all levels remains a serious problem in India, especially as the country attempts to move towards developed status by 2020. During the 1990s, successive Congress governments from Rajiv Gandhi to Narasimha Rao were rocked by scandal. A well-known case was the Bofors scandal, when Congress officials were bribed by Sweden's AB Bofors arms manufacturer to the tune of $40 million. The scandal led to the downfall of Rajiv's government. Government transparency will be aided by increased scrutiny of bureaucrats and other policymakers including politicians. Computerization will also help reduce instances of everyday corruption, by reducing individual capacity for collecting bribes. A recent study by Transparency International India (using over 40,000 respondents in 20 states) revealed that 62 percent of Indians either had to bribe or use a "contact" to obtain a public service that should have been available free of charge. Seventy-five percent of respondents felt that corruption was increasing. The highest rates of corruption are to be found in essential services, like the police, the lower courts, and in government-run hospitals (Transparency International India 2005, 1–2).

Promotion of Human Rights Abroad

India through the United Nations promotes human rights abroad and has been an active and engaged contributor to peacekeeping. Nevertheless, the situation in Jammu and Kashmir remains highly militarized and extremely tense. Indians generally feel that their government is protecting Indian interests and promoting human rights by their actions in this region.

CONCLUSION

Unlike most other countries, India's view of America has improved since 2000. The 2005 Pew Global Attitudes Survey revealed that 83 percent of Indians had a favorable impression of America, and 62 percent had confidence in Bush "to do the right thing regarding world affairs." Only Americans had a more positive view of their country (Pew 2006). As discussed, India and America are pursuing a strong military alliance, which includes close Indo-Israel relations as well. America's Indian Diaspora is also active in U.S. politics. There are currently over two million Indians living in America, constituting the wealthiest minority group in America. There are over 4,000 Indians teaching in American universities while the American Association of Physicians of Indian Origin has some 35,000 members. Remittances from America rose from $2.1 billion in 1990 to over $12 billion by 2000. During the Kargil conflict, Indians in America were able to successfully lobby Congress and President Clinton to urge Pakistan's Nawaz Sharif to withdraw his forces (Panagariya 2001).

Social and Security Linkages

The continued problems of Jammu and Kashmir will strain India-Pakistan relations for the foreseeable future. Pakistan remains politically and economically volatile with much of the country practically ungovernable from the center. Terrorism will continue to pose a security threat to India and will result in the continued pursuit of strong relationships with Israel, the United States, and the European Union. In 2006, terrorist attacks on Varanasi in March killed 14 people, the killing of 35 Hindus in Indian Kashmir by suspected Islamic militants in May, 180 deaths in July when rush-hour trains in Mumbai were bombed, while in September, 31 people were killed in the town of Malegaon outside of a mosque (BBC 2006b). While the Punjab and Tamil Nadu are largely restive, the northeast remains volatile, although many regional militia groups are presently negotiating with the government. The BJP and Hindutva are by no means dormant forces in Indian society. Congress won by a very small margin in 2004, meaning that Indian politics will continue to be a forum for confrontation between religious and secular visions of the country, with continued tensions between regional political forces and the center. Regional and state level politics remain extremely diverse.

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Indonesia

Sharon Lunsford

BACKGROUND

The area we call Indonesia is an archipelago of over 17,000 islands located squarely on the equator between Australia to the south and Malaysia, Cambodia, Vietnam, and the Philippines to the north. Some 6,000 of these islands are inhabited. The best known islands of this group are Sumatra, Java, and Borneo (collectively known as the Greater Sunda Islands) and New Guinea. Approximately two thirds of Borneo (the province of Kalimantan) is part of Indonesia, with the other third belonging to Malaysia. New Guinea is divided roughly in half between Indonesia (Irian Jaya) and Papua New Guinea. Indonesia covers an area of nearly two million square kilometers, with 95 percent of that being land and the other 5 percent water (CIA 2006).

Most of the country consists of coastal lowlands, but there are mountains located in the interior of the larger Indonesian islands. Indonesia's reef system is the largest in the world and its rain forest one of the largest. Thousands of unique species of life exist in each of these areas. Its volcanic chain, located on the southern coasts of Java and Sumatra, is the world's most active (EIA 2004).

Oil and gas are a critical part of Indonesia's natural resources. Indonesia also contains minerals such as copper, bauxite, tin, nickel, silver, and gold. Timber is another valuable resource (CIA 2006), not only for its domestic and export value but for the rain forest's ability to act as a "sink" for ozone absorption (EIA 2004). The geothermal energy potential of the volcanic chain is considerable but has not been exploited. The same is true for hydroelectric power, although a little more use of this source has been made by the government (EIA 2004).

Indonesia's air pollution costs the country an estimated $400 million or more a year. The air quality in Jakarta particularly is among the world's worst. Carbon dioxide, nitrogen dioxide, sulfur dioxide, hydrocarbon, and particulate matter are present in high levels. One of the consequences for Indonesia's people is a high incidence of deadly respiratory tract inflammations. Major causes of air pollution

Indonesia

Formal name of country: Republic of Indonesia
Size of country: Total: 1,919,440 sq km; land 1,826,440 sq km; water 93,000 sq km
Natural resources: Petroleum and minerals
Population: 245,452,739 (July 2006 est.)
Life expectancy at birth: 69
Key ethnic groups:

- Javanese
- Sudanese

Key religions: Muslim
Political system: Republic
Key political groups/parties:

- Golkar
- Partai Demokrasi Indonesia-Perjuangan (PDI-P)
- Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP)
- Partai Demokrat (PD)
- Partai Amanat Nacional (PAN)

Legal system: Corrupt
Real GDP growth: 5.4% (2005 est.)
Population below poverty line: 16.7% (2004)
Size of military: 302,000 active personnel (2007)
International organizations: Numerous
Relationship with the United States: Moderately favorable
Important human security issues: Air and water pollution, natural disasters, civil unrest, avian flu, effects of past violence
Future important human security issues: Health due to above, further violence

Source: CIA 2006, International Institute for Strategic Studies 2007.

include motor vehicles, forest fires and industrial activity. Most of Indonesia's motor vehicles run on leaded gasoline and diesel fuel, and the motorcycles (including scooters) that make up a large portion of these do not have catalytic converters. Many of the forest fires are caused by illegal logging. Indonesia's Ministry of Environment instituted a Blue Sky Program in 1992 setting limits for 20 industries in Bandung, Medan, Jakarta, Semarang, and Surabya, the country's largest cities (EIA 2004).

Surface and groundwater contamination due to the lack of a residential or industrial sanitation system in even the urban areas makes water pollution another major environmental issue. Indonesia's historically rich reef ecosystems are in danger due to sewage, industrial and agricultural waste, and destructive fishing methods. The

Malacca and Lombok Straits in particular are subject to heavy pollution levels due to high shipping traffic (EIA 2004).

Natural hazards include volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, and tsunamis, all of which have seriously affected the country in the past few years and are continuing as of this writing. Others are floods, drought, and forest fires, although the forest fires can also be considered man-made hazards.

The island of Sumatra was the base of a Hindu empire in the seventh century. The area covered by Indonesia today is roughly the area governed by the Shrivijaya empire in the ninth century and the Majapahit empire in the fourteenth century. The archipelago has a proud ancient military and cultural history, including the Javanese defeat of an invasion attempt by Kublai Khan and the function of Shrivijaya as an international Buddhist study center. Beginning with the establishment of Batavia on the island of Java in 1597 and the formation of the Dutch East India Company in 1602 and accelerating in the mid-to-late sixteenth century, the Dutch used a combination of force and negotiations to acquire political control over the island of Java and part of Sumatra and economic control over the rest of the archipelago. The natural agricultural resources of the islands were heavily exploited. When the company collapsed in 1798 from mismanagement, the government of the Netherlands took up where the company left off, continuing and even increasing the exploitation (Kahin 1952).

During World War II, the Japanese occupied the islands from 1942 to their surrender in 1945. In the time between the Japanese surrender and the arrival of the British in September 1945 to retake the islands for the Allies, the growing Indonesian nationalist movement took advantage of the timing to declare independence from the Dutch in August of that year. Given the decolonizing mission of the new United Nations at the time, and given the reluctance of the British and Americans to enforce another country's colonial rule, especially after conflict between nationalist and British forces became an issue, international negotiations eventually resulted in formal recognition by the Netherlands of Indonesia's independence on December 27, 1949 (Kahin 1952; McMahon 1981).

The parliamentary democracy that began Indonesia's history as a postcolonial country was followed after 10 years by the thinly disguised dictatorship of President Sukarno. Although only a six-year rule (1959–1965), Sukarno's administration of "guided democracy" was highly influential in forming what Indonesia is now. President Suharto took over after a military coup that was supposedly just in time to neutralize a communist coup attempt. Suharto's "new order" administration, which did not attempt to appear democratic, lasted until 1998. While Suharto's dictatorship provided a certain level of political stability, allowing significant economic growth, this came at great cost in other areas. Subsequent government leaders were B.J. Habibie, Abdurrahman Wahid, and Megawati Sukarnoputru, who headed the country during the periods 1998–1999, 1999–2001, and 2001–2004, respectively. Their combined governments were part of the *reformasi* period, characterized by a legacy of political instability from the collapse of Suharto's regime but a reform mind-set that led to a number of initiatives toward improving the quality of governance and the level of democracy in Indonesia (Vaughn 2006, 5).

SOCIETY

Indonesia's estimated population is close to 250 million, with 65.8 percent in the 15–64 year age range, 28.8 percent under 15, and 5.4 percent over 64. Those numbers by themselves are misleading, as the median age is only 26.8 years. The population is roughly half male and half female. The country's population growth rate for 2006 is estimated to be 1.41 percent (CIA 2006).

Indonesia is home to 500 ethnic groups who speak over 600 languages. Because all or nearly all of these ethnic groups were in the area covered by Indonesia before the country was formed, some authorities have considered all these groups to be indigenous to Indonesia. The Indonesian government and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), however, have historically considered the term to be much narrower. Although the Social Minister used the term "isolated people" in 1994 to refer to those who meet certain criteria including geographic, social and cultural isolation from other groups, limited socioeconomic development, and animistic beliefs, the term "*adat* community" (autonomous community) had recently come into use by the government to specifically designate indigenous peoples as opposed to other forest people and small farming groups, and it is that term that has taken over the discussions in NGOs. Under the definition agreed upon by the Indonesian Alliance of Adat Communities (AMAN), formed in 1999, an adat community is "a community living together based on their origins intergenerationally in adat land, who have sovereignty over the land and the natural resources, sociocultural life regulated by adat law and adat institutions which manage the sustainability of the communities' lives." Per AMAN's estimate, Indonesia has 50–70 million people living in adat communities. Isolated adat communities include at least 18 groups located (in decreasing order of size) in Papua, West Kalimantan, East Nusa Tenggara, East Kalimantan, Central Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Southeast Sulawesi, South Kalimantan, Bengkulu, Central Kalimantan, Riau, Maluku, Aceh, Jambi, North Sulawesi, West Java, West Sumatra, and South Sumatra. Over half of these households are located on Papua. The communities having membership in AMAN are located on the outer islands (ADB 2002, 2–5, 67). Tribal peoples have historically been stigmatized as "backward" and isolated from central Indonesian society (Bertrand 2004, 45).

Over one million of Indonesia's population, generally located in Aceh, Central Sulawesi, Maluku, and Central Kalimantan provinces, are known to be internally displaced persons (IDPs) due to a tsunami that struck in December 2004 (570,000) and to the Indonesian government's actions against rebels in Aceh province (500,000) (CIA 2006). The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees recently completed its assistance in the voluntary repatriation of 225,000 refugees to Timor-Leste (East Timor) six years after their escape from the bloodshed that followed that country's independence referendum (UNHCR 2005).

Broadly speaking, nearly half of Indonesia's people, roughly 45 percent, are Javanese. Sundanese make up another 14 percent. The Madurese and coastal Malay groups follow at 7.5 percent each, with 26 percent of the population belonging to other groups, a percentage that roughly corresponds to the adat communities described above. More specifically, there are an estimated 490 ethnic groups in the country. Papuans are ethnically and religiously different from most of the rest

EAST TIMOR

Although Indonesia currently comprises countries formerly colonized by The Netherlands, it controlled for nearly a quarter of a century a country formerly colonized by Portugal. The island of Timor was for centuries split between Dutch and Portuguese rule. West Timor became part of the newly formed Indonesia in 1950 and East Timor remained a Portuguese colony until 1975. After a military coup in Portugal in 1974, Portugal began divesting itself of colonial areas. East Timor began working toward independence. The Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor, known as Fretilin, declared independence in late November 1975. However, during the Cold War period, any newly independent state was seen as an opportunity for Communist expansion. Through a series of political maneuvers and a bloody invasion in December 1975, and despite East Timor's pleas to the United Nations for assistance, Indonesia took control of East Timor in 1976. The Fretilin government, which had governed the country for little more than a week, was forced into the mountains. Fretilin's army was given the name Forças Armadas de Libertaçao Nacional de Timor Leste (Falintil).

Australia was the only country to officially recognize Indonesia's control over East Timor, but no other country stepped forward to prevent the takeover. Fretilin managed to hold on for several years but after its leaders were arrested and some of them killed in late 1977 and 1978, communications were disrupted and Fretilin ceased to exist as a viable political party. Its army, however, survived and continued to harass Indonesian forces for the next 20 years. The Indonesian military engaged in cruel tactics including torture, rape, bombing, or setting fire to villages and crops, and massacres. Most of their victims were civilians. Falintil limited its activities in order to limit the retaliation against the villagers. As in many cases of guerrilla warfare, Falintil members moved among the villagers and the villagers supported them, camouflaged them, and reported to them.

After the fall of Suharto, Indonesia's hold on East Timor began to loosen. Diplomatic negotiations toward East Timor independence had been carried on for years by exiles from Timor and interested persons in Portugal and Australia. At the time, during talks between the Indonesian and Portuguese governments, a limited form of autonomy was proposed for the East Timor province. After surprise declarations by the European Union and Australia supported East Timor independence, President Habibi stated that East Timor could have independence if it did not want autonomy within the system. Indonesia's military had different ideas. Massive police and military violence against pro-independence farmers ensured.

A popular vote was scheduled for August 8, 1999. The United Nations set up operations to supervise the election. However, no peacekeeping force was involved. Election security was up to the Indonesian police forces. Thousands of pro-Indonesian Timorese evacuated to West Timor before election day. Falintil withdrew into the mountains during the months leading up to the election, so as not to give the Indonesians any excuse for conflict. However, the Indonesian military, militia, and police did not need an excuse. The military turned local gangs into authorized militia and set them against civilians. Tens of thousands of villagers were forcibly removed from their homes by the militia. The election was rescheduled twice, with August 30, 1999, being the final choice.

Election day was relatively peaceful. Nearly 80 percent of the East Timorese population rejected the autonomy package, signifying that they preferred total independence. Although the post-election violence had been predicted due to the higher level of intimidation beforehand, wholesale slaughter was still unexpected. Nevertheless, slaughter is exactly what happened. Approximately 150,000 people were displaced and thousands more killed even while taking refuge in police stations and UN compounds. The military's actions were carried out under the guise of "preventing civil war." Eventually the violence spent itself, the Indonesians went away, and East Timor had its independence. Over 200,000 people were killed in the 24 years of Indonesian rule (Parry 2005, 171–312).

of Indonesia, being Melanesian and being Christian or animist rather than Muslim. Like Aceh, Papua also contains considerable natural resources, mostly minerals and timber (CIA 2006; Vaughn 2006, 13). Chinese in Indonesia have been the subject of differential treatment including denial of citizenship and legislation making distinctions between Chinese and Indonesian persons (Bertrand 2004, 24). Much of this stems from the fact that the Chinese were given economic benefits and power by the Dutch during colonial times.

The main language spoken is Bahasa Indonesia, a form of Malay that is considered the official language. European languages include English and Dutch. The many local dialects can be divided roughly into Austronesian and Papuan categories, consisting respectively of 270 and 180 languages. Javanese is the most common of these (CIA 2006; Vaughn 2006, 1).

Indonesia is a mostly Muslim country, with 88 percent of its populace claiming Muslim affiliation. Christians make up 8 percent, with 5 percent being Protestant and 3 percent Catholic. Hinduism and Buddhism account for 2 percent and 1 percent, respectively, and the remaining 1 percent is of some other religion or perhaps none (CIA 2006). This Islamic religious heritage stems from the fourteenth century, when Indian and Arab traders came to the islands from Malacca (now part of Malaysia) to escape the Portuguese occupation of that area (Kingsbury 2005, 11). Later, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this common religion served as a unifying factor against colonization by the Portuguese and then the Dutch, both ostensibly Christian cultures (Kahin 1952, 38; Kingsbury 2005, 11).

As of 2005, Indonesia had 668 airports, with only 161 of them paved, and 23 heliports. Nearly 6,500 kilometers of railways were in existence in 2004. Of the nearly 370,000 kilometers of roadway in Indonesia in 2002, a little less than 60 percent were paved roads (CIA 2006).

About 40 million telephones were in use in 2004, three-quarters of them cellular. Just over 800 radio stations, mostly AM but some shortwave or FM, were in operation in the late 1990s, broadcasting to the over 30 million radios owned by the Indonesian population. Television stations, often transmitting at low power levels, currently total 54, belonging to 11 national networks. Television units owned by Indonesian citizens in 1997 totaled nearly 14 million. Internet hosts in 2005 totaled over 130,000 (CIA 2006).

Electrical power, 80 percent generated from petroleum products, 18 percent from water, and 2 percent from geothermal sources, is available to most of the country but is undersupplied, with blackouts occurring intermittently in Java (EIA 2005). Households not connected to electrical power include nearly a quarter of a million households considered to be isolated peoples (ADB 2002, 4).

The country's major industries are apparel, textiles, footwear, petroleum and natural gas, rubber, chemical fertilizers, plywood, mining, cement, tourism, and food. Agricultural activities are centered around rubber, peanuts, rice, tapioca (cassava), coffee, cocoa, copra, palm oil, poultry, eggs, pork, and beef. Exports for 2004 went to Japan, the United States, Singapore, South Korea, China, and Malaysia. Imports for the same year came from Japan, Singapore, China, the United States, Thailand, Australia, South Korea, and Saudi Arabia, consisting generally of fuels, chemicals, equipment, machinery, and food (CIA 2006).

Indonesia's estimated unemployment rate for 2005 was 10.9 percent. The 2004 estimate for the portion of the population living below the poverty line was 16.7 percent. The country's public debt in 2005 was equal to a little over half its GDP, and its external debt was estimated at $131 billion (CIA 2006).

Regional areas producing oil and gas are constantly in dispute with the central government over the percentage of the revenues from those sources retained by the government. Most of the oil produced in Indonesia comes from Central Sumatra, offshore from Java's northwest coast, the Natuna Sea, and the province of East Kalimantan (EIA 2005).

Indonesia's literacy rate (for age 15 and over) is 87.9 percent, with males having the advantage at 92.5 percent compared to a rate of 83.4 percent for females (CIA 2006). Its infant mortality rate is 3.4 percent and life expectancy is just under 70 years, with females having about a five-year advantage (CIA 2006).

DOMESTIC POLITICS

Indonesia is a republic, with 440 districts and regencies contained in 30 provinces and two special regions (Aceh and Yogyakarta). The capital of Jakarta is a district in itself, known as Jakarta Raya. Although administration was historically handled by a strong federal government, a decentralization movement beginning in 2001 has resulted in most matters being handled at the district level (CIA 2006). Indonesia's tripartite legislative structure comprises the House of Representatives (DPR), the Regional Representative Council (DPD), and the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR). The DPR, which is responsible for most of the work of legislation, currently has 550 members. The DPR election process involves nominations by each party. In contrast, the members of the DPD gain their positions by direct popular election. The MPR is made up of DPR and DPD members and handles constitutional and impeachment matters (Vaughn 2006, 7).

The current administration, elected in September 2004 and inaugurated in October 2004, is led by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono as president and Muhammad Yusuf Kalla as vice president. Known as "the thinking general," Yudhoyono has a military background but does not carry the taint of having been involved in the anti-civilian violence so prevalent in his country. He served under President Abdurrahman Wahid as minister for mines and then chief minister for security and political affairs. When he declined to declare a state of emergency at Wahid's bidding, simply to prevent Wahid from being impeached, he was fired. He later lost the same position under President Megawati Sukarnoputri when he had a public disagreement with that president. These events have contributed to a reputation for integrity. His habit of examining all angles before making a decision has led to some criticism that he is slow to act, yet on occasion he has moved quickly. He has been very active in anti-terrorism efforts since the Bali bombing.

The 10 political parties capturing the largest number of legislative seats in the 2004 election, in order from highest to lowest, are the Secretariat Bersama Golongkan Karya (Joint Secretariat of Functional Groups, based on the 1999 Golkar party and still referred to as Golkar); the Partai Demokrasi Indonesia-Perjuangan (PDI-P, Indonesia Democratic Party-Struggle); the Partai Persatuan

Pembangunan (PPP, United Development Party); the Partai Demokrat (PD, Democratic Party); the Partai Amanat Nacional (PAN, National Mandate Party); the Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB, National Awakening Party); the Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS, Justice and Prosperity Party); the Partai Bintang Reformasi (PBR, Star Party of Reform); the Partai Damai Sejahtera (PDS, Prosperity and Peace Party); and the Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB, Crescent Moon and Star [or Moon Star] Party) (CIA 2006; Kingsbury 2005, xi-xiv; Ufen 2006, 12).

Some of the party leaders considered most influential are Sutrisno Bachir (PAN), Yusril Ihza Mahendra (PBB), Megawati Sukarnoputri (former president and daughter of former leader Sukarno (PDI-P), Subur Budhisantoso (PD), Tifatul Sembiring (PKS), and Hamzah Haz (PPP).

The Golkar party, the PDI-P, and the PD are not tied to a particular religious tradition and therefore are usually classified as secular parties. They do, however, have many religious citizens as voters. Golkar leadership has ties to the Muslim community, but is not specifically religious in nature. PDI-P has attracted Christians, secularists, and Muslims. The PPP, PAN, PBB, PKB, and PKS are Islamic parties with varying mixtures of traditional and modern philosophies (Ufen 2006, 13; Manikas and Thornton 2003, 95).

Political participation in Indonesia is becoming oriented more toward candidates and less toward party affiliation. The influence of mass media and the rise of business connections have both contributed to pull voters away from traditional village politics. Swing voters are more numerous not only in the general public but in the electorate. The current president was voted in by large numbers of voters from other parties as well as his own. In early 2006 a survey of Indonesian voters found only a quarter of them claiming to belong to a given party (Ufen 15–16).

LAW AND ORDER

Historically, the military has been in charge of maintaining the status quo. It has been mainly concerned with quashing insurgencies and separatist movements rather than dealing with external threats. The military organization in place since independence is the Indonesian National Defense Force (TNI), composed of the Army Special Forces Command, the Army Strategic Reserve Command, the Naval Command, the Air Force Command and various special forces. Under its stated mission of *dwifungsi*, or dual function, it has often hidden behind paramilitary organizations and "volunteer" militia groups to carry out its agenda, especially against separatist groups and certain ethnic groups. Particularly egregious abuses of human rights are reported to have taken place in Aceh, Maluku, East Timor, and Papua (Vaughn 2006, 7).

The dwifungsi philosophy was eliminated during the reformasi period. Although the military has more recently separated itself from the police system, it is still a very powerful force within the country. A source of serious conflict of interest is the acquisition of ownership of resources by military personnel involved in relocating people from the land bearing those resources. The military was ordered by parliament in 2004 to divest itself of business interests over the next five years (Vaughn 2006, 5–7). Indonesian political parties are rumored to have their own

paramilitary groups but detailed information is scarce (Manikas and Thornton, 2003, 95).

Piracy in the Malacca Strait is still an issue, as is drug production of ecstasy and other illicit substances (CIA 2006). Copyright infringement, a different type of piracy, is rampant in Indonesia.

Indonesia is reported to have one of the highest levels of corruption of any country, involving all levels of government from political party heads to judges, prosecutors, and the police (Manikas and Thornton, 2003, 82–83). Public confidence in the police and judicial systems is understandably affected by this widespread dishonesty.

With President Yudhoyono in office, Indonesia is working toward a more dependable rule of law and a reform of the military sector. A significant open issue, however, is the treatment of human rights abuses by the military during Suharto's reign (Vaughn 2006, Summary).

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Indonesia's foreign policy has historically concentrated on regional affairs rather than world power struggles, and in recent years has become more internally directed. The country is currently on good terms with China despite some territorial disputes over areas in the South China Sea, but has not been on good terms with Australia since East Timor became independent. Foreign policy has also dealt largely with economic matters. Indonesia and China signed a set of economic and maritime agreements in April 2005 constituting a significant economic alliance. The transactions may have also included military and weapons assistance (Vaughn 2006, 17–18). Indonesia receives military and police counterterrorism funding and training from the United States (Vaughn 2006, 22–23).

Indonesia signed nuclear cooperation agreements with the United States and with the Soviet Union in 1960. When China successfully tested nuclear weapons in 1964, Indonesia flirted briefly with the idea of developing nuclear weapons with China's help, as Indonesia's government under Sukarno was headed in a socialist direction at the time. However, China announced in 1965 that it would not assist other socialist countries in that process, and when in early 1966 Sukarno stepped down and handed the government over to Suharto, this move toward nuclear weapons development was stopped. The new administration signed a safeguards agreement with the United States and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) regarding a nuclear reactor that Indonesia had previously purchased from an American company. Since that time, Indonesia has shown no interest in anything but peaceful purposes for nuclear power.

Economic organizations of which Indonesia is a member include the Asian Development Bank (ADB); Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC); the Group of 15 (G-15); the Group of 77 (G-77); the International Monetary Fund (IMF); the International Development Association (IDA); the Islamic Development Bank (IDB); and the World Tourism Organization. It also participates in a socioeconomic development program called the Colombo Plan (CP). Although Indonesia became a net oil importer in 2004, it is a member of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).

Indonesia is a member of numerous political and security organizations including the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the associated ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF); the Bank for International Settlements (BIS); the East Asia Summit (EAS); the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA); the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU); International Labor Organization (ILO); the International Criminal Police Organization (Interpol); the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU); the Nonalighned Movement (NAM); the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC); and the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW).

In addition to being a member of the United Nations, Indonesia is also a member of specific UN organizations such as the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO); the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD); the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO); the International Finance Corporation (IFC); the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD); the International Maritime Organization (IMO); International Telecommunication Union (ITU); the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA); the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD); the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO); Universal Postal Union (UPU); the World Health Organization (WHO); the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), and the World Meterological Organization (WMO). It is also an observer for the International Organization for Migration (IOM) (CIA 2006).

Indonesia is also a member of various trade, professional, and other international associations such as the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC); the International Hydrographic Organization (IHO); the International Olympic Committee (IOC); the International Standards Organization (ISO); the World Confederation of Labor (WCL); the World Customs Organization (WCO); the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU); and the World Trade Organization (WTO).

Indonesia is a party to numerous international environmental agreements, including the Basel Convention on the Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes and Their Disposal; the Convention on Biological Diversity; the Convention on the International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Flora and Fauna; the Convention on Wetlands of International Importance Especially as Waterfowl Habitat; the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea; the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification in those Countries Experiencing Serious Drought and/or Desertification, Particularly in Africa; the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and its associated Kyoto Protocol; the Montreal Protocol on Substances That Deplete the Ozone Layer; the Protocol of 1978 Relating to the International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution from Ships, 1973; the Tropical Timber Agreement, 1983; and the International Tropical Timber Agreement, 1994. Indonesia has also signed the Convention on Fishing and Conservation of Living Resources of the High Seas but has not yet ratified it (CIA 2006).

Socioeconomic groups not affiliated with the United Nations include the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRCS), as it

is called in peacetime, and its wartime arm, the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement.

Indonesia has historically received foreign aid from the Netherlands, Japan, and European Union countries, among others, in addition to institutions such as the Asian Development Bank and the World Bank. Aid from the Netherlands was cut off in the early 1990s due to human rights issues (and in response rejected by Indonesia) and EU aid negotiations have been affected by human rights matters as well. During the early years of this century, Indonesia's economy was such that it was able to end one aid program in 2003.

An immense amount of humanitarian aid was pledged to Indonesia at the time of the 2004 tsunami; unfortunately, most of that aid has not actually been sent. Individual and NGO volunteer assistance from other countries has been provided to an extent since the tsunami and during other recent natural disasters, but much more assistance is needed.

Indonesia has taken part in the UN Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) established in 1999; the UN Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) established in 1999; the UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) established in 2003; the UN Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS) established in 2005; and the UN Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) established in 1993.

SECURITY

Past security concerns for Indonesia have involved ethnic conflict, economic upheaval, natural disasters, and health risks. Ethnic conflict within Indonesia is not new, but it has ebbed and flowed over the centuries. The initial colonization by the Dutch in the early seventeenth century was accomplished by brutal methods, as was the expansion of power in the late nineteenth century (Coppel, 3). Violence has been a standard ingredient of a change in political control and has involved both civilian and government elements. The violence of the mid-1960s was associated with the end of Sukarno's regime and the beginning of Suharto's (Bertrand 2004, 2). Although violence against Chinese property was widespread during that time, deadly violence was generally reserved for communists or communist sympathizers. This would seem to make the killings more a matter of political conflict but the fact that the victims tended to be Javanese and Balinese brings in an ethnic component (Coppel 2006, xv). During Suharto's rule, the regions most likely to be involved in ethnic violence were Aceh, Irian Jaya, and East Timor. A military massacre of Muslim protesters took place in the Jakarta harbor of Tanjunk Priok (England 2005, 1).

Violence in Indonesia rose sharply toward the end of the twentieth century, and the level of violence finishing out that century overflowed into this one. Destruction of life and property was extensive throughout Java in 1995 and 1996 due to riots with religious and ethnic components, especially against the Chinese population. Hundreds of thousands of Madurese people were displaced and 1,000 or more Dayaks and Madurese were killed in Central Kalimantan and West Kalimantan in the years 1996, 1997, and 2001. From 1999 to 2002, conflict between Christians and Muslims resulted in the deaths of 5,000 or more people (Bertrand 2004, 1).

Rioting, rapes, and murders accompanied the end of Suharto's administration in 1998 (Coppel 2006, 19).

Indonesia's takeover of East Timor in 1975 after its release by the Portuguese triggered havoc within that region. Guerrilla warfare kept the situation unstable for many years. After Indonesia had agreed to allow East Timor to vote on independence, the successful August 1999 referendum was followed by systematic military and military-backed killings of over 1,000 civilians and the forcible displacement of 200,000 more (Bertrand 2004, 1)

Nationalist and separatist movements within Indonesia have involved considerable violence. The Indonesian military and the Free Aceh Movement (Gerakin Aceh Merdeka, or GAM) engaged in conflict from 1999 on, with 1,800 or more deaths resulting in 2000 and 2001. This was but a renewed effort, stemming from the region's long-standing historical resistance to outside control and the added grievance of the inequity in distribution of the revenue made by the state from the exploitation of Aceh's natural resources. This phase lasted nearly 30 years, having begun in 1976. Periodically Aceh's independence movement would rise, be defeated, and regain strength. An accord was signed July 17, 2005, ending this particular conflict, and was followed by an agreement on August 15, 2005. The reduction in strength of the military and the December 2005 disarmament by GAM was part of the result; legislation in progress to allow Aceh to have its own political parties and significant control of its own political matters is another (Bertrand 2004, 1; Vaughn 2006, 12).

The efforts of the Free Papua Movement (Organisasi Papua Merdeka, or OPM) in Papua, formerly known as Irian Jaya, involved the deaths of several people in 1999 and 2000 due to conflict with the Indonesian military. The total number of deaths due to this conflict over time has been estimated at up to 100,000. Papua was not part of Indonesia when Indonesia gained its independence, but instead was acquired from the Netherlands by Indonesia through military action in 1963 and then a so-called ''Act of Free Choice'' by local Papuan officials in 1969 (Vaughn 2006, 13; Bertrand 2004, 1).

ACEH PEACE AGREEMENT

During the late 1980s and the 1990s, Aceh province was designated a military operations zone. Although military control officially ended in August 1998 after the fall of Suharto, new military initiatives took place in January 1999. An independence rally held in November 1999 brought an attendance estimated at one million. According to some reports, the independence forces set up their own administrative government over nearly three-quarters of Aceh.

An attempt at legislating autonomy for Aceh in 2001 was unsuccessful. The Indonesian security forces committed serious human rights violations as a matter of course. In this conflict, however, GAM was also responsible for human rights violations. Civilians suffered the most. Although a cease-fire agreement was signed in December 2002, its short life was characterized by an increase in human rights violations and attacks on international monitors. The Indonesian government declared a state of emergency in Aceh on May 18, 2003.

The Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, based in Switzerland, was involved in mediation attempts between the Indonesian government and GAM. International response to the devastation caused in Aceh by the December 2004 tsunami contributed to the reinstatement of peace talks that finally resulted in the August 2005 peace agreement between the GAM and the Indonesian government. An important difference between the 2005 agreement and the failed 2003 agreement is the inclusion of human rights provisions in the 2005 agreement. ASEAN and EU member countries have participated in monitoring the agreement's implementation (Amnesty 2004; Siddharth 2005).

Many of the separatist movements stem from conflict between Jakarta, capital of Java and the political center of Indonesia, and the other areas of the country. For instance, although the petroleum products of Indonesia come largely from Aceh, the revenue goes to Jakarta. That situation is comparable to Washington, DC, receiving all the oil money from Texas.

As an island nation, Indonesia is subject to natural environmental hazards such as tsunamis and earthquakes. On December 26, 2004, a tsunami struck southeast Asia with its main force centered on Indonesia. Aceh province was the most severely affected, with over 100,000 lives lost and greater than $4 billion in destruction of homes and property. Much of the rebuilding from this damage is still to be done. In March 2005, a major earthquake resulted in the deaths of nearly a thousand people and considerable destruction of property on Nias island (UNHCR 2006; CIA 2006). Another earthquake struck central Java on May 27, 2006, with its death toll quickly exceeding 5,000. On July 26, 2006, another tsunami struck Indonesia.

Terrorism is a serious threat to Indonesia's future. The country is home to certain terrorist organizations and contains member cells of others. Since 1998 it has been the center for Jemaah Islamiya (JI), a regional organization related to Al Qaeda (Chalk 2005, 25). Although it was formed in the early 1990s at the behest of Osama bin Laden, JI has its roots in the Darul Islam insurgency of the 1950s and in the teachings of a pair of Muslim religious leaders who began pushing for the enforcement of *Shari'a* law in Indonesia in the 1960s. Their school, established in 1972, has produced numerous terrorists and a document called *The Jihad Guidebook* (Abuza 2005, 43). JI was severely repressed during Suharto's administration. Core members fled to Malaysia in 1985 and developed the idea of a regional Islamic organization (Clarke 2005)

Not content to allow Indonesian violence to percolate on its own, terrorists have staged several incidents over the past several years. Several bombs were set off in Jakarta and in Manila, the Philippines, in December 2000, all attributed to the radical Islamic group Laskar Jundullah. A bomb attributed to JI went off in a Bali tourist resort on October 12, 2002, killing nearly 200 people. Most of the deaths were of foreigners. The religious fanaticism behind these attacks was not typical of Indonesia, whose Islamic culture has traditionally been a very tolerant one (Bertrand 2004, 1).

Indonesia's government did not pay much attention to the terrorist threat growing within its borders until world attention was focused on the issue after the October 2002 bombing in Bali. Although then-president Megawati Sukarnoputri did not attend an anniversary memorial ceremony the next year, the law enforcement arm of the government did find and try the bomber.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Indonesia has been lacking in its compliance with international justice standards. Although a UN investigation found militia personnel guilty of multiple atrocities in East Timor's independence conflict of 1999, Indonesia's own investigation failed to convict anyone, and Indonesia refused to surrender any personnel for the UN justice process (Vaughn 2006, 11). The government's support of basic

human rights has depended largely on the ethnic characterization of the citizens involved and on the military's involvement.

The Indonesian government has been slow to agree to investigate historical violence. It was not until September 2004 that the parliament passed a bill providing for the establishment of a National Truth and Reconciliation Commission to deal with such events as the mass killings of leftists in 1965 and the killings of Muslims in Tanjung Priok in 1984 (Coppel 2006, xvii).

Far from promoting human rights, Indonesia has taken offense to the attempts of other countries to tie foreign aid to human rights and declared it would no longer accept aid with human-rights strings.

CONCLUSION

Prior to the U.S. invasion of Iraq, relations between Indonesia and the United States were generally favorable except when Indonesia was resistant to outside input on human rights and separatist matters. Indonesia's public attitudes toward the United States have become less favorable recently due to the U.S. military activities in Iraq. However, the two governments have become more cooperative since Indonesia's prosecution of the Bali bomber. The United States currently provides military equipment and training for counterterrorism initiatives.

Some of the ethnic conflict in Indonesia can be attributed to forced migration patterns during a time when the government was moving people around the country to suit its own agenda. Although theoretically it was trying to balance out area populations, some of the people moved were given priority status for jobs and other benefits, and in several cases the move upset an existing religious and cultural balance.

Indonesia has had a long history of illegitimate governance. Its three hundred years of Dutch dominance was never accepted by the people, and Suharto's later administration became increasingly more corrupt (Vaughn 2006, 6). One of the country's central challenges is the development of a truly democratic regime. At the present it is close to democracy but not quite there. Making that last step may be critical to resolving some of the other issues. Positive steps Indonesia has taken recently include allowing an open media environment and holding genuine elections (Vaughn 2006, 6).

Indonesia's framework is an artificial structure, even more than the usual "social contract" can be considered an artificial arrangement. Indonesia was cobbled together by colonial powers out of originally autonomous parts. It has a fragile peace with Aceh and with Irian Jaya, but unless a more positive effort is made to better distribute the benefits from Indonesia's natural resources, separatist and anti-separatist violence compose a very real threat.

Some of the characteristics that make Indonesia a fascinating country also act as weaknesses. Its historical tolerance for religious and cultural diversity is so entrenched that most people on the street do not seriously believe that militant Islam is a problem in Indonesia. The countryside that provides the beauty and natural resources of the country also provides an isolated hiding place for terrorists to come and go. Its location subjects it to extreme natural disasters such as

earthquakes, tsunamis, and volcanoes, and those natural disasters in turn exacerbate the distance between the haves and the have-nots in Indonesia. Additional threats include diseases such as avian flu, with human cases already on record. Indonesia's location also means that more than two-thirds of the world's petroleum trade passes through Indonesian waters, making strategic attacks in the area a risk.

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Iran

John Wilson

BACKGROUND

Iran, "Land of the Aryans," is the more ancient name for the country that had been known as Persia until 1935. Renamed the Islamic Republic of Iran (Jomhuri-ye Eslami-ye Iran) following the 1979 Islamic revolution, Iran today is strategically located between the Persian Gulf and the Caspian Sea in the Middle East—a region with 62 percent of the world's remaining oil reserves. On its eastern border are Pakistan and Afghanistan, to the north is Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan, while to the west lie Turkey and Iraq. The Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman make up its southern border. Iran also occupies three islands in the Persian Gulf, but its claims of sovereignty over these are disputed by the United Arab Emirates (UAE). There are 25 provinces (*ostans*) which are further divided into counties and municipalities. The population of Iran is over 70 million, of which about seven million live in the capital city, Teheran.

Iran's total landmass is 1.648 million square kilometers. Surrounding a central plateau are numerous mountain ranges, and in the Northeast there are two large desert regions—Dasht-e Kavir (salt desert) and Kavir-e Namak (sand desert). Lowland areas are to be found along the Caspian coast, with its rain forest subtropical climate, and along much of the Persian Gulf and Gulf of Oman coasts. Iran's longest river is the 1,000 kilometer-long Safid Rud, followed by the Karun (830 kilometers), the Kharkeh (700 kilometers), and the Zayandeh Rud (400 kilometers). Lake Urmia, in the northwest of the country is Iran's largest.

Iran's natural resources are predominantly oil, natural gas, and minerals. The country has the world's second largest proven reserves of oil (138 billion barrels, or 11.5 percent of total world reserves), and its natural gas supplies of 20 trillion cubic meters are second only to Russia (BP 2006, 6). Most of Iran's oil fields are onshore in the Khuzestan region near the border with Iraq. Despite abundant reserves, oil production from these aging fields averages about four million barrels of oil a day, about two-thirds the production achieved before the 1979 revolution.

Iran

Formal name of country: Islamic Republic of Iran
Size of country: 1.648 million sq km (636,294 sq mi)
Natural resources: Oil, natural gas, and minerals
Population: 70.3 million (2006)
Life expectancy at birth: 70.2 years (2005)
Key ethnic groups:

- Persian 51%
- Azeri 24%
- Gilaki/Mazandarani 8%
- Kurdish 7%
- Arab 3%
- Lur 2%
- Baloch 2%
- Turkmen 2%
- Turkish tribal groups 1%

Key religions: Shi'a Islam 90%; Sunni Islam 7%
Political system: Constitutional Theocratic Republic
Key political groups/parties: Pro-Reform: Islamic Iran Participation Front; Organization for Strengthening Unity; Islamic Iran Participation Front; Conservative/Hardliners: Ansar-e Hizballah; Muslim Students Following the Line of the Imam; and Tehran Militant Clergy Association
Legal system: Islamic law
Real GDP growth: 4.8% GDP (2005)
Population below poverty line: 7.3% (2003; share of population living on $2 PPP per day)
Size of military: 545,000 (2005)
Relationship with the United States: Iran's current relationship with the United States is extremely poor.
Security issues: Security issues include the number of refugees, terrorism, and the threat of severe earthquakes
Future security issues: Iran's stance on the capabilities of, and its intentions with, its nuclear technology is central to defining the security issues the nation faces

Sources: United Nations (2005, 2006); Economist Intelligence Unit (2005); IISS (2006).

Refining capacity is also underdeveloped with Iran having to import over 40 percent of its gasoline requirements. In order to expand its level of development of these natural resources, Iran is seeking to attract billions of dollars of investment in energy partnerships with countries such as Japan, China, South Korea, Taiwan, India, and Europe.

Iran has also developed its mineral resources of bauxite, chromium, coal, copper, gold, iron ore, red oxide, salt, strontium, sulphur, and uranium. However, because of Iran's arid and semi-arid climate and desert and mountainous regions, only about a third of Iran's land is classified as suitable for cultivation or pastoral use.

A further 10 percent is woodland or forest while the remainder—over half—of Iran is classified as deserts or mountains. Desertification and deforestation are also ongoing environmental problems.

Not surprisingly, the key environmental issues for Iran are those associated with its development of oil and natural gas reserves. Marine life in the Persian Gulf has been harmed by chemical and oil spills, while the Caspian Sea is also under threat as that region's energy resources begin to be developed. Refinery operations, the use of leaded gasoline and uncontrolled vehicle emissions have caused severe air pollution in the major cities. Industrial development, urban runoff, and agricultural expansion have meant many rivers, wetlands, and coastal waterways have become contaminated. For sustainable development to become a reality in Iran, a system of environmental monitoring and standards needs to be implemented, along with the removal of subsidies on the price of oil and gasoline. Such subsidies lead to inefficiencies in the use of such products and generate carbon dioxide emissions, a key atmospheric pollutant contributing to human-induced climate change (MDGR Group 2004, 37).

Based on archaeological knowledge, the earliest settlements date from 18,000 to 14,000 years ago, while an agricultural society had developed by 6000 BC. Greek dynasties ruled Iran from 559 to 250 BC including that of Alexander the Great who conquered the empire in 330 BC. Greek rule was followed by the Parthians (250 BC–226 AD), Sassanian (226–651), and Arabs (651–thirteenth century). Genghis Khan, the Mongol leader, invaded in the 1200s and Mongol dynasties then ruled Iran for nearly two centuries. The Safavid dynasty (1502–1736) saw the creation of a centralized empire and the establishment of Shi'a Islam as the official religion. Iran endured several civil wars during the eighteenth century until the Qajar dynasty (1795–1925). Following resentment at British and Russian rivalry for influence in the region, and demands for accountable government, a limited constitution and the formation of a parliament occurred during 1905–1906. In 1909, the Anglo-Persian Oil Company was formed following the discovery of oil.

In 1921 Reza Khan, an army officer, helped lead a coup against the government and was subsequently made minister of defense and then prime minister. In 1925 he made himself shah of Iran, adopting the surname of Pahlavi. During World War II, however, the Shah was forced to abdicate in favor of his son, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, who became Shah in 1941 and ruled until 1979. The Pahlavi dynasty (1925–1979) saw the modernization of Iran, the secularization of politics, and increasing central authority exerted over provincial tribes.

During the 1960s and 1970s, Iran enjoyed growing economic prosperity and modernization based on the third largest oil reserves in the world. At the same time, political discontent was growing at the authoritarian nature of the Shah's rule. Exiled religious leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini marshaled this discontent into a growing opposition movement. By 1978, the opposition had effectively paralyzed the economy through a series of organized nationwide strikes. Junior military officers refused to intervene against the strikers and following mass desertions the military was unable to guarantee the safety of the regime. Citing the need for medical treatment, the Shah left Iran in January 1979 never to return. This enabled Ayatollah Khomeini to return from exile in France in February 1979

whereupon he set about creating a revolutionary theocratic republic based on Islamic principles. The Islamic Republic of Iran was officially created following a national referendum on April 1, 1979.

Politics in Iran since the revolution of 1979 have been characterized by tensions between the moderate (reform) and militant (conservative) factions of the revolutionary government. It was militant elements who seized the U.S. embassy in November 1979 and kept 53 U.S. diplomats hostage for 14 months. Between 1980 and 1988 Iran was engaged in a war with Iraq at the cost of 200,000 Iranian lives. Following his death in 1989, Ali Khamenei succeeded Khomeini as Iran's religious leader. During the presidency of Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani (1989–1997), policies of economic reform and the normalization of foreign relations were implemented. However, the reforms of the Rafsanjani administration, as well as that of his successor, Mohammad Khatami (1997–2005), were limited by conservative control of the parliament following the 1992, 1996, and 2004 parliamentary elections. The 2004 elections were considered to be flawed because many reformers were prohibited from contesting the election.

SOCIETY

Iran's population was estimated at 70.3 million in 2006, with an average annual growth rate between 2000 and 2005 of 0.93 percent (United Nations 2006). In 1976 about half the population lived in rural areas, but since then urbanization has resulted in about two-thirds of the population living in urban centers. Almost one-third of Iran's population is under the age of 15 years, with less than 5 percent older than 65. Life expectancy at birth is about 70 years, compared to an average of about 78 years in the developed countries of the Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (United Nations 2005).

Iran's population is comprised of four main ethnic groups with smaller numbers of other ethnicities. They are Persian (51 percent), Azeri (24 percent), Gilaki/Mazandarani (8 percent), Kurdish (7 percent), Arab (3 percent), Lur (2 percent), Baloch (2 percent), Turkmen (2 percent), and Turkish tribal groups (1 percent). The official language is Persian, which is spoken by about three-quarters of the population. The official religion is Shi'a Islam, followed by about 90 percent of Iranians. About 7 percent of the population is Sunni Muslims, with small minorities—as recognized by the constitution—of Christians, Zoroastrians, and Jews. However, Iran does not allow complete freedom of religion. Religious minorities, particularly the Baha'is, are not viewed as a religious group, but as a subversive political organization, and its adherents are subject to persecution and imprisonment. There are an estimated 716,000 refugees in Iran, most of who are from Afghanistan. A further 100,000 refugees are from Iraq. Repatriation agreements saw substantial numbers of refugees returning home in 2005 (UNHCR 2006).

Iran's basic transport infrastructure includes about 200,000 kilometers of roads, over 7,000 kilometers of rail, and 305 commercial airports. The national road system was primarily constructed before World War II, and expanded in the 1960s and 1970s. Although there are ring roads around most cities and multilane highways connect major metropolitan areas, subsidized gasoline prices have resulted

in congestion of the road system. Only about a third of Iran's 30 provinces have railroad services, with all five of the main lines of the national system originating in Tehran. Iran's national airline is Iran Air serving 15 cities including the international airports at Tehran, Tabriz, Mashhad, Bandar-e Abbas, Bushehr, Esfahan, and Shiraz, and on the islands of Kish in the Persian Gulf and Qeshm in the Strait of Hormuz. Bandar-e Abbas, also on the Strait of Hormuz, is Iran's main port. Located on Khark Island, in the northeastern Persian Gulf, is Iran's main oil terminal.

Most communications infrastructure is controlled by the Telecommunications Company of Iran (TCI). In 2005 there were 273 landlines per 1,000 people, and over seven million mobile and Internet users, about 10 percent of the population (TCI 2005). Although the Internet has become more trusted than any other Iranian media outlet—including domestic television and radio broadcasts—Iran has one of the most substantial Internet censorship regimes in the world, regulating content on religion, morals, libel, national security, and antirevolutionary activity.

Iran's energy infrastructure is dominated by natural gas—not surprising since it has the world's second largest reserves. Installed electricity generation capacity is 33,000 megawatts of which 75 percent is based on natural gas, 18 percent on oil, and 7 percent on hydroelectric power. Electricity demand is growing at 8 percent per year, requiring an estimated 53,000 megawatts to be installed by 2010. Although Iran also has substantial oil reserves, a lack of refining capacity and declining oil production means Iran spent $4 billion dollars on fuel imports in 2005 (BP 2005). As oil reserves dwindle worldwide, Iran's remaining oil reserves will become more valuable and it will not make economic sense for Iran to use them for domestic electricity consumption. Generating electricity from alternative sources is therefore increasingly important for Iran. It began operation of its first wind-powered and geothermal plants in 2004, and its first solar thermal plant is expected to come online in 2009. Iran had also planned to open its first nuclear power plant at Bushehr in 2002, but this has been delayed due, in part, to international concerns that Iran's civil nuclear power program might be diverted for the production of nuclear weapons.

The Iranian economy was largely agriculture-based until the 1960s, when a substantial development and modernization program began to be implemented and financed from increasing petroleum production. Economic conditions worsened, however, during the 1980-1988 Iran-Iraq War, which devastated infrastructure and severely curtailed oil and gas exports. International economic sanctions, weak oil prices, a fast-growing population, and food and housing shortages further constrained the economy until the end of the 1990s, resulting in low growth, high inflation, and unemployment as high as 30 percent. Mainly because of higher oil prices—but also because of increasing foreign investment and a limited liberalization of its economy—Iran's economic conditions have improved markedly since 2000. Real GDP growth reached 4.8 percent for 2005, and has averaged over 5.5 percent since 2001. Iran's GDP for 2005 was an estimated $177.4 billion, or $2,544 per capita (Economist Intelligence Unit 2005). Inflation has been halved from 35 percent in 1999 to around 16 percent in 2005, as has unemployment,

which was around 14 percent in 2005 (although substantially higher among younger people).

Iran has long pursued, for nationalistic reasons, a goal of economic independence, which has been seen as being achieved by state control and state ownership of the economy. The 1906 constitution, for example, was the direct result of nationalist uprisings against foreign economic incursions. The 1979 constitution stipulated that all large-scale industry (including petroleum, minerals, banking, insurance, power generation, communications, aviation, and transport infrastructure) would be owned and operated by the state. The most important economic sector is the oil industry, which is dominated by the state-owned National Petrochemicals Company. Eighty percent of export earnings (around $54 billion) comes from oil and gas revenues which have been expanding as world crude oil prices rise. Other significant industries—some of which are now substantially private-sector owned—include steel, automobile manufacture, textiles, metal manufacturing, and agriculture and food-processing industries. Although Iran's banking system was nationalized in 1979, there are now some small private banks that are allowed to operate. There are also thousands of small-scale enterprises, such as workshops and farms, and semi-private charitable organizations called *bonyads*. With the easing of Iranian limits on foreign ownership, foreign investment in Iran has seen several multinationals, including Shell, Total, Coca-Cola, Nestle, Peugeot, Nissan, and Renault, involved in joint ventures in the country.

Overall, industry accounts for 43 percent of the GDP, similar to services, which contributed 45 percent of the GDP in 2005. Agriculture now accounts for just 12 percent of the GDP. Agricultural production, however, is vulnerable to drought. The main crops are wheat rice and barley, tree crops (nuts and fruit), tea, cotton, and tobacco. One-third of agricultural income is derived from livestock production. Almost half the labor force is involved in the services sector, about a third in agriculture, and one-fifth in industry (United States Library of Congress 2006, 8).

When the Iranian president came to power advocating a fairer distribution of Iran's oil wealth (its oil production alone is over $100 billion per annum), it was an implicit acknowledgement of several economic and social disparities that exist in Iran. Among a number of social indicators that point to this is income inequality, where the poorest 20 percent of the population receives just 5 percent of the income, compared with the richest 20 percent who receive about 50 percent—similar to the level of income disparity seen in the United States. On the Gini index (where a value of 0 represents perfect equality of income distribution and a value of 100 perfect inequality), Iran had a value of 43.0 in 1998, compared to the United States' value of 40.8 (World Bank 2005). On the Human Development Index, a measure of the quality of life, Iran ranked 99 out of 177 in 2003 (UNDP 2005). President Ahmadinejad is attempting to alleviate some of these economic inequalities through higher levels of public spending, extending the range of subsidies (such as on food and fuel) and increases in public sector wages. Nevertheless, despite the Supreme Labor Council setting the minimum wage at $120 a month, labor disputes still occurred in 2005.

Social policy, on the other hand, particularly in the health and education sectors, has been relatively advanced since the 1979 revolution. About 50 percent of the

MAHMOUD AHMADINEJAD

The president of Iran, Dr. Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, was born in Garmsar, near Tehran, in October 1956. He holds a PhD in traffic and transport engineering from Tehran's University of Science and Technology, where he taught between 1997 and 2003. Before being elected the sixth president of the Islamic Republic of Iran in August 2005, Ahmadinejad served as mayor of Tehran from 2003. His formative experiences were shaped by the Islamic revolution, the 1979 American hostage crisis, and the Iran-Iraq war during 1980–1988, which resulted in an estimated 300,000 Iranian deaths.

During the war, Ahmadinejad served in the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps intelligence and security apparatus (Globalsecurity.org). The president describes the end of the war thus as follows:

> The war ended and in a situation when all the international organizations strived very hard to distort and hide the facts that Saddam was the aggressor and that the arrogant powers had fully supported him. For those who were not aware of the close working of these international organizations and arrogant powers of the world, this indifference to and distortion and hiding of the facts was a very shocking experience.
>
> (Iranian President 2007)

Controversial and conflicting reports surround his role in the 1979 Islamic Revolution and about his comments on Israel and the holocaust. It has been reported, for example, that he stated that Israel should be wiped off the map. According to GlobalSecurity.org, however, his words in Farsi, were, "*Imam ghoft een rezhim-e ishghalgar-e qods bayad az safheh-ye ruzgar mahv shaved*," meaning "This regime that is occupying Qods [Jerusalem] must be eliminated from the pages of history."

budget is devoted to social expenditure, with 18 percent of total government expenditures spent on education and about 11 percent on health. Since the 1979 revolution, health care is a basic right with the primary health care system, most prescription drugs, and vaccination programs subsidized by the government. Since 1979, the fertility rate has decreased from about 7 children born per woman to 1.8. The infant mortality rate has improved from 54 per 1,000 live births in 1990 to 33 per 1,000 live births in 2003. Cancer and cardiovascular disease are the main natural causes of death. The main health problems are drug addiction and its associated impacts on the incidence of HIV, which afflicts 0.1 percent of the population (World Bank 2005).

Primary and secondary education in Iran is free and primary education is compulsory under the constitution. Most public primary and secondary schools are single-sex, although universities are coeducational. One hour a week of Islam is required in public schools. Iran has over 100 public universities, the largest of which is Tehran University with about 32,000 students. Over 80 percent of the male adult population, and 70 percent of the female adult population, is literate.

Although the constitution gives equal protection of the law and all human and social rights to both men and women, a number of disparities nevertheless exists between men and women in Iran. Women earn 28 percent of the income earned by men, only one-third of professional and technical workers are women, and

female administrators and managers make up just 13 percent of this occupation group. Although women were able to vote in 1963, women occupy just 4 percent of the seats in the Lower House of parliament. Women also cannot serve as president or as judges, and while the age of criminal responsibility is set at 15 years for males, it is set at just 9 years for females. A number of provisions in the Islamic civil and penal codes, in particular those sections dealing with family and property law, also discriminate against women.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

Iran has been an Islamic republic since 1979. As its name suggests, Iran's political system can be described as a mix of theocratic and democratic elements in which the teachings of Islam are the supreme authority in public life and on which all political, economic, and social decision making is ultimately based. There are also a number of democratic elements—somewhat representative institutions, competing political organizations, and regular elections in which the voters have a genuine, if limited, choice.

Nevertheless, it is the Shi'a clergy that is the dominant political force in the country and which exercise real power. It is Iran's religious authorities that choose which candidates can stand for political office, that can exercise a veto over any action of the president or the parliament, and which control much of the media, the justice system, the military, and the intelligence and security forces. Overall authority is vested in the chief of state, Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Hoseini-Khamenei, since June 4, 1989. The chief of state is elected for life by the Assembly of Experts, a group of 96 religious leaders who themselves are elected by popular vote every eight years. Since the 1989 constitutional amendment, however, all executive power has been concentrated in the office of the president, who is elected by the people every four years for a maximum of two terms. The president, which since August 3, 2005, has been Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, selects the members of the Council of Ministers with approval from the parliament and determines which policies the parliament debates. Ahmadinejad had previously served with the special forces of the Revolutionary Guard, had been mayor of Tehran, and is the second non-cleric to be president. He campaigned on a platform of economic justice, promising to promote the interests of the poor and return Iran to the founding principles of the Islamic revolution.

The parliament, or legislature, comprises two bodies. The first is the 290-seat Islamic Consultative Assembly (the Majlis-e Shora-ye Islami, or the Majlis), whose members are popularly elected for a four-year term from single-seat constituencies to represent regional areas or religious communities. Although most members of parliament are Muslims, the constitution sets aside parliamentary seats for the religious minorities of the Zoroastrians, the Jews, and Armenian and Assyrian Christians. The second chamber, the Council of Guardians of the Constitution (Shora-ye Negahban-e Qanun-e Assassi), is essentially an unelected upper house of parliament that has the power to review or veto the legislation passed by the Majlis to ensure it adheres to Islamic law and the constitution. It has 12 members, of whom six are Islamic clerics, appointed by the leader or the Leadership Council,

and six are civilian jurists elected by the Majlis from among candidates nominated by the Supreme Judicial Council.

Although the Iranian constitution permits political parties, they must not violate the principles of independence, freedom, national unity, the criteria of Islam, or the basis of the Islamic Republic. Formal political parties are therefore a relatively new phenomenon in Iran and tend to work alongside political pressure groups and organizations. Iran has about 100 officially sanctioned political organizations and parties, broadly characterized as reformists or conservatives. Reformist political parties generally want liberal economic policies as well as a more democratic political system that enhances the power of the parliament and allows more transparent and fair elections. Examples of pro-reform groups include the Islamic Iran Participation Front (led by Mohammad Reza Khatemi, a deputy speaker in the 2000–2004 parliament), the Organization for Strengthening Unity; the Islamic Iran Participation Front, Executives of Construction Party, Solidarity Party, Islamic Labor Party, Mardom Salari, Mojahedin of the Islamic Revolution Organization, and the Militant Clerics Society. Khatemi who was previously president of Iran heads this latter group.

There are also a number of more oppositional groups—various ethnic, Monarchist, and armed political groups—that include the Freedom Movement of Iran, the National Front, Mujahidin-e Khalq Organization (MEK), People's Fedayeen, Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan, and Komala.

Conservative political parties generally do not support extensive democratic reforms, and differ on the extent to which they want economic reforms. Conservative "pragmatists" tend to prefer a market economy and a relatively less harsh interpretation of Islamic social laws, while Conservative "traditionalists" are also in favor of a market economy but are politically allied with the Revolutionary Guards. So called "hard-liners," on the other hand, of which President Ahmadinejad is one, are highly inflexible on cultural issues and want a significant role for government in the economy. Examples of conservative groups include Ansar-e Hizballah, Muslim Students Following the Line of the Imam, Tehran Militant Clergy Association, Islamic Coalition Party (Motalefeh), and Islamic Engineers Society.

Popular elections in Iran are held every four years for the parliament, the president, and local councils, although these do not occur in the same year. Every person 16 years or over is eligible to vote. However, candidates for political office must meet certain requirements, such as being a devout Muslim and having a secondary education. All candidates have to be approved by the Ministry of Interior and the Central Oversight Committee of the Council of Guardians. In the 2004 parliamentary and 2005 presidential elections, this body used its veto power to disqualify most of the reform candidates, enabling conservatives and hard-liners to dominate. The United States, as well as most European countries, regarded the elections as unfair.

As a result of the introduction of Islamic law, the increasing repression of all forms of dissent and opposition to theocratic rule, and a highly unfair and flawed political process, the Iranian people are somewhat disenchanted and unwilling to participate in formal forms of politics in Iran. Turnout in the parliamentary

election of 2004 was 51 percent. Although national voter turnout in the June 2005 presidential election was somewhat better at 60 percent, many people may be simply weary of ideological disputes and willing to accept a flawed electoral system if it helps them improve their standard of living. Other voters boycotted the 2005 election in protest.

While many Iranian people probably desire a more moderate government and normalized relations with Europe and the United States, they are threatened with arrest and imprisonment if they engage in public dissent and protest. At the same time, the pre-1979 legacy of intervention in Iranian affairs and the perception of imperialism in the region since appeal strongly to the Iranian sense of national identity and their willingness to defend their national sovereignty. Both internal repression and the external international environment therefore have helped reinforce the power of conservative and hard-liner groups within Iran. The next presidential elections are scheduled for 2009.

LAW AND ORDER

Responsibility for internal law and order is divided among several agencies. The Ministry of Intelligence and Security, the Ministry of Interior, and the Revolutionary Guards are all involved in ensuring Iran's internal security. There are about 40,000 police under the authority of the Ministry of Interior, which also oversee border patrol. There are also specialized police units—a rapid response police unit for urban areas that deals with public gatherings deemed to be dangerous to public order, and a marine police force equipped with about 130 patrol boats.

The paramilitary force, the Basiji, and organizations such as the Ansar-e Hezbollah (Helpers of the Party of God) are also responsible for maintaining "law and order." In reality these are little more than vigilante groups who harass, intimidate, and physically abuse those suspected of counterrevolutionary or "un-Islamic" activities. Such groups target those calling or demonstrating for reform, or those who do not adhere to the strict dress code that requires women to cover the hair and all parts of the body except the hands and face. Vigilante groups have also invaded private homes to seize satellite dishes or to disrupt private gatherings of unmarried men and women.

Although a scarcity of reported statistics makes it difficult to assess the level of crime in Iran, it appears lower than countries of a similar size and level of development, and indeed, lower than countries with higher levels of development. For example, in 2004 Iran reported a total of 2,015 crimes per 100,000 people and a figure of 2.3 recorded intentional homicides per 100,000 people. This compares with the United States, for example, which had 4,118 crimes for every 100,000 people and a homicide rate of 5.62 per 100,000 people in 2002 (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2004).

Because of its geographic proximity to the main areas of heroin production, drug-related crime appears dominant. There are an estimated two million drug users in the country. Of a prison population of about 148,000, about 46 percent

are for drug-related offenses. Of non drug-related crime, financial offenses are the most common (Prisons IR 2005).

Apart from the drug trade, other notable criminal activity concerns human trafficking. Iran appears to be a transit country for the trafficking of women and girls for sexual exploitation to Pakistan, Turkey, and Europe. Boys from Pakistan and Afghanistan are trafficked to countries on the Persian Gulf. The Iranian government has made trafficking illegal and cooperated with neighboring countries to address the problem.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The key foreign policy-making body of Iran is the National Security Council (NSC), which is controlled by the president. Other foreign policy actors include the foreign ministry and coalitions of either reformist or conservative political factions. Indirectly, and to a lesser extent, the Iranian parliament and the Council of Guardians are also a check on the foreign policies of the president by influencing public opinion.

The foreign policy goals of the Iranian government continue to be enhancing the nation's status as a regional power, eliminating external, especially U.S., influences in the region, supporting Islamic political organizations in the region, and more recently, and more assertively, insisting on its sovereign right to pursue nuclear power technology.

Following the 1979 revolution, Iran emerged as a nonaligned regional power, determined to protect its independence and territorial integrity. Historically—and indeed currently—fears of foreign interference in Iranian affairs have informed Iranian nationalism to the extent that it has been labeled the "arrogance of nonsubmission" (Ehteshami 2002, 285). Iran's self-belief in its own ability to resist foreign intervention is seen in phrases such as "America cannot do anything" which are plastered over Iranian cities and towns. Yet it is perhaps Iran that has been unable to do anything to counter U.S. intervention in the region. The United States has applied substantial economic and diplomatic sanctions on Iran; funded groups attempting to subvert the Iranian regime; labeled Iran a member of the "axis of evil"; and achieved a military presence in the region through regime change in Afghanistan and Iraq. However, from Iran's perspective, the United States is seen as "uncompromising and confrontational" and a source of interference and instability in a region that Iran regards as its own geopolitical sphere of influence (Gheissari and Nasr 2005, 187).

A further foreign policy goal of Iran is to support Islamic revolutionary movements in neighboring countries. This goal has existed since the 1980s and 1990s, when Iran was the sponsor for a number of Shiite Islamic extremist groups. These groups operated in, and were opposed to, the Sunni Muslim-led monarchies of the states of the Gulf Cooperation Council (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and United Arab Emirates).

The goal has also been pursued through Iranian support of a variety of Islamic groups active in the region including Hizbollah (Lebanon); Front Islamique du

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WHY DOES IRAN NEED NUCLEAR ENERGY?

According to the United States, Iran does not need, and should not pursue, nuclear power because of its massive oil and gas reserves. In 2002, then Secretary of State Colin Powell stated: "We are concerned about Iranian proliferation efforts and efforts to acquire nuclear technology that might lead to a nuclear weapon. It's a country that has no need for nuclear power generation capability. It has more than enough fossil fuel to sustain itself for the number of years you care to project into the future" (Powell 2002).

Iran, however, argues that it is pursuing nuclear power for human security, energy security, economic, legal, and sovereignty reasons. On human security grounds, Iran's rapidly growing population—which has doubled in 30 years and is expected to increase by another 50 percent in the next 30 years—will require about 1,200–2,000 megawatts of new electricity generation each and every year (Kambiz 2005). Additionally, since Iran has significant uranium deposits, and is also pursuing geothermal, wind, and solar energy initiatives, producing electricity from diverse energy sources helps Iran's future energy security. From an economic viewpoint, for Iran to deplete its oil and gas reserves as fast as possible to satisfy domestic electricity demands, as Powell suggested, is seen as a reckless use of its national wealth (Kambiz 2005). Not only are these fossil fuels nonrenewable energy resources that are rapidly increasing in value as world demand begins to outstrip supply, ongoing economic sanctions against Iran make it difficult to attract an estimated $40 billion in investment that is required to redevelop Iran's aging oil and gas infrastructure. Instead, Iran aims to preserve its reserves for its future and to position itself as one of the main suppliers of energy to Europe and Asia. Also, Iran has commercial and legal contracts with European companies dating to the mid 1970s for the construction of nuclear power reactors. Although construction was halted by the Islamic Revolution in 1979, Iran believes that a 1982 International Commerce Commission (ICC) ruling obliges the delivery of all the reactor components and technical documentation Iran has already paid for. Failure to comply with the 1982 ICC ruling resulted in a $5.4 billion lawsuit being filed in 1996 for compensation. Finally, Iran argues that under International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) guidelines and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, it has a sovereign right to pursue the development of a civilian nuclear power program as indeed other countries, such as Brazil and Argentina, are doing.

Salut (Algeria); Hamas (Palestine); Islamic Jihad (Palestine); the Al Aqsa Martyr's Brigades (Palestine); and Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (Palestine). According to news reports, there is now evidence that Iran is also supporting Shia militias in Iraq following seizures of Iranian-made weapons and munitions by coalition forces in Iraq (Karl and Clancy 2006).

Although Iran maintains that it provides only "moral" support and humanitarian aid for such groups, the United States contends that Iran has provided "extensive" funding, weapons, and training to several of these groups, which they name as foreign terrorist organizations. The United States therefore listed Iran as "the most active state sponsor of terrorism" in 2005 (United States Department of State 2005a, 173).

Although some of Iran's foreign policy goals have strained its international relationships, particularly those with the United States, tensions have escalated dramatically since 2005. This is the result of both the election of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, who has adopted a more confrontational style with the West, and the issue of Iran's civilian nuclear power program. This program has been suspected of camouflaging a clandestine effort, by elements of the Iranian

leadership, to acquire a military nuclear capability. Iran maintains, correctly, that production of a nuclear fuel cycle is consistent with its sovereign rights under its membership of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty to pursue nuclear enrichment for civilian nuclear power purposes. Indeed, Iran first acquired nuclear technology in 1967 when, under Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi (1941–1979), the United States provided a five-megawatt research reactor. The Shah's government was later granted access to nuclear enrichment technology and a supply of uranium by a French-Belgian-Spanish-Italian consortium.

Nevertheless, since then, Iran has failed to fully declare its enrichment activities, reprocessing experiments and its import of fissile materials from foreign suppliers. While the activities themselves are legitimate in pursuing an indigenous nuclear fuel cycle, they are meant to be reported to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Although reports by the IAEA (2006) indicate a possible "military nuclear dimension" to Iran's nuclear program, the IAEA has been unable to fully investigate the status of the program since 2002, and therefore cannot verify whether Iran's program is peaceful or not.

SECURITY

A significant human security issue for Iran has been the large number of refugees in the country as a result of conflicts in neighboring countries such as Iraq, Afghanistan, and Tajikistan. The United Nations Human Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) estimated that Iran was one of the two leading refugee-hosting countries in 2005, with an estimated 716,000 refugees. The majority of refugees in Iran were from Afghanistan and Iraq (UNHCR 2006, 12).

Iran is also subject to, and has been devastated by, severe earthquakes. A 2004 earthquake destroyed much of the city of Bam, killing over 30,000 people and damaging or destroying some 42,000 houses. In 2006, a series of earthquakes killed or injured over a thousand people in the province of Lorestan.

Perhaps more an issue of cultural security for Iran has been the *fatwa* (religious opinion) issued by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini in February 1989. This called on all Muslims to kill the British novelist, Salman Rushdie, for his novel *The Satanic Verses.*

Iran's stance on the capabilities of, and its intentions with, its nuclear technology is central to defining the security issues the nation faces. While some intelligence estimates suggest Iran would not be able to have an operational nuclear weapon for some years, more immediate resolution of the issues is required if further escalation is to be avoided. Although the U.S. government maintains that its efforts are focused on a diplomatic resolution, it has also refused to "take other options off the table," suggesting a military strike on Iran is a very real possibility (Bâli 2006).

With diplomatic resolution of the nuclear issue, however, there is the potential for the human development measures of security to improve for the Iranian people. Measures such as the lifting of economic, investment, trade, and diplomatic sanctions, and improvements in human rights would do much towards achieving the economic and human development necessary for a stable and secure Iran.

While it is difficult to ascertain whether or not Iran is engaged in a program to develop nuclear weapons, ruling elements within the Iranian regime are probably not opposed to their acquisition, for a number of reasons. First, it would provide Iran with a credible deterrent from the regional threats posed by the nuclear-armed states of Israel, India, and Pakistan, as well as those posed by the nuclear-armed U.S. forces in the region. Second, Iran may also see nuclear weapons as compensating for Iran's relative weakness in conventional military capability, when compared to the air power of countries such as Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. Finally, though, the pursuit of nuclear weapons may help to ensure the survival of the Iranian regime. This is because external opposition to Iran obtaining such weapons serves as a rallying point for those Iranians who would otherwise be opposed to the current regime, which is largely conservative (Gheissari and Nasr 2005).

Although Iran is a party to both the Chemical Weapons Convention and the Biological Weapons Convention, Iran does possess stockpiles of blister, blood, and choking agents, as well as the weapons systems needed to deliver them. It is also probable that Iran has the ability to manufacture small quantities of biological agents, but a more limited ability to use them in weapon form.

In terms of overall military policy, Iran has preferred to be as independent as possible. It has not pursued any alliances of a military or defense nature, although recently it has become an observer member of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Because of Western military sanctions, Iran has built up an indigenous military production capacity, producing a wide range of armaments including munitions, rockets, and missile boats. Iran exports military arms to over 30 countries and has entered into arms supply agreements with countries such as China and North Korea. Its own military modernization program has been enabled by increasing oil revenues. Military spending between 1995 and 2002 averaged under $1 billion per year, but has increased to about $3 billion per year since. Annual military expenditure is now about 4.8 percent of Iran's GDP, compared to about 3 percent previously.

Modernization, especially of its navy, is seen as essential to the protection of its oil infrastructure and other interests in the Persian Gulf. Iran now possesses three Russian-supplied Kilo-class submarines with "Club-S" (120-mile range) anti-ship missiles, three British-made frigates, two Bayandor-class Corvettes, 56 patrol craft, and seven mine-laying vessels. Iran has recently tested what it claims is a high-speed torpedo. It also has several dozen Chinese-supplied C-802 ship-launched cruise missiles and Chinese-supplied HY-2 Seerseekers, which are deployed along Iran's coast.

Air defense capability is supported by surface-to-air missiles, 1,700 antiaircraft guns, and about 200 operational aircraft including F–4D, F–4E, F–5E, Su–24MK, Su–25K, Mirage F–1E, F–14, F–7M, MiG–29A aircraft, and about 35 helicopters.

The army is equipped with over 1,600 main battle tanks, 80 armored infantry fighting vehicles, 640 armored personnel carriers 2,000 pieces of towed artillery, 300 pieces of self-propelled artillery, 900 multiple rocket launchers, 5,000 mortars,

75 antitank guided weapons, and unconfirmed numbers of surface-to-surface and surface-to-air missiles (IISS 2006).

The conventional armed forces comprise 350,000 men in the army, about 18,000 in the navy, and 52,000 in the air force. These forces are assigned to four armored divisions, six infantry divisions, two commando divisions, one airborne brigade, and six artillery groups (IISS 2006). There is a further 125,000 men in the IRGC (Islamic Revolution Guards Corps)—an elite force which is constitutionally responsible for the territorial integrity of Iran and defense of the Islamic revolution. The IRGC has both external and internal security functions, with military and intelligence units engaged in combating domestic terrorism and insurgency. A paramilitary force of about 40,000 carries out border and security functions. There is also a paramilitary militia, the Basij Resistance Force, capable of mobilizing 1,000,000 combat-capable personnel and which has been used to suppress domestic dissent.

Although males may volunteer for military service from the age of 16, Iran also uses conscription for all males between the ages of 18 and 50, who have to serve 21 months. About 80 percent of the army and 60 percent of the IRGC are conscripts. Navy and air force personnel tend to be volunteers.

Terrorism has also been, and continues to be, a serious security issue. Iran is implicated in supporting terrorist organizations and actions overseas as well as subject to terrorist acts on its own soil. As noted above, Iran supports various groups that the United States has designated as terrorist organizations. Other examples include a 1997 German court finding that senior Iranian officials were involved in assassinations of Iranian Kurdish separatists on German soil in 1992, and the 1996 Khobar Towers bombing in Saudi Arabia that killed 19 U.S. airmen was believed to have been organized by Iranian agents.

Iran, however, is not immune from terrorist attacks itself. It has suffered a number of acts of terrorism in recent years—mainly by members of the Iranian non-Persian population opposed to the Islamic theocratic regime. In 2005, incidents of domestic terrorism occurred in West Azerbaijan and Khuzestan provinces where there are ethnic minorities of Kurds, Turks, and Lurs. Iran has accused the United States of supporting some terrorist activities on Iranian soil in an effort to destabilize the regime. According to a 1995 news report, the Clinton administration approved $20 million of funding for covert operations in Iran for 1996 (Katzman 2006, 27).

Perhaps the terrorist organization that poses the biggest threat to Iranian security is the Mojahedin-e-Khalq Organization (MEK), also known as the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran (PMOI), and the National Council of Resistance (NCR). Formed in the 1960s to try to overthrow the Shah of Iran, it supported the November 1979 takeover of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, but was later purged and driven into exile. In 1981 it was responsible for the bombing of the Islamic Republic Party's headquarters in Tehran, killing the chief justice, the president, and the premier. It has also conducted bombing campaigns against Iranian embassies and targeted Iranian military officers. In 2000, the MEK conducted a mortar attack that killed the Iranian chief of staff. The U.S. State Department designated the MEK as a foreign terrorist organization in 1997.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Iran's legal system is based on Islamic law, or *Shari'a*, meaning law derived from several Islamic sources such as the Koran and Sunna. The constitution vests judicial authority in the Supreme Court and the four-member High Council of the Judiciary. Both bodies supervise the enforcement of the law and are responsible for establishing judicial and legal policies. Although the constitution stipulates the independence of the judiciary, political and religious influences on the judiciary are evident. The supreme leader appoints the head of the Judiciary who then appoints the head and members of the Supreme Court and the chief public prosecutor. The State Supreme Court is the highest court in the land. Other types of court include public courts for civil and criminal cases, and revolutionary courts for crimes such as dissent, threats to national security, and "antirevolutionary" activity, such as insulting the memory of Imam Khomeini, or the status of the supreme leader. There is also a Special Clerical Court (outside of the judicial system) which deals with offenses such as unacceptable interpretations of religious dogma, and a Press Court that hears offenses committed by publishers, editors, journalists, and the media. Both the decisions of the revolutionary courts and the Special Clerical Court are final and cannot be appealed.

Although those brought to trial are able to choose their lawyer, the judge acts as both prosecutor and judge—there are no trials by jury. A woman's testimony in court is worth only half that of a man's, making it difficult for a woman to prove a case against a male defendant. Apart from imprisonment, punishment for some offenses includes the death penalty, amputation of a hand, stoning, and flogging.

Although Iran's constitution provides Iranian citizens with a range of human, political, economic, social, and cultural rights, human rights abuses are widespread and frequent. In December 2005, the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution that expressed serious concern over Iran's human rights record. The main areas of human rights abuses concern citizens' rights to justice, and freedom of privacy, speech, press, assembly, association, and religion. According to the United States Department of State (2005b), state-sanctioned human rights abuses include summary executions; disappearances; torture; severe punishment; arbitrary arrest; prolonged solitary confinement; imprisonment of political dissidents; severe restraints on civil freedoms; legal and cultural discrimination against women, ethnic minorities, and homosexuals; restrictions on worker rights; child labor; and persecution of religious minorities. According to the 2001 report of the Special Representative for Iran of the Commission on Human Rights (UNSR), there have been more than 80 reported killings or disappearances of dissidents or members of religious minority groups (United States Department of State 2005b). The IRGC have confirmed that the 1989 religious decree (*fatwah*) calling for the killing of author Salman Rushdie—for his book the *Satanic Verses* that deeply offended Muslims worldwide—remains in effect.

Although Iran has accepted a number of international human rights conventions —the International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child—it does not always adhere to them.

As a signatory to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, for example, Iran guarantees not to execute anyone for crimes they committed when aged under 18. Nevertheless, there are documented reports that executions of minors for criminal offenses continue to occur. For example, two teenaged boys, one of whom was 17, were hanged in public in July 2005—allegedly for rape, but Amnesty International reports suggest they were executed for homosexual behavior (Amnesty International USA 2007). Iran has not signed the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, or the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. The lists below show Iran's acceptance of international conventions and membership to international bodies.

Iranian Membership of International Organizations

Colombo Plan	Islamic Development Bank
Economic Cooperation Organization	Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency
Food and Agriculture Organization	Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons
Group of 15	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
Group of 24	United Nations
Group of 77	United Nations Committee on Trade and Development
International Atomic Energy Agency	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development	United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees
International Civil Aviation Organization	Universal Postal Union
International Criminal Police Organization (Interpol)	Industrial Development Organization
International Development Association	World Confederation of Labor
International Development Bank	World Federation of Trade Unions
International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies	World Health Organization
International Labor Organization	World Tourism Organization
International Monetary Fund	World Meteorological Organization
International Telecommunication Union	World Trade Organization (observer status)

International Treaties of Which Iran Is a Signatory

Convention on the Control of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes and Their Disposal	Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, and Stockpiling of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction

Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty	International Atomic Energy Agency Safeguards Agreement
Convention on Biological Diversity	Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer
Convention on the International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Flora and Fauna	Partial Test Ban Treaty
Convention on the Prevention of Marine Pollution by Dumping Wastes and Other Matter (London Convention)	Ramsar Convention
Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction	Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

CONCLUSION

Iran's current relationship with the United States is extremely poor. According to the U.S. National Security Strategy, which was released on March 16, 2006, the United States "may face no greater challenge from a single country than Iran" (Katzman 2006, 1). As well as the ambiguous status of Iran's nuclear technology program, the United States is concerned by Iran's support of terrorist organizations, its influence in Lebanon, its attempts to complicate the Israeli-Arab peace process, and its human rights record involving severe curbs on free expression and repression of ethnic and religious minorities.

The historical roots of the current animosity between Iran and the United States date back to 1979. On November 4, 1979, radical elements took over the U.S. Embassy in Tehran and held 56 staff members as hostages, creating one of the greatest diplomatic crises of the Carter presidency. The United States ended diplomatic relations with Iran on April 7, 1980, and the two countries have had only limited official contact since. Also of significance was the 1986 Iran-contra affair, when members of the Reagan administration were implicated in the financial support of anti-Sandinista (contra) forces in Nicaragua by selling military equipment to Iran. Over the course of 1987 and 1988, direct skirmishes between Iranian and U.S. naval elements occurred as the United States tried to protect international oil shipments in the Gulf from Iranian attacks.

During President Bill Clinton's term, a policy of "dual containment" of Iran and Iraq was in place. In 1995, the United States imposed a full embargo on U.S. trade and investment in Iran because of Iran's support for terrorist organizations, concerns about Iran's nuclear program, and its efforts to subvert the Arab-Israeli peace process. The 1996 United States, Iran and Libya Sanctions Act imposed mandatory and discretionary sanctions on companies investing more than $20 million annually in Iranian oil and gas.

The U.S.-Iran relationship improved somewhat with the election of the moderate President Khatami in 1997, who suggested cultural exchanges with the United

States. The United States reciprocated by expressing ''regret'' for the United States' role in the 1953 coup against Iran, and for supporting Iraq in the 1980–1988 Iraq-Iran War. It granted the first major economic concession since 1979 by allowing the construction of a transnational central Asian pipeline.

However, with the election of U.S. President George W. Bush in 2000, and the election of the Iranian President Ahmadinejad in 2005, increasingly confrontational rhetoric indicates a further deterioration in relations between the two countries. In his 2002 state of the union address, President Bush accused Iran of belonging to an "axis of evil," then later named Iran as the number one state sponsor of terrorism, and threatened, in 2006, economic sanctions as well as more "severe consequences" if Iran did not renounce its program to enrich nuclear fuel.

Iran, for its part, has denounced the ''invasion'' of Iraq by U.S.-led coalition forces, refers to the United States as the "Great Satan," and views the U.S. military presence in Iraq and Afghanistan as a threat to its security.

Going forward, three trends seem likely to have the most significant impacts on Iranian society—geo-strategic instability, globalization, and geopolitics (Ehteshami 2002, 303).

With the end of the Cold War and the demise of the stable bipolar world dominated by two superpowers, Iran occupies a region faced with increasing geo-strategic instability. U.S. power in the region is now largely unchecked, Iraq is unstable, Afghanistan threatens to be so, there is nuclear proliferation in Pakistan and India, and military expenditure is increasing in the region. In this "new world order," it is perhaps understandable that Iran has sought to limit its vulnerability by seeking to improve its existing relationships with allies such as Syria and Lebanon, and has sought new military supply relationships with countries such as China, North Korea, Russia, and Georgia.

Such a strategy also helps Iran to satisfy its economic priorities—foreign investment, trade links, and the diversification of the economy. Aware that economic development requires engagement with the globalized world economy, Iran has been developing economic and trading links with the European Union, Russia, China, and elsewhere. But globalization also brings pressure for economic and political liberalization that may mean Iran will find it increasingly difficult to control access to communications and resist demands for economic and political reform.

Finally, geo-politics also look set to play a significant role in Iran's future security. On the one hand, Iran's vast oil wealth underpins its economy and provides its population with an extensive array of subsidized education, health, and social services. Whether these subsidies can be maintained if the oil price collapses, or more likely, as Iran's population growth continues, remains to be seen. On the other hand, the depletion of oil reserves outside the Middle East means that countries in this region will become of increasing interest and importance to the rest of the world. The International Energy Agency, for example, projects the increased economic dependence of the world on Iranian energy exports out to 2025. In addition, the demise of Saudi Arabia as a "swing producer"—able to make up shortfalls in oil production from other producers—means that the level of Iran's oil production will become increasingly significant. How the geo-political tensions arising

from the geographic concentration of the world's remaining hydrocarbon reserves in the Middle East play out in the years ahead will be vital to the future of Iran.

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Iraq

Ronald R. Macintyre

BACKGROUND

Iraq is bordered by Iran (1,458 kilometers), Jordan (181 kilometers), Kuwait (240 kilometers), Saudi Arabia (814 kilometers), Syria (605 kilometers), and Turkey (352 kilometers). It covers a total area of 437,072 square kilometers, or slightly more than twice the size of Idaho. The capital, Baghdad, is situated in the middle of the country on the River Tigris (CIA 2006).

In 1920 Iraq became a British League of Nations Mandate (1920–1932), comprising ex-Ottoman provinces of Mosul (Nineveh), Baghdad, and Basra. The incorporation of the oil rich province of Mosul (1925) strained relations with Turkey and undermined Kurdish hopes for a separate state or "Kurdistan." It would also lead to years of internal conflict between the Kurds and Iraqi governments over the question of Kurdish autonomy. Between the 1930s and 1980s the Iraq-Iran boundary in the Shatt al-Arab waterway in the Southeast was a continuing source of friction between both countries. Iran rejected the British "imposed" treaty of 1937, which established the common boundary at the low watermark on the Iranian side of the Shatt, as this confirmed Iraq's sovereignty over the waterway. The Treaty of Algiers (1975) defined the new boundary in the Shatt as the median or *thalweg* line. In 1980 Iraq claimed that Iran had violated the Algiers Accord (1975), which served as a pretext for war (1980–1988). In 1990 Iraq unconditionally accepted the median line as the common boundary in the Shatt al-Arab to ensure that Iran remained neutral in Baghdad's impending conflict with the United States over Kuwait. Between the 1960s and 1990s Iraq held that Kuwait originally formed part of the Ottoman province of Basra, which was now an integral part of Iraq. In August 1990, Iraq occupied and annexed Kuwait. The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) accused Iraq of violating Kuwait's sovereignty and failing to comply with UNSC resolutions to withdraw from Kuwait. In the Gulf War (1991) a U.S.-led multinational force drove Iraq out of Kuwait. In 1994 Iraq agreed somewhat reluctantly to accept the UN-demarcated border with

Iraq

Formal name of country: Republic of Iraq (Al-Jumhuriya al-Iraqiya)
Size of country: 437, 072 sq km
Natural resources: Petroleum, natural gas, phosphates, and sulfur
Population: 26,783,383 (July 2006 est.)
Life expectancy at birth: 69.01 (July 2006)
Key ethnic groups: Arab 75%–80%, Kurdish 20%-25%
Key religions: Shiite Muslim 60%-65%, Sunni Muslim 32%-37%, Christian or other 5%
Political system: Federal Democratic Government, elected December 2005
Key political groups/parties:

- As-Sadr Movement (Muqtada as-SADR)
- Da'wa Party (Ibrahim al-JA'AFARI)
- Iraqi Hizballah (Karim Mahud al-MUHAMMADAWI)
- Iraqi National Accord or INA (Ayad ALLAWI)
- Iraqi National Congress or INC (Ahmad CHALABI)
- Jama'at al Fadilah or JAF (Ayatollah Muhammad Ali al-YAQUBI)
- The Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq or SCIRI (Abd al-Aziz al-HAKIM)
- Kurdistan Democratic Party or KDP (Masud BARZANI)
- Patriotic Union of Kurdistan or PUK (Jalal TALABANI)

Legal System: Civil and Islamic law under the new Iraqi constitution of October 2005
Real GDP growth: -3% (2006 est.)
Population below the poverty line: Approximately 2 million (2005)
Size of military: 179,800 (active) (2006)
Relationship with the United States: Dependent on United States for aid, development, and security
Human security issues: Indiscriminate acts of terrorism by insurgents; primarily sectarian in motivation. Terrorist attacks have undermined general security, economic and political development.
Important future security issues: Suppression of insurgency; development of stable government; avoidance of civil war; and development of a capacity to sustain modernizing change.

Sources: CIA; International Institute for Strategic Studies; United States Library of Congress.

Kuwait contained in UNSC Resolutions 687 (1991), 773 and 883 (1993). In 2005 Iraq adopted a federal system of government (see Domestic Politics below).

In antiquity the area of modern Iraq was known as Mesopotamia or the "land lying between the two rivers"—the Tigris and Euphrates. Iraq's mountain peaks in the North rise to over 3,000 meters along the borders with Iran and Turkey. Much of the land lying west and southwest of the Euphrates River is part of the Syrian Desert. The climate is very hot in summer and cool in winter. Along the border with Iran in the Southeast the terrain is mostly broad plains and reedy marshes. Iraq has a very narrow coastline at Umm Qasr (56 kilometers) on the Persian Gulf (Gulf). The strategically important Shatt al-Arab waterway (200 kilometers), marking the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers at the head of

the Gulf, is shared with Iran. It also provides Iraq with a vital outlet to the Gulf from the oil port of Basra.

Iraq's natural resources comprise petroleum (oil), natural gas, phosphates, and sulfur. Its economy is dominated by the oil sector, which can provide in normal times over 95 percent of foreign exchange earnings and capital for development needs (CIA 2006). Iraq's oil industry received a massive setback following the Gulf War of 1991. Under UN economic sanctions (1990–2003) Iraq's oil exports were largely "controlled" by the UNSC under the "oil-for-food" program (1996–2003). Lower oil prices in 2001 impacted negatively on Iraq's oil income, while the war in 2003 seriously undermined oil production. Higher world oil prices in 2006 compensated for reduced levels of oil production resulting from disruption to oil pipelines following the growing insurgency in the country since mid-2003 (Brookings Institution 2006, 43).

In Iraq only 13.5 percent of land is arable; permanent crops exist on less than 1 percent of land, while over 86 percent of land is either desert or semi-desert. In recent years man-made projects have also impacted negatively upon the environment. For example, Iraqi government water control projects in the 1990s drained most of the inhabited marsh areas of An-Nasiriyah (southeast) by drying or diverting feeder streams and rivers. A once sizeable population of Marsh Arabs was subsequently displaced by Iraqi security forces. Destruction of the natural habitat also posed a serious threat to the area's wildlife. Soil degradation and erosion, air and water pollution, and desertification have occurred as a result of rapid population increase, the ravages of war, and political neglect.

Created as a British League of Nations mandate under Hashimite ruler Amir Faisal in 1921, Iraq became independent in 1932. It inherited a British military tradition; took part in the first Palestine war in 1948–1949, and was the only Arab state not to sign an armistice agreement with Israel in 1949. Under the pro-Western monarchy, Iraq became the "hub" of the Baghdad Pact (Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, and Britain) (1955), a Cold War defense alliance, including the United States in 1958. But with the overthrow of the monarchy by Brigadier Abd al-Karim Qasim (1958), Iraq withdrew from the Baghdad Pact (renamed Central Treaty Organization 1959–1979) and fell under the control of military dominated nationalist governments (1958–1968). The Arab nationalist Ba'th party seized power in July 1968 through the army. In the 1970s Saddam Hussein emerged as the Ba'th's strongman. In 1972 Iraq signed a 15-year treaty of friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union but maintained flexible policies towards the West, especially in the area of arms purchases (for example France and Britain). A four-fold increase in OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) oil prices in 1973 enabled Iraq to pursue policies based on economic and social development, including educational reform for women. Between the 1970s and 1990s Saddam Hussein ruthlessly put down challenges to his regime from Kurds and Arab Shiites (heterodox Islamic community) (Nakash 1994). He engaged in a costly and futile war against the Islamic Republic of Iran (1980–1988) with backing from the United States, the Soviet Union, and other major powers. But his occupation of Kuwait (1990) led to war and subsequent expulsion from the sheikhdom by a U.S.-led multinational force in 1991. This was followed by the imposition of UNSC

sanctions (Resolution 687), which required Saddam Hussein to "disgorge" alleged weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Noncompliance with UNSC resolutions in 2002 (especially 1441) served as the pretext for a U.S.-led invasion of Iraq on March 18, 2003, and the overthrow of Saddam Hussein's regime. This subsequently unleashed a Sunni (orthodox Islamic community) insurgency, which sought to undermine the U.S. military occupation and subsequent federal constitutional process (2005) in the belief that this might lead to Shiite domination of Iraq. During 2006 sectarian conflict intensified throughout the country, threatening to engulf Iraq in full civil war, while the United States and its coalition allies or multinational force (MNF) appeared to have no effective response (see Conclusion below).

IRAQ AND WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

Prior to 9/11, there had not been any serious concern in the United States or elsewhere about Iraq retaining a nuclear weapons program. Nor was it seriously claimed that there was any significant link between the Iraqi regime and those responsible for the terrorist attack. Nevertheless there was a theoretical nexus between terrorists and WMD—even nuclear weapons. This, combined with the fury caused by the terrorist attacks, appears to have led to a notion in the U.S. government that its removal of Al Qaeda and the Taliban regime in Afghanistan needed to be supplemented by the elimination of Saddam Hussein and Iraq's alleged WMD as another potential source of aggression against the United States.

Source: Hans Blix, *Disarming Iraq: The Search for Weapons of Mass Destruction* (London: Bloomsbury, 2004), 266–67. (Dr. Blix was chief UN arms inspector in Iraq, 2000–2003.)

SOCIETY

In 2006 Iraq had a population of 26,783,383 with an estimated growth rate of 2.7 percent. The average population density was 58.5 persons per square kilometer. The majority of the population occupies the alluvial plain (for example Mesopotamia) and the northeast. Baghdad (5.6 million, 2000) is the largest city in the country. Other large cities include Mosul (1.7 million), Basra (1.4 million), Irbil (0.84 million), and Kirkuk (0.73 million). Currently 79 percent of Iraq's population live in urban areas, an increase of 10 percent between 1985 and 2006. An estimated 39.7 percent of the population is 14 years old or under and 3 percent are over 65 years (2006). Life expectancy at birth was 69.01 years and infant mortality was 52.7 per 1,000 live births (CIA 2006).

Iraq is a relatively new country with much older historical roots and traditions. But determining who validly constitutes an "indigenous population" is a much more sensitive political issue. Assyrians and Chaldeans (for example "Syriacs") claim to be the "indigenous people" of Iraq. Most live in the northern provinces. Together they form the third largest Iraqi community after Arab Muslims and Kurds, numbering over 800,000. But in the absence of official census records some sources say they number as high as 1.5 million. Both communities speak Syriac, which is close to Aramaic, the language of Jesus and the biblical holy land. They are the oldest of Iraq's eastern Christian communities dating from the fourth century. They also claim older historical roots linking them to the ancient peoples of Mesopotamia. However, they have had a checkered and violent history in modern Iraq. In the 1920s and 1930s Assyrian demands for greater "autonomy" in the plain of Nineveh (Mosul) under their patriarchs were rejected by British and Iraqi governments. In 1933 Iraqi armed forces, led by a Kurd, massacred 3,000 women and children in Assyrian villages in the Summayil district, near the city of Dahuk

(Fisk 2005, 412). Assyrians and Chaldeans were later persecuted under Arabist Ba'th governments (1968–2003), which deemed them to be purely Arab Christian minorities with no recognized communal links to the peoples of antiquity. It is estimated that over 80 percent of Iraqis in the United States are of Assyrian and Chaldean origin. They are highly educated and literate communities whose "destiny" has sometimes "overlapped" for good or ill with that of the Kurds. Kurdish groups often refer to Assyrians as Kurdish Christians (USDS 2001). Chaldo-Assyrian is the preferred name of the official Assyrian Democratic Movement (2003). In 2004 the (nonelected) Iraqi interim government (IIG) recognized Chaldo-Assyrians as the "indigenous people of Iraq." Under the new federal constitution, Syriac has been elevated to an "official" administrative language in Syriac areas (Assyrians 2005). The political consequences of this remain to be seen.

During the 1988 Anfal (spoils of war) campaign, over 100,000 Kurds and Chaldo-Assyrians were killed in six northern regions by Saddam Hussein's security forces. A further 100,000 Shiites and Kurds were massacred by Iraqi forces in the first civil war (1991–1993). In the wake of the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq (2003) an estimated one million Iraqi refugees fled to Syria, over 750,000 to Jordan, and hundreds of thousands to neighboring countries to avoid persecution. An estimated two million Iraqis were internally displaced by military operations and sectarian factions between 2003 and 2007. Non-Muslims were especially vulnerable to pressure and violence because of their minority status and lack of protection provided by a tribal structure. Terrorist threats have compelled tens of thousands of Christians, including Armenian Orthodox and Chaldo-Assyrians (see above), to leave the country in the wake of church bombings in 2004, while the country's 2,700-year-old Jewish community dwindled to virtually zero in the Baghdad area (2005). Multimillion dollar efforts to promote interfaith dialogue and intercommunal management have been promoted in Christian and Kurdish areas by the United States (funded) Institute for Peace, but with limited results due to the outbreak and intensification of the insurgency (USDS 2005).

Of Iraq's overall ethno-religious population, about 75 percent are Arabs, 20 percent Kurds, 3–4 percent Chaldo-Assyrians, 2 percent Turkomans and other minor communities, including Yazidis, Sabeans, Bahais, and Jews. About 97 percent are Muslims, including 65 percent Arab Shiites and 32 percent Sunni Muslims, divided into about 16 percent Arab Sunnis and 16 percent Sunni Kurds. The Arab Shiite majority was heavily persecuted under the Ba'thist regime (1968–2003). After the fall of Saddam Hussein in April 2003, Iraqi Kurds sought to consolidate their regional autonomy, which already included a regional parliament at Irbil (1992) (CIA 2006).

The Hanafi (Sunni) and Ja'afari (Shiite) religious schools (*madhhab*) are predominant in Iraq. Islam, a seventh century monotheistic religion, is the dominant religion of Iraq. Christian and other minor communities comprise about 5 percent of the population. Due to religio-political persecution Iraq's Christian population declined between 1987 and 2006 from 1.4 million to one million. Arab Shiites with 65 percent are the largest single community. The Sunni with 32 percent is divided fairly evenly along ethnic lines between Arabs and Kurds. Saddam Hussein's government, though largely secular in outlook, drew political support from Arab

Sunnis and tribal elements at the expense of the Shiite majority of southern Iraq. A key political factor in the current constitutional restructuring of Iraq will be the nature of the political relationship between the Shiite and Sunni communities. As Iraq slips further into sectarian civil war, exacerbated by the U.S. occupation (2003), short-term prospects for positive sectarian cooperation seem particularly dim.

With 10 percent of the world's proven oil reserves (112 billion barrels) (2006), Iraq has ample resources for complete economic recovery and development. However, disastrous regional wars (1980–1988, 1991, 2003) and UN sanctions (1990–2003) severely damaged Iraq's oil industry and its basic infrastructure. In addition, long-term neglect, corruption, and mismanagement of the oil industry and decline in world oil prices (2001) left the industry in a poor condition. The lifting of UN sanctions in 2003 allowed limited restructuring to begin. However, in 2004 sabotage and technical problems forced Iraq to briefly import oil from neighboring Gulf countries. Reconstruction of the oil industry is expected to cost $35 billion. In 2006 Iraq's regional infrastructure included 38,399 kilometers of paved roads, which in the northern and central regions were subject to repeated damage by saboteurs; 2,200 kilometers of aging railroad track, much in need of repair; three oil tanker terminals in the Gulf; 77 airports with paved runways; and over 5,275 kilometers of inland waterways. The main navigable rivers are the Tigris (2,815 kilometers) and Euphrates (1,895 kilometers). Telecommunication systems were severally disrupted by the wars in 1991 and 2003. In 2006 only 3 percent of Iraq's population had fixed landlines, and about 1.8 million owned mobile phones. However, since 2003, reconstruction has been severely hindered by the armed insurgency (Siddiqi 2005, 505).

Iraq's economy has been traditionally dependent on oil from which over 95 percent of its foreign exchange was derived. Although the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq (2003) left much of the infrastructure intact, subsequent terrorist attacks on oil pipe lines and infrastructure have undermined economic recovery. Under Saddam Hussein major economic enterprises were highly centralized and government owned. The aim of the new federal government, under U.S. influence, has been to privatize industry and decentralize control of major industries, the exception being the oil industry (Siddiqi 2005, 505). Ideally this opens the door to the United States and other foreign companies. In mid-to-late 2006, relatively high fluctuating world oil prices ($59–$79) enabled Iraq to gain better than expected revenues. International agreements with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are

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IRAQ: RECOVERY FROM WAR

International trade and economic development are essential to Iraq's recovery from war, from decades of repression, and from the adverse effects of international sanctions. Many in Congress and the Bush administration believe that reconstructing Iraq, including assisting in the restoration of its economic systems, is a compelling U.S. national interest. This was emphasized in the final report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (9/11 commission). The commission recommended that ''a comprehensive U.S. strategy to counterterrorism should include economic policies that encourage development, more open societies, and opportunities for people to improve the lives of their families and to enhance prospects for their children's future.'' The 9/11 commission also cautioned that if "Iraq becomes a failed state, it will go to the top of the list of places that are breeding grounds for terrorism at home."

Source: Congressional Research Service, Report for Congress, ''Iraq's Trade with the World.'' Updated September, 23, 2004.

currently in progress, including a standby debt reduction arrangement. On the basis of Iraq's current GDP, agriculture comprises 7.3 percent, industry 66.6 percent, and services 26.1 percent; per capita income is estimated at $3,400, while the real growth rate has declined to -3 percent. Total exports amounted to $32.6 billion (2006). Major exports include United States 51.9 percent, Spain 7.3 percent, and Japan 6.6 percent. Total imports amounted to $19.57 billion (2004). Major imports include Syria 22.3 percent, Turkey 20.9 percent, and the United States 12 percent (CIA 2006).

Between 1988 and 2006 Iraq's literacy rates for the total population over 15 years old declined from around 60 percent to 40 percent (female 25 percent). Over the same period, infant morality increased from 56 per 1,000 live births to 102 per 1,000 live births. This figure might have exceeded 150 per 1,000 in the mid-1990s during the height of UN sanctions. Education and health services suffered greatly as public funding was cut by 90 percent. It was often too expensive to send girls to school. As a result female literacy declined sharply. In 1996 the World Health Organization reported that the majority of the population had been living on a semi-starvation diet for years and malnutrition was common, especially among children. Most physical quality of life indicators were adversely affected by UN sanctions (1990–2003). Hospital services were badly disrupted while fetal abnormalities and levels of cancers increased significantly—most likely as a result of the use of depleted uranium by the U.S. MNF in the Gulf War (1991). In addition, approximately 12 percent of hospitals were destroyed in the war in 2003. In 2004 limited improvements occurred in the field of medical care. The Bush administration put a lot of money and effort into postwar recovery in the area of women's health and education with emphasis on greater equality and political leadership. USAID was especially active in this area. Plans for $1.5 billion of the national budget were allotted for health in 2006. However, the recovery of all vital community services was severely set back by the intensification of the insurgency in 2006 (CRS 2006c; USLC 2006).

DOMESTIC POLITICS

Iraq's political systems have varied considerably in composition and ideology since the birth of the state in 1921. Iraq became a constitutional monarchy under three Hashemite monarchs (Faisal, Ghazi, Faisal II and a regent—Abdullah bin Ali) between 1921 and 1958. Following an anti-Western military coup in July 1958, which overthrew the pro-British monarchy, Iraq fell under the control of a series of military-dominated nationalist governments between 1958 and 1968. In July 1968 the Ba'th party, with its emphasis on secular Arab nationalism, moved Iraq towards a one-party state. Under President Saddam Hussein (1979–2003) the elected National Assembly became little more than a "rubber stamp" for the president's decrees (Dawisha 1999). A characteristic of all Iraq's governments prior to 2003 has been their authoritarian trend associated with an Arab Sunni leadership. But in December 2005, Iraqis elected "democratically" a multiparty federal parliament, or Council of Representatives (*Majlis an-Nuwwab*). This was dominated by Shiites with 128 seats (46.6 percent) and Kurds with 53 seats (19.2

percent) in a 275-member unicameral legislature, on a voter turnout of 75 percent. Sunnis secured about 55 seats (20 percent) (CRS 2006b).

Iraq currently has a Kurdish president, whose role is largely ceremonial, a Shiite prime minister, the power broker, and Sunni speaker of the Council of Representatives (see below). The constitution also provides for a minimum of 25 percent female representation in the federal parliament (Art. 47, 4). Currently women make up 31 percent of parliament, or 86 out of 275 seats, and have four ministerial posts out of 37 in the cabinet. This figure is higher than for many Western democracies and might be attributed to U.S. influence. Iraq's new leaders come from a variety of political parties and groups, most of whom have ethno-sectarian, secular, and regional affiliations. Many have previously operated outside Iraq under the aegis of the pro-United States Iraqi National Congress (INC), led by Ahmed Chalabi, or clandestinely within Iraq. For them federalism was believed to be the most democratic system for a sectarian-based society; it would also ensure Shiite political domination. In contrast, Saddam Hussein had been committed ideologically to a secular "socialist" state with an Arab identity, emphasizing economic development, technological progress, and independence from foreign influence. Iraq's newly elected leaders seem initially to have focused more on ethnic and sectarian regional identities, enabled by the new federal constitution. This might have sharpened sectarian regional identities and polarized the Sunni minority, who see no future in a Shiite/Kurdish dominated government (CRS 2006b).

The Islamic Da'wa Party (1958) was historically a militant Shiite Islamic party, which developed pro-Iranian sympathies during the struggle against Saddam Hussein in the late 1970s. In the 1980s many Da'wa members were forced into exile primarily in Iran, Britain, or the United States. The London wing of Da'wa under Ibrahim Ja'afari, refused to accept the principle of Shiite clerical domination (*faqih*) under the aegis of Ayatollah Khomeini. This led to the formation of the breakaway pro-Iranian Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI) (1982). Leaders of Da'wa (Ibrahim Ja'afari) and SCIRI (Abd al-Aziz al-Hakim) joined the INC (1992) and remained in exile until the American invasion of Iraq (2003). They subsequently formed the United Iraqi Alliance (UIA) which, with the Kurdish Alliance (KA) (Jamal Talabani), set up the first national unity government in May 2006 (see below). The political ideology of the UIA was influenced by the late Ayatollah Baqir as-Sadr (d.1980), founder of Da'wa (1958), who in his *Islamic Political System* (1975) laid out four mandatory principles of Islamic government: (1) absolute sovereignty (*hakimiyya*) belongs to God; (2) Islam is the basis of all legislation; (3) the people as vicegerents of Allah are entrusted with legislative and executive powers; (4) the jurist (*faqih*) holding religious authority represents Islam by "approving" legislative and executive actions of government. Clearly some measure of clerical oversight is envisaged in UIA ideology. This was further consolidated through its close association with Grand Ayatollah Ali Sistani (b.1930), a leading cleric and "spiritual reference" for Shiite Muslims (*marja*).

Closely associated with the UIA are two powerful Shiite militias. The Badr Organization (10,000), the military wing of SCIRI, was funded and trained in Iran. The Mahdi Army (up to 60,000) of Muqtada as-Sadr, nephew of the late Ayatollah Baqir as-Sadr, is a populist force, which has roots in the Shiite holy city of Najaf

and Baghdad's impoverished Sadr City. Ideologically, Muqtada is close to Da'wa and committed to the "liberation" of Iraq from U.S.-coalition forces, and the furtherance of Shiite "domination" of Iraq." He also secured 30 seats (10.9 percent) in the new federal parliament and ministerial posts in the UIA-led coalition government (May 2006) (CRS 2006b). He will certainly be a power to be reckoned with in the new Iraq.

Since its inception in 2006 Iraq's new federal government has been dominated by a Shiite (UIA/Da'wa) and Kurdish (KA) coalition. This was reflected in the distribution of senior cabinet portfolios in the government formed in May 2006 under Nuri al-Maliki (Da'wa). Ministerial posts were divided among political blocs based on the percentage of seats won in the December 2005 general election. Sunnis were forced into a "permanent" minority role. The main thrust of the new government in its first year in office has been to increase security, especially in Baghdad; facilitate national reconciliation among the warring sects; introduce laws for the equitable sharing of oil resources, and implement regional governments (CRS 2006b). However, ideological and sectarian differences undermined any hopes of strong and effective government. Resignations, defections, assassinations, and allegations of rampant corruption have plagued the government from its inception. In April 2007 six ministers, aligned to Muqtada as-Sadr resigned over the failure of the government to support a "timetable" for the withdrawal of U.S. forces, and in August five Sunni ministers of the Iraqi Accordance Front (Tawafiq) departed from the Maliki government citing human rights violations. In general, Sunnis are apprehensive about the consequences of regional devolution and the equitable sharing of oil resources.

Politically, Iraq has moved from a nationalist regime committed to strong central government under Saddam Hussein to a decentralized federal system, based on ethno-sectarian identities and ideologies. The federal constitution permits considerable devolution of powers to 18 provincial or regional governments (*muhafazat*), which might subsequently regroup into larger political entities. In theory the constitution envisages a "partnership" between the federal government and the regions "to develop the oil and gas wealth in a way that achieves the highest benefits to the Iraqi people" (Art. 109, 2). But devolution of power to the regions might also lead to a scramble to monopolize the country's vital oil resources. The future status of the oil-rich city of Kirkuk might be heightened by continuing rivalries between Arabs and Kurds for control of the city. Security, defense, foreign affairs (Art. 107) and constitutional judicial oversight (Art. 90) are deemed to be the preserve of the federal government. Shared powers with the regions include the environment, customs, public planning, health, and education (Art. 110). On October 15, 2005, three Sunni provinces (al-Anbar, Mosul, and Salahuddin) opposed the constitutional referendum and narrowly failed to veto its provisions. Sunnis in general prefer a strong central government. Their political opposition to federalism derives from the belief that ethnic and sectarian rivals might seize the opportunity to monopolize and control the country's vital oil resources through an alliance of federal and regional Shiite and Kurdish governments. It is this opposition that currently fuels the insurgency, undermines local security, and fractures Sunnis' relations with the United States.

LAW AND ORDER

Iraq's legal system combines elements of French, Egyptian, and Ottoman law. Islam was described constitutionally as the formal source of law and the religion of the state (1970 and 2005). The court system prior to March 18, 2003, was traditionally divided into civil and criminal courts, and courts of personal status that operated separately under Islamic law (Hanafi/Sunni or Ja'afari/Shiite), including special religious courts for non-Muslims. The Personal Status Law (PSL) (1959) with amendments is currently applicable to Shiite and Sunnis.

The federal judicial process (2005) comprises a Supreme Judiciary Council, Supreme Federal Court, Federal Cassation Court, Prosecutors Office, Judiciary Inspection Department and other federal courts "organized by law." In theory extraordinary cases such as the constitutionality of laws (might) be sent to the highest court—the Supreme Federal Court—whose membership (might) comprise lay judges and Islamic law experts, a familiar pattern in the Iranian legal system. This court might well interpret Iraq's legal processes on the basis of the *Shari'a* if "directed" by religious political parties in parliament. In 2004 a special tribunal was set up to try Saddam Hussein and members of his regime for crimes against humanity. Following a politically motivated trial, Saddam Hussein was executed by hanging on December 30, 2006.

A new Iraqi Police Service (135,000 in 2006) was set up by the U.S. Coalition Provisional Authority (2003) to act as a municipal law enforcement agency under the authority of the Ministry of the Interior. The Department of Border Enforcement (28,600 in 2006) has three main functions: border police, civil customs, and immigration inspection. The Iraqi National Guard (40,000 in 2005), designated to enforce internal security, was recruited and trained by the United States and its NATO allies. The role of the lightly armed Facilities Protection Force (145,000 in 2006), under the Ministry of Defense, has been to protect vital infrastructure, in particular the oil industry. To complement these forces an estimated 155,000 U.S. troops and 16,500 coalition troops from 27 countries were stationed in Iraq at the end of 2005. In 2007 U.S. forces were increased by about 29,000 in a so-called "surge" designed to gain the security initiative in support of the Iraqi government, but with overall limited results. The U.S. bill for security operations between 2003 and 2007 exceeded $320 billion, while foreign aid and diplomatic operations over the same period added another $22 billion. The overall cost of the U.S. operation in Iraq in 2007 amounted to about three-fifths of the total budget allocated for the war on terrorism. An additional 20,000 private military contractors were also in the country in 2005 (CRS 2005; USLC 2006; Baker and Hamilton 2006, 7).

The breakdown of law and order and security throughout Iraq has led to a wave of crime and violence which is rapidly engulfing the country (2007). National treasures and priceless artifacts have been destroyed and/or looted by gangs with foreign outlets. Women fear to leave their homes; lawlessness prevails in many districts of Baghdad and many other parts of the country. It is worse in Sunni areas. Since 2003 the incidence of violence has increased manifold, as have the victims of criminal gangs and "terrorist" attacks (for example, violence directed against innocent third parties for political reasons), including car and/or suicide bombings.

Between March 2003 and December 2006 an estimated 76,500 Iraqis were killed, largely by gun shot, and about two-thirds of the fatalities occurred in Baghdad (Brookings Institution 2007, 22). About 85 percent of all attacks have taken place in Baghdad and the three Sunni provinces of Anbar, Nineveh, and Salahuddin. In late 2006 more than 150 people each day—or about 3,000 each month—were being killed throughout Iraq. Sectarian violence has been spreading throughout the country and intensifying in Baghdad and the Shiite south. Most of the time the Iraqi police and security forces have been completely ineffective and even complicit in the escalating sectarian violence. U.S. and coalition forces with over 4,000 killed (2007) have been no more effective in stemming the violence. It is clear that continuing U.S. and coalition involvement in Iraq is no longer viable. An effective exit strategy would seem to be the only real alternative (see Conclusion below).

Four years after the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq, organized drug trafficking and addiction are on the rise. Heroin, cocaine, and marijuana are the preferred drugs. The main problem areas are the Shiite shrine cities of Najaf and Karbala. Terrorist organizations and criminal gangs are the main importers of illegal drugs, which enter from Syria, Jordan, and Turkey. Profits from the sale of drugs are often used to purchase arms. Iraq may also be a source-country for the trafficking of women and children to Syria, Yemen, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Jordan, Turkey, and Iran for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Some Iraqi girls are also believed to be trafficked internally from rural areas to cities such as Kirkuk, Irbil, and Mosul. Iraq may also be a destination country for men trafficked from South and Southeast Asia for involuntary servitude (USDS 2006).

Iraqi women's groups and foreign NGOs remain uneasy over the application of Islamic legal provisions of the new federal constitution relating to civil and human rights (Arts 2.A, 39). Will they, for example, lead to strict application of the *Shari'a* on personal status matters? Will they reverse the provisions of the more liberal PSL (1959) that "equalized" women's inheritance rights within marriage? Issues of personal status like polygamy, though not common, continue to hamper gender equality in Iraq. Ongoing "violence" against women is another major issue that motivated women's groups to organize a national campaign in 2004. Many women have taken to wearing the veil (*hijab*) to ensure greater self-protection. Reports of "honor" killings and ritual "cleansing" of homosexuals and AIDS sufferers are worrisome trends for liberal-minded reformers. Traditional Islamic resistance to women's rights has accompanied the spread of sectarian violence. In southern Iraq a study indicated (2004) that most men and women did not fully support the concept of women's civil and political rights, including freedom to enter public life and to participate in government (CRS 2006c). In the lawless conditions currently prevailing in Iraq, it is not uncommon for some Iraqis to yearn for the "bad old days" of Saddam Hussein where, at least, "security" prevailed and criminal activity was harshly punished.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Iraq has renewed diplomatic representation in more than 35 posts since the ban on diplomatic activities was lifted in 2003. This includes three permanent missions:

the UN in New York; the UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, and the Arab League in Cairo. Iraq is currently attempting to reengage the international community through rebuilding diplomatic ties and representation in international organizations and multilateral fora. In theory the new Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs (IMFA) is primarily concerned with overcoming a legacy of mistrust and hostility which it inherited from the previous regime (IMFA 2007).

Foreign policy guidelines currently under consideration include the need to ensure security; stabilize the country and preserve its territorial integrity; restore international diplomatic bilateral relations and reengage the international community in Iraq's reconstruction and development; reconstruct the economy and infrastructure to raise the standard of living of the Iraqi people; reactivate Iraq's diplomatic missions and promote Iraqi interests in all political, economic, social, and cultural fields; rejoin and engage in all multilateral bodies; reform the IMFA and its activities based on new values and principles; and pursue a chosen path of democratization within the framework of sovereignty, unity, and equal citizenship. In November 2003 Iraq participated in the Madrid Donor's Conference at which 73 countries pledged $33 billion and consolidated international political support for its reconstruction (IMFA 2007). While Iraq retains membership of the Arab League, emphasis on its previous "Arabist" nature (interim constitution 1970; Arts. 1 & 5A) has been omitted from the federal constitution (2005), which simply describes Iraq "as a country of many nationalities, religions and sects…and [as] part of the Islamic world" (Art. 3). This could have a significant bearing on Iraq's regional foreign policy and developing relations with Iran (see Conclusion below).

Iraq was one of the founding members of the Arab League (1945); it subscribed to the Arab Joint Defense and Economic Cooperation Treaty (1950); was a member of the Cold War Baghdad Pact (1955–1958); and participated in the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) (1969). In September 2003 Iraq resumed its seat at the 120th session of the Arab League in Cairo. Since 2003 the United States and Britain have performed the bulk of security operations in Iraq and provided military training for local armed forces.

Iraq was a signatory of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (1970). But during the 1970s and 1980s Saddam Hussein attempted to acquire nuclear weapons capabilities, which were seen as a major threat by Iran and Israel. In 1981 Israeli aircraft successfully destroyed Iraq's Osirak nuclear reactor, possibly with U.S. collusion (Aburisch 2000, 205). The partial "recovery" of Saddam Hussein's nuclear weapons program in 1990, following his occupation of Kuwait, heightened tensions with the U.S.-led multinational force in the Gulf and served as an international pretext for war. After Saddam Hussein's defeat in the Gulf War (1991) the UNSC renewed harsh economic sanctions linked to weapons inspections to force Iraq's president to disgorge "suspected" WMD. His refusal to comply with UN resolutions and weapons inspections led to the belief that he possessed WMD, which might be unleashed against the West (Blix 2004, 266–67). Matters came to a head in the aftermath of Al Qaeda's terrorist bombings of the United States on September 11, 2001 (9/11), which led to the U.S. invasion of Iraq and subsequent overthrow of Saddam Hussein in April 2003. But on July 9, 2004, the U.S. Senate Intelligence Committee concluded that most of the major key judgments on Iraq's weapons of mass destruction were either overstated or were not supported by the

underlying intelligence report and that there was no established formal relationship between Al Qaeda and Saddam Hussein (*The Nation* 2004). Currently Iraq's new federal constitution is strongly opposed to the acquisition of WMD (Art. 9:E).

At its demise in April 2003, Saddam Hussein's regime owed $150 billion to foreign creditors. In late 2004, the Paris Club of international creditors agreed to cancel 80 percent of Iraq's debt to member nations. Iraq has considerable oil resources to become once more a middle-range income state. However, the current insurgency has been most destructive to its economic recovery. In 2004 the United States designated Iraq as a beneficiary developing country under the Generalized System of Preferences, permitting low or zero duties for designated products entering the United States. In 2005 the World Bank's International Finance Corporation joined the National Bank of Kuwait in buying shares in the Credit Bank of Iraq, providing a major infusion of money into the financial system. Iraq is currently developing bilateral relations with Gulf neighbors, especially Iran where there are moves to develop free trade in the Basra area. In addition Iraq has multilateral commitments through organizations such as the Conference of Iraqi Neighboring States (July 2006), indicating its intention to pursue liberal free trade policies.

Since September 2003 Iraq has resumed membership of international organizations and multilateral bodies including the Arab League, UN and specialized agencies, Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), G77, International Monetary Fund (IMF), Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC), Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), World Bank, World Trade Organization (WTO) (observer status), and the Regional Conference of Iraq's Neighboring Countries (CIA 2006).

Iraq's reconstruction and development since 2003 has been greatly assisted by NGOs. In 2006 there were over 8,000 international and domestic NGOs in Iraq. However, increasing terrorist attacks against NGO personnel has inhibited their humanitarian efforts, leading to a number of major international organizations pulling out of Iraq. Major international NGOs operating in Iraq include Doctors without Borders and the International Committee of the Red Cross. The absence of security has been a major problem for NGOs, which generally seek to detach themselves from the U.S.-led occupation to reduce the risk of terrorist attacks.

There are a number of UN and U.S. government agencies currently providing humanitarian aid to Iraq. These include the UN Development Program, which has been involved in a number of infrastructural and developmental programs since 1976. The UN Assistance Mission for Iraq was mandated by the UN Security Council (August 2003) to oversee the termination of the oil-for-food program in November 2003. Major U.S. governmental agencies in Iraq include the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA), Office of Food for Peace (OFFP), U.S. International Food Aid Program (IFAP), and Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC), which issues licenses to American NGOs operating in Iraq. USAID launched the Iraqi Information and Communications Technology Alliance during the Rebuild Iraq Conference in Amman in May 2006 (USLC 2006).

U.S. government assistance to Iraq between 2003 and 2007 amounted to the largest foreign aid program since the Marshall Plan for the recovery of Western

Europe (1948–1952). However, the intensification of the insurgency and breakdown of security has prevented much of the aid from being spent on reconstruction and development projects. For example, of 2,300 approved projects between 2003 and 2006, fewer than 140 had actually gone ahead much to the concern of the Bush administration, which hopes to "win over" the Iraqi people through lavish aid disbursements (Portaliraq).

Iraq has not yet provided forces for external UN peacekeeping activities. However, after the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988) a UN Iraq Iran Military Observer group was deployed on both sides of the border (1988–1990), requiring some element of cooperation with local forces.

SECURITY

Iraq's armed forces are rooted in Ottoman and British army traditions. By the end of the Iran-Iraq war (1980–1988) Iraq had emerged as the largest military power in the Middle East with more than 70 army divisions and over 700 aircraft, including WMD capabilities. But severe losses in the Gulf War (1991) resulted in a significant reduction of Iraq's military capabilities. UNSC economic and military sanctions (1990–2003) further undermined the strength and capability of Iraq's armed forces. By 2002 Iraq's armed forces had shrunk to about 40 percent of their pre-Gulf War level, while the air force had no effective combat capability. Iraq was soundly defeated by the U.S.-led invasion in March 2003, which contributed to a dangerous power vacuum that was exploited by a local Sunni-driven insurgency (see Terrorism below). In late 2003, U.S. recruitment plans for a New Iraqi Army (NIA) quickly took shape under the aegis of the Coalition Military Assistance Training Team. The main role of the NIA was to provide added security for a country sinking into the mire of civil war. But in 2005 it was reported that two-thirds of the NIA could not carry out operations without U.S. and coalition assistance. Again with only 10 percent Sunni recruitment the NIA struggled to be accepted in Sunni provinces or regions. The combined strength of Iraq's security forces was estimated to be 179,800 in 2006 (ISS 2006, 196).

The Iraqi Intelligence Service (IIS), also known as the *Mukhabarat* or General Directorate of Intelligence (GDI), was the main state intelligence organization in Iraq under Saddam Hussein. It was primarily concerned with international intelligence collection and analysis but also performed many activities inside Iraq. The new *Mukhabarat*, or Iraqi National Intelligence Service (INIS), was established in 2004 in cooperation with the CIA to gather information on groups threatening national security. In theory its current role is to serve as an information agency for the Council of Ministers and, unlike the IIS, to have no "enforcement" authority (USLC 2006).

Saddam Hussein's regime cultivated and supported external militias and terrorist groups as an extension of state policy. It also sheltered specific extremist Palestinian organizations such as Abu Nidal and the Palestine Liberation Front. It fostered anti-Iranian activities through the Mujahidin-i Khalq and provided financial support for Hamas, Islamic Jihad, Palestine Liberation Front, and the Arab Liberation Front. Money was also channeled to families of Palestinian suicide bombers.

Table 1   Terrorist Incidents in Iraq 2000–2007*

Year	Incidents	Fatalities
2000–2003[†]	21	4
2003–2004	150	548
2004–2005	860	2,485
2005–2006	2,361	6,252
01/01/2006–01/09/2007	4,023	9,578

*Measures terrorism staged by domestic and international groups in Iraq, including suicide bombers.
†Overthrow of Saddam Hussein's regime (April 2003).
Note: Civilian deaths from all forms of violence in Iraq (for example, terrorist, criminal, and military) stand at about 80,000, while trauma related deaths might be as high as 650,000 (September 2007).
Sources: MIPT Terrorism Knowledge Base. http://www.tkb.org. Brookings Institution, "Iraq Index. Tracking Variables of Reconstruction and Security in Post-Saddam Iraq," September 20, 2007. http://www.brookings.edu/fp/saban/iraq/indexarchive.htm (accessed September 24, 2007).

Under Saddam Hussein, the incidence of internal anti-regime "terrorism" was relatively low in the period prior to war in 2003 (see Table 1).

We can see a dramatic increase in terrorist incidents and fatalities in Iraq following the U.S.-led invasion and occupation (2003–present). A compelling explanation for this lies in the fact that the United States destroyed Iraq's political and military infrastructure, unleashing a largely Sunni-driven insurgency, which fed off (a) anti-American reaction to the war and (b) sectarian discontent rooted in the new Shiite dominated power structure. The insurgency, believed to number between 15,000 and 20,000 (2006) hard-core elements, has become increasingly sophisticated in its method of operation, especially through the Internet. Operating loosely under the umbrella of the Mujahidin Shura Council, it is made up of a number of groups, including Fedayeen Saddam guerrillas, Sunni jihadists, and Islamist foreign volunteers (for example, Algeria, Syria, Yemen, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Iran) including Al Qaeda (Brookings Institution 2006). Suicide bombers, often non-Iraqi, appear with regularity in Baghdad and other major centers. The insurgency seems to be driven by a number of different religio-political groups that share the broad objective of "liberating" Iraq from U.S. military occupation. Heightened U.S. security seems to act a magnet for more Islamist volunteers. There has also been an added inter-sectarian dimension (for example Sunni-Shiite) to the insurgency seen in attacks on mosques, especially the revered Shiite Askari mosque in Samarra (Salahuddin) in February 2006. This might be equated with Sunni opposition to the federal constitution (2005), which effectively ensures Shiite and Kurdish domination of the federal government and majority provincial or regional governments in the foreseeable future (Brookings Institution 2006).

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Observance of "international justice" is not an ideal that would have been all too familiar to Saddam Hussein's regime (1979–2003). While Iraq acceded to UN

international conventions covering a multiplicity of issues from human rights to nuclear nonproliferation, its strict adherence to these protocols was highly questionable. Between the 1970s and 1990s Saddam Hussein engaged in wholesale persecution and slaughter of the Kurds and Shiites. In the post-Saddam era (2003–present) the situation has not markedly improved. In September 2005 a report of the UN Assistance Mission in Iraq said the human rights situation continued to create serious concern (HRW 2006). The federal constitution upholds in theory respect for human rights and civil liberties, and condemns torture and ill-treatment of detainees in U.S.-Iraqi (for example Abu Ghraib prison, Baghdad) and Iraqi prisons. But civil and human rights violations continue unabated (2007), exacerbated by the mounting insurgency and the near breakdown of law and order.

In the 1970s and 1980s Iraq ratified (r) a number of international conventions relating to civil, political, and human rights. For example, the International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESRC) (r.1971), International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) (r.1971), and Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (r.1986). However, these conventions were widely disregarded by Saddam Hussein's regime, which practiced torture and degrading punishments in violation of ICCPR (Art. 7). Accession to CEDAW was also subject to the restrictions of Islamic law (*Shari'a*). Women's rights to "equality" were recognized under the provisional Ba'thist constitution of 1970 (Art. 19). Women were permitted to vote and run for office in 1980, but they suffered from increasing "discrimination" in the 1990s as Saddam's quest for political "survival" led to closer relations with tribal and conservative Islamic leaders. Iraq's Penal Code (1969) was also amended in the early 1990s to permit "honor" killing as a legal defense in sex related cases. Iraq's constitution (2005), in theory, expressly upholds the principles of religious freedom and gender equality "before the law" (Art. 14). Reports of "honor killing" of homosexuals and AIDS sufferers by zealous Shiite gangs, possibly with clerical approval, continue to plague Iraq, notwithstanding official adherence to international conventions on human rights (CRS 2006c).

In theory Iraq's "permanent" federal constitution provides for the separation of judicial, executive, and legislative powers; it also upholds a wide array of civil liberties (see above), including gender equality and respect for minority rights. Islam is described as the official religion of the state and a "fundamental source of legislation" that no law may contradict. It also upholds the principles of "democracy"

> ### WAR ON TERRORISM WORSENS
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> A stark assessment of terrorism by American intelligence agencies (2006), leaked to the media (September 28, 2006), has found that the American invasion and occupation of Iraq (2003) has helped spawn a new generation of Islamic radicalism and that the overall terrorist threat has grown since the 9/11 attacks. It is the first formal appraisal of global terrorism by U.S. intelligence agencies since the Iraq war began and represents a consensus view of 16 disparate spy services inside the U.S. government. Titled "Trends in Global Terrorism Implications for the U.S.," it asserts that Islamic radicalism rather than being in retreat has "metastasized" and spread across the globe. It cites the Iraq war (2003) as the reason for the diffusion of Islamic jihadist ideology, noting that the war has exacerbated the problem of terrorism. The broad judgments of the new intelligence estimate are consistent with assessments of global terrorist threats by U.S. allies and independent terrorist experts.

ABU GHRAIB PRISON: TORTURE AND PRISONER ABUSE

Matters came to a head in April 2004 following unfavorable U.S. media coverage of the U.S.-run Abu Ghraib prison in Baghdad. Graphic pictures showed American military personnel ''abusing'' Iraqi prisoners in degrading ways. While some critics dismissed the allegations as the work of low-ranking personnel, others claimed that it reflected attitudes of senior Pentagon officials, who approved of the use of torture to extract ''vital'' information from detainees. In May 2004 a Coalition Provisional Authority opinion poll asked Iraqis: ''Do you believe that abuse of prisoners at Abu Ghraib represents fewer than 100 people or that all Americans behave this way?'' Fifty-four percent of respondents believed that all Americans behave this way; 38 percent said no; and 7 percent were not sure. Embarrassed by the ''revelations'' of Abu Ghraib, the U.S. Army set up the 2001 Military Intelligence Battalion to provide more ''sophisticated'' methods of prisoner interrogation. In 2006 there were about 14,000 prisoners in U.S. prisons in Iraq.

Source: The Brookings Institution, ''Iraq Index: Tracking of Variables of Reconstruction and Security in Post-Saddam Iraq,'' August 14, 2006. http://www.brookings.edu/fp/saban/iraq/indexarchive.htm.

(still to be defined legislatively) and basic freedoms which, it asserts, should not contradict the provisions of Islam. Its Islamic emphasis also has important implications for civil and human rights, including women's rights. Reference to Islam in terms of ''law'' or ''legislation'' is quite vague. However, were the new Supreme Federal Court (SFC) to interpret Islamic law to mean the imposition of *Shari'a* legislation, the whole complexion of Iraq's legal process would change. Islamic legal (*Shari'a*) procedures would of necessity be the mirror through which human and civil rights legislation—even ''democracy''—might be judged and operated. In this context the will of God (*ḥakimiyya*) might be expected to take precedence over the will of the people. This could lead to a prescription for Shiite clerical domination of the political process. In the end it might be expected to be more highly divisive to inter-sectarian relations and national unity.

Under the regime of Saddam Hussein (1979–2003) abuse of the powers of the secret police, torture, murders, targeted assassinations, use of chemical weapons, ethnic cleansing, and the destruction of wetlands of the Marsh Arabs were some of the methods used to maintain a brutal police state. Even in the post-Saddam period, respect for human rights deteriorated significantly following the outbreak of the insurgency in 2003. Counterinsurgency attacks by U.S. and Iraqi forces have further undermined human rights, resulting in the killing of innocent civilians in violation of the laws of armed conflict.

In current opinion polls in Iraq, U.S. and coalition forces have been seen to ''oppress'' or ''hurt'' the people during the height of the insurgency. For example, a British Ministry of Defense Poll (August 2005) showed 82 percent were opposed to the presence of U.S. and coalition forces. Many respondents suspected the United States of ulterior motives associated with the acquisition of military bases and the exploitation of Iraq's oil industry, the latter being seen as the prime reason for the occupation of the country in March 2003 (Brookings Institution 2006, 60).

It would be quite laughable to even contemplate Iraq's promotion of human rights abroad. Human rights were cynically abused by Saddam Hussein's regime, while currently they are being ''trodden under foot'' by U.S. coalition forces and Islamic Sunni/Shiite extremists. And there is no end in sight to relieve the daily suffering of the Iraqi people.

CONCLUSION

In 1954 the United States signed a military pact with Iraq and several other states of the "northern tier" of the Middle East. It served as a forerunner of the Cold War Baghdad Pact (1955), which the United States entered as an associate military member in 1958. The United States was primarily interested in oil, strategic bases, reliable allies and, above all, the denial of the region to the Soviet Union and its allies (for example local communists and radical nationalists centered on Cairo and Damascus). This was reflected in the Eisenhower Doctrine in 1957. However, U.S.-Israeli relations generally undermined Washington's regional foreign policy. In 1959 Iraq withdrew from the Baghdad Pact. Over the next two decades it pursued "flexible" economic and military relations with the Soviet Union. U.S.-Iraqi diplomatic relations were severed in June 1967 following the Arab-Israeli Six Day War and were not resumed until 1984. During the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988) the United States developed closer bilateral relations with Iraq, which extended to political, economic (for example food aid) and military support, including the sale of WMD (Aburish 2000, 154). In 1988 Saddam Hussein used chemical weapons against allegedly pro-Iranian Kurds at Halabja (Sulaimaniya) with very little adverse reaction from the United States or its Western allies. This mutually "convenient" relationship ceased to exist after Iraq's clash with the United States in the Gulf War (1991). In 1991 the UNSC reintroduced punitive sanctions to force Iraq to "disgorge" alleged WMD. But "failure" on the part of Iraq to comply with UN arms inspectors (1991–2003) led to the Anglo-American invasion of Iraq in March 2003 without "approval" of the UNSC (Resolution 1441, 2002). In international law the occupation of Iraq was "illegal." However under pressure from the United States to "legitimize" its presence in Iraq, the UNSC agreed to send a mission to Iraq to construct a new interim government (Resolution 1546, June 2004). The U.S. coalition suddenly became an "approved" MNF, theoretically under the jurisdiction of an "independent" Iraqi government. But in reality the United States remained firmly in the driving seat. While the United Nations took some part in planning Iraq's federal elections (2005), security dangers deriving from the insurgency kept its role to a minimum. Indeed only with the end of the U.S. occupation might a substantial role for the United Nations be feasible with broad international support for security and reconstruction and development.

There seems to have been an incredibly naïve assumption by the George W. Bush administration that once Saddam Hussein had been overthrown by U.S.-led forces, the Iraqi people of their own volition would welcome the opportunity to embrace "freedom" and "liberty" and, of course, "political democracy." But soon after Saddam's overthrow (April 2003), the United States was facing an Iraqi insurgency opposed to what was seen as an "illegal" occupation of the country. Between March 2003 and September 2007 over 3,800 U.S. and 300 non-U.S. coalition military personnel were killed. Over the same period Iraqi civilian deaths, while difficult to separate from "terrorist" victims, amounted to about 76,500 (Brookings Institution 2007, 13). Eighty percent of all attacks by insurgents were directed against U.S. and coalition forces. In general Sunni Muslims have remained the most anti-American Iraqi community. This is reflected in current opinion polls.

Previously a "privileged" community under Saddam Hussein, the insurgency has enabled Sunni jihadists or militants to continue the war against the U.S. and the Shiite majority, which now stands to "take all" from the constitutional process, sponsored, nurtured, and funded by the United States in the name of political democracy. In a tactical sense Shiites and Kurds have much to gain by "cooperating" with the United States, at least in the short term, as it allows them time to strengthen their military capabilities and consolidate their regional interests. As for positive long-term relations with the United States, it would be overly optimistic to believe that these would extend much beyond the withdrawal of the last U.S. troops from Iraq.

Conflict, war, and nearly 13 years of crippling UN sanctions (1990–2003), rigidly enforced by the United States, have taken a heavy toll on the lives and resiliency of the Iraqi people. This has led to an outflow of refugees to neighboring countries. Over 14 camps in Iraq currently house increasing numbers of displaced persons. Forty percent of the professional middle class have left Iraq since 2003. Though primarily Shiite in composition, the NIA has been unable to rise above ethno-sectarian interests during the insurgency. Its effectiveness as a stabilizing force has been negligible. Over 60 percent of insurgent attacks have occurred in Baghdad and the Sunni heartlands or "triangle" (al-Anbar, Salahuddin, Mosul) (Brookings Institution 2007, 30). Sectarian violence has been on the rise in the Shiite south. Factional disputes within the UIA have also broken out in Basra over control of the oil ministry, indicating political differences within the ruling elite. In addition, ideological, sacred-secular, economic, regional, and social class differences, to mention but a few, contribute to the highly fractious nature of Iraqi society.

If permitted, Iraq has excellent potentialities for economic recovery. However, its major problem relates to sectarian violence, increasingly politicized since the U.S. occupation (2003). This was indeed highly predictable. U.S. contingency planning for returning Iraq to "normalcy" seems to have been woefully lacking. Iraq sits perilously close to civil war; some might argue theoretically that the threshold has already been crossed (Fearon and Laitin 2003). The insurgency remains the single greatest problem for the United States. Hasty withdrawal of the US-MNF could tip the country into irreversible civil war with unpredictable consequences for neighboring states. But a prolonged U.S. presence might have equally disastrous results (Luttwak 2005; Biddle 2006). U.S. proposals which foster the devolution of political power to the provinces or regions in the interests of security and stability might simply push the country further into irreversible political disintegration or balkanization. It is difficult to envisage any real "progress" while the insurgency continues. The U.S. occupation of Iraq has fundamentally changed the regional balance of power by facilitating the emergence of a tripartite Shiite bloc (Iraq, Iran, and Syria), which most likely will be strongly anti-Israeli and anti-American. In addition, the occupation may have spawned a new generation of Islamic radicalism and heightened the terrorist threat since 9/11. Indeed U.S. policy in Iraq has opened a veritable Pandora's box, which could have adverse consequences for future peace and stability in the Middle East.

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Israel

Jenna Lea

BACKGROUND

Israel is located in the Middle East bordering the Mediterranean Sea situated between Egypt and Lebanon. The state is comprised of territory formerly part of Palestine under a British mandate which ended after World War II as well as occupied territories gained through several wars with its Arab neighbors. Israeli control of these occupied territories has fluctuated over time pursuant to treaty terms with Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon. Much of southern Israel is desert while the most fertile area is near the Mediterranean coastline. Key geographic features of the state include the central mountains and the Jordan Rift Valley. Approximately 15 percent of Israeli land is suitable for farming, further constrained by limited fresh water sources. Israel has limited natural resources, notably the lack of oil deposits but has managed to become fairly self-sufficient in agriculture with the exception of large grain imports. Key environmental concerns are air pollution from vehicle emissions and ground water pollution from industrial and domestic waste as well as fertilizers and pesticides. Israel is party to multiple international environmental agreements including the Kyoto Protocol. A technologically advanced market economy, the majority of the labor force is employed in public services, manufacturing, finance, business, and commerce (CIA 2006). Freedom House (2007) gives Israel the highest ranking possible on its political freedom scale, a one out of seven; but, Israel scores a two out of seven on civil liberties. Questions over civil liberties arise from more inferior access to municipal services for Arab residents and citizens than for their Jewish counterparts and security restrictions on freedom of movement. They also arise from military censorship of security matters reported by the media and counterterrorism ordinances limiting speech in support of groups deemed enemies of the state.

Following the end of World War II and rising sentiment for the establishment of a Jewish homeland state, the British announced in February 1947 that they would terminate their mandate for Palestine and cede decision-making authority for the future of the territory to the United Nations. A UN Special Committee on

Israel

Formal name of country: State of Israel or Medinat Yisra'el

Size of country: 20,770 sq km or 12,906 sq mi

Natural resources: Timber, potash, copper ore, natural gas, phosphate rock, magnesium bromide, clays, and sand

Population: 6,426,679 (includes settlements in the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and occupied territory in the Golan Heights)

Life expectancy at birth: Total population 79.46 years; male 79.59 years; female 81.85 years

Key ethnic groups:

- Jewish (Israeli)
- Arab-Israeli
- Arab-Palestinian

Key religions: Jewish, Muslim, Arab Christians, other Christian, Druze

Political system: Parliamentary Democracy consisting of a president as chief of state, prime minister as head of the government, a unicameral legislative branch (Knesset), and a Supreme Court with justices appointed for life by the president

Key Political Parties:

- Kadima
- Labor-Meimad
- Shas
- Likud
- Yisrael Beitenu
- Ichud Leumi-Mafdal
- Gil Pensioners Party
- United Torah Judaism
- Meretz
- Ra'am-Ta'al (Arab)
- Hadash (Jewish and Arab)
- BaLaD (Arab)

Other key political groups: Israeli Nationalists, Palestinian Authority—Fatah Party, Hamas

Legal system: No formal constitution, mixture of English common law and British mandate regulations, some constitutional functions are filled by the Declaration of Establishment (1948), the Basic Laws of the parliament (Knesset), and the Israeli citizenship law.

Real GDP growth: 4.5% (2006 est.), 4% or greater (2007 est.)

Population below poverty line: 21% (2005)

Size of military: Active military personnel: 168,000 (2007); manpower fit for military service: males age 17–49: 1,255,902; females age 17–49: 1,212,394 (2005 est.)

Relationship with the United States: Israel has a close relationship with the United States, relying on the United States as principle mediator in negotiations with the Palestinian Authority. Israel is also the largest recipient of U.S. foreign aid.

Important human security issues: Terrorist groups operating within Israel and the Palestinian territories as well as state-sponsored terrorism from places such as Syria and Iran. Israel has to balance attachment to democratic principles of civil liberties and civil rights with its focus on national security.

Important future security issues: The nature of a future Palestinian state and its willingness to renounce terrorism. State-sponsored terrorism, enhanced terrorist capability, and the threat to Israel's borders.

Sources: CIA *World Factbook*, International Institute for Strategic Studies, Minorities at Risk, 17th Israeli Knesset, PNC

Palestine was appointed to study potential courses of action for the territory and issued a unanimous opinion that the British should withdraw and that Palestine should be made independent. In addition, a majority of the committee favored partitioning the area into separate Arab and Jewish states. On November 29, 1947, the UN General Assembly approved Resolution 181, the partition plan as recommended by the Special Committee on Palestine to partition the area into an Arab state, Jewish state, and an international zone administered by the UN around Jerusalem. Arabs refused to compromise on the plan, resisting partition of the territory. On May 14, 1948, David Ben-Gurion, first prime minister of Israel read a document entitled the Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel a few hours prior to the expiration of the British mandate in Palestine. The United States recognized the de facto provisional government of Israel on the same date and issued further statements of its intent to continue to broker an agreement between dissatisfied Arabs and the Jewish population. Israel was granted official recognition by the United States on January 31, 1949, following the popular election of a permanent government. Following the Israeli declaration in 1948, Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Iraq attacked the new Jewish state in an attempt to create a ''United State of Palestine'' in what became known as the Arab-Israeli War. The war lasted until separate armistices were signed with the individual Arab states between February and July 1949. Aside from the demographic effects of Palestinian flight from Israel resulting in the current refugee problem and claims of the right of repatriation made by Palestinians in reference to the land and homes they left behind, Israel assumed control of land intended to be part of UN mandated Palestine from Resolution 181. Other territory acquisitioned by Israel has included the Gaza Strip, Sinai Peninsula, West Bank, and the Golan Heights taken during the 1967 Six Day War; however, Israel returned Sinai to Egypt in exchange for diplomatic recognition as a result of the Camp David Accords of 1978. Israel has retained control of the Golan Heights, taken from Syria in 1967 and again during the Yom Kippur War of 1973, though the international community largely considers the Golan Heights to belong legally to Syria. The West Bank and Gaza are a continued source of contention as part of Israeli-Palestinian land for peace negotiations (United Nations 2006; Truman Library 2006; Jimmy Carter Library 2006; Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006, Oslo Accords 1993).

ISRAELI SOCIETY

Population and Demographics

The population of Israel is near six and a half million, including Jewish settlers in the West Bank, Gaza, East Jerusalem, and the occupied Golan Heights. The crude birth rate numbers 17.97 per 1,000 with an average 2.41 children born per woman. Overall population growth has decreased from around 3 percent in the 1990s to an estimate of 1.15 percent for 2007. Some key factors are worth noting in reference to Israeli demographics. First, western developed states typically have lower birth rates than undeveloped and developing states, and poorer populations within states have higher birth rates than those in the middle and upper income brackets. This is important vis-à-vis Israel's conflict with its own Arab-Palestinian population and its location amongst its often lesser developed Arab neighbors. Internally, there is a large wealth gap between the Palestinians and Arab-Israelis and the Jewish Israelis; Muslims within Israel have a birth rate twice that of Jewish Israelis (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics 2006). This speaks to a key concern for Israel in negotiating the establishment of a Palestinian state and dealing with the Palestinian assertion of the right of repatriation. Palestinian population growth is outpacing Jewish population growth two to one; establishing a Palestinian state means further encircling Israel with new, and likely hostile, neighbors which may numerically exceed Israel in population. Furthermore, the rapid Palestinian growth affects the willingness of Israel to compromise on repatriation claims, whereby Palestinians seek to return to the land they abandoned in 1948 upon the proclamation of the independent Israeli state. In negotiations Israel remains adamant that no concessions will be made to substantiate Palestinian claims for repatriation; to do so could result in a Jewish minority within Israel. (For a comparison of selected statistics indicating general health and well-being of populations within Israel versus the West Bank and Gaza Strip, see Table 2.)

Both Palestinian Arabs and the global Jewish population assert the land currently comprising Israel as their historic and biblical homeland. The origin of the Jewish claim to the land derives from religious tradition: that the land was intended for the Hebrews through a promise made by God to Abraham. This resulted in the establishment of the historic kingdom of Israel until it was toppled by the Romans resulting in a large Jewish Diaspora. While the Jewish Diaspora can be associated

Table 2   Social Indicators

	Israel	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Births/1,000	17.97	31.67	39.45
Infant Mortality/1,000	6.89	19.15	22.4
Life Expectancy	79.46	73.27	71.97
Fertility: children/woman	2.41	4.28	5.78
Literacy	95.4%	91.9%	91.9%

Source: CIA *World Factbook*.

with numerous conquests of the ancient Jewish kingdom by other intraregional powers, the bulk of the Jewish Diaspora as it is conceived today—the mass voluntary migration as well as slave trade of Jews to Europe and Russia—is attributed to conquest by the Roman empire which resulted in the sacking of the Second Temple in 70 AD. Therefore, the Jews believe that they have been displaced from their rightful homeland for centuries and that the events leading up to the Holocaust made it clear that Jews could only be safe in a Jewish state. The Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel was supported as the solution to the forced Diaspora. The Palestinians stake their claim based on long-term residency and their population majority until Zionism, or Jewish nationalism, resulted in mass emigration back to the then Palestinian province from the late 1800s through the first World War and then with renewed fervor after the Holocaust. As a result of the declaration of an independent state of Israel and the ensuing Arab-Israeli war, Palestinians fled or were expelled en masse from Israel creating the Palestinian refugee problem. The numbers of Palestinian refugees is widely disputed; the UN estimates place the total between 700,000 and 800,000, whereas Israel presents a lower statistic at around 500,000. The Palestinians claim their numbers to be near one million. Israel has allowed limited refugees to return but the vast majority have remained in the neighboring Arab states. With the exception of Jordan, the neighboring Arab states did not welcome the Palestinian refugees and have refused to grant them citizenship in accordance with an Arab League mandate intended to deny nationalization in order to preserve a "Palestinian identity." However, economic and social provisions for the displaced Palestinian populations vary by state (Human Rights Watch 2006).

The key ethnic groups in Israel are the Israeli-Jews, who number approximately 77 percent of the total population, Israeli-Arabs—mostly Palestinians who hold Israeli citizenship and non-citizen Arabs—also mostly Palestinians though comprising some Druze and Bedouin. There are several subdivisions within the Israeli-Jews based on ancestral land before they returned to Israel. The Ashkenazi are Jews from mainland Europe, principally Central and Eastern Europe and Russia, and represent the majority Jewish sub-identity. The ancestors of Sephardic Jews were located primarily in Spain and Portugal and upon expulsion moved into other areas such as Turkey, the Mediterranean, and northern Africa. A final primary category for subdividing Jewish identity is the Mizrahi Jews. The Mizrahi Jews are descended from Jewish communities that remained within Arab or Muslim states in the Middle East and northern Africa.

A majority of non-citizen Palestinians and Arab-Israelis are Muslim and practice the Islamic faith; however, a small percentage of these people adhere to Christianity and the Druze religion, an offshoot of Islam from the tenth century but with very little reliance on the Koran; in fact they are not considered Muslims by most in the region. Arab-Israeli Druzes are fairly well assimilated in Israeli society, voting in elections and voluntarily serving in the army. While Judaism is the backbone of Israeli ethnic identity and is the majority religion of the state, Israel is not a theocracy. It is important to draw a distinction between "Jewishness" as the basis of nationalistic identity and "Jewishness" as it relates to the religious practice of Judaism. While the vast majority of Israelis identify themselves as Jews, most Jews classify themselves as secular, meaning that their identity as a cohesive group is based

primarily on the historical land of Israel and the act of living in it and amongst other Jews and not on frequency of attendance at religious services. Gallup International (2006) reports that only 25 percent of Israeli-Jews regularly attend religious services compared to the high of 57 percent of American Jews. Adherents to the strictest form of Judaism, Orthodox Judaism, are represented in disproportionately high numbers in Israel as compared to the rest of the global Diaspora. The Chief Rabbinate, who runs the Jewish religious establishment and religious aspects of the secular state is exclusively Orthodox and thus wields power over such areas as conversion to Judaism, certification of Kosher foods, the status of Jewish marriages, and divorces and laws pertaining to religious observances. The popular Reform and Conservative movements in Judaism are excluded from the Israeli religious establishment. In public education there is both a religious track and a secular track for Jewish students and an Arab track.

Economics and Development

Israel has a technologically advanced market economy, which has historically been controlled by the government. Development has focused on the industrial sector, which now constitutes 40 percent of the top 150 Israeli companies. As a result, software and other high-tech exports have shown dramatic increases, though a slowdown in recent years in the high-tech industries may be the cause of fairly high Israeli unemployment. Due to its geopolitical situation and conflict with the Arab world, Israel has also become a leader in aviation and aerospace sciences as well as security and safety industries for use in antiterrorism. Economic reforms have resulted in the government pursuing liberalization and privatization of major state-owned infrastructures such as electricity, communications, and energy supply. The structure of the Israeli communications network has undergone significant changes since the 1980s; beginning then and picking up significantly in the 1990s the Israel Ministry of Communications initiated a process of liberalization of Israeli telecommunications to introduce market competition. The end goal is privatization of services, which the government has already begun by selling off large shares of Bezeq, which has a legal monopoly of fixed-wire line services. Israel is also engaging in privatization of other communications industries such as Internet service providers, broadcasting, and cable television; future goals include continuation of these efforts with the additional privatization of the postal authority and a competitive postal market (Israel Ministry of Communications).

As a developed society with an increasingly urbanized population, energy is a key concern for Israel. Since Israel has no significant oil reserves, it must import nearly of all its petroleum. Israel largely avoids importing oil from other Middle Eastern countries, relying on North Africa (including Egypt) and West Africa and increasing reliance on Russia and the Caspian region. Privatization extends into energy systems as well with the elimination of price controls on petroleum products and the sale of state-owned refineries to private investors. Lack of petroleum production capability has led Israel to pursue alternative energy sources to meet its needs including natural gas for industrial operations and solar and nuclear energy for fuel replacement and power supply (U.S. Energy Information Agency 2006).

Despite a great deal of economic success, there is some disparity between the Jewish and Arab populations. While unemployment has been decreasing in Israel, projected at 8.5 percent for 2006, down from a high of 10.7 percent in 2003, World Bank (2006) estimates are around 37 percent for Palestinian unemployment separate from Israelis. The Arab subsystem in education is also different from the Hebrew subsystem, given the minimum financial support required by law, the compulsory attendance time is shorter, and fewer students go on to secondary education. The percentage of Palestinians below the poverty line is also twice that of the population within Israel and the economic crisis in the Palestinian territories is strengthening due to Israeli restriction of the flow of goods and people across the border. In an ironic parallel to the belief that Jews could only be safe in a Jewish state, the socioeconomic disparity between the Israeli Jew and Palestinian populations in the areas of income, unemployment, access to social services, and education may be reinforcing the Palestinian assertion of their need for an independent state (see Table 2 for details of social indicators.)

Infrastructure

As would be expected for a state of Israel's political and economic development, Israel also has a highly developed and modernized system of roads, railways, four key ports, and a system of airports offering domestic and international flight services. Israel also has an extensive network of buses for public transport. Similar to many developed states, private car use in Israel is on the rise. The Ministry of Transport (2006) reports that the concentration of cars per kilometer is increasing, far exceeding states such as the United States by more than two to one. The ability of Israeli road development to keep pace with the population and growth in private car use has been inadequate; as a result, the Ministry of Transport has pursued policies such as bus-only routes, stricter urban parking regulations, and encouraging foot traffic to lessen the burden on highways and surface roads. Israel's state-owned railway system has historically been ignored; however, government initiatives stemming from the Ministry of Transport have worked to upgrade and expand the passenger train system to encourage a transport alternative to car use for commuters. The Ministry is also pursuing a plan for light rail development in major cities. Although Israel has four ports, 99 percent of the traffic goes through the three main ports of Haifa, Ashdod, and Eilat. The largest of the ports is at Haifa, a city which has long been free of violence associated with the Arab-Israeli conflict and Palestinian intifada. However, in July 2006, the Islamic fundamentalist organization Hezbollah, located in southern Lebanon, demonstrated its possession of longer range Kytusha rockets and initiated a campaign of attacks on Haifa and other northern Israeli cities. The effect of this on the port of Haifa and on the city's popularity as a key tourist location is yet unknown.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

The government of Israel is a democracy modeled on the British parliamentary system. The executive branch is comprised of a president who serves as the ceremonial chief of state and is elected by the Knesset. Presidents serve a single

seven-year term with no reelection. Until the 14th Knesset elected in 1996, the prime minister was selected by the president, generally from the majority party. However, with a change to the Basic Laws, the 1996, 1999, and 2001 elections utilized direct popular elections to select the prime minister. In 2001 the law was amended again to return to the original method. The prime minister is chosen with each Knesset and is the head of the government responsible for organizing the government, ensuring passage of bills through the legislative branch, and representing the government in international negotiations and agreements. The Knesset is a unicameral legislative body with 120 seats based on a system of proportional representation, which holds popular elections every four years, though as in other parliamentary systems early elections can be held depending on shifts in the governing coalition. Knesset elections are national and do not use electoral districts. Parties present a slate of party candidates to the electorate and receive seats based on the vote percentage the party receives in the general election. No party has ever achieved an absolute majority; therefore, the formation of the Israeli government depends on coalition making.

The most recent Knesset election was held on March 28, 2006. The Kadima Party won the majority of seats 29/120. Kadima was formed in 2005, the result of a split from the Likud party orchestrated by former Prime Minister Ariel Sharon in order to pursue a more centrist policy of land concession to the Palestinians in contrast to the more conservative rightist position of Likud. The current prime minister from Kadima is Ehud Olmert. Ha Avoda, or the Labor Party, which is a center-left party with recently moderated democratic socialist views, supports negotiations with Palestinians and garnered the second highest number of seats—19/120. Shas and Likud tied for third with 12 seats each. Shas, or Sephardim Religious Party, represents ultra-orthodox Sephardic Jews and focuses primarily on expanding religious legislation but holds a flexible stance on the Arab-Israeli conflict. Likud is a right-wing conservative party formed by the merger of several parties leading up to the 1973 elections. Since the 1977 elections until 2006, Likud has always been one of the top two parties in Knesset elections. Likud is known for its hard-line stance opposing Palestinian statehood and supporting Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Former President Moshe Katsav, whose term ended in 2007 amidst criminal allegations of rape and sexual harassment, was a member of Likud. Katsav was succeeded by former Prime Minister Shimon Peres, who, while once a member of the Labor Party, now represents Kadima. Yisrael Beytenu, a far right party comprised primarily of immigrants from the former Soviet Union, ranks fourth with 11/120 seats. Yisrael Beytenu also takes a hard-line stance with regards to negotiating with Palestinians and other Arab states; however, the party is most known for its leader, Avigdor Liberman. Liberman has been labeled as racist for his controversial goals of returning significant Arab populated areas to Arab sovereignty for the express purpose of revoking Arab-Israelis citizenship and offering monetary incentives to encourage Arabs to leave Israel. Mafdal, or the National Religious Party, and the National Union (9/120), is a coalition of right-wing religious parties which favor promotion of a religious way of life and oppose any negotiations over a Palestinian state or removing Israeli settlements from the West Bank and Gaza. Rounding out seats in the 17th Knesset are

Gimla'ey Yisrael LaKneset (7/120), a pensioner's rights party; United Torah Judaism (6/120), an ultra-orthodox religious coalition party; Meretz-Yachad (5/120), a left-wing social democratic party; Ra'am-Ta'al (4/120), an Israeli-Arab Islamist party; Hadash (3/120), a far left Arab party which favors a secular binational state; and Balad (3/120), an Arab nationalist party.

Israel has universal suffrage for all citizens aged 18 and older, the right being revocable due to certain criminal actions such as offenses against the security of the state. Similarly, individuals are not allowed to be members of the Knesset if they deny Israel as the state of the Jewish people, oppose the democratic nature of the state, or undertake action to incite racism; further they must take an oath that they do not support anyone who takes action against the state. This stipulation in Israeli Basic Law can be used to deny political participation to Palestinians. Political participation on the whole has been falling since the 1970s. Voter turnout for the 2006 election of the 17th Knesset was the lowest in history for Israel—63.2 percent, a 5.7 percent drop from the 2003 election and a 23.3 percent drop since the election of the first Knesset in 1949. Typically those people in a society least likely to vote are those who do not feel socially integrated within the society or feel politically disenchanted. According to Asher Arian, a political scientist at the University of Haifa, the segments of the Israeli population least likely to vote are young people, recent immigrants, Arab-Israelis, and far-right religious nationalists who often protest the lack of religiosity in government and society (*The Jerusalem Post* 2006).

There are several key domestic political issues that dominate public opinion and serve as the backbone of party politics in Israel. First there is the Jerusalem issue: both the Palestinians and Israelis claim Jerusalem as their capital. Negotiations over Jerusalem have yielded three proposed solutions: a status-quo Jerusalem under Israeli sovereignty, dual-sovereignty between Israel and a future Palestine, and a divided Jerusalem. All major political parties oppose division and dual sovereignty is equally unlikely due to security concerns. A second issue concerns the status of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza. Withdrawal policy for these areas has been very controversial particularly when the Israeli Army was deployed to forcibly remove protesting settlers. This was a factor in the Likud split that formed the Kadima party. In a state embroiled in ethnic conflict such as Israel, minority rights are another concern. When addressing minority rights, Israel has the difficult task of balancing liberal democratic principles with security concerns. The contest between these two issues is evident in Israel's lower freedom scores on civil liberties. Israel's Law of Return has also caused political conflict in recent elections. The Law of Return grants automatic citizenship to any Jew wishing to settle in Israel. The law defines a Jew as (1) someone whose mother was a Jew (amended in 1970 to include any parent or grandparent), (2) someone who converted to Judaism and is not a member of another religion. Some Israelis have advocated repealing the law of return due to the financial burden it places on the state. Conflict over the Law of Return also encompasses elements of the denominational split in Judaism; Orthodox Israelis do not consider Reform and Conservative Jews to be Jewish and have pursued proposals to limit the Law of Return to Orthodox Jews only.

LAW AND ORDER

Israel does not have a formal written constitution; rather, it operates under a series of draft documents called the Basic Laws. The Basic Laws are legislation the Knesset has passed on various subjects ranging from how the governmental branches will be constituted and operated, a framework for the economy, and constitution of the military and certain civil rights and civil liberties. The Basic Law of 1984 codifies general provisions for the Judiciary. The Judiciary will be comprised of a Supreme Court, District Courts, Magistrate Courts, and any other courts detailed by law. Religious courts are recognized as part of the judicial system. The president appoints judges after election by a Judges' Election Committee. The Supreme Court is seated in Jerusalem and hears appeals from the district courts. Two Basic Laws passed in 1992 and 1994 address issues of civil rights and civil liberties: Basic Law: Human Dignity and Liberty; and Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation. The former establishes that the purpose of the law is to protect human dignity and liberty including right to life and property; it sets forth concepts of due process under the law and prohibits unlawful searches and seizures, allows for freedom to leave the country, right to privacy, and extends all rights to persons serving in the military. The freedom of occupation law establishes that every Israeli national or resident has the right to pursue any type of occupation unless restricted by law in line with the values, principles, or security of the state in mind.

Judicial review is not explicitly mentioned in the Basic Laws' definitions of the judiciary and rights of the people. This stems from early concerns over ensuring majority (Jewish majority) rule. Following the establishment of the state, first Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion opposed both a formal constitution and bill of rights believing their inclusion would too greatly restrict the will of the majority (Jacobsohn 1993). Many attempts have been made to undertake the writing of a formal constitution but none so far have been successful. However, the courts have over time "constitutionalized" the Basic Laws and asserted a judicial review power over the law. The Israeli Supreme Court has become a significant actor in politics, asserting its power to review legislation, administrative acts, political agreements, and the authority to monitor public life. The 1992 and 1994 Basic Laws were the pivotal events for the increase in judicial power under the view that the Supreme Court is the "national mediator" and the best way to deal with political polarization (Hirschl 2000).

Law enforcement is provided by the Israeli Police Force endowed with typical police powers to combat crime, deal with traffic control, and protect public safety. Due to the special needs of Israel's geopolitical situation, the Israeli police employ a paramilitary mobile task force known as the Border Guard, which employs an anti-terrorist unit and deals with internal security problems. A volunteer civil guard was developed in 1974 and runs training programs for sometimes armed neighborhood security units which assist in daily police work. The most recent available statistics for crime in Israel from the Central Bureau of Statistics are for 2003. That year most offenses were categorized as an assault on public order, a case of bodily harm, against morality, or a property crime. Convictions were 16.8 per 100 for Arabs and 7.1 per 1,000 for Jews. The Israeli Police report basic crime trends show an increase in criminal activity in the areas of drugs and drug trafficking, fraud and

financial crime, computer crime, and vehicle theft. A key concern for the Israeli Police is international crime particularly that orchestrated by collaboration from within Israel and with the Palestinian Authority.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

While Israel as a westernized developed state has multiple foreign affairs concerns given its market economy and membership in multiple international organizations, foreign affairs in the area of national security often dominate the political agenda. The primary foreign affairs concern for Israel is the question of Palestinian statehood, the status of the peace process, and the effect of the Palestinian conflict with other Arab neighbors and state-sponsored terrorist groups. The axiom of Israeli foreign policy has often been that "Israel has no foreign policy, only a defense policy" indicating the relative equality of foreign policy and national security (Jones 2002, 115). From the moment of its Declaration of Establishment, Israel was under assault; the historical legacy of the Arab-Israeli wars and Palestinian threat from within has acculturated an Israeli foreign policy outlook which focuses on peace through strength of military capability. The national security premise is that Israel is always in a fight for its survival. Therefore, diplomacy is subordinate to strategy, operating under what former Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin referred to as a state of "dormant war." This phrase sums up the perception of Israeli security as one in which there is an ever present imminent threat to the survival of state even when no active hostilities exist; it is in a perpetual state of potential conflict (Horowitz 1993).

Foreign Policymaking

The Israeli national interest is defined in terms of maintaining border sovereignty and a Jewish majority within the state (Jones 2002). The key elites in foreign policy making are the prime minister and the minister of defense. There is also a committee on Foreign Affairs and Security in the Knesset which the prime minister is obligated to report to upon entering into hostilities pursuant to a formal declaration of war. However, Israeli foreign policy making is often dominated by key individuals such as the prime minister. Political parties play a key role in defining policy options and developing a general foreign policy vision as represented by the prime minister (Barnett 2002).

Kadima, the leading party in the Israeli governing coalition, released its party platform in 2005. The party asserts that while Israel has a national and historical right to all of the land of Israel, it accepts territorial concessions to the Palestinians to maintain a Jewish and democratic state with a Jewish majority. Kadima does not support any alternative proposition for the status of Jerusalem other than maintenance of the status quo—that the whole of Jerusalem remain under Israeli control. Certain settlements will also be maintained in the West Bank, but the party supports disengagement from the Gaza Strip and northern Samaria. Kadima supports the 2002 Roadmap for Peace evolving from the Oslo Accords on Palestinian self-government; the Roadmap represents agreement on the establishment of a sovereign Palestinian state, though ironing out the details of that state remain

contentious. The future Palestinian state, according to the party, must be demilitarized with final agreement on interim borders subject to a Palestinian renunciation of terror. Kadima also supports the building of the security fence as a tool to prevent terrorist attacks.

International Interaction

Israel and the United States have a special relationship, with the United States as Israel's main ally and supporter in anti-terrorism maneuvers. The United States has a long-standing interest in seeing Israel maintain its sovereignty, and it is committed to the democratic presence of Israel in the Middle East. The United States has the largest Jewish population in the world behind Israel with an active pro-Israel lobby, which is no doubt a factor in the special relationship between the two states. Relations strengthened in the 1960s and 1970s with strategic arms sales to Israel, and in 1987 Congress designated Israel a key non-NATO ally allowing Israeli defense industries to compete with other NATO countries. The United States and Israel have a free trade agreement brokered by former President Ronald Reagan and specific agreements to boost agricultural trade and joint projects in science and technology. Approximately 1/3 of the annual U.S. foreign aid budget goes to Israel, split primarily between military and economic aid, making Israel the largest recipient of U.S. aid. Israel is linked to the U.S. missile warning satellite system and the two countries participate in joint military exercises and anti-terrorism working groups. Israel prefers to rely on U.S. mediation in the Palestinian peace process due to the historically pro-Israel stance of U.S. diplomacy. Other western states, particularly France and Germany, are far less supportive of the Israeli preference for offensive action and military retaliation in dealing with Arab insurgencies and potential threats from Arab neighbor-states. Post-9/11 and with the rise of neoconservatism in the U.S. government, Israel and the United States have come even more in line concerning views on the use of force and the necessity of stamping out terrorism as a vital national security interest. While the U.S. commitment to the Israeli-Palestinian peace process is not likely to waiver, growing public disfavor approaching the 2008 elections in the United States over the course of the global War on Terror and troop commitments in Iraq particularly could impact future U.S. military engagements and troop deployments in the region.

Israel maintains strict censorship with regards to military affairs and strategic capabilities. As a result Israeli possession of nuclear weapons is the world's most well-known secret. Israel declines to confirm or deny its possession of nuclear weapons or other biological and chemical agents, though it is believed to have possessed nuclear weapons since the 1960s, supported by recently declassified U.S. documents from the Nixon era (Cohen and Burr 2006). Notable leaks such as that in 1986 by whistleblower Mordechai Vanunu, a Dimona nuclear facility technician, which resulted in his arrest and imprisonment, have essentially confirmed Israel's nuclear capability as common knowledge. A common critique of the Israeli position on its nuclear secrecy is that the policy is an affront to liberal democratic principles and the public accountability a government should have (Cohen 1993). Israel is not a signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty but is a signatory

to the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons and is a member of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Israel maintains friendly ties, diplomatically and in economic forums, with many developing and western states, not to mention its historical and cultural ties to much of Europe and Russia (Sofer 2001). However, due to Israel's maintenance of its right to use preemptive and offensive military action for its national security interests, its relationship with many states and organizations such as the United Nations can often turn antagonistic. In the 2006 conflict with Hezbollah in southern Lebanon, Israel initially rejected any major involvement by the United Nations, saying that UN forces, including the buffer force left over from the 1982 conflict with Lebanon, were inadequate and furthermore rejected UN assistance for an investigation into an Israeli air strike which struck a UN post in southern Lebanon killing four UN observers.

SECURITY

Israel has one of the most adept and highly trained militaries in the world and spends more on the military as a percentage of its GNP than any other country. Israel makes up for what it lacks in overall population size through a policy of mandatory service and high levels of professional training to maximize the resources it does possess. Service in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) is compulsory for Jewish men and women; men serve three mandatory years and women two mandatory years. Arab-Israelis are exempt from compulsory service as are those found physically or psychologically unfit, religious men studying at a yeshiva, and religious women performing community work. Married women or women with children are also exempt from compulsory service. However, women can and do serve in full combat positions. The structure of the IDF is three-tiered: (1) a professional army that serves as central command and the professional backbone, (2) a fully trained conscription prepared for immediate action, and (3) a vast reserve force available for deployment which can add several hundred thousand soldiers to the standing forces. Military censorship in Israel is strict; as a result, the exact size of the IDF as well as identity, location, and strength of units is unknown. Estimates from the International Institute for Strategic Studies for 2007 suggest approximately 168,000 standing forces and 408,000 reserves. The IDF employs an army, navy, and air force and works in conjunction with the Israeli Police Force and Border Guard. Due to the disadvantages of a small population, the IDF focuses on objective flexibility, stressing adherence to the objective of a mission versus a particular plan of action (Horowitz 1993).

An essential part of Israel's national security doctrine is a reliable early warning system to counter limited defensive depth and capacity. It is the role of intelligence agencies to provide this early warning so that the IDF can be deployed to face the threat (Tal 2000). The Mossad, or Institute for Intelligence and Special Operations, is responsible for intelligence collection, covert action, and counterterrorism measures and provides services analogous to that of the United States' Central Intelligence Agency or MI6 in Britain. The Mossad reports directly to the prime minister and is most known for some high-profile operations including the location and capture of Nazi war criminal Adolf Eichmann, assassination of those

responsible for the Munich murders at the 1972 Olympic Games, and the abduction of Mordechai Vanunu after leaks on the status of Israel's nuclear weapons program. The Mossad is also responsible for providing intelligence on the Egyptian air force, which led to the opening air strike of the Six Day War and on Iraq's Osirak nuclear facility which led to an air strike in 1981. Aman is Israel's military intelligence agency and is an independent service from ground forces. Aman evaluates intelligence for security policy and military planning and operates military censorship. Rounding out the trio of Israeli intelligence agencies is Shabak, or the General Security Service. Shabak is primarily an internal security service and pursues intelligence on state security, internal terrorist organizations composed of Israeli citizens, and intelligence for counterterrorism operations in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Modern Israel's history of statehood is defined by its security concerns. The state was established amidst conflict and the general source of that conflict, Jewish-Arab antagonism over territorial possession defined as religious conflict, persists into the present making Israel's past security concerns continuous with its present. As previously stated, Israel's core security issue has been and remains a two-tiered threat: the threat from outside and the threat from within. The threat from outside concerns Israel's location in the Middle East amidst hostile Arab-state neighbors that have engaged in military conflicts with Israel, some initiated by the Arab states, others preemptive strikes by Israel (1948 Arab-Israeli, 1956 Suez War, 1967 Six Day War, 1970 War of Attrition, 1973 Yom Kippur War, and 1982 Lebanon War). Israel's primary security focus in dealing with the threat from Arab states is to possess military capability that will deter an attack or intelligence in conjunction with military capability to preempt or successfully defend against an attack. Israel now has full diplomatic relations with Egypt and Jordan and economic relations in the area of trade with other Arab states; however, tension between Israel and states such as Syria and Iran remain notably high due to support by those states of terrorist organizations that carry out attacks against Israel. This reveals a key security concern for Israel which affects its foreign affairs, the threat of state-sponsored terrorism. Israel has taken the position that any support of terrorist groups, be it financial or providing sanctuary is subject to Israeli action if it is determined to be in the state's best interest. This became readily apparent with the summer 2006 Israeli incursion into southern Lebanon in pursuit of Hezbollah forces who had kidnapped two Israeli soldiers and commenced missile attacks on northern Israeli cities such as Haifa and Nahariya. Israeli action included sending IDF forces across the Lebanese border and sustained attacks against the Lebanese infrastructure including the airport in Beirut and the roadways including the main road supplying Hezbollah from Damascus, Syria.

The threat from within concerns the Palestinian problem and the effects of the intifada on Israeli internal security. While Israeli relations with some Arab states have improved, the Israeli-Palestinian peace process remains at a stalemate. Many political officials within Israel have concluded that it will ultimately be in Israel's best interests from a security standpoint to work towards an independent and sovereign Palestinian state. They believe that this eventuality will greatly reduce internal hostility caused by the Palestinian uprising and also decrease conflict with the

Arab states. One problem is to what extent will conceding territory for a Palestinian state be viewed as a success brought on by terrorism through such groups as Hezbollah, Hamas, and Islamic Jihad? Another problem for Israel in pursing this option is whether a new Palestinian state really will eschew terrorism as an instrument of expressing its political will. When Israel relinquishes control over the Palestinian territories agreed upon to comprise sovereign Palestine, Israel will no longer have the right to monitor and police those areas. Many Islamic extremists will never recognize the right of Israel to exist; therefore, the security threats Israel faces in the region are not likely to dissipate in the near future.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Despite attachment to liberal democratic principles of society and governance and being a signatory to key human rights treaties such as the Geneva Conventions, the Convention on the Status of Refugees and the Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness, Israel is often accused of human rights violations by members of the international community as a result of military action against other states and terrorist insurgencies. While Israel received the highest rating by Freedom House in 2006 in the area of political rights (estimated the same for 2007—a 1 on a scale of 7), the state received a 3 out of 7 in 2006 in the realm of civil liberties (though 2007 estimates an improvement to 2 out of 7). Freedom House cites several reasons for this ranking including a tendency for harsher crackdowns on the Arab press in Israel, revocation of Jerusalem residency status for Arabs who remain outside the city for more than three months, harsher treatment of protestors in or near the West Bank, state emergency powers which allow for indefinite detention of people considered a security threat (Palestinians comprise the majority of these detainees), restricted freedom of movement in the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem, and questions over inferior education, housing, and social services for Arabs. Freedom House rankings in the Israeli occupied territories are considerably worse: a 6 for political rights and a 5 for civil liberties. The International Court of Justice has also issued an Advisory Opinion stating that the security wall in the Occupied Territories is a violation of the UN Charter and International Human Rights Law because it impedes freedom of movement and Palestinian self-determination. Much of the debate over the wall

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THE ISRAELI SECURITY WALLS

Israel maintains two security barriers: one along a 30-mile stretch of the Gaza Strip and the second and most controversial in the West Bank. Yitzhak Rabin first introduced the idea of using security fences in 1992 and as a result the Gaza Strip Barrier was erected in 1994. Following a series of high profile terrorist attacks, Ariel Sharon authorized the construction of the West Bank barrier in 2002. The West Bank wall is a series of fences and vehicle barrier trenches where the concrete portion of the barrier reaches on average 26 feet high. The Knesset has approved the fence to extend 416 miles; as of 2006, approximately 150 miles had been completed. The purpose of the walls is to limit access to Israeli territory from terrorists (particularly suicide bombers) from the Palestinian territories. The controversy surrounding the wall exists for two primary reasons: first, the perceived annexation of Palestinian territory and second, restriction of the Palestinian's freedom of movement. The territorial contention over the wall stems from the route the wall takes dipping into the West Bank in order to encapsulate some Jewish settlements. The Palestinians, supported by the United Nations and International Court of Justice, also claim the wall unfairly restricts access to needed services and amenities and has depressed economic activity. Despite this, Israel claims the wall has been successful in drastically reducing terrorist attacks, by some figures up to 90 percent, in previously targeted areas.

centers on the fact that it reaches deep into the West Bank in order to encapsulate some large Jewish settlements. The Knesset has also passed legislation through an amendment to the Civil Wrongs Law barring Palestinians from seeking legal redress for alleged instances of human rights violations, usually directed towards military action. In 2005 the Knesset passed legislation barring family reunification of Arab-Israeli citizens and Palestinian spouses, also seen as a violation of international human rights treaties. Israel has also been accused of unlawful use of force against Palestinian civilians as a reprisal for suicide attacks. This policy is manifested in IDF destruction of the homes of suspected terrorists or suicide bombers. Israel is also a member of the United Nations High Commission on Refugees; yet, the Palestinian refugee crisis is another critique of Israeli policy. A new refugee crisis has emerged as a result of the 2006 incursion into Lebanon and Israeli resistance to UN involvement. Approximately 1,191 Lebanese citizens were killed as a result of the conflict. Estimates figure the conflict displaced approximately one million Lebanese and 500,000 Israelis. Since the cease-fire went into effect on August 14, 2006, and the withdrawal of the naval blockade by Israel on September 8, an enlarged United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) and the Lebanese Army was deployed to the south, the primary location of militarized conflict. USAID (2007) reports that since the close of the war most of the displaced persons have returned to their homes. Through 2006 and 2007 the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) has committed over $66 million in humanitarian aid to Lebanon. U.S. President George W. Bush authorized $230 million in support in 2006 (USAID 2006).

For Israel, where security is the overarching theme of domestic and foreign policy and the persistent threat of armed conflict exists, the balance between national security and democratic principles of rights and human dignity can be especially difficult to reconcile. This often places Israeli law making and involvement in international agreements in a state of contradiction. It is not questioned that the key purpose of a state is to safeguard its sovereignty and the safety of its people, but with what means to that end? If security becomes the ultimate ideal that governs the state and leads to a policy of preserving security at all costs, then liberty is sacrificed and democracy is damaged (Kremnitzer 1993). This is the timeless question for Israeli society: What will the public and the governing elite sanction in terms of legal and social policy in conjunction with security policy? In fact, justice and human rights factor directly into the future of Israeli security. History shows that insurgency is born and bred in the disenfranchisement of peoples. The course of future Israeli-Palestinian relations may well be determined by actions Israel takes in the present in the area of safeguarding human rights; Israel also serves as a potential model for Middle Eastern democracy and must lead by the example it sets.

CONCLUSION

The events of September 11, 2001 not only galvanized the American public and resulted in a new foreign policy vision for the Bush administration but also once again elevated security concerns, which had fallen to the wayside in the post-Cold

War setting, onto the international agenda. The United States and the rest of the world received a shocking reminder of what Israel has known for some time, that terrorism is a significant threat to a states' national security interests. Israel has a unique perspective on this reality and on the difficulty in balancing liberalism and democracy amidst an environment of heightened threat in which the society seeks to carry out normal everyday functions within the context of a perpetual state of conflict. The multicultural character of Israeli society is yet another dimension to this balancing act and requires that attention be paid to democratic principles of inclusion, representation, and protection of minority rights. The United States and Israel maintain a special relationship, perhaps a relationship that has been strengthened by the events of September 11 and the activist approach towards terrorism by the United States. In fact, the Bush Doctrine brings U.S. foreign policy very much in line with the Israeli outlook on foreign affairs and security policy: that terrorism must be sought out and engaged, that little differentiation will be made between the terrorist organizations and the states that harbor them, and that pre-emptive and unilateral action is an acceptable course of action to ensure national security. The close relationship the two states share does not mean the relationship is without dis-

> **THE 2006 ISRAEL-LEBANON WAR**
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> The conflict, also known as the Second Lebanon War, began on July 12, 2006, as a result of Hezbollah paramilitary forces kidnapping two Israeli soldiers and launching rocket attacks against northern Israeli cities and military targets. In response, the IDF first launched air strikes into southern Lebanon and instituted a naval blockade followed by a ground invasion and air strikes into other key areas including multiple bombardments of targets in Beirut. Israel justified the military undertaking based on long-standing Lebanese inability to control militant Hezbollah forces. The conflict exacted a heavy toll on the Lebanese infrastructure, resulted in the deaths of over 1,000 civilians, and displaced populations in both Lebanon and northern Israel. A ceasefire was eventually brokered by the UN Security council in early August and the final Israeli withdrawal occurred on September 8 with the lifting of the naval blockade. Repercussions for Israel include international condemnation as many states viewed the Israeli response as asymmetrical to the actions of and threat posed by Hezbollah. Domestically, many questioned Ehud Olmert's handling of the war fearing that Hezbollah would emerge emboldened by their ability to sustain themselves in the face of the Israeli incursion. In the aftermath of the conflict, Hezbollah supporters maintained protests and strikes in an attempt to topple the Siniora government; though unsuccessful, violent clashes between pro-government and opposition sides have periodically broken out.

agreement. Criticism by the United States of Israeli military operations often creates discord amongst the Israeli government and people, and Israel has found U.S. condemnation of actions taken against Palestinians to be antithetical to the U.S.-led War on Terror. It is important to note that while Israel and the United States often engage in strategic cooperation with each other, there is no formal mutual defense treaty. A high percentage of the U.S. population is pro-Israel and has historically supported measures Israel has taken in defense of its national security. However, one must question the war-weariness of the U.S. public vis-à-vis its engagements in Afghanistan and Iraq, and what this may mean for long-term U.S. support of Israel in engagements such as that against Hezbollah in Lebanon, where U.S. public opinion was mixed, and in future conflicts. From the perspective of the U.S. government, Israeli action in Lebanon coincided with U.S. interests; Lebanon was making strides towards democracy with the expulsion of the Syrian army and Hezbollah represented the final frontier for complete implementation of UN

Resolution 1559, passed in 2004, calling for all nonsanctioned state military and paramilitary forces to disband and withdraw, establishing the sovereignty of the Lebanese government over all of its territory. President Bush and Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice both cautioned Israel to limit civilian casualties and permit humanitarian aid and worked as part of an international effort to formulate a cease-fire instituted on August 14, 2006. However, the United States did not emphatically echo international and UN sentiment that the level of Israeli response to Hezbollah actions was asymmetrical to the threat. The close relationship of the two states may complicate their individual relationships with other states in the present and future. First, considering the 2006 Israel-Lebanon Conflict, the state of world opinion of the United States is already fragile and at an all-time low. In the Arab world, Israeli action with any U.S. support or sanction is viewed as virtually synonymous with U.S. action. A second concern is the future of Arab-Israeli relations and particularly the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. The process in terms of Israeli-Palestinian interaction suffers from some key fundamental setbacks as previously discussed: the extent of boundaries for a Palestinian state, existing Jewish settlements, and Jerusalem. Trust is difficult to come by in these negotiations; the fallout from the incursion into Lebanon could affect the extent to which the Palestinians believe Israel will respect the sovereignty of a future Palestinian state. Considering the U.S. role in this process, Arab sentiment has increasingly charged the United States with favoritism towards Israel. The continuation of Palestinian participation in the peace process and any hope for a Palestinian-led cessation of violence likely depends on their belief that a fair and equitable solution arbitrated by a neutral guarantor is possible. The current and evolving situation in the Middle East makes it questionable whether or not the United States can legitimately continue to lead the process in this capacity. These relationships have been and will remain a concern for Israel in the future; a future that shows no feasible signs of tangible resolution.

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Jordan

Ronald R. Macintyre

BACKGROUND

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is bordered by Syria to the north, Iraq to the northeast, Saudi Arabia to the east and south, and Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT) to the west. It shares with Israel and the OPT the coastline of the Dead Sea, and the Gulf of Aqaba with Israel, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt. Jordan covers about 92,300 square kilometers—slightly smaller than Indiana in the United States.

In 1921 the British League of Nations Mandate of Palestine was partitioned into the Mandates of Palestine and Transjordan. In 1948 Transjordan (renamed Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in 1950) occupied and later annexed the Palestinian West Bank of the Jordan River (1950). Britain was one of the few states to recognize this arrangement. Jordan lost the West Bank to Israel in the Six Day War of 1967 but tried to reclaim this territory on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 242 (1967). In 1988 Jordan gave up its claim to the West Bank in favor of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) (1964) and later Palestinian Authority (1994). Its permanent frontiers were set out in the Jordan-Israel treaty of 1994.

Geographically, Jordan consists mostly of arid desert plateau in the East and a highland area in the West. The Jordan River separates Jordan from the Palestinian West Bank and Israel. The highest point in the country is Jabal Ram (1,734 meters); the lowest is the Dead Sea at -408 meters below sea level. The Dead Sea occupies the deepest depression on the land surface of the earth. The River Jordan is approximately 160 kilometers in length.

Jordan has few natural resources and inadequate supplies of water (see below). Its main resources include phosphates and potash in the Dead Sea area and shale oil. It has smaller quantities of ores such as copper, manganese, and iron. There is citrus, wheat, and vegetable production in the Jordan Valley. Jordan's level of economic development relies heavily on the service sector (67 percent) and on tourism, traditional agriculture, mining, chemicals, small-scale secondary industries, foreign remittances, and, of crucial importance, foreign aid. Current government policies

Jordan

Formal name of country: Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan
Size of country: 92,300 sq km
Natural resources: Phosphates, potash, and shale oil
Population: 5, 906,760 (2006)
Life expectancy at birth: 78.4 years (2006)
Key ethnic groups:

- Arab (98%)
- Circassian (1%)
- Armenian (1%)

Key religions: Sunni Muslim (92%), Christian (6%), Other (2%)
Political system: Constitutional Monarchy
Key political groups/parties: Islamic Action Front (IAF), Ba'th, Communist and Arab nationalist parties; syndicates and associations are also politically active.
Legal system: Based on Islamic law and French legal codes. Religious courts have two divisions: *Shari'a* courts for Muslims and tribunals for non-Muslims. Civil courts are three tiered: Magistrate, Court of Appeals, and Court of Cassation. Special security courts deal primarily with matters relating to state security.
Real GDP growth: 6.1% (2005 est.)
Population below the poverty line: 30% (2001)
Size of military: 100,500 (reserve 35,000) (2006)
Relationship with the United States: The United States views Jordan as an important intelligence and security partner in the War on Terror; it supports Jordan's attempts to democratize; Jordan's dependence on U.S. assistance has become more prominent since the Jordan-Israel peace agreement (1994) and the Iraq war (2003).
Human security issues: Critics assert that progress toward human rights and democratization is being stunted under the guise of security measures.
Future important security issues: Effective "counterterrorism" may be important for regime security; democratization may be important for human security. Balance is necessary.

Source: CIA. 2006.

are also linked to full-market liberalization, an aggressive process of privatization, and public reform (see economy below).

Jordan is totally dependent on imported oil as its primary energy source, which is associated with a rapidly increasing population (2.8 percent per annum) and the need for social and economic development. But there are few systems in place to limit the harmful consequences of environmental pollution. Since the 1980s Jordan has fostered renewable energy projects, including shale oil, solar and wind energy, hydroelectrical power, and biomass technology. It aims to supply 28 percent of national primary energy by 2010 (Chedid 2002).

Water scarcity is a major problem for Jordan. It is estimated that the amount of water available for each person has plummeted 94 percent since the 1940s. Annual

rainfall (November to February) in recent years has been inadequate. Under the Jordan-Israel peace treaty (1994), Israel supplies Jordan with about 3 percent of its overall water requirements, which barely keeps up with demand. On a per capita basis, Jordan has one of the lowest levels of water resources in the world. Main users of water include agriculture (67 percent), drinking and domestic (29 percent), and industry (4 percent). The gap between water supply and population demands threatens to increase costs of consumption and impact negatively on social and economic development (EMWIS 2006).

More than half the world's 100 million landmines have been buried in Middle Eastern conflict areas. Jordan was one of the first countries in the Middle East to ratify (1998) the Ottawa convention (1997) banning the use, production, and transfer of landmines. Originally Jordan had over 300,000 landmines along its frontiers with Israel and Syria. Landmine clearance began in earnest after the peace treaty with Israel (1994). In 2004 over 101,000 mines were cleared with the assistance of a number of donor countries (Jordan Landmine Monitor Report 2005).

Created by the British in 1921 under Amir Abdullah, Transjordan became independent in 1946 with Abdullah as king. It remained attached to Britain by treaty until 1956.

In 1950 King Abdullah I annexed the Palestinian West Bank of the Jordan River, including the Old City of Jerusalem. In 1951 he was assassinated by an extremist Palestinian in Jerusalem. Under King Hussein (r.1953–1999), Jordan survived anti-Western Arab nationalist pressures in the 1950s. In the 1960s and early 1970s King Hussein suppressed a challenge from PLO-militias, who wanted to set up a Palestinian state in Jordan. He flirted with parliamentary democracy between 1989 and 1999. Between the 1970s and 1990s, King Hussein developed friendly relations with the United States (see below). Jordan's treaty with Israel (1994) greatly improved relations with the United States, including additional economic and military assistance. But it was unpopular in Jordan, especially with the Palestinians. Under King Abdullah II (r.1999–present) Jordan became more closely aligned to the United States through a free trade agreement (2001). But unresolved conflicts in Iraq and Palestine have continued to generate partisan, ethnic, and sectarian tensions in Jordan. There have been increasing demands on King Abdullah II to respect political freedom and human rights, including the removal of Draconian security laws put in place after September 11, 2001 (9/11). In November 2005 Al Qaeda terrorists attacked three hotels in Amman. In 2007 Jordan was increasingly concerned about growing Iranian Shiite (Islamic community) influence in Iraq as it slipped further into sectarian civil war, and the destabilizing effect of regional conflicts in the OPT and Lebanon (see chapter on Iraq).

SOCIETY

Jordan's current population of over 5.9 million is mainly centered in the cities of the fertile northwest such as Amman, the capital (1.05 million), Zarqa (416,270), and Irbid (208,329). There are 12 governorates (*muhafazat*) or administrative areas; Amman is the largest with 40.5 percent of the Jordanian population. Population density is currently about 60.3 per square kilometer. Eighty percent of the population live on 20 percent of the land, and, of these, about 70 percent live in towns and

cities. Less than 6 percent of the rural population is nomadic or semi-nomadic. Most people live where the rainfall supports agriculture. About 34.5 percent of the population is under 14 years. The population growth rate is 2.8 percent per annum. Life expectancy at birth for the total population is 78.4 years (CIA 2006).

At independence (1946) there were approximately 400,000 Transjordanians or East Bankers. The annexation of the West Bank by Jordan (1950) added about one million Palestinians to the population, including 280,000 refugees, while 70,000 refugees crossed to the East Bank of the Jordan River. In 1967 several hundred thousand Palestinians fled from the OPT to the East Bank during the fighting in the Six Day War. In 2006 about two-thirds of the Jordanian population was of Palestinian origin. Demographics have impacted divisively on the balance and political nature of Jordanian society. Since Jordan renounced sovereignty over the West Bank (1988), the West Bank Palestinian population (currently about 2.5 million) has been excluded from Jordan's population statistics. Nor are Palestinians in Jordan now permitted to hold dual Palestinian-Jordanian citizenship: they must choose one or the other (Reiter 2004).

Jordan's indigenous population (Transjordanian) is primarily of Arab Bedouin or tribal origin. Bedouins have emerged as the backstop of the Hashemite regime within government, the armed forces, and security services. Today Transjordanians are believed to constitute less than 40 percent of the Jordanian population. In origin they share more in common with the Semitic people of northern Arabia and the Hejaz in western Arabia (the historic origin of the current regime) than the Palestinian population, which has a history of cultural identification with ancient Semitic peoples of Canaan or the biblical Holy Land lying west of the River Jordan.

Currently, two-thirds of Jordan's 5.9 million people are of Palestinian origin. Jordan originally offered citizenship to all resident Palestinians. But this had to be surrendered if they "returned" to the West Bank and Gaza Strip, which has been administered officially by the Palestinian Authority since 1994. Total registered Palestinian refugees number over 1.85 million. The registered camp population of over 328,000, or 17 percent of registered refugees, live in 10 camps administered by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA). Educational, vocational, medical, and charitable facilities have been provided for dependent refugees since the 1950s. The unresolved Palestine problem continues to exacerbate tensions between the Hashemite regime and Palestinian refugees, especially over the "normalization" of relations between Jordan and Israel following the peace treaty (1994), which preceded any formal peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinian Authority (PA) in the OPT.

Jordan is predominantly an Arab country (98 percent) with only small non-Arab communities such as the Circassians (1 percent), who entered the country in the 1880s from the Caucasus, and Armenians (1 percent) who were driven out of Turkey in the first World War. The Arab community can be divided into Bedouins or people of desert origin, peasants (*fellahin*) of the Jordan Valley, and city dwellers of the northwest and southern parts of the country. The Hashemite dynasty of Amir (King 1946) Abdullah I (r.1923–1951) incorporated leading Bedouin sheikhs into the political power structure (Graves 1950, 209). Later kings have generally

followed the same model as the most "reliable" means of regime survival in a region of diminishing kingship.

The Jordanian constitution (1952) declares Islam to be the state religion. The Hanafi school of law (*madhhab*) is the source of religious law in Jordan. About 92 percent are Sunni (for example, Orthodox) Muslims; 6 percent are Christians (for example, Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Armenian Orthodox, Coptics, and Protestant denominations), and 2 percent are Shiite Muslim and Druze communities. Jordanian Christians are concentrated in small towns such as Al-Karak, Madaba, As-Salt, and Ajlun, and are organized along tribal lines similar to their Muslim neighbors (Gubser 1983, 20). Religious toleration exists in Jordan. The Muslim Brotherhood (*Ikhwan al-Muslimin*) represents the largest politicized Muslim organization, which has been barely "tolerated" by the Hashemite regime since the 1950s. The Islamic Action Front (IAF) (1993) is the mouthpiece of the *Ikhwan* in parliament, a bicameral legislature. But it strongly opposed the regime over amendments to the electoral law (1993), the peace treaty with Israel (1994), and the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq (2003). In principle the IAF is committed to a state based on the *Shari'a*, or a religious state based on Islamic law.

Major highways link Jordan with its neighbors, including a highway between the Jordanian port of Aqaba and Iraq. This enabled Iraq to "survive" during the period of UN Security Council economic and military sanctions (1990–2003). Communication systems have increased the use of digital switching equipment, but this has not yet been extended to many rural areas. Microwave radio relay, coaxial and fiber-optic cables are used on trunk lines. There is also considerable use of mobile cellular systems and Internet services (CIA 2006).

Jordan does not possess commercial qualities of oil. While it has some deposits of shale oil, it has been virtually reliant on subsidized crude oil imported from Iraq, which was terminated by the U.S. invasion of the country in 2003. Renewable energy projects are also in vogue. The Jordanian economy is extremely vulnerable to local crises, such as regional wars, especially in the Gulf, that might impact upon price and/or supply of oil.

Since independence, the Jordanian economy has been based on the export of phosphates, potash, and agricultural produce (grains, fruit, and vegetables). Tourism has been a major income earner. Over 3.8 million tourists visited Jordan in 2003, many visiting the ancient Nabatean city of Petra. Remittances from several hundred thousand Palestinians and Jordanians in the Gulf have greatly assisted Jordan's economy. Unemployment stands at about 12.5 percent (the unofficial rate is closer to 30 percent); women constitute about 30 percent of the total labor force; and about 30 percent of the population is believed to exist below the poverty line. An occupational breakdown of the labor force includes agriculture 5 percent; industry 12.5 percent, and services 82.5 percent (CIA 2006). About 50 percent of the total labor force (1.46 million, 2005) was employed by the government. Since the 1990s U.S. aid and commercial transactions have been vital additions to Jordan's ailing economy. Since 2000 exports of light manufactured products, principally textiles and garments manufactured in the Qualifying Industrial Zones (QIZ) (as part of the Jordan-Israel peace treaty), have entered the United States tariff and quota free. QIZ have currently been driving economic growth. The United States in 2005 was Jordan's largest market for two-way trade of $1.57

billion. In recent years Jordan has accelerated the rate of privatization of state assets. It became a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO) (2000), secured a free-trade agreement with the United States (2001), has an association agreement with the European Union (2001), and in recent years has hosted two conferences of the World Economic Forum (WEF). Jordan is classified by the World Bank as a "lower middle income country." It is heavily dependent on the service sector, and has a per capita income of $4,700. Information technology and tourism have been promoted as promising growth areas. Rates of price inflation in Jordan are low (2.3 percent). The country has been stable with an exchange rate fixed to the U.S. dollar since 1995 (CIA 2006).

Jordan's physical quality of life indicators have shown a remarkable improvement since independence. In 2006 life expectancy at birth for the total population stood at 78.4 years (1980: 56 years) for the total population. Infant mortality of 16.76 per 1,000 live births (1980: 97 per 1,000) has been significantly reduced. There are equal numbers of boys and girls within the educational system. But women are much less prominent in the work force, and in the National Assembly, where social conventions on the freedom of women outside the home are still highly restrictive. Literacy for the total population over 15 years is currently 91.3 percent (1980: 70 percent) (CIA 2006). In theory the Jordanian constitution (1952) provides for equality before the law for all subjects; but under martial law (c.1967–1989) human rights and freedoms were allegedly violated by the regime. Practices such as honor killing—an extreme punishment of women for adultery or sex crimes—still manages to receive relatively light sentences in law. Amendments to the penal code have been defeated in the lower house of the Jordanian parliament, which is dominated by traditional Bedouin deputies. Conservative Islamic practices rooted in the Bedouin code of family honor would seem to offer some explanation for what is an odious practice, which is opposed by the royal family and increasing numbers of intellectuals and liberal-minded Jordanians (see below).

DOMESTIC POLITICS

Jordan is currently a constitutional, hereditary monarchy with a weak bicameral system of government called the National Assembly. The House of Notables (*Majlis al-Ayan*), or upper house, has currently 55 seats; its members are appointed by the monarch for a term of four years from important public, trusted, and loyal persons, most often of Transjordanian or Bedouin family origin. The lower house, or House of Representatives (*Majlis an-Nuwaab*), currently has 110 seats and is fully elected for a four-year term by popular vote. The electoral system (1993) is based on the principle of "one person, one vote," but it is weighted in favor of rural constituencies, the heartland of the Jordanian Bedouin. Six seats were reserved for women (2003), who are grossly underrepresented in the political process.

The House of Representatives has been "dissolved" by the monarch on a number of occasions (for example, 1956–1957; 1967–1989; 2001–2003). The Jordanian premier is appointed by the king and answerable to parliament for which he must seek a vote of confidence. Elections for the House of Representatives in November

1989 were the first to be held since 1967. These were subsequently held in 1993 and 1997, but were officially "delayed" in 2001 until 2003. The next election is scheduled for 2007.

The Jordanian constitution (1952) provides for the separation of powers between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government. It defines the nation as the "source of all powers" (Art. 24) and Islam as the religion of the state (Art. 2). The king is head of state (Art. 30), chief of the executive (Art. 26), and commander in chief of the armed forces (Art. 32). He exercises personal authority through his prime minister and government, whose policies he must approve (Art. 34). The king has enormous powers to "bind and loose," to make or break governments and parliaments, to ratify treaties, initiate constitutional amendments, and to appoint senior officials, army officers, security chiefs, and judges at his discretion. The lower house of parliament (currently 110 members) cannot initiate separate legislation or exercise effective control over government policies. It can only move a vote of no confidence in the government and overrule a royal veto of legislation. However, the king can dissolve a "troublesome" parliament and, if necessary, rule by decree. For example between 2001–2003 when the king delayed elections after dissolving parliament, the government passed over 150 laws. Indeed the extraordinary executive powers of the king have for many years been the source of much fertile political dissent in Jordan (Lucas 2004).

Since 1921 there have been four Jordanian kings: Amir/King Abdullah I (r.1921–1951); King Talal (r.1951–1952); King Hussein (r.1953–1999); and King Abdullah II (1999–present). King Hussein's 46-year reign transformed Jordan from a relatively backwater traditional Bedouin kingdom into a technocratic-moderate regime with a capacity for survival, which has also made a dramatic impact on inter-Arab politics and the Middle East peace process.

Hashemite political power has been based on patronage. It utilized the services of loyal and trusted prime ministers, members of the royal family, Jordanian Bedouin families, palace staff, senior army officers, tribal sheikhs, and high-ranking civil servants. Most sensitive government posts have regularly been filled by Transjordanians and less commonly by East Bank Palestinians. Prominent Jordanian political families such as the Sharaf and Shakir are related to the Hashemites. Layla Sharaf, for example, was Jordan's first cabinet minister between 1984 and 1985. A third cousin, Field Marshal Ash-Sharif Zaid ibn Shakir was a longtime confident

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JORDAN: LEGAL EXONERATION FOR "HONOR KILLING"

The section of the Jordanian penal code most frequently invoked on behalf of perpetrators of "honor killing" is article 98. This statute mandates reduction of penalty for a perpetrator (of either gender) who commits a crime in a "state of great fury" or "fit of fury" resulting from an unlawful and dangerous act on the part of the victim. It does not require *in flagrante* discovery or any other standard evidence of female indiscretion. If the extenuating excuse is established for a crime punishable by death, such as premeditated murder, article 98 provides that penalty be reduced to a minimum of one year in prison. For other felonies, it is reducible to a minimum of six months and a maximum of two years. Moreover courts may further halve the sentence if the victim's family waives its right to file a complaint of the crime. In murders for "honor," given the family's complicity in the crime, the family nearly always "waives" the right to file a complaint. Thus honor killers may receive sentences of six months—and often do. If a killer has served that much time awaiting trial, the sentence may be commuted to time served and he may walk away a free man.

Source: Human Rights Watch, "Honoring the Killers: Justice Denied for Honor Crimes in Jordan." Vol. 16, no. 1(E), April 18, 2004, http://www.hrw.org/reports/2004/jordan0404/jordan0404.pdf.

KING HUSSEIN: ELECTORAL DEMOCRACY, AUGUST 17, 1993

Fellow Jordanians,

We started this nation's development with tolerance and *Shura* (consultation) and we continue to tread on the same path today. Democracy in Jordan has become an example and a model, a blessed tree deep-rooted in this beloved Arab land, with its branches reaching towards the horizon of the great homeland. Let us move forward and shoulder our responsibilities, and go forth to the nation with the great call for freedom, unity and human rights. Let each one of us take responsibility for the protection of our chosen path against the danger of the greedy, the fearful and the hypocrites.

We are on the threshold of two great issues: to complete the building of the United Democratic Arab Jordan, and to rebuild the pan-Arab cause, embodied in the Great Arab Revolt in a new and modern context. Do not fail to exercise your right to vote. I shall ensure the integrity and honesty of the elections. They will be a model for the trust that unites us; a trust in the inevitability of victory of justice and the dawning of a new nation.

Source: King Hussein. "Address on Jordan's Election Law Amendments," Amman: August 17, 1993. http://www.kinghussein.gov.jo/93_aug17.html (accessed June 9, 2006).

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and political adviser to King Hussein, who also served as chief of the royal court, director of the secret police (*mukhabarat*), and as prime minister. Other important families include the Rifai, Abdul Huda, Majali, Badran, Hashim, Tal, Mufti, and Qassim. Non-Arab Circassians have formed an important part of the non-Arab political elite. The Mufti family has been one of the most politically prominent of the Circassian families since the beginning of statehood (1921). East Bank Palestinians hold an important place in Jordanian society as leading merchants, financiers, professionals, educators, technocrats, and occasionally as senior government ministers (Reiter 2004). "Recycling" members of old and trusted families within Jordanian governments permits a uniquely Jordanian political solution for reducing dangerous and potentially life-threatening tensions within the political system.

In a political system where the politics of patronage prevail and security is tight, civil society, including political parties, will remain weak. The 1993 electoral law gave added weight to rural constituencies where pro-regime independent Bedouin candidates were dominant as opposed to urban centers like Amman and Zarqa where Palestinians are numerically dominant and mass based parties like the IAF (mouthpiece of the Ikhwan) have their supporters. The Hashemite regime has generally been intolerant towards mass-based political parties. For a lengthy period (1956–1992) political parties were not permitted to organize, articulate policies, and interact within society on security grounds. During this period, professional syndicates (for example, doctors, lawyers, engineers, and so on) often assumed the roles and ideological commitments of political parties. This tradition continues. Since "regular" political party parliamentary elections were resumed in 1993, the IAF has emerged as the largest of the opposition parties with over 20 percent of seats in 1993 (Jordan Parliamentary Elections 1993). The IAF boycotted the 1997 election in protest against changes to the electoral law (1993), "normalization" of the peace treaty with Israel (1994), and restrictive amendments to the press law (1997). Elections scheduled for 2001 were "delayed" by King Abdullah II until 2003, during which time he ruled by emergency laws.

In the election of June 2003 for the House of Representatives, tribal representatives and families loyal to the Hashemites dynasty won more than two-thirds of the contested seats. The IAF with 10 percent of the seats (20 percent in 1993) provided

leadership for 14 smaller opposition parties that included pan-Arab nationalists, secular liberals, and left-wing activists (Democrats/Communists) (CIA 2006). In October 2004 a grouping of 11 pro-regime parties, whose leaders were East Bank Jordanians, formed themselves into the Jordanian Nationalist Movement. The merger was welcomed by King Abdullah II and enjoyed widespread tribal support in a country still dominated by tribal politics. This coincided with a security crackdown on radical anti-U.S. Muslim clerics. In comparison, a pro-regime Islamic conference (July 2005) promoted its own brand of "moderate" Islam aimed at combating political violence by IAF fundamentalists in the name of Islam.

King Abdullah II's use of the security apparatus since 2001 to quel anti-regime disturbances, impose media censorship, ban public meetings, and "delay" parliamentary elections (2001–2003) belies an insecurity, which finds an outlet in strengthening economic, political, and security relations with the United States. This has exposed the king to accusations of compromising Jordan's Arab and Islamic involvement in Iraq and Palestine for United States economic aid and assistance. It is certain that Jordan's internal and external security problems will continue to fester and impact negatively on its political process in the foreseeable future.

> **KING ABDULLAH: ECONOMIC GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT, DECEMBER 1, 2003**
>
> Therefore, the Government is invited today, more than any time before, to work relentlessly to raise the economic growth rate, provide work opportunities for youth and alleviate the problems of poverty and unemployment. To achieve these goals, it is imperative that we expedite the implementation and development of our educational programs, to link the outputs of education and vocation training to the labor market, and to adopt an ambitious strategy for the development of our governorates (*muhafazat*), with the active participation of the local communities. It is imperative that the Government creates an investment environment capable of attracting capital, transferring and putting technology in place, with the aim of accelerating the development of the national economy, from a traditional economy to a modern one based on science, knowledge and productivity. It is also imperative that we provide health and social care to our children, so that they may grow in a healthy social environment that qualifies them for sound integration into a society and for building their own future.
>
> *Source:* Embassy of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (Washington, DC, 2003). Extract from King Abdullah's speech to the 14th Parliament's First Ordinary Session, December 1, 2003, Amman, Jordan. httm://www.jordanembassyus.org/hmka12012003.htm.

LAW AND ORDER

The Jordanian legal system draws from its Ottoman heritage in the jurisdiction of religious courts in matters of personal status. In its civil courts system it has been influenced by the French legal model. In theory, Jordan's constitution guarantees the independence of the judicial branch "subject to law" (Art. 97). The Jordanian Penal Code (JPC) (1956) contains the bulk of the country's criminal law. Criminal offenses are divided into three categories: felonies, misdemeanors, and minor violations. The death penalty might be authorized for murder and a broad range of crimes defined as threats to the security of the state, such as treason, espionage, and selling land on the West Bank to Israeli settlers. But not all convicted murderers are executed or receive lengthy prison sentences. The JPC provides a loophole for "honor" killing (Art. 340). In practice most male defendants charged with murder are tried instead for manslaughter, citing a defense based on respect for "family honor" (JPC Art. 98). Murderers rarely spend more than two years in prison.

Several amendments to Article 340 were rejected (1999–2003) in the lower house of parliament because of the dominance of conservative tribal and Islamic attitudes. Wife beating is technically grounds for divorce, but husbands often argue that they have religious authority from the Quran to correct an irreligious or disobedient wife by "beating" her (Quran 4:34). The Family Protection Unit of the Public Security Directorate (PSD) works with the victim and perpetrators of domestic violence. The Ministry of the Interior has overall responsibly for the penal system, which is administered by the Prison's Department of the PSD and operates in accordance with the provisions of the Prison Law of 1953 (Crime and Society 2001).

Between 2002 and 2005, the administrative area of Amman had the highest reported incidence of crime and Ma'an in the tribal south the lowest. On a wider scale, Jordan rated relatively high for state executions, coming 9th out of 33 countries. For prison population it rated 84th out of 164 countries. Female prisoners amounted to 1.6 percent of the prison population (Jordanian Crime Statistics 2006). Rape offenses of 0.9 per 100,000 (U.S. 39.2 per 100,000) were very low (Jordan Government 1997). There may be considerable underreporting on this highly sensitive issue as Jordan is a conservative Muslim country. In the economic sphere, a Law of Economic Crimes (1992) was passed to govern misuse of funds, while an anticorruption department was set up in 1996 with preventive and repressive functions. In 2000 a Higher Committee to fight Corruption was established by royal decree. And in 2003 a National Committee for Combating Corruption and Favoritism targeted many leading public figures in Jordan.

Jordan is a transit country for illicit drugs due to its central geographical location in the Middle East. Significant quantities of southwest Asian morphine and heroin are processed in Turkey and Lebanon and then transferred to Syria and then through Jordan to Israel, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the Gulf states. The preferred drug of abuse in Jordan is hashish (marijuana). Jordan ratified the UN Drug Convention (1998) and enforces strict antidrug laws in cooperation with bordering states. It belongs to Interpol, the Organization for Social Defense Against Crime and the Pan Arab Bureau for Narcotic Affairs. Within Jordan the Anti-Narcotics Department is responsible for coordinating enforcement efforts against drug trafficking. The Desert Police patrol desert areas in pursuit of drug traffic while the General Customs Department operates at border posts, including the port of Aqaba and Alia international airport in Amman (see Security below). The peace treaty with Israel (1994) has improved bilateral cooperation in anti-narcotics investigation. Drug abuse is primarily a male problem in Jordan. About 25 percent of all addicts are female. In general, religious and social norms inhibit the use of drugs in Jordan. The PSD and the Ministry of Health uphold drug awareness programs in public and private schools. But Jordan has limited facilities for drug rehabilitation (Crime and Society 2001).

In periods of national crises the provisions of the Jordanian constitution have been suspended in favor of martial law (1956–1957; 1967–1989), including the imposition of temporary laws or decrees handed down by the monarch and enforced by state security courts (2001–2006). And while in theory temporary laws might eventually receive the official approval of parliament, in practice they might

continue without parliamentary oversight for some time. In theory the Jordanian constitution upholds the principles of an egalitarian, pluralistic, and participant society "under law." But in practice the executive powers of the king have weighed heavily on the democratic parliamentary process in the interests of (a) security (b) economic reform, and (c) regime survival. Human rights organizations assert that Jordan violates international human rights conventions by the adoption of extrajudicial legal processes, which destroy legitimate social and political freedoms (Country Report Jordan 2005).

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Jordan's foreign ministry is concerned with the protection of Jordan's vital national interests, promotion of friendly relations with other countries, and representing Jordan through diplomatic missions. Jordan has embassies and consulates in the Middle East and North Africa (43 percent), Europe (25 percent), Asia (14 percent), the United States and other countries (18 percent). Jordan maintains bilateral relations with the Middle East and neighboring countries through the Arab League, Arab Joint Defense Treaty, Arab Social and Economic Council, High Joint Commissions, and other international organizations.

Since independence Jordan has generally followed a pro-Western foreign policy. The United States currently serves as a major source of Jordan's military and economic assistance. Currently Jordan is fourth on the list of U.S. aid recipients. Since the 1980s Jordan's relations with Iraq have been based on inter-Arab solidarity, trade and, most importantly, on subsidized oil imports. These were badly disrupted in 1990–1991 and following the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in 2003. Jordan is committed to postwar recovery in Iraq. On the debit side, pro-U.S. policies in Iraq and neighboring OPT have led to vocal anti-regime demonstrations in Jordan. "Normalization" of relations between Jordan and Israel remain at a low ebb (Lucas 2004). Jordan is committed to a dual state solution to the Palestine problem based on Israel's withdrawal from territories occupied in the Six Day War (1967), including refugee repatriation. It also favors an arrangement of "shared" Palestinian-Israeli occupation of Jerusalem, wherein Jordan's "special interests" might be recognized. Jordan has been generally disinclined to enter into federal or confederal relations with the PA, preferring instead to maintain the integrity of a partition arrangement between Jordan and Palestine. The question of dual citizenship is another thorny issue (Frisch 2004). Citing links to Islamic extremism and suicide bombings in Israel, Jordan closed Hamas' office in Amman in 1998. Under King Abdullah II, relations with Hamas have remained tense, notwithstanding Hamas's assumption of political power in the OPT in January 2006.

Transjordan joined the Arab League in 1945. In 1952 it acceded to the Arab Joint Defense and Economic Cooperation Treaty, which provided for (a) collective security against an aggressor state, normally assumed to be Israel and (b) economic and social cooperation. But ideological divisions during the Cold War (1945–1991), dynastic and/or inter-Arab differences on a host of regional issues, have generally weakened the overall effectiveness of inter-Arab political and defense cooperation through the Arab League. The Arab League has generally been more

effective in the area of socioeconomic cooperation, inter-Arab mediation (for example civil wars in Jordan and Lebanon), cultural and high-level political exchanges (for example summit conferences) between member states. Jordan's treaty with Israel (1994) largely nullified earlier inter-Arab defense cooperation. But "normalization" of relations with Israel was criticized in Jordan by Islamist and radical Palestinian organizations for undermining inter-Arab solidarity in the face of Israel's expansionist policies in the OPT, including Jerusalem.

Jordan acceded to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) in 1970 and the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1998. In 2001 Jordan reasserted that it was free of nuclear weapons, and it did not envisage the development of any program relating to such weapons. It also supported measures within the Arab League in 1998 for a Middle East free of weapons of mass destruction. Jordan's nervousness about the escape of harmful nuclear radiation derives from (a) its close proximity to Israel's aging nuclear reactor and considerable nuclear weapons stockpiled at Dimona in the Negev and (b) the fact that Israel has not yet signed the NPT.

In the aftermath of 9/11, the Bush administration proposed (2003) a Middle East Free Trade Agreement (MEFTA) by 2013 as a means of fostering economic and political development and countering the growth of terrorism in the Middle East. A condition of membership required a peaceful policy towards Israel. Jordan warmly supported cooperation with the United States through its involvement in the World Trade Organization (2000), in a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) (2001), Trade Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA) (2002), which involved joint industrial projects with Israel known as Qualifying Industrial Zones, which gained preferential access to the United States, and in a Bilateral Investment Treaty (BIT) (2003) (CRS, 2006a).

Jordan is an active member of a number of international organizations and multilateral bodies including the Arab League, United Nations, UN Relief and Works Agency, UN Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), G-77, International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Trade Organization, Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), and World Health Organization (WHO) (CIA 2006). Since the early 1950s Jordan has been actively involved with UNRWA on the basis of Palestinian refugee relief. UNRWA coordinates activities with Jordan's Department of Palestinian Affairs, with NGOs and refugee camp improvement committees, which over the years have taken on the look of municipal councils, which often blend into the neighboring suburbs (UNRWA 2006).

In practice Jordan welcomes and values the activities of NGOs in a wide number of fields so long as it can "guide" their activities. Jordan regards NGOs as "participants" rather than "partners" in development. NGOs and other civil society organizations are subdivided and regulated by government ministries according to their program or mission. Civil society is thus partitioned and segmented into administrative units based on the logic of bureaucratic control, which serves the purpose of "dividing and ruling" NGOs. NGOs funding must be channeled through approved intermediary bodies. NGOs which cross the political threshold

and act as pressure groups might become the target of the government's state security laws (Sullivan 2000).

In the mid-1990s the Jordan-Israel peace treaty (1994) gave an indirect "kick start" to Jordan's flagging economy. The United States was keen to "normalize" the treaty as a means of fostering economic relations between Jordan and Israel. Between 1994–1996, U.S. aid to Jordan increased from $37.2 million to $237.3. Seen on a larger canvass U.S. aid to Jordan between 1951 and 2006 amounted to over $7 billion, including $4 billion in economic aid and $3 billion in military aid (CRS 2006b).

Jordan has participated in UN peacekeeping operations in Europe, Asia, and Africa. In 2006 it was involved in 11 operations, about two-thirds of which were in Africa. About 3,000 Jordanian troops and observers—about 3 percent of regular forces—are currently serving with UN forces, and with NATO coalition forces in Afghanistan (300) in noncombat roles. Jordan has contributed to medical relief missions in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Iraq, Sudan, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Yemen, Chechnya, Abkazia, and Afghanistan. It has also served as a third party mediator in various Arab and Islamic disputes such as Palestine, Iraq, Yemen, and Chechnya. Peacekeeping enables Jordan to become a good international citizen and have some positive input in the resolution of regional conflicts.

SECURITY

The Jordanian army is rooted in British and Bedouin traditions. King Hussein developed a strong empathy with the army. Hussein's son, King Abdullah II, previously commander of Jordan's Special Forces, is similarly rooted in the military tradition, which has remained a vital element of Hashemite regime survival.

The Jordanian army accepts subordination to civil legal authority. Trusted individual officers have served in important civil posts, and as intelligence chiefs. Transjordanians of Bedouin origin have dominated senior military commands. Over the years the army has been actively involved in public services such as road and bridge construction, and disaster relief, and has cooperated with Jordanian universities in scientific research. It is one of the few institutions that currently permits upward social mobility.

Jordan's military forces currently stand at around 100,500, including an army of 85,000, navy of 500, and air force of 15,000. The army has four combat commands, which include armor and mechanized brigades, a reserve armored division, and a counterterrorist command. Its weapons system, including surface-to-air missiles, is primarily of U.S. and Western (British and French) origin. The air force comprises 100 combat capable aircraft, including sophisticated U.S. F-16 and F-16 B. The navy, an integral part of the army, is based at the port of Aqaba and operates small coastal patrol vessels (U.S. and British). Jordan's military budget amounts to 14.6 percent of GDP (Saudi Arabia 10.6 percent, Israel 7.7 percent, and United States 4.6 percent) (ISS 2006). Pressing internal and external security considerations clearly account for Jordan's relatively high outlay on defense, considering the fragile nature of its economy.

The primary Jordanian intelligence agency is the General Intelligence Department (GID) (*Dairat al-Mukhabarat*), which is charged with the collection and

analysis of intelligence information. The GID by custom has been headed by a high-ranking army officer, who is answerable directly to the prime minister and ultimately to the king. GID officials brief the government on matters of security and coordinate efforts with the military and national law enforcement agencies, including "secret" reports on the political climate of the nation and the surrounding region (JIS 2003).

The GID has taken a particular interest in Palestinian refugee camps and regularly scrutinizes the activities of mosques, student groups, and political parties. Under counterterrorism laws (post-2001), the GID has powers to detain persons without trial for indefinite periods (for example incommunicado) at the Wadi Sir Detention Centre in Amman. The GID maintains several special task forces devoted to counterintelligence and communications surveillance, including an anticorruption unit.

The primary responsibility for routine maintenance of law and order has been the Public Security Force (PSF) of about 10,000 in 2006. It is centralized in the Public Security Directorate (PSD) of the Ministry of the Interior. Traditionally, the PSF or police force has been commanded by a high-ranking army officer who, with other senior officers, was selected by the king on the basis of his military record, qualifications, and loyalty to the crown. The relatively large size of the police force combined with army support, testifies to the importance of its internal security function. The Special Police Force (SPF) has responsibility for countering terrorism (see below), and the Desert Police Force (DPF) for detecting and stopping drug and gun smuggling. Jordan was the first Arab country to open a women's police academy in 1972. However, women serve mainly in support roles.

Jordan's General Directorate of Civil Defense (GDCD) is linked to the Ministry of the Interior and is funded by the Ministry of Finance. The director general is normally a senior army officer with the rank of general who is chosen by the king for his ability and proven loyalty to the regime. The GDCD's primary task relates to fire fighting, rescue, and ambulance services. Regular cooperation with the military and security organizations is a vital part of its existence. Despite the Jordanian civil war (1970–1971) the incidence of terrorism in Jordan has been relatively "low" in comparison to its neighbors such as Iraq or Israel (see Table 3).

The increasing incidence of "terrorism" in Jordan can be correlated with (a) the aftermath of the civil war (1970–1971) and the expulsion of extremist PLO militias from Jordan; (b) internal feuds within the PLO in the 1980s; and (c) in the 1990s with Palestinian and Islamic opposition to the "normalization" of relations with Israel (1994). But the major catalysts for the growing incidence of terrorism in Jordan, including increased fatalities, were the second Palestinian intifada (2000), the Al Qaeda attacks on the United States on 9/11, and the U.S. invasion of Iraq (2003).

Between 1970 and 2000, attacks on Americans in Jordan were infrequent and low. They increased significantly between 2001 and 2006. In August 2005 missiles were fired at a U.S. naval ship and harbor installations in the port of Aqaba with one onshore Jordanian fatality. On November 9 three international hotels in Amman were bombed by Al Qaeda terrorists, causing 58 fatalities, followed by an attack on tourists in the capital in September 2006. The majority of all fatalities

Table 3   Middle East Terrorism 1998–2006*

Country	Incidents	Fatalities
Jordan	19	74
Iraq	5,000	12,489
Israel	558	747
Syria	2	0
Lebanon	90	45
Saudi Arabia	47	119
Egypt	15	142
Total	**5,731**	**13,616**

*International and domestic terrorist incidents between 01/01/98 and 06/23/06.
Source: Adapted from MIPT 2006. All incidents are defined along their stated parameters.

were Jordanian Palestinians, including nine Israelis, three Americans, one Briton, and other nationalities. Overall between 2001 and 2006, 74 people died at the hands of Al Qaeda terrorists in Jordan, four of these being Americans.

Between 1970 and 2006 about a dozen groups of unequal size and capabilities were involved in various terrorist activities in Jordan. These can be roughly divided into Islamist (*jihadist*) and secular/ideological groups (for example communists and agents of foreign powers such as Iraq and Israel). With the exception of Al Qaeda which is transnational, most other terrorist acts have either had Palestinian or Jordanian roots, or both. Four organizations—Al Qaeda (*jihadists*), Abu Nidal (renegade secular Palestinian), Black September (offshoot of secular Fatah), and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (Marxist)—contributed to about 75 percent of all terrorist fatalities between 1970 and 2006. However, with over 60 percent of fatalities, Al Qaeda was by far the most brutal terrorist organization in Jordan. Al Qaeda attacks in Jordan began in the late 1990s and were given a regional launch pad after the U.S. occupation of Iraq (2003), which established much local opposition. The growing incidence of terrorism in Jordan also coincided with a stepping-up of anti-terrorist and security laws in the wake of 9/11 (2001). It is interesting to speculate whether Jordan's well-oiled but essentially oppressive security system, associated with a largely undemocratic regime, will in the end be an effective weapon against determined and committed terrorists (MIPT 2006).

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

King Abdullah II's reign (1999–) has generally seen a reversal of the democratic trends that first found expression in his father's National Charter (1991). Parliamentary elections were resumed in 1989, 1993, and 1997. But in June 2001 King Abdullah dissolved parliament (until June 2003) and issued a number of "temporary emergency laws" relating to regime protection in the wake of 9/11. These included restrictions on public gatherings, increasing the powers of special security courts, restricting press freedom to criticize the regime, and limiting freedom of

expression, association, and assembly. In its annual report (2005) Jordan's National Center for Human Rights painted an unflattering picture of the state of political and human rights and excesses by the security forces which, it was observed, violated the kingdom's adherence to international conventions.

Jordan has ratified more than 16 international agreements, treaties, and declarations on human rights, including the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Strict application of the ideals of these conventions in Jordan's legal and political processes may at times have been more theoretical than real.

The Jordanian constitution (1952) declares Islam to be the religion of the State (Art. 2), but not necessarily the source of all legislation. It provides for the establishment of separate civil and religious courts (Art. 99). Judges of civil and religious courts are appointed and dismissed by royal decree (Art. 98). Religious courts are divided into *Shari'a* courts and "tribunals of other religious communities." The constitution grants *Shari'a* courts exclusive jurisdiction in matters of Muslim personal status (for example marriage, divorce, inheritance, and alimony). Persons not of the same religion who object to the jurisdiction of religious courts may bring their disputes to the civil court. The civil court system is divided into regular courts (Magistrate, First Instance Appeal, and Cassation) and Special Security courts. Civil courts have jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters, including cases brought against the government, except in matters relating to religious and "special security courts," which provide the regime with extrajudicial powers, especially under martial law and/or when parliament has been dissolved.

Special security courts have increasingly used military prosecutors who have been known to deal harshly with "terrorists" (the term is often loosely applied) and nonviolent political opponents (for example advocates of free speech or right of assembly) of the regime.

Under the Jordanian Constitution (Art. 6) and National Charter (Ch. 2) (1991), and adherence to international conventions, such as CEDAW (1992), Jordan emphasizes its commitment to "equal" opportunities for all citizens "under law," including opposition to discrimination based on race, language, religion, or gender. But serious anomalies relating to culture and tradition are still to be found in religious and civil courts in favor of men on issues such as inheritance, child custody, polygamy, and honor killing, suggesting a patriarchal bias in the legal process.

Since 2001 a number of "temporary" and parliamentary-approved laws have seriously impacted upon civil and human rights in Jordan. An Amnesty International report (2002, 6) advocated the following remedies: incommunicado detention should be ended; detainees should be brought before an independent judicial authority; all prisoners of conscience should be released; there should be an independent investigation into allegations of torture, and a moratorium on the death penalty; Jordan and Arab state authorities should ensure that the legal interpretation of "terrorism" does not violate the right of free expression.

Civil and human rights issues in Jordan, upheld in the Constitution and National Charter, have been undermined in the interests of security under King Abdullah II, notwithstanding the fact that he has been a strong advocate of "political development" and "economic liberalization" as future ideals for a good (democratic) government. Theoretically, "technocratic-moderate" states, such as Jordan, have a tendency under crises to oscillate back and forth between regime emphasis on "order and control" and a limited form of "political participation" (Bill and Springborg 1999, 10–11). In a 7-point scale on civil liberties (1 being most free, 7 being least free), Jordan was listed at 5, or "partly free" (Earth Trends 2003). Ironically authoritarian government, while enforcing compliance in the interests of security, does not provide the best training for a pluralistic and participant civil society, which respects human rights (Amnesty International 2006).

As a small constitutional monarchy obsessed with security considerations and regime survival, one would *not* normally expect Jordan to be a strong promoter of civil and human rights at home or abroad. Yet the very opposite is true. As an ideal Jordan upholds the importance of civil and human rights as enshrined in the Jordanian constitution and National Charter (1991) and through its commitment to international conventions on this issue. However, Jordan's leaders tend to speak about human rights as an ideal to be realized in the future, or for which the people have to work and struggle. It may also be a tactic to promote the image of good government and hopefully sound investment in the future of the kingdom.

CONCLUSION

In 1949 the United States established diplomatic relations with Jordan. Between the 1960s and 1990s the United States gradually replaced Britain as Jordan's principal Western source of foreign aid and military support. In the 1970s Jordan and the United States became more actively involved in the Middle East peace process. But Jordan's confidence in U.S.-sponsored peace initiatives declined in the 1970s and 1980s. In 1988 King Hussein officially severed Jordanian administrative and economic ties with the Palestinian West Bank and recognized the state of Palestine under the aegis of the PLO. Relations with the United States declined in 1990–1991 when Jordan remained officially "neutral" in the U.S.-led war against Iraq, but recovered after the peace treaty with Israel in 1994.

Between 1994 and 2006 U.S. aid to Jordan increased 12-fold. In November 1996 the United States designated Jordan a major non-NATO ally of the United States. This entitled Jordan to receive special military assistance funds for procuring U.S. military materiel. In 2002 at the request of the United States, Jordan began a training program to help Yemeni forces in countering terrorism and this was extended to Iraqi police and security forces in 2004 (CRS 2006b). Under King Abdullah II Jordan became more heavily involved with the United States despite mounting domestic opposition to U.S. policies in Iraq, Palestine, and the Arab and Islamic worlds. Opportunities for Jordan to play a significant mediatory role in regional politics may have declined as King Abdullah II seeks to attach himself unreservedly to U.S. regional and global policies (2007).

In Jordan anti-U.S. tensions lurk just beneath the surface. Jordanian forces serve as U.S. surrogates along the frontiers with Iraq to prevent extremists crossing back and forth. Currently the two biggest thorns in Jordan-U.S. relations are the Iraqi "civil war" and the unresolved Israeli Palestinian conflict. The situation in Palestine has been exacerbated by near civil war conditions in the OPT since the election of a Hamas-led government in January 2006. Jordanian opinion polls reveal trends which are increasingly critical of U.S. regional policies. For example, a moderate Amman-based poll (West Asia Center for Strategic Studies and Media Studies) revealed (2003) that 75 percent of respondents described U.S. policy towards Arab and Islamic nations as "unjust." Polls suggest that American policies in Jordan struggle to win domestic approval despite the enormous financial contribution (for example aid and trade) of the United States to the Jordanian government between 1995–2006 (CFR 2005).

The historical evolution of Jordan has been closely associated with the interaction of its Palestinian and Jordanian communities. Jordanians are defined as residents and descendants, many of Bedouin origin, who have lived on the East Bank of the Jordan before 1948. Palestinians are those whose birthright extends to areas west of the Jordan. Currently Palestinians constitute about two-thirds of Jordan's population of about 5.9 million. They range from prominent families who have been fully assimilated into Jordanian society and loyal to the regime, to impoverished refugees who live in camps and yearn to return to Palestine. Economically and educationally Palestinians have been the driving force in Jordan since the annexation of the West Bank in 1950. Intermarriage between the communities is not common, nor generally are mixed residential areas. Both communities speak Arabic and are mainly Sunni Muslims, but they differ slightly in ethnicity, significantly in historical origins and, most importantly, in terms of current and future political expectations. For many Palestinians Jordan may have become a "temporary" refuge forced on them by political necessities, such as the catastrophic "loss" of Palestine (*an-nakba*) to Israel in 1948. But through culture and family ties they have retained strong links to Palestine west of the Jordan, including partisan sympathies with its people in their struggles against Israel's occupation.

Most Palestinians in Jordan in recent years have generally enjoyed a better lifestyle than their neighbors in the West Bank and surrounding Arab countries. They also possess Jordanian citizenship, now denied to Palestinians in the West Bank. A few privileged families have even intermarried with the Hashemites. For example, King Abdullah II's wife, Queen Rania, is a Palestinian from Tulkarm on the West Bank. But the unusual status of Palestinians as "temporary" citizens has impacted negatively upon their perceived loyalty to the Jordanian regime. As a consequence they have experienced discrimination in areas such as senior appointments in government, bureaucracy, security forces, armed forces, and in admission to public universities and the granting of scholarships. Proportionately Palestinians are also badly underrepresented in government and parliament, which draws a majority of its members from East Bank rural and tribal (Bedouin) constituencies. However, within the economic and business sectors of Jordan, Palestinians are dominant and influential. They seek greater liberalization and closer political involvement within the Hashemite regime (Lucas 2004, 92). But the reason for discrimination

against Palestinians in important political or security areas is not hard to determine: Palestinians have previously challenged the legitimacy of the Hashemite regime in the 1960s and 1970s, seeking their own state in Jordan (including the West Bank). Within the ruling establishment, Jordanians fear that Palestinians might again try to take over the reins of power (Reiter 2004). While at present this seems unlikely, a residue of suspicion and mistrust still exists, which creates a polarizing effect on both communities. The issue of ethnic origin remains a sensitive issue in Jordanian power politics and exacerbates differences between the communities, which impact negatively upon the security of the state. Jordanians sympathize with the plight of Palestinians in the OPT, and may vent their opposition to Israel and U.S. regional policies. But they are more closely linked to Bedouin tribal traditions with its code of honor and obedience to established authority. They have fierce loyalties towards their King who responds with favors and rewards. Indeed reinforcing solidarities, both traditional and modern, perpetuate the Jordanian political system

Since its inception, Jordan has demonstrated a capacity for survival based on respect for the Hashemite regime, its Islamic heritage, and the perceived integrity of its four kings. Regime survival and economic growth have also been enhanced through the inflow of aid from Arab states, Britain, and the United States, and the far-reaching arms of its security apparatus (*mukhabarat*). But this has also undermined the development of a fully participant political process that seeks to integrate without discrimination all sectors of Jordanian society. Inherent weaknesses, including human rights violations and the imposition of harsh security laws, are symptomatic of an essentially insecure regime. The outcome of the Palestine problem, either through separate Palestinian statehood or reintegration into Jordan, will continue to pose the single major challenge for the Hashemite regime beyond 2007.

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Lebanon

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BACKGROUND

Lebanon, a small state located on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea, sits in one of the most volatile regions of the world. The country shares borders with both Syria and Israel, both of which have intervened repeatedly in Lebanese domestic politics, and on numerous occasions have used it as a battlefield. In addition to its unfortunate location on the last open military front in the long-running Arab-Israeli conflict, Lebanon suffers from a social composition that makes it a "nation of minorities," in which sectarian divisions provide one of the most important political cleavages in the country. These divisions have, in turn, been reinforced by repeated foreign intervention in Lebanese domestic politics: sects in need of a sponsor or foreign powers in need of a protégé have used each other on numerous occasions to alter the balance of political power between the different sectarian communities.

Small in area—about three-quarters the size of Connecticut, in which a drive along the coast from the northern to the southern borders takes only a few hours —Lebanon to a considerable degree consists of rugged mountains that have long provided refuge for regional minorities, one of the various reasons for the sectarian diversity of Lebanese society. The Sunni Muslim population, the dominant sect under the Ottoman Empire, is centered on the major coastal cities, especially Beirut, Tripoli, and Sidon (Saida), which were comparatively easy to control and administer in the Ottoman period. Minority communities, meanwhile, have tended to cluster in the mountains, with Maronite Christians and Druze in Mount Lebanon, and Shia Muslims in Mount Amil in the south and the Bekaa Valley in the east. Although possessing little in the way of mineral resources, the beauty and variety of the country's geography and topography, as well as a number of well-preserved historical sites from the Roman and Ottoman periods, makes tourism a potentially strong industry in Lebanon, although this potential has been stunted by political instability and lingering memories of the country's destructive 1975–1990 civil war.

Lebanon

Formal name of country: Lebanese Republic

Size of country: 10,400 km

Natural resources: Limestone, iron ore, salt, water

Population: Approximately 4 million

Life expectancy at birth: 73 years

Key ethnic groups: Arabs, Armenians, Kurds (*Note:* religious sects function as ethnic groups)

Key religions: Numerous Muslim (most prominent Shia, Sunni, and Druze) and Christian sects (most prominent Maronite and Greek Orthodox)

Political system: Republic with a mixed presidential-parliamentary democracy (sectarian quotas for representation)

Key political groups:

- Lebanese Forces
- Free Patriotic Movement
- Future Movement
- Amal Movement
- Hizballah
- Progressive Socialist Party
- Numerous smaller parties and movements, as well as many shifting electoral and parliamentary alliances

Legal system: Mixture of Ottoman law, canon law, Napoleonic code, and civil law

Real GDP growth: 0.5 percent (2005)

Population below poverty line: Approximately 30% (1999)

Size of military: 60,000 soldiers

Relationship with the United States: The post-Syria Siniora government enjoys rhetorical support; the United States is critical of the president and speaker of parliament (Syrian allies) for their opposition to the Siniora government; the United States has declared Hizballah to be a terrorist organization

Important human security issues: Increasing demographic imbalances between sectarian communities, deteriorating capacity to provide basic educational and health services, armed conflicts with Israel, political assassinations

Future important security issues: Hizballah activities, border conflicts with Israel, Palestinian refugees, massive government debt, relations with Syria and Iran

Modern Lebanon within its contemporary borders is a relatively new phenomenon, coming into formal existence only under the French League of Nations Mandate in 1920 when it was detached from Syria, itself at that time only really a geographic expression rather than a political entity. Inhabitation of the eastern Mediterranean stretches back millennia, with several ancient civilizations rising and falling in the area, notably the Phoenicians, back to which many Lebanese nationalists (mostly Christian) have looked for national origins to distinguish Lebanon from surrounding Arab societies. Geographic Syria was, for a time, a province of the Roman and then Byzantine Empires, but was later incorporated in the

Muslim Caliphate after its conquest by the Prophet Muhammad and his successors. As the Arab-Muslim polity became divided over time, Syria was eventually incorporated into the Egyptian Mamluk and then Ottoman Empires. Sectarian clashes, primarily between Maronites and Druze, in Mount Lebanon in the mid-nineteenth century, resulted in an agreement between the European powers and the Ottoman Empire to create a special administrative regime in Mount Lebanon which among other things mandated explicit representation for the region's sects, and a version of this system was kept after the Ottoman Empire was dismantled at the end of World War I. The French mandatory power, in 1920, proclaimed the existence of "Greater Lebanon" by attaching Beirut and the country's hinterlands, detached from its Syrian mandate, onto Mount Lebanon, and the power-sharing arrangements instituted under the mandate provided the basis for Lebanon's government institutions upon independence in 1943.

As compared to its Arab peers, and especially neighboring Syria, Lebanon appeared to be an island of stability and openness in the turbulent post-World War II regional politics. Elections, although not always particularly clean, were at least competitive and occurred at regular intervals. The country's open economic system compared favorably to those of neighboring states whose autocratic governments were engaged in heavily statist and state-capitalist policies, and provided a haven for capital flight. Lebanon seemed to weather the apex of pan-Arab nationalism, albeit not without a mini-civil war and the intervention of U.S. Marines in 1958, but was unable to cope with increasing Palestinian guerrilla activity on its territory after the 1967 Arab-Israeli war and especially after the Palestine Liberation Organization's (PLO) expulsion from Jordan in 1970. Lebanon collapsed into civil war in 1975, the various stages of which lasted until approximately 1990, when a modified version of the country's original power-sharing arrangements was reconstituted under overall Syrian hegemony. Syria, in turn, was pressured out of the country in 2005, leaving a fragile government in charge of the country for the first time in peace time in 30 years.

SOCIETY

Given the relatively recent birth of the Lebanese state, the idea of "being Lebanese" is also relatively new. The orientation and identity of the state has long been a point of contention among members of the different sectarian communities. The unwritten National Pact of 1943, announced at independence in the ministerial statement by the country's first prime minister, attempted to reconcile competing visions of the polity by declaring Lebanon to be an independent country "with an Arab face" that would not seek to align itself too closely to either Western powers, as Maronites especially preferred, or to the Arab states, especially given Sunni preferences for reintegration with Syria. While Lebanese nationalists, mostly Christian, continued to push for the building of a distinct Lebanese identity and reached back to the country's putative civilizational origins among the ancient Phoenicians, competing visions of the polity called for Lebanon's integration into the broader Arab community and eventually a unified Arab state, or else Lebanese reintegration into greater Syria, which would include parts of Iraq, Jordan, and Israel/Palestine as well.

Meanwhile, sub-national loyalties to family, region, and sect have continued to play primary roles in Lebanese political life. The country's population is distributed today among 18 recognized sects, mostly Christian and Muslim, and sectarian affiliation continues to play a primary role in politics via power-sharing arrangements based on sect in the country's formal political institutions. According to the only formal census, conducted in 1932 (an earlier one conducted in the early days of the mandate met with widespread boycotts among the Muslim population), Christians comprised the majority of the population, which was used to justify a balance of political power in the parliament and executive branch that favored this community. Although the census rank-ordered Maronite Christians, Sunni Muslims, and Shia Muslims as the first through third largest communities in Lebanon, differential birth rates and rates of emigration have, over time, changed the demographic balance. The Christian community, in particular, experienced relatively low birth rates, while many Christians emigrated permanently or semi-permanently. The Shia community's birth rates were by far the largest among the country's different sects, in part a product of the poverty and low socioeconomic status of most of its members, and those Shiites that emigrated for business or employment purposes usually did so on a temporary basis with the intention of returning to the country. Over time, the raw population totals have shifted to the point where it is widely acknowledged that the Shia community is now the largest single sect in Lebanon, and may have been so as early as the beginning of the civil war in 1975.

In addition to these three large sects, politically significant Druze, Greek Orthodox, and Armenian communities also exist in Lebanon, and although the Druze in particular play a far larger political role than their population size (around 5 percent of the total) might suggest, these and other communities have tended to be overshadowed by the big three sects. Although Lebanon's primary cleavage may be sectarian, sectarian politics is only rarely about religion per se. Rather than disputes over religious doctrine or interpretation, it amounts to political competition between and within the sects as communities, making them analogous in many ways to ethnic groups, to the degree that many Lebanese refer to sectarian politics pejoratively as "tribal politics."

Among the contributing factors to the importance of the sects in Lebanese politics, notwithstanding the incorporation of sectarian identity into the state's formal institutions, is the fact that sectarian divisions overlap with economic interests and class cleavages. In general, and despite considerable variation within communities, a socioeconomic status rank-order emerged among the communities in Lebanon, with Christians at the top perceived as being richer and better educated, down to Shiites at the bottom viewed as poor, uneducated, and uncultured. These perceptions were seemingly corroborated by occupational outcomes, again with Christians providing the largest number of high-status educated professionals such as doctors, lawyers, and bankers, while Shiites generally filled the largest number of low-status occupations such as farmers, day laborers, and street peddlers. The accuracy of this rank ordering, never precise to begin with (there were, of course, poor Christians and wealthy Shiites as well as many gradations in between), has in turn deteriorated over time, especially with the mobilization of the Shiite

community which has produced an emerging Shia middle class and significant cohorts of educated Shiites.

In addition to initial disparities between the communities in terms of basic socio-economic development and opportunities, the Lebanese state from early on was only minimally engaged in providing explicit development planning, restricting itself essentially to providing basic infrastructure. Basic services such as health and especially education were generally privately provided, which tended to reinforce distinctions between members of communities that could afford to invest in, for example, quality education for their children, and those that relied on under-funded, inadequate public services. Yet even public services and infrastructure were not distributed evenly across the country, but were concentrated in Beirut and Mount Lebanon, whether by accident or design in areas with large Christian populations, while the hinterlands and the "misery belt" of unplanned slums around Beirut, especially the Shia regions, received very little in terms of government spending on infrastructure and basic services.

While the state essentially ceased to function except on paper during much of the civil war, in the postwar era the state has, in principle, taken on a much broader range of activities than it did in the pre-war era. This has included massive reconstruction projects as well as expanded public provision and management of basic utilities and services such as electricity and telecommunications. Yet the state, after years of unsustainable deficit spending, is also hampered by massive public debt (now approximately twice the country's annual gross domestic product), and few revenues are available to spend on basic services such as education and health care. Instead, people have continued to rely on the private provision of such services, with the poor especially reliant on subsized services provided by religious organizations or parties, as is evident with the high quality and low cost services provided by Hizballah and related organizations.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

Lebanon is governed via a power-sharing system that is a form of consociational democracy, the local version of which has at times been referred to as the confessional or sectarian system, as the basic social units that share power are the country's sectarian communities. The system, in other words, enshrines sectarian identity as the key component of formal institutions, which many people have argued reinforces sub-national divisions among the Lebanese. This dynamic, as well as processes related to important demographic changes, has led many people to call for the abolition of the sectarian basis of the power-sharing system, although this appears to be an unlikely outcome in the near term.

The most visible aspect of Lebanon's power-sharing arrangements is the formal division of seats in the parliament between Christians and Muslims, the reservation of key top state positions for members of certain sects, and an emphasis on collegial decision making within the cabinet. Originally, parliamentary seats were allocated on the basis of the 1932 census on a ratio of six Christian deputies to five Muslims, although the subdivision among the different sects within the broader Christian and Muslim communities were not made explicit. Further, the most powerful

government post in the country, the presidency of the republic, was by agreement rather than law reserved for a Maronite Christian, and analogously the post of prime minister was reserved for a Sunni Muslim, the speaker of parliament for a Shia Muslim, and so on. The cabinet, in turn, was comprised half of Christian ministers and half of Muslims.

As demographic shifts in favor of the Muslim (especially Shia) community made the allocation of political power on the basis of the 1932 census increasingly disproportional, numerous proposals arose for either the abolition of the sectarian quota system, or at the least its readjustment to better reflect demographic and political realities. The Lebanese civil war eventually came to a close after the signing of the Taif Accord in late 1989 which, among other things, instituted parity between Christian and Muslim deputies in the parliament, acknowledged explicitly the reservation of the top three state posts for the Maronite, Sunni, and Shia communities, but reduced the power of the presidency by shifting some of its prerogatives to the cabinet while strengthening the speaker of parliament. This, coupled with Syrian oversight in the postwar period, led to the development of the informal institution of the Troika system, in which the cabinet and

> ## POLITICAL PARTIES: A FAMILY AFFAIR
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> Political parties and movements in Lebanon are generally weak and ineffective, a reality that has long been decried by scholars and activists, and often linked to the sectarian political system. Political representation has long been the province of Lebanon's "political families," who have provided a disproportionate share of the country's members of parliament and government ministers. Families' leadership credentials are usually inherited by a male (and more rarely a female) descendant, occasionally resulting in within-family competition. Many of Lebanon's political parties and movements are centered on the founding president and descendents, usually from one of the political families. Examples include the National Bloc (Edde), the Free Nationalists (Chamoun), Marada (Franjieh), the Kataib (Gemayel), the Progressive Socialist Party (Jumblatt), the Future Movement (Hariri), and so on. Notably, the two main Shia parties, Amal and Hizballah, are not based on traditional political families (Amal originated in a struggle to wrest political control from the families), while the Christian Lebanese Forces Party and the Free Patriotic Movement are also based on new, nontraditional elites. Nonetheless, all of these parties remain highly focused on their top leadership: Amal with Nabih Berri, Hizballah with Hassan Nasrallah, the Lebanese Forces with Samir Geagea, and the Free Patriotic Movement with Michel Aoun.

parliament were usually sidestepped in favor of informal political bargaining among the "three presidents" (the president of the republic, of the council of ministers, and of parliament). Disputes have often been difficult to resolve, which often necessitated Syrian mediation, and led to the widespread complaint that Lebanese policy was made in Damascus rather than Beirut.

Another notable feature of Lebanon's power-sharing arrangements is its actual electoral system, designed in part to prevent intersectarian competition in parliamentary elections, and in part to sustain traditional elite political influence in their districts. Electoral laws have changed repeatedly over the course of Lebanon's history, and more often than not changed from election to election—other than the 1960–1972 period and the exceptional circumstances in which the 2000 electoral law was reused in 2005. One of the core elements, however, has held that seats in each district have been assigned to each relevant sect, and thus, for example, only Maronites stood for election to the Maronite seat(s), only Sunnis for the Sunni seat(s), and so on. Voters, meanwhile, did not vote only for seats for their own sect, but for every seat in the district. The rationale behind this system was to force

candidates to adopt centrist positions by forcing Christian candidates to appeal to Muslim voters and vice versa.

While voters could choose candidates for each seat individually, they could also vote for organized lists of candidates. Short-term electoral alliances have often developed as candidates have sought to get themselves placed on a "safe" list, which has usually meant aligning electorally under the patronage of a local notable in the district. Local notables, in turn, have largely favored the maintenance of electoral laws that divide the country into a large number of small districts, within which their influence is sufficient to win elections, but which would be diluted in larger districts. While list systems in other countries have often aided in the institutionalization of political parties, this dynamic has not been readily apparent in Lebanon, at least in part because of the capacity for local notables to dominate their small districts, and only a minority of elected deputies are party members, while parties themselves in general are rarely institutionalized or programmatic. It is noteworthy that the most effective parties that exist in Lebanon, the Shia parties Amal and Hizballah and the Christian Free Patriotic Movement, are also the biggest proponents of large electoral districts and proportional representation, both of which would enhance their electoral prospects as it diminishes the locally powerful notables.

As is a defining feature of Lebanese politics, as of late 2006, the political leadership of the country includes alliances of elites who have, at various points, been allies and supporters of one another. The president of the republic is former general Emile Lahoud, widely acknowledged as a Syrian ally, first elected to his six-year term in 1998, but whose mandate was extended by three years in late 2004 at Syrian behest. Fouad Siniora, close advisor to assassinated former Prime Minister Rafik Hariri, heads the cabinet as prime minister, backed by the anti-Syrian parliamentary majority of the March 14 Forces—so named after the million person anti-Syria demonstration that took place in Beirut on March 14, 2005. This coalition comprises members of the Future Movement, headed by Hariri's son and political heir, Saad al-Din Hariri, Druze leader Walid Jumblatt's party (the Progressive Socialist Party) and parliamentary bloc (the Democratic Gathering), members of the primarily Maronite Lebanese Forces under Samir Geagea, a faction of the Kataib (Phalanges) Party led

ELECTIONS AND ALLIANCES: STRANGE BEDFELLOWS

Although a superficial glance at the plural character of Lebanese society might incline one to expect that political disputes are primarily between the sectarian communities, Lebanon's sectarian political system produces a dynamic in which many of the electoral and parliamentary alliances are notably across sects rather than purely within them. This dynamic produces a series of temporary, shifting alliances between the main political elites in the country, often resulting in what appears to outside observers to be alliances of strange bedfellows. In the 2005 parliamentary elections, for example, the (Christian) Lebanese Forces and Walid Jumblatt's (Druze) Progressive Socialist Party, whose militias fought repeatedly in Mount Lebanon during the civil war, formed part of the broader anti-Syrian coalition along with other Christian leaders and Saad al-Din Hariri's (Sunni) Future Movement, while the (mainly Christian) Free Patriotic Movement, whose anti-Syrian leader Michel Aoun had fought a "war of liberation" against Syria at the close of the Lebanese civil war, allied with several notable Syrian allies in the elections (among them Christian, Druze, and Sunni leaders), and subsequently signed a memorandum of understanding with Hizballah (Shia) in February 2006, and the two parties, along with Syrian ally Amal (Shia), form the backbone of the opposition.

by former president Amine Gemayal, members of the primarily Christian Qornet Shehwan Gathering, as well as other independents.

Meanwhile, members of the opposition March 8 coalition—so named after a similar pro-Syria demonstration organized by Hizballah and allies on March 8, 2005—include speaker of parliament Nabih Berri's party (the Amal Movement) and parliamentary bloc (the Development and Resistance Bloc), Hizballah and its parliamentary bloc (Loyalty to the Resistance), led by its secretary-general Hassan Nasrallah, as well as a number of smaller parties and factions. Hizballah has, further, allied with the primarily Christian Free Patriotic Movement, led by former general Michel Aoun, in an attempt to force the formation of a national unity government or early parliamentary elections. The opposition alliance, beginning in late 2006, has held a series of open-ended demonstrations and protests attempting to bring down the government, although as of September 2007, the Siniora government remains in place. Although the participation of Sunni and Christian politicians, and especially Aoun and the Free Patriotic Movement, gives the opposition a multisectarian composition, it is widely seen as primarily Shia given that the two principle Shia political organizations comprise the core of its support. This polarization of the communities—Sunni, Christian, and Druze in the March 14 Forces, Shia under the opposition—has heightened sectarian tensions and raised fears of a possible civil war between the communities.

Key issues dividing the government and opposition forces are legion. United Nations Security Council Resolution 1559 called for Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon and the disarmament of all militias in the country—meaning, in effect, Hizballah's militia, which has acted as a resistance to Israeli occupation in the south of the country—and although Syrian troops did eventually effect a complete withdrawal by April 2005, Hizballah has retained its arms. Further, an international commission charged with investigating the assassinations of Hariri and other prominent political figures has released preliminary reports implicating senior Syrian and Lebanese security officials and politicians, and the prospect of an international tribunal to try those accused has led to political brinksmanship by both the government and opposition. Members of the opposition, despite their stated claims of support for such a tribunal, rightly or wrongly are widely seen as protecting Syrian officials and possibly themselves from prosecution by attempting to derail the establishment of the tribunal.

In addition to these more immediately salient issues, as well as the Israeli-Hizballah war fought in the summer of 2006, there exists the perennial question of the deconfessionalization of the country's political system. The Taif Accord which ended the civil war includes provisions for the abolition of the sectarian quota system after a transitory period, but the steps required to begin this transition have not been implemented. The Shia parties, in particular, have at various times pressed for deconfessionalization in part because, although the Taif reforms gave their community increased access to political power, they are still underrepresented, especially in consideration of their large population size. They are, further, better organized than many other political factions and have greater mobilizational capacity, giving them an organizational advantage from which they would benefit electorally were the sectarian system abolished.

LAW AND ORDER

Law and order bodies in Lebanon are generally less oppressive than those found elsewhere in the Middle East, particularly in Syria, although in the pre-civil war era the security services were often accused of harassing the opposition. During the post-war years under Syrian hegemony, Syrian security forces were prolific and openly active in Lebanon, and the heads of the Lebanese security services were generally Syrian allies and helped repress the more vocal dissenting voices. Although Syrian agents were not as openly active in Lebanon as in Syria proper, they were accused regularly of political machinations and the disappearance of significant numbers of Lebanese political dissenters, at least some of whom were moved to detention facilities in Syria where observation of basic human rights and due process is considerably grimmer. The heads of the Lebanese security services were removed from duty in the wake of the Hariri assassination and subsequent demonstrations, and several have been implicated in the affair by the international commission of inquiry.

Although politicians, academics, and journalists regularly demand the strengthening of the judiciary and legislation to secure its independence, judicial appointments are part of the sectarian balancing act, with sectarian affiliation, reputed political leanings, and personal loyalty serving as key elements of appointment in the bargaining between the president and prime minister. This dynamic follows from the more general phenomenon of sectarian quotas in the civil service and state apparatus, in which patronage appointments are used to build or maintain coalitions of political support for the country's leaders. Interference in judicial proceedings, again while not as common or overt in Lebanon as in neighboring countries, is nonetheless a problem, although the degree of interference may become less considerable now that Syria no longer retains an official presence in Lebanon which has lessened its leaders' ability to influence court cases.

Major criminal activity in Lebanon, other than political crimes and assassinations, centers on corruption, which is rampant and endemic. Lebanon ranks as one of the most corrupt countries in the region and, depending on which rankings one consults, approaches levels found in some of the more corrupt states of sub-Saharan Africa. Many people and organizations attribute this pervasive problem to the sectarian allocation of political power, government positions, and government contracts, along with the lack of transparency inherent in a political system in which many decisions are made informally behind closed doors and with little oversight from a weak and dependent judiciary. An example of the results of the endemic spread of corruption includes the formerly significant problem of drug cultivation (recently curtailed), especially in the Bekaa Valley, allegedly with active connivance of Syrian and Lebanese army and security officers.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Lebanon's domestic politics have long been subject to foreign influences, dating back to the Ottoman period when the European powers intervened in the political affairs of Mount Lebanon in search of local proteges and leaders of the sectarian communities cultivated different European powers as patrons. Since

independence, regional and world politics have intruded frequently in Lebanon's domestic sphere. Regional powers have used the country as a proxy battleground or else cultivated various groups in attempts to secure a friendly government, and local groups have cultivated foreign governments in an attempt to tip the domestic balance of power in their own favor. It is thus rare for political cleavages in Lebanon to be purely domestic in nature, with the foreign element playing a large role in defining the shifting lines between the contesting parties and the policy dimensions under contestation. This is not to suggest, as some do, that the Lebanese have been helpless bystanders as foreign powers use and abuse them and their country: Lebanese leaders have often sought out foreign intervention in their own struggles, and the political rhetoric in favor of or in opposition to foreign intervention often shifts according to whose faction is the current beneficiary of that intervention.

While Lebanon as a state actor has been no more than an occasional and modest participant in the Arab-Israeli conflict, Lebanese territory has been a prominent venue on which that conflict has been fought. In the first Arab-Israeli war after the creation of the state of Israel, a large body of Palestinian refugees fled to Lebanon, and have since not been allowed to return to their homes; and the refugee population, largely due to natural increase, now numbers over 400,000 persons. After the 1967 war and the increased radicalization of the Palestinians, southern Lebanon (nicknamed "Fatahland" after the largest organization within the PLO) became one of the key sources of guerrilla attacks against Israel, especially after the 1969 Cairo Agreement which gave the PLO considerable autonomy in the country, and after the 1970 civil war in Jordan in which the PLO was evicted from that country. During the Lebanese civil war Israel invaded the country in both 1978 and 1982, ostensibly to destroy the PLO, weaken Syrian armed forces stationed there, and back conservative Christian militias in their attempt to support the Christian-led government. Israel continued to occupy a security zone in the South in alliance with its proxy militia (the South Lebanon Army) until it completed its withdrawal in 2000.

Lebanon has also been subject to Syrian influence and intervention since at least the beginning of the civil war when the sitting president invited the Syrian armed forces into the country in an effort to stop the civil war. Syria retained this influence up through the Taif Accord, which along with other bilateral agreements enshrined a "special relationship" between Lebanon and Syria and legitimized a Syrian troop presence in the country in the postwar system. Most of those troops had been stationed in the east of the country in the Bekaa Valley, which Syria views as essentially a continuation of its Golan front with Israel. Syria and Iran have been active in backing Hizballah's militia in the South, which is widely seen as a proxy in the ongoing battle with Israel, despite the fact that the Syrian Golan front has been kept assiduously quiet since the 1973 war. Lebanon and Syria also contest Israel's claim to complete withdrawal from Lebanese territory in 2000 (despite United Nations confirmation), as Israel continues to occupy the Shebaa Farms, a small parcel of land which Israel and the United Nations claim is part of the Israel-occupied Golan belonging to Syria, while Lebanon and Syria claim it belongs to Lebanon.

In the postwar setting, Syria continued to play an active role in Lebanese domestic politics by supporting its allies in the different sectarian communities, enforcing

electoral alliances among reticent backers (most notably between Amal and Hizballah), quelling dissent, and cultivating a role as mediator between the different communities and political groups. Further, Syrian influence, especially by backing Amal and Hizballah and by enforcing the de facto Troika system among the president, prime minister, and speaker of parliament helped informally redress the maldistribution of formal political power that underrepresented the Shia community. Yet after the assassination of former Prime Minister Rafik Hariri in February 2005, massive demonstrations against the Syrian presence in the country erupted, and were subsequently supported by massive international pressure on Syria, especially from the United States and France, to withdraw from the country. Since then, an international commission of inquiry has investigated the Hariri assassination as well as a number of other killings that took place in the country in the wake of the Syrian pullout.

In further destabilizing developments, Israel launched a month-long assault on the Hizballah position in the summer of 2006 in putative retaliation for the kidnapping of two Israeli soldiers, although Israeli military officials also indicated that contingency plans for such an attack had been in development for several years. Israel aimed to destroy Hizballah's fighting capacity, and in the process targeted numerous civilian and infrastructure sites far from the southern border, most likely in an attempt to pressure the Lebanese government to intervene against Hizballah. Although Israel was unable to destroy the militia, which has subsequently been rearming, allegedly with Syrian and Iranian assistance, it did obtain a significant victory when the Lebanese government agreed to deploy the Lebanese Army down to the southern border, which it had previously refused to do in the wake of Israel's withdrawal in 2000.

SECURITY

Although Lebanon has served repeatedly as a venue in the wider Arab-Israeli conflict, as a state actor it has rarely played more than a nominal military role. During much of the post-independence period leading up to the civil war, Lebanese leaders were quick to invoke variants of the slogan that ''Lebanon's strength is its weakness,'' by which they meant that its refusal to build up its military forces kept it from being viewed as a viable military threat (or ally) in the Arab-Israeli conflict, which would allow it to effectively sit out the hostilities. The viability of this strategy broke down, however, during the civil war, when the country split into warring militias, the national army split into factions or disintegrated, and both Israel and Syria occupied large chunks of Lebanese territory for long stretches of time.

In the postwar reconstruction period from 1990 onward, however, a variant of the strength-in-weakness doctrine appears to be in operation, albeit more by default than active choice. Annual state military expenditures have amounted to approximately 3 percent of gross domestic product—in percentage terms not wildly different from many other states in the world, but certainly very low in comparison to regional standards, where expenditures commonly run between 10 and up to 50 percent of gross domestic product. This, coupled with the small size of the Lebanese economy as compared to its larger neighbors, further means that

the 3 percent is taken from a much smaller overall pool of resources. In turn, much of this expenditure goes toward salaries and upkeep for the approximately 60,000 soldiers and officers in the lightly equipped Lebanese Army—the country has only nominal air and naval forces—and whose role is more one of peacekeeping and the maintenance of public order than protecting the country's borders. Up until the Syrian pullout in 2005, the long border with Syria in the Bekaa Valley was held by Syrian forces, and after the Israeli pullout in 2000 the Lebanese government refused to deploy the army into the south of the country, arguing that it should not be required to provide border security for the Israelis. Note, however, that in the aftermath of the summer 2006 war between Israel and Hizballah, the Lebanese government agreed to deploy 15,000 Lebanese Army soldiers to the South, along with a contingent of international peacekeepers, and although these forces implicitly are intended to prevent further Hizballah operations, army commanders as well as numerous politicians have indicated that the army will not be used to disarm Hizballah's militia.

Modern Lebanese history is replete with security issues of greater or lesser magnitude, many of which are connected to the country's unfortunate location in the middle of the Arab-Israeli conflict, coupled with its inability to influence the direction of that conflict in any substantial way—given internal divisions that prevented the country from adopting a clear and durable position on the conflict, and given a certain amount of wishful thinking that the Christian community would willingly sign a peace agreement once it became politically feasible, conventional wisdom held that "Lebanon will be the second Arab state to sign a peace treaty with Israel." Many other security issues connected to the Arab-Israeli conflict have been discussed at several points above and include the large number of unassimilated Palestinian refugees, the use of the southern part of the country by Palestinian guerrilla organizations, repeated Israeli strikes and invasions, and direct Syrian intervention in domestic Lebanese affairs. The Arab-Israeli conflict also spilled over into internal sectarian competition, as decisions over a stance in the military conflict and over support for Palestinian guerrilla organizations broke across sectarian lines. Sectarian divisions also spilled over into visibly different levels and rates of socioeconomic development across Lebanon's regions, which in turn related to different levels of development among the different communities.

Several current and potential security issues have become salient in the post-civil war period. The increasing demographic imbalance between the different sectarian communities has the potential to disrupt the never-smooth functioning of the current power-sharing arrangements. The Shia community in particular is already underrepresented relative to its population share, and as it has generally had the highest birth rates and lowest emigration rates among the major communities, this malrepresentation will only become more stark as younger Shia cohorts attain voting age. Further, since the regions of Shia concentration are also the least developed and least well provided with infrastructure and government services, a basic socioeconomic conflict reinforces the general pattern of Shia deprivation.

Related to this, the relative strength of Hizballah and its activities has long been a significant source of tension. The party's militia has won considerable accolades both within Lebanon and without for its resistance activities which ultimately contributed to the Israeli pullout in 2000, and although Security Council Resolution

1559 called for the militia's disarmament in the context of a Syrian pullout, the issue has proved to be too politically divisive in Lebanon to achieve any real steps toward its realization. Further, the month-long confrontation between Israel and Hizballah in the summer of 2006 only further lionized the militia's members and, although Israel's massive bombardment of nonmilitary targets and civilian infrastructure as far from the border as Beirut and Tripoli in the North did raise some domestic voices critical of Hizballah for provoking Israeli retribution, the country is no closer to disarming the movement. Further, Hizballah has led a campaign, in alliance with Amal, the Free Patriotic Movement, and several other smaller parties to bring down the Siniora government, and its ability to mobilize supporters for the open-ended demonstrations has provided evidence that the party draws significant popular support.

Lebanon's fate is in another sense tied to the outcome of Israeli-Palestinian negotiations, given the large body of Palestinian refugees living in camps in the country. While Palestinian negotiators have continued to insist on the right of return for all Palestinians and their descendents who fled the country in past wars, few realistic scenarios exist in which Israel would agree to accept more than a nominal repatriation of refugees from Lebanon, or in which the eventual Palestinian state could absorb so large a body as 400,000 refugees. Yet, if the refugees are not repatriated to either Israel or the Palestinian state, there remains the difficult issue of what to do with them in Lebanon. Granting citizenship rights to such a large body of individuals would further distort the sectarian demographic balance —most refugees are Sunni—and apart from the mere demographic problem is that the Lebanese economy is insufficiently vibrant to absorb such a large body of people into its workforce.

Further, massive government budget deficits and public debt—with expenditures commonly running over 130 percent of revenues, and debt now approximately twice the size of the country's gross domestic product—have contributed to a perpetual fiscal crisis in Lebanon, in which substantial proportions of the government's budget are used to pay off interest on past borrowing and cannot otherwise be mobilized to improve the country's infrastructure or provide needed (or desired) services. The government's inability to provide these basic services, regardless of the alleged disinterest of government leaders, has led to deteriorating infrastructure and services as well as rising popularity for those parties, primarily Hizballah, that receive significant foreign funding to provide parallel service networks.

Relations with key regional states—in particular Israel, Syria, and Iran—will be sources of tension for the foreseeable future. Although Israel imposed the approximation of a peace treaty on the Lebanese government in 1983—abrogated by the latter almost immediately—no open attempts to achieve an actual settlement have been made since, and episodes such as the summer 2006 war have provided further evidence that quiet along the border between the two states is not entirely within the control of the Lebanese government. Hizballah, in particular, is vehemently opposed to peace negotiations with Israel and is backed in this stance by Syria and Iran. Relations with Syria, further, have been strained since the latter's armed forces were pressured out of the country in 2005, and as of early 2007 no diplomatic representatives have been exchanged by the two countries.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Under the conditions of the "special relationship" between Syria and Lebanon in which Syria exercised de facto hegemony over Lebanon and internal Lebanese affairs, human rights abuses and extrajudicial "disappearances" increased in magnitude, as Syrian security services were active throughout the country alongside their allied Lebanese counterparts. Although the performance of Lebanese security agencies has no doubt improved in terms of basic observance of human rights after their discretionary powers were curtailed by the loss of Syrian patronage and the replacement of many of the heads of the security services, foreign security personnel and spies have simply gone back to clandestine rather than semi-open activity. Although a commonly voiced rhetorical complaint holds that Syrian and Iranian operatives are still active in the country, it is also almost surely the case that Israeli, American, and French operatives (and many others) are likewise active.

The judicial system is not independent, and considerable inroads against that branch of government were made during the Syrian period, in which judges and courts were subject to varying degrees of political pressure. Note, however, that much of the political interference occurred via the sectarian distribution of civil service and government posts, which means that, although judges are no longer subject to the same degree of pressure as had previously been the case, no major steps have been taken to rebuild protections for the judiciary, and the relative autonomy of the judges remains at the discretion of political leaders.

In a more general sense, the rule of law is weak in Lebanon. Although institutional rules exist on paper, much of the politicking that does occur is based on personal ties and connections as well as informal back-room arrangements that sidestep the institutions already in place. This ability to reach consensus, or at least compromise, has often been cited as a crucial component for the Lebanese system, but in the process it has gutted existing institutions of their content and has generally meant that, when compromise has not been achievable via informal mechanisms, the country suffers from paralysis and members of the various factions begin looking for allies elsewhere. Syria played the role of the supreme adjudicator in the postwar period, when disputes between the Troika members were commonly referred to Damascus. After the Syrian pullout, disputes have required intervention by other foreign powers, as well as mediation from the Arab League. This dynamic is structural rather than the product of the individuals currently in power and opposition and is thus likely to recur until such time as disputes begin to flow through the actual institutions of government rather than around them.

CONCLUSION

The general degree of warmth of Lebanese relations with the United States depends greatly on whom one asks. Strong U.S. support for the anti-Syria coalition in 2005, and for the Siniora government in 2006/2007, has produced rhetorically positive relations between the two governments, and several Lebanese leaders previously known for making polemical statements against U.S. policy have since moderated their rhetoric (if not their actual positions). Nonetheless, continued U.S. support for Israel marks a limit to the extent of these relations, or at least

the degree to which Lebanese leaders can openly express favorable stances toward the United States. For many Lebanese, the marked refusal of the U.S. government to pressure Israel to halt its attacks on Lebanon in the summer 2006 war provided further evidence of American regional priorities, as well as further rhetorical and mobilizational assets to states and groups opposed to American influence in both Lebanon and the region in general.

Rightly or wrongly, Lebanon, with its large Shia population and Hizballah with its acknowledged ties to Iran, is often viewed as part of a broader confrontation between a more assertive and rhetorically radicalized Iran and the United States and more conservative Arab states ruled by Sunni leaders. While the *perception* of such a confrontation may eventually become a self-fulfilling prophecy, it is important to note that considerable holes exist in the alleged "Shia arc" stretching from Lebanon through Syria and Iraq into Iran. Within Lebanon at least, it is not the case that the sectarian communities are polarized along neat lines: although the major Shia parties are opposed to the current government to which the by-far largest Sunni movement provides the core, the Christian community is divided between government and opposition rather than aligning clearly against the Shia parties as would be expected by a simplistic view of the confrontation.

Further, it is not the case that all, or even most, Lebanese Shiites actually desire an Iranian-style government for Lebanon: Amal has long called only for the reform of the Lebanese system, while Hizballah, despite its ideological adherence to Iran and its system of government, has since joined the political process after the civil war quietly downplayed this element of its ideology. "Downplayed" is of course not equivalent to "disavowed," and many Lebanese as well as foreign governments are disinclined to put too much faith in Hizballah's willingness to forego the creation of an Islamic republic in a multireligious society. Yet demographic and political realities are such that the continued underrepresentation of the Lebanese Shia community cannot persist indefinitely, at least within the context of ostensibly democratic institutions. Hizballah is one component of that community, but it is not the only one, nor does it speak for all Shia. Yet, until such time as Lebanese institutions begin to function as institutions rather than façades, the country will likely lurch from crisis to crisis, especially to the degree that the perception arises that the Shia community is shut out as a perpetual political minority.

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Liberia

Daniel Lambach

BACKGROUND

Liberia is situated at the western end of the Golf of Guinea, on the Atlantic Coast of West Africa, located slightly north of the equator. It borders Côte d'Ivoire to the east, Guinea to the north, and Sierra Leone to the northwest. The state covers mainland Liberia with a total size of 111,370 square kilometers, although the Taylor government (1997–2003) exercised some de facto jurisdiction in areas held by its allies, the Revolutionary United Front, in neighboring Sierra Leone during the civil war there.

The Liberian landscape is characterized by coastal plains that rise to rolling plateaus and a low mountain range towards the northeast. About a third of the country is covered with tropical rain forest. The highest elevation is Mount Wuteve (1,440 meters) which is situated in the Guinea Highlands on the Guinean border. The climate is hot and humid, with dry winters and wet, cloudy summers that usually bring rain between May and October. In the winter, Harmattan winds blow from the Sahara, carrying airborne sand particles.

Liberia has large deposits of iron ore which made the country the largest exporter of iron ore during the 1960s and 1970s. In addition, there are ample timber resources, rubber plantations and some gold mining. However, all of these resources are primarily exported unrefined, so that little value is added through Liberian industries. Finally, since the 1950s, Liberia has exported substantial quantities of diamonds, quite a few of which have been smuggled out of Sierra Leone. The presence of high-quality timber has resulted in the deforestation of tropical rain forest, mostly due to unregulated logging (before, during, and after the civil wars of 1989–1996 and 2000–2003). This contributes to soil erosion and threatens biodiversity in the country.

From 1822, Liberia was used as a homeland for freed slaves from the United States, with the state of Liberia officially founded in 1847. The descendants of these "Americo-Liberians" controlled national politics through the True Whig Party which remained in power until the government of William Tolbert was

Liberia

Formal name of country: Republic of Liberia
Size of country: 111,370 sq km
Natural resources: Iron, diamonds, gold, timber, and rubber
Population: Approximately 3 million (2006 est.)
Life expectancy at birth: 42 years
Key ethnic groups:

- Kpelle
- Bassa
- Grebo
- Mandingo
- Krahn
- Gio
- Mano

Key religions: Christian (40%) and animist (40%) faiths, Islam (20%)
Political system: Presidential Democracy
Key political groups/parties:

- Unity Party
- Congress for Democratic Change
- Coalition for the Transformation of Liberia
- Liberty Party

Legal system: Mixture of customary and common law
Real GDP growth: 8% (2005 est.)
Population below poverty line: 80% (2005 est.)
Size of military: Currently being rebuilt, projected size 3,500 (end of 2006)
Relationship with the United States: Liberia sees the United States as its historical "big brother." Usually a staunch ally of the United States, but expects assistance and commitment from Washington.
Important human security issues: Incomplete demobilization of civil war veterans, destruction of state and economic infrastructure, widespread lawlessness.
Future important security issues: Conflict between militias and/or ethnic groups, civil war spillovers from neighboring countries, potential relapse into civil war, continuing fragmentation of political elite.

toppled in a military coup by Samuel Doe in 1980. Doe's rule was brought to an end by the invasion of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), led by Charles Taylor in 1989. Taylor was unable to score a decisive victory due to the intervention of the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), a regional military force led by Nigeria. Liberia was racked by a civil war that killed 200,000 people, with close to a dozen militias operating

in different parts of the country, until Taylor won an ECOMOG-sponsored national election in 1997 and assumed the presidency.

After a short spell of peace, rebels supported by the governments of Guinea and Sierra Leone led a guerilla campaign against Taylor. In 2003, on the defensive and under mounting international pressure, Taylor went to Nigeria into exile. Under the supervision of the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) peacekeeping mission, an interim government prepared elections that took place in late 2005 with economist Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf edging out former soccer star George Weah.

SOCIETY

The total population of Liberia is estimated at slightly above three million people, with more than 40 percent not exceeding 14 years of age. Liberia has been experiencing high rates of population growth for a long time—since 1960, the population has more than tripled. Current growth rate estimates vary widely, with some projecting an annual rate of up to 5 percent. Almost one million people live in the capital, Monrovia. The rest of the population lives in smaller towns such as Gbarnga, Bensonville, or Harper, none of which house more than 50,000 people, or rural communities. Generally, the coastal area is more densely settled than inland areas, with the northwest (Lofa and Gbarpolu Counties) and parts of the east (River Gee, eastern Grand Gedeh) showing a particularly low population density.

Ninety-five percent of the population can be considered indigenous, in the sense that they belong to an ethnic group that has lived in the area for an extended period of time, with the remaining 5 percent comprising America-Liberians (whose predecessors arrived in Liberia in the nineteenth century) and recent immigrants from various west African countries. The Mandingo people are generally considered foreigners, even though they have resided in Liberia since the sixteenth century, after migrating to the coast following the decline of the Mali Empire.

In 2003, at the end of the civil war, over 350,000 Liberians were recorded as refugees by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), with most of them staying in Guinea, Sierra Leone, and Côte d'Ivoire. In addition to this, there were at least double this number (if not higher) of internally displaced persons as well as an unknown number of unrecorded refugees. This is a staggering figure relative to the three million inhabitants, but it has actually declined since the early 1990s. Back then, close to 800,000 people were classified as refugees and most of the people from inland settlements had fled to the coast to escape the fighting. Since 2003, refugee numbers have further declined as peace was restored. Liberia has at times also housed a large number of refugees from Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire fleeing from violent conflict in these countries. At the respective peak of these conflicts, more than 200,000 Sierra Leoneans (in 1999), and at least 50,000 Ivorians (in 2003) had fled to Liberia.

Liberia is home to 16 ethnic groups in addition to the Americo-Liberians. Among the indigenous ethnic groups, the Kpelle form the largest one representing at least 20 percent of the population, followed by the Bassa (some 15 percent), with the other 14 groups making up the rest, with none of them exceeding 10 percent. These groups are (in alphabetical order) the Bella, Dei, Gbandi, Gio, Gola, Grebo,

Kru, Loma, Kissi, Krahn, Mandingo, Mano, Mende, and Vai. These groups can be divided into three distinct language groups: Kru or Kwa (for example, Bassa, Grebo, and Krahn), Mande (for example, Kpelle, Vai, and Mandingo), and West Atlantic (Gola and Kissi). It is worth noting that most of these ethnic groups are not exclusive to Liberia; most of them are part of larger identity groups stretching over multiple neighboring countries.

Due to its history, Liberian society hosts a mixture of religions, with about 40 percent of the population subscribing to traditional beliefs, another 40 percent to various Christian denominations, and 20 percent to Islam. Ethnic groups, especially the more traditional communities in the countryside, are usually religiously homogenous, with forest-dwelling groups more likely to practice traditional religions. The Muslim population (for example, the Mandingo) are descendants of Islamic migrants and conquerors that traveled across the Saharan desert.

The country's infrastructure has largely been destroyed in the civil wars of 1989–1996 and 2000–2003, though it had been in desperately poor shape even before. The first road connecting the eastern and western parts of the country was not built until the 1970s, and most of the country's roads have never been more than dirt tracks, virtually impassable during the rainy season. A single rail line used to connect the iron mines near Yekepa with the port of Buchanan. The city of Monrovia has been without running water, a functioning sewage disposal system, reliable electricity, traffic lights, or a telephone grid since 1989. Outside the capital, most of these amenities have never existed previously. Efforts to restore the infrastructure have been started by the new government, but this represents a formidable task.

Some 70 percent of the Liberian workforce works in agriculture, with the majority engaged in subsistence farming. As a result of these and other unrecorded activities outside the formal, monetized economy, the unemployment rate is estimated at 85 percent. The rubber industry remained relatively undisrupted by the civil war and has thus become the single mainstay of the Liberian economy (rubber makes up more than 90 percent of Liberian export earnings). Due to UN sanctions, the timber trade has been largely shut off or moved to unrecorded channels. A provisional lifting of the sanctions could now entice international investors to return to the country, just as they have been doing in the mining sector. However, with the productive infrastructure destroyed, sizeable investments will be necessary to restart these sectors of the economy. Current gross national income per capita is estimated to be at around $100, although this fails to capture unrecorded economic activity, such as subsistence farming. Adjusted for Power Purchasing Parities, gross national income (GNI) per capita rises to an estimated $1,000 annually.

Up-to-date statistics about the quality of life in Liberia are difficult to obtain. The World Bank estimates that life expectancy at birth is 42.5 years with infant mortality at 157 out of 1,000 live births. On the other hand, due to the destruction wrought by the civil war, these statistics cannot be treated with confidence. Even though the UNDP is unable to calculate its well-known Human Development Index for the country due to lack of data, it is safe to assume that Liberia would have to be placed at or near the end of the global ranking.

In Liberia, not only is the state in urgent need of reconstruction, but also society. One salient issue is the resettlement of refugees and internally displaced persons, most of whom come from communities which were polarized along ethnic lines as a result of civil war atrocities. For example, Krahn and Mandingo are largely identified with the Doe regime, while Gio and Mano were the primary supporters of Taylor. Violence and distrust between these factions (as well as between others) is still widespread.

Another current problem is the reintegration of former militia fighters. While more than 100,000 of them have completed the UN-sponsored Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration program, half of these remain without the means to earn their livelihood. As a result, many of these ex-fighters are amenable to being recruited to fight for any one of a number of pro-government and antigovernment militias in Côte d'Ivoire and Guinea (Human Rights Watch 2005). It is unclear what these fighters will do should conflicts in these countries be resolved.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

Until 1980, Liberia was a single-party presidential republic. After his coup, Doe suspended the 1847 constitution and ruled through a military regime. After a new constitution was accepted in a referendum in 1984, Doe had himself elected president in a forged election in 1985. After his death in 1990, the country was ruled by a succession of interim governments that resulted from a series of fragile peace agreements between the warring parties. Taylor assumed the presidency in 1997 after winning national elections. After he stepped down in 2003, an interim government under Gyude Bryant was installed under the auspices of the international community to prepare presidential and parliamentary elections which took place in November 2005.

The legislature consists of the 30-seat Senate and the 64-seat House of Representatives. Each of the 15 counties of Liberia sends two representatives to the Senate with the winner of the local election becoming the "senior" senator with a nine-year term and the runner-up the "junior" senator serving a six-year term. The House of Representatives, on the other hand, employs a proportional representation system with a six-year term.

The current government is headed by Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf (Unity Party), a former World Bank economist and the first democratically elected female leader of an African country. Johnson-Sirleaf defeated former star soccer player George Weah in a runoff election with close to 60 percent of the vote in December 2005 to earn a six-year term as president. Elections were heavily monitored by international observers and civil society groups and were generally considered to be free and fair, despite allegations of fraud by Weah which he eventually withdrew. So far, buoyed by the jubilant national mood following the transition to peace and democracy, Johnson-Sirleaf still enjoys a high level of popularity. It remains to be seen, however, whether this will continue as the process of reconstruction and economic development drags on.

Especially since the 1970s, Liberia's civil society has been politically active. The governments of Presidents Tolbert and Doe continually had to deal with demands for multiparty democracy and respect for human rights. After the fall of Doe, these

pro-democracy campaigners were involved in the various interim governments, only to suffer repression again at the hands of Taylor after 1997. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that Liberian parties were quick to regroup after Taylor was removed from power. In the last election, 22 parties contested seats in the legislature and fielded presidential candidates. Popular interest in politics is high, with 75 percent of the electorate casting their votes in the 2005 elections, and numerous daily newspapers being published in Monrovia.

However, it has to be said that the current parties mostly represent particular interests and are little more than "political machines" supporting the ambitions of their political leadership. As a result, they cannot be arranged along a neat ideological spectrum, although they may exhibit substantive differences on policy matters. Among the most prominent parties are Johnson-Sirleaf's Unity Party, Weah's Congress for Democratic Change (which represents the largest group in the House of Representatives with 15 seats), and the Coalition for the Transformation of Liberia, a four-party outfit that, with seven seats, fields the largest bloc in the Senate. Then there is the Liberty Party under Charles Brumskine who finished third in the presidential election, narrowly missing the runoff, the National Democratic Party of Liberia led by Winston Tubman, and some 17 other parties who all participated in the 2005 elections. Some of these parties are linked with former militia groups and several former warlords have shown up on the presidential ballot, including Alhaji Kromah, the erstwhile leader of the anti-Taylor United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO) militia in the 1990s. The parliament also contains some figures from the Taylor regime, notably his ex-wife Jewel Howard Taylor and his former son-in-law Edwin Snowe who had been placed under a UN travel ban, but is now speaker of parliament.

The key political issue is, of course, the rebuilding of the country which entails establishing security, rebuilding infrastructure, strengthening the judiciary and the rule of law, attracting foreign capital, providing jobs, establishing welfare services, increasing state revenue, and more. These aims are pursued with the support of UNMIL and a host of international humanitarian NGOs. However, relations between Liberians and international actors are not without friction. For example, the economic and fiscal policies of the Liberian government are currently made through the Governance and Economic Management Assistance Program (GEMAP). Under the GEMAP framework, which is led by the World Bank, the Liberian government and representatives of various international agencies manage the Liberian economy jointly. International experts were placed in key posts in Liberian ministries and the Central Bank in order to prevent the misuse of state funds. Not surprisingly, GEMAP has received its share of criticism among Liberians who see it as a threat to their sovereignty.

In recent history, another issue has taken center stage in the Liberian political arena. In March 2006, Johnson-Sirleaf asked Nigeria to render former president Taylor to the UN Special Court for Sierra Leone which had previously indicted Taylor for war crimes. After leaving office in 2003, Taylor went into exile after Nigerian president Olusegun Obasanjo offered him shelter. Pressure from the international community had mounted to try Taylor before the Court, especially since rumors surfaced that he was still trying to destabilize the Liberian and the

Guinean governments. Finally, Obasanjo acceded to Johnson-Sirleaf's request and sent Taylor to Freetown from where his trial was later moved to The Hague, Netherlands, for security reasons.

The arrest of Taylor had a huge impact on the Liberian people, most of whom could hardly believe seeing the former warlord-turned-president in handcuffs. At the same time, many, especially those who have suffered at his hands, criticized the move to try Taylor outside of Sierra Leone, preferring to have Taylor sentenced closer to the regional public in whose psyche he was still present.

LAW AND ORDER

In Liberia, as in post-conflict countries everywhere, law and order are, at best, in a precarious state. Under Taylor (and under his predecessors as well), law and order bodies such as the police and especially the infamous Anti-Terrorist Unit, were primarily engaged with stifling dissent and preying on the populace. Usually going unpaid for extended periods of time, many low-ranking policemen turned to extortion and plunder simply to make ends meet. Most members of these bodies were sacked after the transfer of power. In early 2006, some 2,000 new recruits were trained by UNMIL which fields an additional 1,000 international civilian police officers. At the moment, the Liberian National Police (LNP) still suffers from a lack of equipment and a dearth of suitable recruits without ties to former militias or warlords. As a result of the LNP's weakness and UNMIL's limited geographic reach, localized self-defense groups have sprung up all over the country at the neighborhood and village level.

Generally, public order is still far from being reestablished. As a result, privatized violence is still frequent throughout Liberia. The 14,600-strong UNMIL is a guarantor of peace and has been very well received by the population, but it has been unable to curb local-level crime and violence. It is hoped, however, that with the consolidation of the LNP alongside UNMIL, crime will be gradually reduced. A major destabilizing factor are former fighters from one of the various civil war factions, many of whom are without jobs. Feeling marginalized in civilian life, often severely traumatized and addicted to drugs, these fighters continue to represent a serious threat to domestic stability.

During the civil war, Liberia became a transit point for drug smuggling, employed mostly by Nigerian criminal syndicates that cooperated with ECOMOG officers. As far as can be determined, trafficking routes thus established in the 1990s still exist today. Liberia is also involved in other regional smuggling networks. Historically, Sierra Leonean diamonds have been smuggled into the country for export, a trade that reached its apex during the civil war in the neighboring country from 1991 to 2001 and which has slowly declined since then. Recently, conflict goods (for example, timber and cocoa) from the ongoing civil war in Côte d'Ivoire have appeared in Liberian black markets as well.

The legal system in Liberia, where it exists at all, is widely perceived as corrupt and inefficient. Even though the judiciary is supposed to be an independent third pillar of the republic, it has historically been little more than a tool of the executive to harass the opposition. The civil war has led to an almost complete collapse of formal legal institutions which were replaced by customary law administered by

elders and spiritual leaders in most areas of Liberia. Unfortunately, despite great need, judicial reform is a low-priority item on the reconstruction checklist which receives little attention from the international community and the state government.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, headed by career diplomat George Wallace is responsible for the day-to-day business of Liberian international relations. However, the ministry acts under the supervision of the presidency, and President Johnson-Sirleaf has been very active in the country's foreign policy since her inauguration. So far, she has taken numerous trips abroad to lobby the UN Security Council to lift sanctions on the export of timber and diamonds, to strengthen ties to states in the region, to maintain cordial relations with UNMIL, and to discuss the extradition of former president Charles Taylor.

Historically, the Foreign Ministry has been very powerful in intra-Liberian politics. No less than five former foreign ministers later went on to be presidents. Additionally, under the current constitution, the foreign minister is second in succession to the president, right after the vice president. However, the Foreign Service still suffers from neglect during the years of civil war and the Taylor regime. Most staff members have gone unpaid for extended periods of time (up to three years) and ambassadors have had to incur debts locally in order keep their embassies running. There are also allegations of corruption within the ministry, including the sale of blank passports.

Beyond the issues already mentioned, the foreign policy of Liberia is clearly shaped by the needs of reconstruction. Therefore, the policy goals revolve around safeguarding Liberian sovereignty, securing the goodwill of the international community, and maintaining the level of international financial aid. Another goal is extending the mandate of UNMIL, on whose support the government is still very much dependent in order to guarantee public security. However, even though the mandate for UNMIL was renewed for another six months in March 2006, the Security Council resolution also asked the UN secretary-general for a drawdown plan, which will present the fledgling government with a formidable challenge, if and when such a drawdown takes place.

The current government of Liberia enjoys cordial relations with its neighbors Sierra Leone, Guinea, and Côte d'Ivoire. These relations are a result of all heads of state having been in the anti-Taylor camp during the series of civil wars in the region in the 1990s and the early 2000s. The same logic applies to Liberia's relations with other west African nations, notably Nigeria. The Sierra Leonean government of Ahmed Tejan Kabbah, the Guinean government of Lansana Conté, and the Ivorian government of Laurent Gbagbo all suffered, or still suffer, from Taylor-financed rebel groups, such as the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone (RUF), the Rally of Democratic Forces of Guinea (RFDG), and the Far West Ivory Coast People's Movement (MPIGO). Therefore it comes as no surprise that these governments welcomed the resignation of Taylor and the transition to democracy.

Liberia is a member of the Economic Community of West African States (ECO-WAS), the premier regional organization. Although primarily established as a trade organization, ECOWAS has also acquired a defense aspect through the Protocol on Mutual Assistance on Defense Matters (1981) and other agreements, which was used as the basis for the ECOMOG intervention in Liberia between 1990 and 1997. Liberia is also a member of the Mano River Union (MRU) which encompasses Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea. Originally, the MRU was supposed to liberalize trade between those three states but has been largely defunct since the 1980s. It has, however, played an important role as a forum for diplomatic exchange on all kinds of issues between these governments in recent years. There have also been talks about restarting the project of subregional economic integration.

Globally, Liberia is a founding member of the United Nations and was elected to the Security Council as a nonpermanent member in 1961. It is also a member of most global organizations, including the G77, though not the WTO. In recent years, due to internal turmoil, it has been largely inactive in these fora.

Liberia is a major recipient of, and extraordinarily dependent on, international aid. The amount it receives is very hard to quantify, though. According to the World Bank, in 2004 Liberia received Official Developing Aid amounting to $210 million. However, this figure does not take into account various other forms of assistance, including UNMIL with an annual budget of $760 million as well as specialized project financing (for example, U.S. support for the training of the police force and for refugee resettlement) and NGO work.

SECURITY

The Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL), comprising the army, the air force, and the navy, are the official security forces of the Liberian government. However, at present, the AFL is nothing more than a ''virtual'' army without any soldiers. The reason for this is that previous governments, starting with Samuel Doe's, had stacked the army with their ethnic kin which led to a quick degeneration of the AFL into just another ethnic militia intent on looting and preying upon the populace following the NPFL invasion in late 1989. In October 1990, the AFL suffered the ignominy to be disarmed and disbanded by ECOMOG forces. It was eventually revived by the interim government of Amos Sawyer in 1992. After Taylor took power, he engineered a takeover of the AFL by former NPFL (and RUF) fighters, with 2,500 of these ex-militiamen being integrated into the army.

In late 2005, and with UNMIL on the scene, the disgraced AFL was finally disbanded along with all remaining irregular forces. At the moment, recruits for a new and reformed AFL are being vetted before undergoing training. The Minister of Defense Brownie Samukai has expressed a desire for an AFL that is not dominated by specific counties or ethnic groups. The current training exercise is funded by the United States and will be undertaken by DynCorp, a private military company with good ties to the U.S. government.

It is highly doubtful that the AFL will reach operational status quickly. However, with a drawdown of UNMIL already on the table, a security vacuum might be on the horizon. And even if the AFL can be set up fast enough to take the place of

UNMIL, it is still presented with a country where the root causes of the civil war have been left unresolved. Therefore, Liberia, like all post-conflict countries, is at a high risk of returning to war within the next few years.

The civil war resulted out of a complex mixture of factors. A series of authoritarian governments, first of the True Whig Party and then the Doe regime, had effectively transformed the state into a means of personal accumulation. State power was employed to subjugate the people, crush the opposition, and make money for a narrow political and economic elite. At the same time, ethnicity was politicized and was getting ever more polarized, especially during the reign of Doe, who heavily favored the Krahn and Mandingo over other groups. Finally, the timber and diamond resources provided easy access to money for the government as well as for rebels ready to exploit these resources. By 1989, Liberia already was a failed state—Taylor's invasion merely stripped the state of any pretense that it was still governing the country in any meaningful way.

The civil war, with atrocities committed by all sides, and the Taylor government resulting therefrom only helped to exacerbate these problems. Taylor was not interested in anything besides his personal wealth and security. Having been swept to power by relying on the Gio and Mano ethnic groups, who had suffered grievously under Doe, he based his rule on their continuing support, marginalizing the Krahn and Mandingo in turn. Even with Taylor gone, there is still a lot of bad blood between these ethnic groups which does not bode well for the future.

For sure, the current situation represents a great improvement over previous conditions, even though the presence of former warlords and associates of Taylor belies the hope for a clean break with the past. Nevertheless, Liberia faces a long process of reconstruction that is highly vulnerable to setbacks. Living conditions continue to be squalid, the state has little authority, and insecurity continues to be rife. The democratic elections were a beacon of hope, and the Johnson-Sirleaf government has so far shunned the patrimonial and personalist style of rule so prevalent in past politics. If this trend could be sustained, then broad and inclusive economic growth would provide the political and economic basis for sustainable peace, as civil war veterans are integrated into the economy and into society. The first crucial hurdle for the government will be taking over responsibility for ensuring security after UNMIL leaves the country for good. If the AFL and the NPL manage to prevent disorder, Liberia can continue to recover; otherwise, it will almost certainly slide back into conflict.

Even though the population is clearly weary of war, such a reemergence of conflict is still in the cards. From his Nigerian exile, Taylor allegedly kept supporting militias alive and was planning a return to power. Even with him out of the picture, there are still numerous warlords and Taylor-era politicians active who have access to fighters, arms, and money and could thus act as spoilers during the reconstruction process.

There is also the danger of spillover from the civil war in Côte d'Ivoire. There, the government and the Forces Nouvelles rebels have fought to a standstill. With a UN-brokered peace agreement still shaky, the conflict could flare up at any time, sending waves of refugees to Liberia. Taylor had also supported antigovernment militias active in the Ivorian west, often supplementing them with Liberian and

Sierra Leonean mercenaries. Peace in Côte d'Ivoire could mean the return of these veterans to a country that has little to offer them in economic terms, thus creating a pool of fighters that can be quickly mobilized for any political aim. Similarly, with the health of President Conté in Guinea fading, the possibilities of civil war there cannot be discounted, with similar repercussions for Liberia.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

In post-conflict Liberia, human rights and justice are still elusive concepts. During the first civil war between 1989 and 1996, throughout the Taylor government, and during the second civil war between 2000 and 2003, human rights were regularly and systematically violated without recourse to a process of law. Even before 1989, human rights had been abrogated under the authoritarian governments of William Tolbert and Samuel Doe. Nevertheless, Liberia has had an active human rights movement since the 1970s that has operated, sometimes with great difficulty, through various organizations, some of them formed by religious groups, such as the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission. With a democratically elected government in charge, state-sponsored persecution has effectively ceased, but the weakness of the state hampers efforts to prevent human rights abuses by non-state actors. Obviously, the implementation of law is still lacking (see above). Courts are understaffed and underfinanced, staff members insufficiently trained and generally swamped with too much work. The manifest ineffectiveness of the justice system has led to the emergence of community-style justice in various locales throughout the country, occasionally in the form of mob lynching.

Liberia ratified both International Human Rights Covenants in 2004, 37 years after its initial signature of these treaties. In addition, Liberia has also ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) on the Abolition of the Death Penalty. It has further acceded to the Convention against Torture, and it has signed, but not yet ratified, the Optional Protocol to the ICCPR. Most of these acts have been undertaken by the interim Bryant government between 2004 and 2005, strengthening the formal protection of human rights in Liberia.

The Bryant government had also set up a Truth and Reconciliation Commission that provides a forum where grievances can be aired. However, while the Commission has been praised for its impartiality, it has also been criticized as an impediment to justice. As yet, there is still no procedure to try those who have committed or masterminded atrocities during the civil war or under previous governments.

International criminal law is of no help in this regard, since most of these crimes were committed before the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court came into effect in 2002. The UN Special Court for Sierra Leone has indicted Liberian nationals, foremost among them Charles Taylor, but only for crimes committed during the civil war in Sierra Leone. It has no jurisdiction over similar crimes in Liberia. The new government has worked together with the UN Special Court in asking Nigeria for the extradition of Taylor. Its initial reluctance should

not be misconstrued as opposition to the court, but was rather motivated by fear of the reaction of Taylor supporters.

CONCLUSION

Relations between the United States and Liberia have generally been cordial, beginning with the United States supporting the resettlement project of former slaves that eventually led to the founding of Liberia. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, successive Liberian governments have placed a high premium on maintaining friendly relations—which usually guaranteed substantial aid inflows. During the Cold War, Presidents Tubman, Tolbert, and Doe were staunch supporters of the West. As a result, the United States employed Liberia as a military base of operations and situated a major CIA surveillance station in the country.

However, with the Cold War winding down, Liberia's importance to American grand strategy waned. In the late 1980s, the U.S. government was less willing to overlook President Doe's blatant human rights abuses and finally cut off all bilateral aid which hastened the downfall of the cash-strapped regime. In June 1990, during the battle for Monrovia, the U.S. Navy dispatched four warships and 2,000 Marines to Liberia to assist the evacuation of foreign nationals. To the despair of the Liberian public, who desperately pleaded for help from their "big brother," the Navy departed in July without intervening. Considering the success that some 1,000 British paratroopers had in altering the course of the civil war in Sierra Leone in 2000, a case could be made that a military intervention then and there might have stopped the slaughter that was still to take place.

Today, the United States is a strong supporter of the Johnson-Sirleaf government and is generally well liked among the populace despite its unwillingness to intervene both in 1990 and in 2003. The United States is the major financial contributor to UNMIL through the UN peacekeeping budget and finances several bilateral projects for the reconstruction of Liberia. For example, the repatriation and resettlement of refugees and internally displaced persons is supported through a project with a three-year budget of $360 million. At the same time, the United States is not Liberia's dominant trading partner, with most of the country's exports going to Europe (Germany, Scandinavia, and Poland) and most of the imports coming from East Asia, notably South Korea and Japan.

As previously stated, Liberia is still suffering from numerous problems, including, but not limited to, a lack of functioning infrastructure, the dependency of the government on external aid, the potential withdrawal of UNMIL, the limited success in integrating war veterans into civilian life, the continuing presence of war-era figures on the national political scene, incomplete disarmament, ongoing ethnic conflict at the local level, and the dangers of civil wars in neighboring countries. Should one of these problems be exacerbated, it might suffice to undo the recovery achieved so far and plunge the country back into civil war. It is clear that the government cannot hope to tackle these issues without sustainable and sizeable assistance from the international community. Even then, a period of 10 to 20 years will be the shortest possible time frame in which measurable gains across the spectrum could be achieved.

Neither should international assistance simply be reduced to "throwing money" at the problem. The current government is committed to democracy and transparency, but there is serious corruption at all levels of the state bureaucracy and the justice system. (It remains to be seen whether the police force and the AFL will succumb to the same temptations.) Therefore, unconditional aid will in all likelihood have little impact. Instead, Liberia needs active help by the international community. The UNMIL mission should not be drawn down prematurely, but in parallel to the growing capacity of the military and the police to take over security. Projects to integrate ex-fighters are of particular significance as these present the greatest danger to post-conflict stability. Without this kind of commitment by the international community, the government would need to work wonders to stave off another conflict.

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Malaysia

Jim Rolfe

BACKGROUND

Malaysia is located centrally in Southeast Asia with two discrete geographical locations: Peninsular (or West) Malaysia, south of Thailand and north of Singapore on the extension of the Isthmus of Kra; and East Malaysia on the island of Borneo (Kalimantan). The two components are separated by some 600 kilometers (375 miles) of the South China Sea. Peninsular Malaysia has 11 of Malaysia's 13 states and East Malaysia two.

Malaysia has 13 states and three federal territories. The federal territories are Kuala Lumpur, the national capital on Peninsular Malaysia; Putrajaya, the administrative capital near Kuala Lumpur; and the island of Labuan and six smaller islands some eight kilometers (five miles) off the coast of East Malaysia near the Malaysian state of Sabah and the independent state of Brunei Darussalam. The federal territories have a similar status to the national states, although they are governed directly from the center.

Both West and East Malaysia have a similar landscape. They are generally mountainous and covered with thick tropical jungle and swamps. Much of the peninsular jungle has been cleared for development, but that has not yet happened in East Malaysia.

Malaysia's natural resources are focused in the agricultural, forestry, energy, and minerals sectors.

In agriculture, Malaysia is a major exporter of palm oil (the country's most important cash crop and about 50 percent of world output) and rubber. The country also produces significant quantities of rice (the main subsistence crop) cocoa, pepper, pineapple, and tobacco.

The forestry sector grew rapidly in the 1960s. As a result of unchecked logging, the country began to experience significant erosion problems almost immediately. Today the industry is being managed with a view to environmental sustainability, although problems remain. The national silviculture industry is extensive with a

Malaysia

Formal name of country: Malaysia

Size of country: land 328,550 sq km; water 1,200 sq km

Natural resources: Tin, petroleum, timber, copper, iron ore, natural gas, bauxite, rubber, and palm oil

Population: 25,580,000 (2004 est.)

Life expectancy at birth: Total population 72.5 years; male 69.8 years; female 75.38 years (2006 est.)

Key ethnic groups:

- Malay 50.4%,
- Chinese 23.7%,
- Indigenous 11%,
- Indian 7.1%,
- Others 7.8% (2004 est.)

Key religions: Islam, Buddhism, Daoism, Hinduism, Christianity, Sikhism; Shamanism in East Malaysia

Political system: Constitutional monarchy, parliamentary democracy

Key political groups/parties: Ruling National Front grouping (including UMNO, MCA, MIC). Opposition parties include DAP, PAS, and PKR, the latter two of which are in the Alternative Front group

Legal system: Based on English common law processes. Islamic law applies to Muslims in family matters.

Real GDP growth: 5.8% (2007 est.)

Population below poverty line: 8% (1998 est.)

Size of military: 110,000 (army 80,000, navy 15,000, air force 15,000)

Relationship with the United States: Good without being close

Important human security issues: Corruption, lack of democracy, and state use of violence against citizens.

Future important security issues: Regional and personal economic disparities, ethnic tensions, and trans-national issues.

Sources: CIA *World Factbook,* Asian Development Bank, *Asian Development Outlook 2006.*

mix of fast growing trees, high-value teak, and trees for pulp and paper being grown to develop the forestry resource.

Malaysia is self-sufficient in its major energy resources. The country has some 50 offshore oil fields and 14 natural gas fields. At current production rates, Malaysia should be able to produce oil for 18 years and natural gas for 35 years. Malaysia exports oil, gas, and electricity, although it could become a net oil importer soon. Coal is present in low-grade reserves but not mined in West Malaysia and is present in significant quantities in East Malaysia. Malaysia has an aggressive energy exploration program.

Malaysia's main minerals are tin and gold, although tin production has been in decline since the late 1970s and gold is produced in only small quantities. Since 2004, increased world demand for tin (mainly from China) has pushed prices up and Malaysia's tin production could rise significantly. Other minerals include clay, kaolin, silica, limestone, barite, phosphates, granite, and marble.

Malaysia's environment has been directly affected by the type and speed of development. This has been accompanied by "serious pollution problems in industrial and urban areas" (Vincent and Ali 1997, 3). Pollution has been caused by tin mining, rubber and palm oil production, and wastewater runoff from factories. Air pollution from dramatic increases in traffic levels and water pollution from household waste are problems in urban areas. Most recently, haze from fires in Indonesia has caused severe health problems in Malaysia as well as other parts of the region, and deforestation and maritime pollution from the oil industry remain environmental issues (Global Environmental Forum 2000, 10).

The government of Malaysia has established a range of legal and institutional arrangements for environmental protection. These include policy objectives, a legislative framework, and environmental regulations including requirements for environmental impact assessments for a range of activities. Despite this, there is much criticism of Malaysia's environmental record, and despite the policy initiatives many problems remain both in stating the desired outcomes and implementing policies already announced (Hezri and Hassan 2006).

The region now known as Malaysia has been inhabited for tens of thousands of years. Europeans arrived in the region during the 1500s and by the late nineteenth century Britain controlled all of the region. Britain governed until 1941 when Japan invaded and occupied Malaya until 1945 and the end of World War II at which time Britain resumed its colonial governance.

In 1961 Malaysia was formally established after Singapore, Sabah, and Sarawak joined the (independent since 1957) Federation of Malaya in a federal union. In 1965, Singapore withdrew from the federation in favor of independence.

Following racially based riots in 1969, Malaysia's political leaders determined to build and strengthen a sense of united national purpose. Steps taken to achieve this included amending the Constitution to forbid discussion, even in parliament, of specific inflammatory issues, including the special position of ethnic Malays and of Borneo's ethnic groups, and the powers of the Malay sultans. The amendment also required all government bodies to use *Bahasa Melayu* as the official language. As well, Malaysia's leaders determined to improve the economic conditions of ethnic Malays. In 1971, they launched a 20-year plan called the New Economic Policy to achieve a better balance of wealth among racial groups. In 1974 to emphasize the politics of unity the government created a multiparty alliance called the National Front, uniting Malay, Chinese, and Indian political groups.

By the end of the 1990s, the New Economic Policy and its successor, the 1991 New Development Policy, were seen to be successful in reducing racial tensions and in promoting economic growth. In 1996 the country set itself a new national goal, "Vision 2020." This aimed to make Malaysia a fully developed nation with a high standard of living by 2020. Vision 2020 suffered a setback following the 1997 Asian monetary and economic crisis, but Malaysia's response to these events eventually stabilized the economy and set the Vision 2020 goal back on course.

SOCIETY

Malaysia's population is 25.3 million and growing at a rate of about 2.4 percent a year. The population density is 70 people per square kilometer. Some one and a

half million people live in Kuala Lumpur and about five million in East Malaysia. Other major urban areas include Johore Baru, Penang, and Ipoh, all in West Malaysia.

Ethnic Malays and non-Malay indigenous groups (collectively known as *bumiputra*) make up about 65 percent of the population. The two largest non-Malay (and non-indigenous) ethnic groups are of Chinese (20–25 percent of the population) and Indian (7–10 percent) origin. The Indian grouping is 90 percent Tamil.

Refugees are not a major factor in Malaysian security discussions, but they exist and their own security is at risk. They included in 2005 some 15,000 from Indonesia and 9,600 from Burma. Refugees do suffer human rights violations at the hands of the police, are arbitrarily deported, and have few practical legal protections as Malaysia has attempted to control the many undocumented and illegal immigrants in the country.

All Malays are by constitutional definition Muslim, mostly Sunni. Large Buddhist, Christian, and Hindu minorities are also represented in the country.

There is a continuing tension within Malaysian Islam between those who advocate a strong observance of the religion's tenets and those who see Malaysia as primarily a secular and tolerant pluralist society in which Islam is observed privately and in moderation. There are special privileges for Islam (non-Muslims are not allowed to proselytize for example while Muslims are; the government actively supports mosque building, but not that of other religious houses) and these sometimes lead to fears by non-Muslims that too much energy and resources are devoted to Islam. Although the government is not prepared to concede the Muslim vote to its political opposition by completely ignoring the needs of Islam, the government is concerned with "excessive" versions of Islam and has used legal measures to control the more extreme and cult manifestations of the faith. Critics within Malaysia argue that despite this the government has, by its acceptance and encouragement of moderate Islam, entrenched the idea that Islam has a role within Malaysia wider than only for its Muslim population and thus has encouraged the move away from a secular state and encouraged extreme versions of Islam.

Peninsular Malaysia has a widespread road and rail network connecting all major cities, although the networks need significant

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MALAYSIA AND ISLAM

Malaysia is officially a country of religious freedom, but it is guided strongly by the precepts of Islam. Ensuring the rights of national religious and social minorities while attempting to meet the demands of increasingly more assertive Islamic groups is a balancing act the country is finding difficult to achieve.

Secular and liberal groups argue that non-Muslims are "second-class citizens" and that they are discriminated against as they attempt to practice their own religion. Radical Islamic groups, however, led by the political party PAS, demand that Malaysia become an Islamic state governed by *Shari'a* (religious) law.

The UMNO government is committed to a plural and secular Malaysia and is supported by many moderate Islamic groups, especially those such as women's groups who fear that they would be worse off under a more overtly religious regime. UMNO is reluctant to promote secularism too strongly because it fears gifting the religious "high ground" to its political opponent PAS. Instead Prime Minister Badawi is encouraging what he calls "civilizational Islam" which promotes values such as education, tolerance, and development ahead of the narrow focus on dogma held by the more stringent Islamic groups.

The future of Malaysia as a developed, plural, and tolerant society could be determined by the direction the country takes in the form of Islam it adopts for daily use.

upgrading. In East Malaysia, the road network is undeveloped and rivers are used for transport into the interior. Malaysia has four international and 15 domestic airports and the country is serviced by two carriers, one full service international airline, and one no-frills and cut-price domestic service.

The telecommunications system in Malaysia is as developed as any in East Asia. Over 50 percent of the population subscribes to mobile services, although the uptake on broadband computer access is still limited. The Malaysian government had a target for broadband usage of 5 percent by 2006 and 10 percent by 2008.

The country's energy requirements are met by a mixture of thermal (86 percent) and hydro (14 percent) generation. Much of the thermal generation comes from natural gas, and the government is working to replace that with coal generation. Significant investment will have to be made in the energy sector in the period to 2010 if increased demand of 6–7 percent a year is to be met.

Malaysia's economy is robust, although there are structural deficiencies which mean it could be stronger still. The economy has grown at between 5 and 8 percent per year in recent years and this growth rate is probably sustainable. Labor force participation is between 85 and 87 percent and unemployment is around 4 percent. The national workforce is utilized in the economy in different sectors as follows: commerce and tourism (28 percent of the workforce), manufacturing (27 percent), primary production (16 percent), and service and public sectors (10 percent each). A further 9 percent work in construction and related trades.

Malaysia has used a series of national five-year economic plans to shape the country's development. These are supported by longer-term Outline Perspective Plans. The Ninth Economic Plan (Malaysia 2006) valid 2006 through 2010 continues affirmative action for ethnic Malays and other indigenous Malaysians (collectively *bumiputra*), allocates more government spending to relatively developed areas than to rural undeveloped regions, and promotes major infrastructure projects in agriculture, roads, and energy projects.

Each of the Economic Plan areas has potential pitfalls. Privileging bumiputra has been generally successful. Some but not all bumiputra have been very successful but this has been at the expense of other non-indigenous Malaysians and has also led to inequalities within the bumiputra community itself. Originally, preferences for the indigenous community were to be ended in 1990, but by then insufficient bumiputra were deemed to have achieved economic success. The country has kept the preferences and there is no doubt that many bumiputra are wealthier than 20 or 30 years ago. But the measure of wealth is through share ownership and the problem is that although some bumiputra own many shares, many do not own shares at all. There is a divide between rich and poor bumiputra and the debate now is whether preferences should be aimed at the truly poor, who may not be bumiputra, rather than to a group of people defined by measures other than economic deprivation, some of whom certainly do not need the support. The Ninth Economic Plan announced measures to widen the measure of bumiputra participation in the economy, but that will do nothing about the rich-poor gap (which is also an urban-rural gap) in Malaysia.

There is a wide and growing gap between the wealth in the richest and poorest Malaysian states. The poorest states are predominantly rural in nature and

bumiputra in population makeup. The government has stated that it wants to reduce that gap, yet continues to direct most of its spending to already wealthy urban areas, especially the Kuala Lumpur region. If the economic inequalities continue to grow, Malaysia could be building a future security problem for itself.

Malaysia's major development projects also are likely to run into trouble. Malaysia has a history of corruption and incompetent performance in project management and commentators doubt that the problems within the system have been solved. Unless and until society itself has more transparency, rewards people based on merit rather than crony links, and demands higher performance standards, Malaysia's economy will perform well enough, but nowhere near as well as it could.

Social issues such as poverty, wealth inequalities, or regional deprivation are not a major factor in Malaysian security thinking and do not yet have a significant impact on society, although they could especially if these problems were found to be correlated with ethnicity (or, perhaps more importantly, were believed to be). The role of Islam and its place in day-to-day life is continually on the agenda, but the government is aware of the potentially divisive nature of the issue and works to minimize differences of perception within and between the country's Islamic and non-Islamic populations.

According to the United Nations (2005), Malaysia ranks in the middle of all countries in its human development indicators and ahead of fellow ASEAN members such as Thailand, the Philippines, and Indonesia. Malaysia's human development indicators have improved steadily since 1975. In comparison with 103 developing countries, Malaysia ranks at 16 in the human poverty index behind only Singapore in Southeast Asia. Malaysia is similarly well placed in relation to its neighbors in measures of gender development and empowerment (which measure the position of women in society).

Social indicators such as life expectancy, infant mortality, literacy, national income disparities, and expenditure on health and education have all improved in the last several decades.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

Malaysia is a constitutional elective monarchy. The country operates a federal parliamentary system of government in which the monarch acts as the symbolic head of state and the prime minister as the head of government. The country uses a single-member constituency, "first past the post" voting system for the election of members of parliament. This system requires only a plurality of votes cast and tends to favor incumbent and larger parties.

Abdullah Ahmad Badawa has been prime minister since 2003. He is leader of the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO), the dominant political party since independence. Previous long-serving Prime Minister and UMNO leader Mahathir Mohamad, is still a political force with the ability to focus the political agenda, but inevitably his influence will wane, although until then he will at best be an irritant to Badawi as he (Badawi) tries to move beyond the Mahathir agenda. At worst, Mahathir could shape the domestic political agenda in ways contrary to the Badawi government's priorities.

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DR. MAHATHIR MOHAMAD

Dr. Mahathir, prime minister of Malaysia from 1981 until 2003, was one of the primary architects of modern Malaysia. Mahathir's leadership transformed Malaysia into one of Southeast Asia's most advanced economies. He developed the country into a regional manufacturing, industrial, and transport hub and emphasized technology as the way forward for Malaysia's development. Some of the major projects initiated by his government such as the North-South highway and the Port of Tanjung Pelepas are significant infrastructure developments that will affect the country's economy for many years.

Mahathir was noted for his prickly nationalism and outspoken commentary on regional and international issues. This brought him in to conflict with leaders in his immediate region and further abroad, but also brought him respect domestically and placed Malaysia on the world stage as a country that had to be listened to.

Ultimately Mahathir alienated many of his supporters with his increasingly autocratic approach to government and his removal of prominent rivals to his position. After he left office, Mahathir attempted to influence the policies of his successor and to comment on events of the day as if he were still prime minister. In September 2006, amidst allegations of corruption and electoral chicanery, Mahathir failed to be elected as a regional delegate to his party's general assembly. Mahathir will be remembered as a major figure in Malaysia's development as a nation, but ultimately as a flawed leader.

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Malaysia has at least 35 political parties. Of these, the major parties are in one of two coalitions: the National Front (*Barisan Nasional*) and the Alternative Front (*Barisan Alternatif*). (The Alternative Front is an informal coalition as Malaysian law requires that seven parties be members before a group can register as a coalition). The National Front includes the ruling UMNO, the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA), and the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC), thus grouping parties representative of the country's three main ethnic groups. Originally the National Front was intended to be an umbrella party for all the country's major political parties. That did not occur, but the National Front is dominant. The Alternative Front includes the main Islamic party, the Islamic Party of Malaysia (PAS). As well a number of political parties remain outside the two coalitions.

UMNO is strongly Malay nationalist and moderately Islamic in its politics. It promotes the position of bumiputra in Malaysian society and economy and promotes an independent Malaysian voice in the international arena. UMNO is clearly the dominant party within the National Front and within Malaysian politics generally. In part, it gains this dominance through its control of the levers of government and its ability to set and police (or ignore) the rules.

The MCA and MIC are marginalized within the National Front. The MCA does not represent all Chinese Malaysians (most of whom support the Democratic Action Party), and the MIC is limited in its influence because Indian voters are in a minority throughout the country. Both parties attempt to promote the interests of their constituents through National Front political processes rather than through national politics.

The Islamic party, PAS, is the main opposition Malay party. It was originally a member of the National Front, but was expelled in 1977 and is now a member of the Alternative Front. PAS's electoral success at the state level in the 1990s and early 2000s forced UMNO to become "stronger" in its support of Islamic issues, although this has had to be balanced with some caution as overtly Islamic policies will cause considerable apprehension amongst Malaysia's considerable non-Muslim population. In the 2004 national election PAS ran on a platform of promoting Malaysia as an Islamic state. The party retained only seven of the 27 seats it had held before the election.

Although voting turnout is typically high for general elections, there are always many electoral irregularities, all of which favor the dominant party. Electoral rolls are in disorder, gerrymandering is rife, there are few rules on the use of the machinery of government to support the governing parties, and often too short notice is given to allow opposition parties to prepare their election campaigns (Heufers 2002, 45–48). The Electoral Commission has noted the problems but has no authority to enforce the rules or make new ones.

Malaysia has had a stable body politic and regular elections in the last three or four decades. Despite this there are underlying ethnic tensions within the country, and government is at least "semi-authoritarian" (noted in Heufers 2002, 40) and does not score well on many measures of democracy (see for example Hillenbrand and Thierry 2005, Figure 1), although it is by no means the worst country in the region. There is some evidence that outside the Malay community there is resentment at special privileges for bumiputra (Heufers 2002, 41). The government is prepared to be as authoritarian and repressive as it needs to be to ensure national stability and to promote economic growth, and it does not seem prepared to alter the fundamentally unequal treatment of citizens to remove one potential cause of instability.

The role of Islam within Malaysia is also an electoral issue, although the heavy defeat of PAS in the 2004 elections has probably reduced the issue in the short term at least. In the medium to long term, Islam and its role in Malaysian society will remain an issue.

LAW AND ORDER

Street crime is not a major problem in Malaysia, although there is periodic public outcry against specific events, and fears of a "crime wave" are perennial. There is increasing governmental concern at levels of transnational crime, especially but not limited to terrorism, and of the drug trade.

The Royal Malaysian Police (RMP) is the national police force. The force has a strong paramilitary and public order role as well as its more conventional policing roles. Paramilitary functions include an air unit to counter piracy, smuggling and pollution; a maritime unit that focuses on illegal fishing, piracy, and smuggling; the Federal Reserve Unit with a crowd control role; and the Police Field Force with a counterinsurgency role (being downgraded) and a counterterrorist role.

As well, the Customs Service, the Border Scouts operating on the border with Indonesia in East Malaysia, the People's Volunteer Corps (originally a counterinsurgency militia, but now focusing on development) and the Johor Military Force (a small state force—the only nonfederal armed force—providing protection to the Sultan of Johore) have enforcement roles.

The RMP is dominated by ethnic Malays, fueling a belief that it discriminates against other nationalities, and is prone to use violence against citizens to achieve its ends. In 2005 a government appointed commission of inquiry noted allegations of torture and inhumane and degrading treatment and asserted that the country's law enforcers constitute the government's most corrupt department and are guilty of extensive and consistent abuse of human rights (*Asia News* 2005; Royal

Commission 2005). As well, Malaysia's judges have expressed concern about the number of deaths of people in police custody (at least 90 in the five years to 2006), and at the lack of inquests held on the deaths and the lack of accountability by any police officer for the deaths. A second commission to investigate subsequent allegations of police misconduct was established in late 2005.

In early 2006 following these further allegations of police misconduct, and lack of progress on implementing the recommendations of the 2005 Royal Commission, the Malaysian government announced the formation of an Independent Police Complaints and Misconduct Authority and a requirement for the RMP to make public reports on their progress towards implementing the recommendations of the Royal Commission and the Second Commission (Commonwealth Police Watch 2006).

Public confidence is not high in any of the police, the legal profession, or the judicial system. The police are widely seen as corrupt, brutal, and inefficient. The legal profession is considered to lack independence and the judiciary are seen as corrupt and a tool of the government. An investigation in 1999 by a group of four international legal organizations produced a report, *Justice in Jeopardy: Malaysia 2000*, that expressed fears about these issues and made a number of recommendations to bring the legal system towards international norms of professionalism.

There is a Malaysian national fire service. Civil defense services are a federal and state responsibility. Other emergency services are provided at the state level. Ambulance services are provided by the St. Johns Ambulance Service in each state.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Malaysia is an original member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and regional politics are generally seen through a cooperative ASEAN lens. There is almost no likelihood that Malaysia could be threatened in a military sense by a neighbor. Regional issues include the spread of transnational crime, not only terrorism but also drug and people smuggling, piracy in the Malacca Straits, avian flu, and the environment. These issues are all addressed through ASEAN forums.

Malaysia does have bilateral issues with its immediate neighbors. These include territorial disputes with both Singapore and Indonesia. Although the issues are ultimately dealt with in the "ASEAN way" of quiet diplomacy and by sidelining them if they are particularly intractable, they do cause short-term problems. Malaysia's relations with Singapore, for reasons of history, culture, and interdependence can be especially difficult. Recent problems with Singapore have included controversy over the development of a new bridge between the two countries across the Straits of Johore, access by Singapore to freshwater supplies in Malaysia, and the use by Singapore of Malaysian airspace for military aircraft operations.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the main governmental foreign policy agency. It manages international relations across political, economic, and social spheres; promotes international trade and investment at the policy and diplomatic level;

promotes the country's image; and has a range of support, communications, and consular capabilities.

The Ministry of International Trade and Industry has the major role of promoting international trade and investment at the practical level.

Other agencies such as the Ministry of Defense have wide international linkages, but they are subordinate in the foreign policy realm to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Broadly, the government's foreign policy is "designed with the purpose in mind of defending and promoting the country's national security, economic and other vital interests" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Malaysia 2006). Specific issues of importance to Malaysia include the country's response to globalizing processes in the international environment, the continued development of ASEAN into new and deeper areas of functional cooperation, problems of terrorism, and the threat of the spread of weapons of mass destruction.

Malaysia is a member of the Five Power Defense Arrangements (FPDA) with Australia, New Zealand, Singapore, and the United Kingdom. Although the FPDA formally involve military support from the three metropolitan states in case either Malaysia or Singapore are militarily threatened, today the FPDA are as much about confidence building and capability development as they are about protection from armed attack by an external power.

Malaysia opposes nuclear weapons under all circumstances. Malaysia was skeptical of the 1995 review and extension conference of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), fearing that indefinite extension of the NPT would allow nuclear weapons states to evade their responsibilities to draw down their nuclear weapons holdings to zero. Malaysia continues to "seek the elimination and ban on all forms of nuclear weapons and testings as well as the rejection of the doctrine of nuclear deterrence" (Albar 2005).

Malaysia is a member of and active participant in many international organizations. Of these, the most important are ASEAN and its many linked regimes, the Non-Aligned Movement, and the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Malaysia is also a strong supporter of the United Nations system.

Malaysia receives very little development aid, about 0.8 percent of gross national product in the 1990s, and 0.2 percent of gross national income in 2004 (the figures are not exactly comparable, but the point is made). Consequently, according to the Malaysian government (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006), "Malaysia has been able to speak up on issues that other developing countries feel constrained to voice for fear of retribution by the major, particularly western, powers."

Since 2000 Malaysia has been moving from being a net aid recipient to being an international development partner in a range of South-South initiatives designed to build capacity in the less-developed world.

Malaysia has participated in some 33 international peacekeeping missions since 1960 and is one of the top 10 contributors to UN missions. In April 2006 it opened an Asian Peacekeeping Center intended to provide training for peacekeepers from throughout Asia.

SECURITY

The Malaysian Armed Forces consist of three services: the navy, the army, and the air force. Their total strength is 110,000 active conventional forces with some 52,000 reserves. As well, the Royal Malaysian Police maintain a paramilitary capability. The Malaysian Maritime Enforcement Agency (the coast guard) is an independent agency, although in times of war or other emergency may be placed under the command of the armed forces.

Command and control of the armed forces are exercised through the minister of defense to the secretary-general of the Ministry of Defense and the Chief of Defense Staff who work as a diarchy. Each service has its own headquarters, although the Ninth Malaysian Plan calls for a Joint Force Command and Headquarters to exercise routine operational control over the armed forces.

The Malaysian Army is the largest force with 80,000 active duty personnel to be reduced to 60,000–70,000 as it shifts from being a predominantly territorial and light infantry force focused on counterinsurgency operations to a more flexible combined arms force. The army has four area commands and operational forces are based on 14 brigade equivalent formations based on infantry (11), mechanized (1), airborne (1), and special forces (1) capabilities. The army's equipment is designed for low intensity operations, although amour and artillery capabilities are being upgraded. It has an amphibious capability, but a very limited helicopter capability. Air transport support comes from the air force. The army has extensive experience with UN peacekeeping operations.

The Royal Malaysian Navy is a small frigate, corvette, and patrol craft-based force with 10 principle surface combatants and some 35 patrol and coastal craft. It has a large maritime area of responsibility covering both coasts of West Malaysia, the South China Sea between West and East Malaysia, and the East Malaysian littoral. The range of operating environments brings considerable complexity to the tasks faced by naval planners working with their limited forces. The navy's prime role is in coastal patrol and protection of the country's oil and gas fields in its exclusive economic zone, and the surface fleet is well adapted to meet this task, although more units would be welcomed by the navy and aerial surveillance assets are limited. The government intends to introduce a small submarine force within the period to 2010, although there are some doubts as to the utility of only a three-boat force as planned, and the acquisition may be as much a reaction to the acquisition of submarines by other regional states as it is a considered response to the needs of the maritime environment.

The Royal Malaysian Air Force has been upgrading its capabilities to move away from its traditional role of providing close air support to the army to one of achieving a strike and air superiority capability through the acquisition of modern fighter aircraft. The program is ambitious and there are question marks as to the air force's capacity to incorporate the capabilities and to make full use of them. There are also questions as to the environment within which Malaysia expects to use the capabilities given that the country is surrounded by friendly fellow ASEAN states.

Malaysia (according to some sources, but not reflected in the prime minister's department website) has an external intelligence collection capability, the Federal Intelligence Department, controlled by the Department of the Prime Minister.

The prime minister's department has a large "National Security Division" with an analysis capacity. The Ministry of Defense has a joint-service Military Intelligence directorate. The Royal Malaysian Police's Special Branch collects security intelligence relating to subversive and extremist individuals or organizations.

Since Malaysia's formation as an independent state in 1957, it has faced direct armed attack from neighboring Indonesia between 1963 and 1966; the loss of a constituent state, Singapore, to its own independent existence in 1965; and ethnic tensions leading to race riots in 1969 and subsequent emergency extra-parliamentary rule until 1971. All of these threats to Malaysia's security were successfully resolved, sometimes amicably, sometimes following the use of force. Although tensions still exist in all these areas, the specific security issues do not resonate to any extent today.

Because Malaysia is a member of ASEAN and surrounded by ASEAN member states, the country faces no direct conventional military threat to its security. Malaysia has numerous low-level issues with its neighbors, but these are typically worked through or sidelined in the ASEAN way until they can be resolved.

Malaysia does fear regional instability—for instance in the case of conflict in the Taiwan Straights or on the Korean Peninsula, or because of resource disputes in the South China Sea—and is maintaining its armed forces at a level that will allow it to consider the use of armed force if necessary. Other regional countries are also modernizing their armed forces, and there are some dangers that an arms race could raise regional tensions.

Nontraditional issues such as piracy or a maritime terrorist attack in the Malacca Straits, trafficking of people, weapons and drugs through Malaysian land and maritime territory, the spread of a pandemic such as avian flu, environmental degradation, illegal immigration, separatist movements, and ethnic tensions leading to national instability are all potential threats to Malaysia's security. None of them are existential threats to Malaysia's being and all are being addressed with some greater or lesser degree of urgency by the Malaysian government.

Terrorism is treated as a priority threat by Malaysia, this despite the fact that Malaysia has suffered no significant terrorist attacks in recent decades and the likelihood of domestic extremist groups mounting an attack seems low. Several kidnappings of tourists in East Malaysia in 2000 and 2003 are more likely to have been criminal activities than terrorist ones. It is possible that an international group could use Malaysia as the site of an attack aimed at the international community.

Despite this, terrorist groups do operate on Malaysian territory and there are fears that separatist violence in southern Thailand could spread across the border into northern Malaysia, although that had not happened by mid-2006. In its efforts to maintain the absence of terrorist attacks and to support the regional counterterrorist effort, Malaysia has since 2001 detained some 110 terrorist suspects under the Internal Security Act which allows detention without trial for two-year renewable periods.

Some authorities consider the Straits of Malacca to be a target for a maritime terrorist attack with the aim of blocking this strategic waterway. Malaysian authorities reject this as unlikely.

Religion coupled with a dislike for the West and Western culture is the motivating factor behind the terrorist groups that do operate within Malaysia. Other

factors such as inequality, poverty, and human rights violations are less likely to be factors given the nature of the terrorist groups and the limited salience of these as issues within the country.

Several terrorist organizations are based or operate in Malaysia, although none has conducted terrorist activities inside the country. The most significant follow.

Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia (KMM)

KMM is based in Malaysia and is strongest in the states of Johor, Kedah, Kelantan, Perak, Selangor, and Terengganu and in the Kuala Lumpur federal territory. Its strength could be 70–80 members. KMM's aim is to overthrow the government and replace it with an Islamic state, to encompass not only Malaysia but also Indonesia and the southern Philippines.

Some KMM personnel trained in terrorist camps in Afghanistan and some fought in the war against the Soviet occupation in Afghanistan. KMM has ties with other regional Islamic groups including Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) and Laskar Jihad.

Splinter groups from KMM may have formed more violent groups according to Malaysian authorities, although there is little public evidence for this.

Jemaah Islamiyah (JI)

Also known as the Islamic Community or Islamic Group, JI operates in Indonesia, Singapore, and the Philippines as well as in Malaysia where it is an illegal organization. The group was formed in Johor, Malaysia, in 1993 and derives its ideological roots from the conservative Islamic group Darul Islam which aims at establishing an Islamic State of Indonesia. Today, press reports indicate that JI membership in Malaysia could number 200 formed in a number of cells.

Jemaah Islamiyah is prepared to cause casualties on all those they define as being "allied with the West." JI was linked to several bombings in 2000 and in October 2002 the group carried out bombings in Bali, Indonesia, killing over 200 people.

Although JI's leader Hambali was captured in 2003, the group remains active and is a significant terrorist threat in the region. The group is suspected of having a role in a triple-suicide bombing which struck Bali, Indonesia, on October 1, 2005, killing 20.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The justice system is derived from the British common law system. The government generally adheres to the law, but parts of the government are corrupt, cronyism is rife, and human rights are not protected. The judiciary is widely seen to be a creature of the government, independent in name only but normally, if not always, prepared to follow the government's lead in its decision making.

Malaysians are generally cynical of the place of their own human rights when set against governmentally defined imperatives. These imperatives promote internal stability against individual freedoms and consequently many social norms relating to individual freedoms are poorly developed when compared with other states in Asia.

Malaysia formally accepts only some international norms and laws relating to basic human rights. Its own laws are designed to ensure protection for individuals, although there are significant areas in which the law is silent or weighted against individual rights by enhancing the power of the state to act. Malaysia has had a Human Rights Commission (known as SUHAKAM) since 1999. SUHAKAM has four main roles:

1. to promote awareness of and provide education relating to human rights;
2. to advise and assist the government in formulating legislation and procedures and recommend the necessary measures to be taken;
3. to recommend to the government with regard to subscription or accession of treaties and other international instruments in the field of human rights; and
4. to inquire into complaints regarding infringements of human rights.

There are limitations, however. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is considered fundamental to the workings of the Human Rights Commission, subject to the prescriptions of the Universal Declaration not conflicting with the Malaysian Constitution. There is conflict, however, between the requirements of Islamic (*Shari'a*) law, applicable to all Muslims in Malaysia, and the right to religious freedom for Malays, who by constitutional definition must be Muslim. *Shari'a* law does not allow renunciation of the religion. Apostates are subject to criminal sanctions.

Of some 17 international conventions and supplements to those conventions dealing with human rights, Malaysia is a party to only six (U.S. Department of State 2005, Appendix C). It is not a party to, for example, the conventions on civil and political rights, economic and social rights, slavery, refugees, or torture. It is a party to the conventions on genocide, prisoners of war, discrimination against women, and the rights of the child.

In 2005 the government appointed a Royal Commission to consider abuses of detainees by the Royal Malaysian Police. The Royal Commission found that human rights abuses occurred and made some 125 recommendations. Although uptake of the recommendations has been slow, the United States Department of State (2006a) in its annual Country Report on Human Rights Practices noted the trend towards greater public and government oversight of the police. The Department of State also noted that "while freedom of expression remained subject to significant constraints, the media increased criticism of government policies and officials, exposure of government corruption, and coverage of contentious debates among elected officials."

The government is accused of corruption, of overenthusiastic use of the Draconian Internal Security Act (ISA), and of exploiting the international War on Terror for its own domestic political ends. Most notably, the ISA gives the government considerable freedom in the way it treats anyone who "has acted or is about to act or is likely to act in any manner prejudicial to the security of Malaysia or any part thereof or to maintenance of essential services therein or to the economic life thereof," especially as the definitions of the components of the offense are made by the government rather than independent legal authorities. The ISA is used to

silence governmental critics rather than (or as well as) defending against legitimate threats to the country's security.

CONCLUSION

Malaysia and Malaysians broadly support the United States' worldview and vision of a peaceful, stable, open, and democratic world. The attitude is reinforced by the level of contacts between Malaysia and the United States, and the desire by many in Malaysia to receive schooling in the United States or to develop trade links with it. The countries have a record of cooperation in many areas, including trade and investment, defense, counterterrorism, and counter-narcotics. Cultural and educational exchanges have also flourished, although the number of Malaysians studying in the United States declined significantly from 14,597 in the 1997–1998 school year to 6,483 in the 2003–2004 school year.

The United States is currently Malaysia's largest trading partner and largest foreign investor while Malaysia is the United States' tenth largest trading partner. The two countries are (2006) negotiating a Free Trade Agreement with the intent of completing negotiations by 2008, although Malaysian authorities say that they will not be rushed to meet the deadline.

There are no security treaties between Malaysia and the United States. The two countries have a small number of military service arrangements dealing with military acquisition and servicing and military education. The countries have a range of procedural agreements dealing with, for example, air services, education, extradition, pollution, taxation, trade, and trademarks.

Despite the good relations, there are disagreements over specific issues. The most difficult of these are the U.S. roles in Iraq and in the Middle East through its support for Israel. In each of these issues, the United States is seen as attacking Islam without any wider consideration of the ''rightness'' of its position or of norms of international behavior such as that of non-interference. Less significant, but nonetheless still an issue, are U.S. attitudes towards and its embargo of Cuba, which Malaysia sees as a violation of international law, and its position on the possession and use of nuclear weapons which many in Malaysia see as at best hypocritical (in relation to Iran) and perhaps, again, as breaking international law when considered in light of the U.S. agreement to work with India on nuclear issues.

Malaysia is a rapidly developing country in which change is occurring not only in the economy but also in the way globalizing processes are altering the ways Malaysia links with the world. Tensions exist between the impulses to modernity brought about by globalization and economic interdependence on the one hand and the desire by many to ensure that traditional cultures, exemplified by the practice of Islam, are maintained. As well there are the difficulties of maintaining a stable multi-ethnic state in which one group, the indigenous people, are seen to be discriminated towards perhaps at the expense of other citizens, and where there are considerable regional differences between East Malaysia and Peninsula Malaysia and between the more intensely ''Islamic heartland'' states in the northeast and the rest of the Peninsula states. The government is aware of these issues and is attempting to balance the needs of all its citizens.

So long as growth continues more or less evenly, the ruling elite is not seen to be completely corrupt and cronyist, and opportunities continue to exist for all citizens to participate in economic, political, and social life, Malaysia should continue to be a country in which most citizens can be confident that they are personally secure and that their country can continue to keep them safe. The country has to work hard at continuing issues of democracy, human rights, and corruption to ensure its continued stable existence. If Malaysia cannot achieve all this then there is potential for internal instability, and even conflict. That outcome is not, as of 2006, particularly likely.

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International Security and the United States

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An Encyclopedia

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PSI

TO ISABELLE

and

TO THE MEMORY OF GRANDAD NOEL FITZSIMMONS AND UNCLE KEN MURRAY

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Mexico

Andrew K. Gray

BACKGROUND

Mexico is a country in Central America, which borders the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico in the East and the Pacific Ocean in the West. It shares a common border with the United States of America to the north with a 3,141-kilometer border. To the south Mexico shares a 756-kilometer border with Guatemala. It runs from the Pacific Ocean in the West to Belize in the East where it shares a 250-kilometer border. It runs from Guatemala in the West to the Caribbean Sea in the East (CIA 2006). Overall, Mexico comprises 1,967,183 square kilometers (Turner 2006). It has one of the world's longest coastlines, totaling 11,593 kilometers. The nation benefits from an Exclusive Economic Zone within which important fishery activities are carried out. It comprises a maritime area of almost three million square kilometers.

The country is a federal republic consisting of 31 states. Mexico City, the nation's capital, is located in the Federal District. The nation's geography ranges from high, rugged mountains to low coastal plains; from high plateaus to desert. The climate varies from tropical to desert (CIA 2006). In terms of land use, Mexico has an agricultural area of 107.3 million hectares, about 56 percent of its total land area. Of the agricultural area 23.1 percent is arable land, 2.3 percent is planted in permanent crops, and 74.6 percent is permanent pasture (FAO 2006). In terms of natural resources, petroleum, silver, copper, gold, lead, zinc, natural gas, and timber are exploited (CIA 2006). The oil industry is of strategic importance to Mexico. It has been important in the nation's economic development and also formative in Mexico's unique sense of nationalism.

Mexico has environmental challenges. Mexico City suffers from serious air pollution emanating from industry and vehicles, which is exacerbated by thermal inductions. In some areas on the Gulf coast seawater intrusion into the water table has rendered water useless for drinking and irrigation. On the Yucatan Peninsula, high levels of nitrates are recorded in shallow ground water from agricultural run-off and human waste. Overall water shortages are not uncommon. In Cancun and

Mexico

Formal name of country: The United Mexican States
Size of country: 1,967,183 sq km
Natural resources: Petroleum, silver, copper, gold, lead, zinc, natural gas, and timber
Population: 107.45 million (2006 est.)
Life expectancy at birth: 75 years
Key ethnic groups: Amerindian-Spanish (mestizo) and Amerindian
Key religions: Roman Catholic and Protestant
Political system: Electoral democracy
Key political groups/parties:

- Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI)
- National Action Party (PAN)
- Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD)
- Ecologist Green Party of Mexico (PVEM)

Legal system: Based on 1917 Constitution
Real GDP growth: 3.4% (2005)
Population below poverty line: 10% living on under $1 a day (1993–2004)
Size of military: 84,000 professionals, 60,000 part-time conscripts
Relationship with the United States: Although the relationship can be tense, especially on issues such as immigration, proximity has necessitated the pragmatism seen in NAFTA and the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America (SPP).
Important human security issues: Democratization, (organized) crime, drug trafficking, corruption, immigration, uneven distribution of wealth, and unrest in southern states.
Future important security issues: The issues above remain largely unresolved and will influence Mexico's future. Other issues include the need to sustain economic growth, lessening dependence on oil revenues, aging population, energy capacity, prospect of intensifying weather patterns, and environmental degradation.

the Yucatan Peninsula, coastal ecosystems have been destroyed to make way for tourist developments. Further, in June 1979 a PEMEX oil spill on the Ixtoc I well saw up to 30,000 barrels of oil per day spill into the Gulf of Mexico until it was capped in March 1980. Deforestation was estimated to occur at a rate of 400,000 hectares per year in 2005. Lastly, desert ecosystems are degraded due to cattle grazing and human activities.

Regarding seismic activity, on September 19, 1985, an earthquake (8.1 magnitude) struck Mexico City. It killed at least 9,500 people and caused $4,000 million in damage. Authorities were severely criticized for their poor performance in reacting to the disaster. Also, since 1980, a further 21 significant earthquakes have occurred in Mexico, causing 538 deaths and over $20 million dollars worth of damage (NGDC 2006). Hurricanes are known to cause loss of life and damage. Hurricanes Emily, Stan, and Wilma were notable examples in 2005 (NHC 2006). Flooding can occur, especially in the North.

From 300 to 1521, pre-Hispanic cultures such as the Maya and Aztecs developed civilization in the region roughly represented by Mexico today. In 1521 the Spanish Conquest began, giving way to the Colonial Period, which lasted until 1810. The War of Independence from Spain broke out in 1810 and the struggle lasted until 1821. A national government was recognized in 1824. In 1847 the United States and Mexico fought a war which resulted in the latter's loss of Texas and part of California to the former. A liberal constitution was promulgated in 1857 but events prevented its tenets from taking hold. In 1862 the French intervened militarily and installed the Austrian Maximilian as emperor. Mexican Liberal forces retook Mexico City in 1867 and the French expeditionary force was forced to withdraw. Between 1876–1910, the country came under the dictatorship of General Porfirio Diaz. In 1910 the Mexican Revolution began, resulting in the 1917 Constitution which was designed to address inequality in the nation. In 1929 the political organization that was to become the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) established an effective one-party rule and remained in power until 2000, when the National Action Party (PAN) candidate won the presidential election. In September 2006, Felipe Calderón (PAN) was confirmed president (FCO 2006; *BBC News* 2006; Hamnett 1999).

SOCIETY

Mexico's estimated population in 2006 was 107.45 million (CIA 2006). The country experienced high growth rates until the period 1990–2004 during which the average growth rate decreased to 1.6 percent (UNICEF 2006). The population projection for 2050 is 148 million (U.S. Census Bureau 2005). Population density in 2000 was 49.5 per square kilometer (Turner 2006). Mexico City, the federal capital, is an immensely crowded city. It has a population of approximately 18 million, which represents almost 20 percent of the nation's population. Estimates state the city's population will be 21.5 million by 2015. Indeed, as of 2004, 76 percent of the population was urbanized. One positive trend, however, is the fall in the annual average growth rate of urban population from 3.6 percent in the period 1970–1990 to 1.9 percent in the period 1990–2004. Some of the decline in population growth rates overall is due to advances in family planning programs. Lastly, around 38 percent of the population is under the age of 18.

The indigenous people of Mexico have provided the nation with a rich array of cultural diversity. In terms of ethnicity, approximately 30 percent of the population is Amerindian or predominantly Amerindian. Sixty percent are considered Mestizo (Amerindian-Spanish). At least 62 indigenous languages are spoken.

One of the major themes in the history of Mexico is religion. The entwined relationship between the Catholic Church and secular authorities has been one of close collusion at one extreme and open conflict at the other. Nominally Roman Catholics represent 89 percent of the population, followed by Protestants (6 percent) and followers of other religions (5 percent).

Regarding transport, in 2004 Mexico had 352,072 kilometers of road compared to 239,235 kilometers in 1990; 121,337 kilometers were paved and 232,735 kilometers unpaved; and 110,992 kilometers were considered part of a "major road system." The rail system consisted of 17,634 kilometers of track in 2004. There were

1,832 airports in 2005, with major international hubs situated at Mexico City, Cancun, Guadalajara, and Acapulco. Thirty-seven water ports and facilities were in operation (NATS 2006; CIA 2006). The OECD economic survey of the country in November 2005 states, "Mexican transport infrastructure is insufficient and costly."

Electricity production in 2003 was 209.2 billion kWh. In 2000, hydrocarbon-based electricity generation provided 60 percent of capacity and hydroelectric generation, 26.5 percent. Policy initiatives begun in 2000 stated there would be an increased focus on natural gas electricity generation. As of 2003 two nuclear reactors were in operation. Further, Mexico is a major oil producer. As of April 2006 production was 3.35 million barrels per day, with proved reserves estimated at 33.31 billion barrels (IEA 2006; CIA 2006). At the extraction rate of 2005, Mexico's reserves will last for 10 years (*Economist* 2006a). Even after the privatization of the 1980s and 1990s the oil industry remained under state control under the hubris of PEMEX. Corruption in the sector has been a factor preventing the nation from benefiting more fully from oil wealth. The country also produced an estimated 47.3 billion cubic meters of natural gas in 2004, with proved reserves of 424.3 billion cubic meters in 2005 (CIA 2006; WTO 2002; Turner 2005).

In terms of communications, telephone density (fixed telephone lines per 100 people) stood at 17.22 in 2004, representing an 8.9 percent increase since 1999. The average for the Americas was 33.94. In 2004 there were approximately 18 million main telephone lines and 14 million Internet users. In terms of Internet density and access to personal computers Mexico lags behind the rest of the Americas. There are only 13.4 Internet users per 100 people and 10.7 personal computers per 100 people compared to the Americas average of 30.9 and 34.5, respectively. Growth in the mobile phone market has been impressive, increasing from around 7.7 million subscribers in 1999 to 38 million in 2004 (ITU 2004). Regarding the print media, *Excelsior*, *La Jornada*, *Reforma*, *El Universal*, *El Financiero*, and *Siempre!* are the main players. Televisa (private), TV Azteca (private), Once TV (public), and Television Metropolitana (public) are the principal television networks. Grupo ACIR, MVS Radio, Nucleo Radio Mil, Grupo Radio Centro, Radiopolis, and IMER (state run) are the most accessible radio networks. Lastly, Notimex (state run) and Servicio Universal de Noticias (private) are news agencies (*BBC News* 2006).

Mexico experienced rapid industrialization and economic growth in the period after World War II. It suffered economic crises in the 1980s and 1990s but is now considered a major global economy. Indeed, its economy is one of the most liberalized in the world. In 2006 its estimated gross domestic product was $840 billion (*Economist* 2007). According to the International Monetary Fund (2006) real GDP economic growth in 2005 was 3.4 percent. It is projected to decrease slightly to 3.3 percent in 2007. In terms of production, the economy is based on services (68.4 percent), industry (26.1 percent), and agriculture (5.5 percent). In terms of employment in 2003, 58 percent of Mexico's working population worked in services, 24.8 percent in industry, and 16.8 percent in agriculture (Europa 2005). Regarding the export economy in 2004, manufactured products dominated with 85.3 percent of the total, followed by petroleum products (11.3 percent) and

agriculture (3.4 percent). Mexico's main commodity exports are manufactured goods, oil, silver, fruit, vegetables, coffee, and cotton. Main imports are metalworking machines, steel mill products, agricultural machinery, electrical equipment, car parts, and aircraft. Tourism is a major source of income, earning the country $10.83 billion in 2005 (*BBC News* 2005). That same year, Mexico registered a trade deficit of $13.7 billion. The projection for 2007 is a deficit of $22.6 billion (OEDC 2005b). Much of the country's trade occurs within the context of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), signed by Mexico, the United States, and Canada in 1992. It came into effect in 1994 and was designed to tie Mexico contractually to market reforms. Trade barriers between the member nations have been heavily reduced, with the last agricultural barriers set for elimination in 2008. The agreement has not been popular with various sectors in Mexico. They claim unemployment rates have skyrocketed in the agricultural sector since its implementation, among other negative consequences.

In 2002, 958,000 people were unemployed. This represented 2.4 percent of the total population. Unemployment then increased to 4.6 percent in 2005, though it is noteworthy that the nation has a large informal employment sector. Projected unemployment in 2007 is 3.8 percent. According to one study, over 11,000 children live and work on the streets of Mexico City where violence, drug use, and delinquency are commonplace (UNICEF 2006). Further, in the period 1999–2004, 16 percent of children aged between five and 14 were engaged in child labor. Significant disparities exist in the distribution of consumption. In 2002 the poorest 20 percent of the population spent only 4.3 percent of the national expenditure. Meanwhile the richest 20 percent spent 55.1 percent (World Bank 2006b). In the period from 1993 to 2004, 10 percent of the population earned less than one dollar a day. Inflation in 2004 was 4.7 percent, a great improvement on the average annual rate of 16 percent in the period from 1990 to 2004. Significant privatization began in the mid-1980s and continued throughout the 1990s.

Basic education is compulsory for students between the ages of three to 14. Upper secondary and higher education are not compulsory. An impressive 99 percent of children were enrolled to attend primary school in the period 1996–2004 (UNICEF 2006). In terms of secondary school, enrolment rates were 86.1 percent in lower secondary and 52.9 percent in upper secondary in 2003–2004. In the period 2000–2004 Mexico's total adult literacy rate stood at 90 percent. Little disparity in literacy exists between genders, with males at 92 percent literacy and females at 89 percent. In the period 1993–2004, 25 percent of government expenditure was allocated for education. This compares with the average of 16 percent in Latin America and the Caribbean.

In 2004 life expectancy at birth was 75 years. Compared with the figure in 1970, which was 61 years, this is a major improvement. The nation has made significant progress in decreasing child and infant mortality. In 1990 mortality in five-year-olds and infants under one year of age was 46 and 37 per 1,000 births, respectively. As of 2004 these figures had decreased to 28 (under five) and 23 (infants). In 2002 improved drinking water sources were available to 91 percent of the total population, breaking down to 97 percent of the urban population and 72 percent of the rural population. In terms of access to food, 5 percent of the population was under-nourished in the period 1990 to 2002, between 4.6 million and 5.2 million people

(FAO 2006). In 2002 only 39 percent of the rural population used adequate sanitation facilities, quite a strong contrast to the urban areas where 90 percent of the population has access to these. Immunization was statistically impressive in 2004: a large proportion of one-year-old children were immunized against tuberculosis, diphtheria, polio, measles, hepatitis B, and haemophilus influenzae. In terms of HIV, an estimated 180,000 people were living with the virus in 2005. Approximately 6,200 people have died due to AIDS. The government spent $196.8 million from domestic sources on HIV/AIDS programs in 2002 (UNAIDS 2006). Overall, in the period 1993–2004, 5 percent of government expenditure was allocated for health.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

Mexico has a bicameral parliament known as the Congreso de la Unión (Congress of the Union). It is elected by the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) system. The parliamentary chamber is the Cámara de Diputados (Chamber of Deputies). Currently the Chamber of Deputies consists of 500 directly elected members—129 members were women in 2003–2006, representing 25.8 percent of the total (IPU 2006a). The term of parliament is three years; the last election was held in July 2006. The upper house is the Cámara de Senadores (Senate). Currently it consists of 128 directly elected members; 28 members were women in 2003–2006, representing 21.9 percent of the total. The term for the Senate is six years. The last election was in July 2006. Mexico was placed 30th on an International Parliamentary Union database which shows in descending order the percentage of women in parliaments in 187 nations (IPU 2006b).

The Mexican political system is in transition as election results in 2000 and 2006 indicate. Between 1946 and 2000, one party, Partido Revolucionario Institucional (Institutional Revolutionary Party or PRI), was in power. Even before this the PRI, under different names, was solely dominant. Brian Hamnett (1999) has described PRI as the "monopoly" or "official" party and the political system as the "monopoly party system." This describes a political landscape where one party successfully co-opted the executive, legislature, judiciary, and a plethora of social movements. Since the rise of PRI until 2000 a significant oppositional force did not exist. Other parties played the part of what Hamnett (1999) calls "token opposition" and what Alan Riding (1985) portrays as "generally loyal opposition." The latter describes an arrangement in which the opposition party did not challenge at any significant level the primacy of PRI or the political system. PRI, in return, provided the opposition with carefully calculated concessions, such as funding its electoral campaigns and implementing measures to guarantee other parties a presence in the Congress of the Union. The result for the dominant party was political stability, a guaranteed presidency and, in general, a majority in Congress. Ostensibly, Mexico's political system can be described as a federal constitutional democracy. Presidential elections[1] are held every six years and mid-term elections for the Chamber of Deputies every three years. The veneer of democracy, however, obscures the complexity of Mexico's political system. "Gerrymandering," electoral

fraud, intimidation of opponents, and close central government control of elections ensured the dominance of PRI, at least until 2000.

There are strong indications though that Mexico is undergoing significant political change. Vicente Fox, the candidate for Partido Acción Nacional (National Action Party), won the presidential election on July 2, 2000. This was the first time in 71 years that a candidate from the dominant party had not secured the presidency. Indeed the 2006 elections were amongst the most hard-fought in the nation's history. Initial results from voting on July 2 put Felipe Calderón, the conservative business-oriented PAN candidate, fractionally ahead of Andrés Manuel Lopez Obrador, the populist candidate of the leftist Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD). A recount began on July 5, largely at Obrador's behest. The next day the Federal Electoral Institute confirmed Calderón had won the presidency by a very slight margin. Obrador, citing irregularities, did not concede defeat and appealed to the Federal Electoral Tribunal for another recount. Protests supporting Obrador brought central Mexico City to a standstill in August. The tribunal announced the final

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ANDRÉS MANUEL LOPEZ OBRADOR

Andrés Manuel Lopez Obrador is the leader of the Party of the Democratic Revolution. He was born in 1953 in Tepetitán, in the state of Tabasco. In 1976 he graduated from university with a degree in political science. In 1989 he became the president of the PRD branch in Tabasco, and was the National President of the PRD from 1996 to 1999. Obrador has written several books, in which he has documented his political struggle and provided his reflections on the way Mexico should proceed as a democracy, balancing social justice with economic development. Between 2000 and 2005 he was the Mayor of Mexico City, where he talked about his intentions to improve conditions in the city. Despite his reputation as a hard worker and a fighter for the underprivileged, critics claim he achieved few tangible results. During his presidential candidacy in 2006, he used populist and anticapitalist rhetoric, which pleased poorer Mexicans but concerned the business community, not only domestically but also overseas. Obrador lost the closely fought election but, refusing to accept the result, subsequently appointed himself to the position of Legitimate President of Mexico. He runs a parallel government which is ostensibly engaged in civil resistance against the Calderon administration (*BBC News* 2006b; *Economist* 2006c; Gobierno Legítimo de Mexico 2007).

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outcome on September 5: Calderón had received approximately 234,000 more votes than Obrador, representing a margin of 0.56 percent. Obrador still believes the election was fraudulent (*Economist* 2006c). Robert Madrazo, PRI's presidential candidate, gained 22 percent of the vote (*Economist* 2006b). Analysts point out the party failed to broaden its appeal during the campaign, especially among the youth, and as such Madrazo was consistently trailing in third place. The poor showing means the party has considerable strategizing to carry out in order to remain a competitive force.

Elections were also held for the Congress of the Union on July 2, 2006. In the Chamber of Deputies, PAN won 211 seats (151 in 2003). The PRI/PVEM[2] alliance won 110 (241 in 2003). The PRD coalition won 164. Other parties secured 15 seats. In the Senate, PAN won 52 seats, PRI/PVEM 38 seats, and the PRD coalition won 36 (up from 17 in 2000). Other parties secured two seats (*Economist* 2006b). Approximately 42 million of the 72 million registered voters turned out to vote in the elections, representing about 58 percent of the total.

A closer look at the three main political parties lends to further understanding of the political forces at work in Mexico. The National Action Party was established

in 1939. In terms of its place on the political spectrum, it is center-right. The party's *Projection of Principles of Doctrine—2002* offers some indication of the party's ideology. The document claims the party seeks: to uphold the primacy of the individual as the main protagonist and the beneficiary of political action; to establish an order that respects liberty and promotes social responsibility; to respect the preeminence of the family in determining its own destiny without undue interference of the State; to stress that through globalization Mexico is irrevocably a part of a world community; to acknowledge the difference between urban and rural lifestyles; to guarantee a degree of autonomy to municipal bodies; and lastly, to affirm federalism is a positive force in Mexican politics. PAN is generally seen as an amalgam of Catholics (in earlier times at least), Christian social democrats, and business leaders.

The party that exists today as PRI emerged in 1929 as Partido Nacional Revolucionario. It changed its name to Partido Mexicano Revolucionario in 1938 and became the PRI in 1946. The party defines itself as a "social democratic party." It is generally considered center-right although its widespread co-option of competing sectors of society over time has meant it has needed to adopt policies that are typical of leftist and rightist parties, depending on the exigencies of the given political environment. The party's *Declaration of Principles* (2006) lists several main points: a commitment to social democracy; the need for reform of power; the importance of accentuating national sovereignty in the face of globalization; a guarantee of freedom and equality; the establishment of a culture of legality; respect of the free market with the expectation of "quality" state intervention when deemed necessary; the need for sustainable development; the strengthening of federalism; and the creation of a sociopolitical pact "that incorporates the demands of society as a whole and those specific to its individual members." At a rhetorical level at least, its ideology appeals to the spirit of the 1910 Revolution and the egalitarian principles set out in the 1917 Constitution. As such the *Declaration of Principles* states: "Our Social Democracy is supported by ideological principles: Liberty, Justice, Solidarity and Equality."

The Party of the Democratic Revolution considers itself "a party of the left." Notably its *Declaration of Principles* (2001) states "national sovereignty resides... in [Mexico's] indigenous peoples." It also states that the PRD rejects financing from external interests or religious groups. It emphasizes that the party carries out its activities by "peaceful means" and appeals to the notion of international cooperation and "world peace." Finally the declaration says the PRD aspires to a globalization that is driven by the "underprivileged."

Lastly, the Ecologist Green Party of Mexico considers itself a party of youthful ecologists and humanists. In its publication *Electoral Platform 2003*, PVEM set out the principles that would guide it to the elections in 2006: recognition that Mexico is facing an environmental crisis; the belief that sustainable development should be the model for national development; the encouragement of environmentally sound urban development; an open but vigilant attitude toward economic globalization; refusal to partake in "violent propaganda"; and a nonviolent stance in general. PVEM also noted in the publication that it sought to establish equal rights for all in a democracy where every citizen can participate. It emphasized

the need to improve rights for women, to defend diversity in society, and to recover the ancient cultural values of Mexico.

LAW AND ORDER

No overarching police entity exists in Mexico. In terms of jurisdiction, police function at municipal, state, federal district, and federal levels. Approximately 350,000 police officers are in service, 280,000 of those at municipal and state level. Two types of police operate: "preventative police," charged with maintaining order and public security; and "judicial police," which investigate crimes. Reform was carried out in the 1990s and early 2000s in an attempt to rid police of corruption, criminality, and inefficiency. In 2001, the Federal Attorney General's Office created the Federal Agency of Investigation (AFI) to replace the Federal Judicial Police. The AFI focus is on combating the illicit drug trade and organized crime. In 1999 the Federal Preventative Police established the Secretariat of Public Security of the Federal District. Another agency, the Subattorney General's Office for Special Investigation of Delinquency, was established in 2003 to investigate crimes and corruption within the police and military (Reames 2004; Davis 2006).

Crime is one of Mexico's foremost human security challenges. Indeed, 81 percent of the population consider it a "very big" problem. In particular, organized crime, kidnapping (including by police), and the trade in illicit drugs have a profound impact. Kroll, a risk consulting company, estimated 3,000 kidnappings were carried out in Mexico in 2003. The government said there were 531, 185 of those in Mexico City (*Economist* 2004). In terms of drugs, opium (192 kg), heroine (1,698 kg), cocaine (21,106 kg), cannabis herb (2.16 million kg), and amphetamines (748 kg) were seized in 2003 (UNODC 2005). Mexico is a major cocaine transit route for Colombian cocaine bound for the United States. At least $20 billion made from drug trafficking is laundered in Mexico every year (Becerra and Reile 2006). Several organized criminal groups have operated in Mexico: the Arrelano Felix organization, Carillo-Fuentes organization, Cardenas Guillen organization, and Mara Salvatrucha (MS-13), a gang of Salvadoran origin.

Corruption and criminal activity within the police and security forces is noteworthy. In the 1990s, particularly as of 1994, crime rates increased remarkably in the federal capital. One of the responses from Mexico City authorities was to militarize the city's police force. However, the military were also susceptible to the bribes of the powerful drug gangs. The creation of new policing institutions and the centralization of power in terms of the exercise of law and order did not reduce corruption. New agencies became corrupt themselves and centralization of power saw drug bosses double their efforts to co-opt police. An almost complete lack of confidence in police nationwide has given rise to private security companies. In 2000 almost 3,000 such companies were registered in Mexico City, employing just over 150,000 people. Personnel have been involved in crime and vigilantism and, furthermore, competition between private security and police has been observed (Reames 2004; Davis 2006). Indeed, the elite who can afford private security may feel more secure, but overall public security has not been strengthened.

Another issue in Mexico is human trafficking. In 2005 approximately 300 groups were smuggling people across the border to the United States (Naim 2005). The

Mexican government estimates the number of people-smuggling gangs at 100. The traffickers, commonly known as "coyotes," charge between $1,200 and $2,000 per person for the service. Twenty people were prosecuted in 2005 for offenses associated with human trafficking. Victims were described as "mainly women and girls trafficked for sexual exploitation" (UNODC 2006). Criminal groups have built at least 40 tunnels from Mexico to the United States since 2001 for the purpose of human and illicit drug trafficking (Gaynor 2006). Lastly, the International Chamber of Commerce Counterfeiting Intelligence Bureau (2006) states just over $1 million in counterfeited goods originating in Mexico was intercepted by U.S. customs and border authorities in the 2004 financial year.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The main organization involved with foreign policy is the Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores or SRE (Ministry of Foreign Affairs). The SRE is represented externally in Africa, Europe, the Americas, the Middle East, and the Asia-Pacific Rim by 70 embassies and 68 consulates. Mexico has generally practiced a non-interventionist foreign policy although in recent times it has deepened its engagement in international relations. The SRE (2006a) divides the foreign policy goals of the government into four main areas:

> to broaden and deepen Mexico's political, economic, cultural and cooperative relationships; to safeguard and strengthen Mexico's sovereignty and independence and to guarantee its national interests and security; to assure that all international programs undertaken by federal, state and local government and by all branches of government …are carried out in a coordinated fashion; to strengthen the expression of Mexico's cultural identity and image.

The SRE also states in its foreign policy "vision" that Mexico "faces the challenges and takes advantage of the benefits of globalization to give impetus to the country's development."

Mexico is a member of various international organizations. It became a member of the United Nations on November 7, 1945. It has Permanent Representatives in New York and Geneva. It is in favor of reform of the Security Council. Its proposal, presented by the SRE in June 2006, is "to increase membership in the UNSC by adding 10 new seats for nonpermanent members, to be elected by the General Assembly according to the rule of equitable geographical distribution." It also announced that it was against the creation of new permanent seats, appearing to retreat on a declaration of intention in 2004 to seek permanent representation on the Council. The SRE also has missions at the Organization of American States (OAS), the UN Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Angel Gurría, a former Minister of Foreign Affairs, became OECD secretary-general on June 1, 2006. His mandate will expire in 2011. Mexico, within the OAS, seeks to bring attention to indigenous issues, encourage cooperation to combat "new threats [by] promoting the concept of multidimensional security" and to promote social development, education, the opening of markets, technology

transfer, and sustainable development (SRE 2006b, 2). Mexico's participation in UNESCO is highlighted by its hosting since 1976 of a National Office, which promotes education and also serves as a center for the organization's regional human and social science projects (UNESCO 2006). Mexico is also a member of the Plan Puebla-Panamá, a "Mesoamerican" regional organization which seeks to integrate the seven Central American nations and the nine states of southern Mexico with a view to promoting development. The country is also a member of the Contadora group with Venezuela, Colombia, and Panama which was originally established in 1983 to bring an end to specific conflicts in Central America. In terms of foreign aid, Mexico received $121 million in Overseas Development Aid in 2004. As of April 2006 the World Bank (2006a) was "financing 32 projects in the country, with an average annual commitment of up to $1.7 billion." Just over half of the projects were directed at education.

Regarding Mexico's role in international security, the Senate debated on August 3, 2005, the possibility of the eventual participation of Mexican military personnel in UN Peacekeeping Missions (UNPKO). Similarly, the foreign minister in January 2001 stated that the nation was "open to the possibility of joining United Nations peacekeeping operations around the world" (Mexican Presidency 2001). Mexico, the Senate states, contributes between $12 and $14 million annually to UNPKO and expects this contribution to increase to $45 million in 2009. At a regional level, Mexico is a member of the Inter-American Defense Board (IADB) with 21 other nations. The IADB is a regional collective security arrangement that functions within the OAS framework. Notably Mexico officially denounced the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance in June 2002. Mexico ratified the treaty, commonly known as the Rio Treaty, in 1948. It argued, however, that the treaty was a Cold War institution designed as a bulwark against communism and, as such, was no longer relevant given the changes in the security environment over recent decades. It pointed out that the treaty was designed to provide mutual assistance to a given nation in the Americas in the advent of a military attack from outside the region, but it was not evoked when Argentina fought a war with Britain over the Falkland Islands in 1982. President Vicente Fox called for a new regional security pact that would be designed to face a wider scope of threats and vulnerabilities such as "economic backwardness, extreme poverty, transnational organized crime, subversion of democratic processes, environmental destruction, and defenselessness in the face of calamities and natural disasters" (*BBC News* 2001). Lastly, Mexico has been at the forefront of nuclear disarmament efforts. This is reflected in its membership in the New Agenda Coalition, with Brazil, Egypt, Ireland, New Zealand, South Africa, and Sweden. The Coalition in 1999 stated it "would continue to urge the five Nuclear Weapon States to make an unequivocal undertaking at the highest political level to accomplish the speedy and total elimination of their nuclear arsenals." Indeed, the SRE has a mission at the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean (OPANAL). Also, Mexico was the depositary government for the Treaty of Tlatelolco of 1967, which was created for the purpose of prohibiting nuclear weapons in Latin America. It has ratified the Partial Test Ban Treaty (1963), the Outer Space Treaty (1968), the Non-Proliferation Treaty (1969), the Seabed Treaty (1984), the Celestial Bodies Agreement (1991), and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty

(1999) (UNDDA 2006). Mexico has also ratified the UN Firearms Protocol, which came into force on July 3, 2005.

SECURITY

Mexico's armed forces consist of 192,770 active military personnel and 11,000 paramilitary personnel. There are 300,000 reservists across the three services and 14,000 paramilitary reservists. The defense budget in recent times has remained relatively steady, decreasing from $2.93 billion in 2003 to $2.77 billion in 2004, before rising again in 2005 to $3.09 billion. In 2003 and 2004 defense expenditure as a percentage of the GDP was 0.5 percent and 0.4 percent, respectively. This represents a considerable decline from the percentage of central government expenditure allocated to defense in the period 1993–2004, which stood at 3 percent (IISS 2005). The Mexican military has not articulated a comprehensive joint operations doctrine (JDW 2006).

The army is composed of 84,000 professionals and approximately 60,000 part-time conscripts. The army operates on a 12-region basis and consists of three corps each made up of three infantry brigades. These brigades feature mechanized infantry, motorized cavalry regiments, artillery, and special forces. The navy consists of 37,000 personnel. Organizationally it is divided into 17 command zones. It possesses one destroyer, 10 frigates, 109 assorted patrol and coastal combatant craft, three amphibious craft, and 19 logistics and support vessels. One notable facility is at Mayport in Florida (United States). The navy also has an aviation role. The Mexican Marine force (8,700 personnel) is divided into 11 regional battalions. The air force (11,700 personnel) has numerous roles. It boasts 107 combat capable aircraft, along with one reconnaissance squadron. The force is completed by 73 transport and 242 training aircraft and also 114 support and utility helicopters (IISS 2005).

The intelligence services exist at presidential, military, judicial, and foreign affairs levels, among others. The Center for Research on National Security is situated within the Office of Coordination of the Presidency. Three intelligence entities fall under the Secretariat of National Defense (SEDENA): S-2 Second Section (military intelligence); General Transmissions Directorate; and Federal Military Judicial Police (FAS 2005). In 2005 a National Security Council was created "to improve military, intelligence, immigration, and civilian law enforcement cooperation on security issues, including terrorism" (U.S. Department of State 2006a, 166).

A peasant-guerrilla uprising in San Cristobal de las Casas in the southern state of Chiapas, which began on January 1, 1994, represents one of the nation's major contemporary security issues. The Zapatista Army of National Liberation (ELZN) led by the self-styled "subcomandante Marcos," timed the uprising to coincide with the entry into force of the NAFTA agreement. The ELZN, which articulates its vision on a sophisticated Web site, protested against the liberal economic tendencies of the Salinas administration, the lack of attention to indigenous and peasant rights and overall espoused an anti-globalizationist agenda. Serious fighting was over by the end of January 1994 and there was dialogue between the two sides on

how to address the situation. Attempts at reconciliation were punctuated with conflict until 2001 when the ELNZ "suspended all contact with the government" in response to the group's dissatisfaction that the newly made changes to the Constitution did not allow indigenous autonomy over land (Europa 2005, 2943). The number of people killed in the conflict ranges from 100 to 400 depending on sources. Another non-state armed group of note is Los Zetas established in the late 1990s partly by the U.S. government to combat drug trafficking in Mexico. The group, however, now seeks to control the drug trade. The Comando Jaramallista Morelense 23 Mayo, established in 2004, opposes corruption and drug trafficking (IISS 2005). Past human security concerns include the use of the state security apparatus to repress dissident civilians. The massacre of people involved in a popular protest in the Plaza de Tlatelolco, Mexico City, in October 1968 is one example. In February 2006 a draft report by the Special Prosecutor for Social and Political Movements of the Past was posted on the Web site of the National Security Archive based in Washington. The report shed further light on the "dirty war" (1960s–1980s) fought by the state against citizens, militants, and the student movement. The report documented the state-sanctioned killings, torture, "disappearances," detainment, and harassment of hundreds of Mexicans.

In terms of terrorism, the level of threat is generally low, although political assassination, kidnapping, and ongoing low-intensity conflict in some southern states has been of concern. From July 1972 to December 1989 there were 40 reported terrorist events in Mexico. Twenty-eight of these were bombings against U.S., Cuban, and Soviet diplomatic and business targets. Kidnappings and assassination were prevalent. From October 1990 to February 1998 there were 10 reported terrorist incidents. Five of these were bombings and were targeted against U.S. and Japanese business interests. A notable incident during this period was the Popular Revolution Army (EPR) assassination of two PRI politicians, Felipe Avila Floves and Felipe Lopez Rueda in February 1998. From July 2000 to October to November 2005, nine people were killed and three people injured in reported terrorist attacks. A notable increase in political assassinations saw four local government officials killed. Armed attacks and assassinations of police continued. The Revolutionary Armed Forces of the People (FARP) and the People's Revolutionary Army (Colombia) claimed responsibility for three of the four such incidents (MIPT 2006).

Three key terrorist organizations are active in Mexico: the Zapatista Army of National Liberation; the Popular Revolutionary Army; and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of the People. The most prominent is the ELZN, which since 2005 has sought to establish a political apparatus from which to address its grievances. Some observers note it is more focused on "guerrilla theatre" in order to bring attention to its cause than significant terrorist action to destabilize the state. Regarding the EPR, its goal was to overthrow the government. Its inspiration rested on the tenets of socialism and anti-globalization as well as populist rhetoric. FARP arose in 2005 as a splinter group of the EPR and the latter largely disappeared from view. FARP is considered an anti-globalization group committed to the overthrow of the government. It falls under the umbrella organization, Group of Guerilla Combatants of Jose Maria Morelos y Pavon along with two other EPR splinter groups. Generally the above groups' perception of inequality,

poverty, and neglect of indigenous rights has contributed to the terrorist threat (MIPT 2006).

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The justice system is based on the 1917 Constitution. Its drafting was one of the results of the 1910 Revolution and as such one of its purposes was to revolutionize Mexican society "by revising land ownership, drafting a labor code and curtailing the power of the Roman Catholic Church" (Europa 2006, 2931). The Constitution, in terms of individual rights, states: "Education shall be maintained entirely apart from any religious doctrine." At the same time Article 24 proffers the right for every citizen to freely choose and practice "the religion of his choice." Article 4 states, "No person can be prevented from engaging in the…occupation of his choice, provided it is lawful." Articles 6 and 7 seek to guarantee the freedom of expression. Article 9 affirms the "right to assemble or associate peaceably for any lawful purpose cannot be restricted." Article 10 concerns the right to bear arms for protection. Article 11 is designed to assure freedom of movement. Article 22 prohibits cruel and "unusual or extreme" punishments. The Constitution also provides for the division of powers into the executive, legislative, and judicial branches and declares that sovereignty essentially resides in the Mexican people (ILSTU 1997). The court system is organized on a federal and local (state) level. The following exercise judicial power: the Supreme Court of Justice, the Electoral Court, Collegiate and Unitary Circuit Courts and District Courts (Europa 2006). Diane E. Davis (2006) believes that the judicial system is weak.

At an international level, Mexico accepts a number of international conventions regarding human rights. It has ratified or acceded to the following: the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (and the Optional Protocol); International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (and the Optional Protocol; Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (and Optional Protocol); International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination; International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families; and Convention on the Rights of the Child. It has also ratified the Optional and Second Optional Protocols on the Rights of the Child which are concerned with the involvement of children in armed conflict and the sale of children, child prostitution, and child pornography, respectively (OHCHR 2006).

Mexico is a member of various international human rights bodies. It has been a member of the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights since 1945. It was an elected member of the Commission on Human Rights in the periods 1955–1960, 1971–1973, and 1981–2007. Mexico is a member of the Human Rights Council established in April 2006. Its term began on June 19, 2006, and ends in 2009. It is a member of the UN Committee on Migrant Workers, its term due to expire on December 31, 2007. Mexico became a member of the International Criminal Court (ICC) in October 2005, and had representatives on the International Court of Justice in the periods 1955–1964, 1946–1952, and 1964–

1973. At a regional level, Mexico is a member of the Ibero American Federation of the Ombudsman, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (the latter two are situated within the Organization of American States). At a domestic level, the National Human Rights Commission is the state entity in which the "main objective is the protection of the human rights stipulated in the Political Constitution of the United Mexican States."

Freedom House (2006) considers Mexico a "free" country in terms of civil and political rights. Despite this, Mexico is challenged with various human rights issues. The U.S. Department of State (2006b) lists notable areas of human rights abuse[3]: unlawful killings by security forces; vigilante killings; torture, particularly to force confessions; poor, overcrowded, sometimes life-threatening prison conditions; arbitrary arrest and detention; corruption, inefficiency, and lack of transparency in the judicial system and at all levels of government; criminal intimidation of journalists, leading to self-censorship; domestic violence against women often perpetrated with impunity; criminal violence, including killings, against women; and social and economic discrimination against indigenous people. Human Rights Watch (2006) also expressed concern about police brutality, the lack of progress within the Special Prosecutors Office to address past abuses such as "disappearances" during the "dirty war" of the 1970s, obstruction of "labor-organizing activity," and failure to ensure basic education in some rural areas. Amnesty International's *Report 2006* noted many of the abuses mentioned above and added that human rights violations in Chiapas, Oaxaca, and Guerrero were of concern. In terms of corruption, Mexico ranked 65 of 158 countries on Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) 2005. Its CPI score was 3.5.[4] Indeed, 73 percent of the population regard corrupt political leaders as a "very big" problem.

CONCLUSION

While at an official level the relationship between Mexico and the United States appears agreeable, it is often defined by tension. War between the nations in the nineteenth century, U.S. military intervention in 1916–1917, and what is perceived as American meddling in the region during the Cold War has left a mark on the population and political leaders. On March 23, 2005, Mexico, the United States, and Canada launched the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America (SPP). At the leaders' summit meeting in Cancun on March 30, 2006, Vicente Fox, George W. Bush, and Stephen Harper reinforced the tenets of the SPP, agreeing to harmonize their respective nation's response to potential emergencies such as natural disasters and the potential outbreak of avian influenza. They also accorded to deepen cooperation in terms of border security and sharing energy resources. Mexican migration to the United States continued to be a major issue in 2006, especially in light of new immigration legislation passed in the United States during the year. In particular the status of the estimated 6.2 million unauthorized Mexican migrants was in question. Mexico was concerned about American intentions to extend the system of fences along the Mexico-U.S. border by between 592 kilometers and 1,123 kilometers, and also the deployment there of

National Guard troops. The Mexican Army and Navy assisted with relief efforts in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in 2005. In terms of the global campaign against terrorist organizations, the U.S. Department of State (2006a, 166) reported, "The Mexican Government worked closely with the United States on all aspects of counterterrorism security and prevention" in 2005.

In 2002 the Pew Research Center published a report on global attitudes. It stated that, in Mexico, 64 percent of the population had a favorable opinion of the United States. However, 55 percent believed that the United States increased the gap between the rich and the poor. Furthermore, 65 percent thought the spread of American ideas and customs was "bad." Forty-one percent liked and 41 percent disliked American ideas about democracy. Lastly, 60 percent liked American popular culture.

As a nonpermanent member of the UN Security Council, Mexico was involved in the decision making leading to the invasion of Iraq in 2003. At home, opposition to the prospect of war was strong. This pressure could not be dismissed, especially in view of the approaching midterm congressional elections where PAN feared losing ground if the government decided in favor of an invasion. Further, President Vicente Fox did not wish to see the integrity of his presidency eroded domestically. At the same time, he did not want to take actions that would isolate the country from the Americans. In the end the U.S.-British coalition acted unilaterally and invaded Iraq on March 20, 2003 (Bennis 2006).

The victory of Felipe Calderón in the presidential election and the strong showing for PAN in the elections for both houses of the Congress of the Union signal an opportunity to strengthen Mexico's fledgling democracy. For this to occur, a cohesive coalition government is paramount. Indeed Mexican politics remains in flux and developments over the next six years will be formative. In the short term recidivism to economic nationalism and an onset of political radicalism, with the potential to create widespread instability, has been avoided. Although *The Economist* (2006b, 40) has reason to conclude, albeit tentatively, that Mexico's democracy "can be said to have come of age," it is too early to express singular optimism. Transition to a more profound form of democracy, if that is indeed the path Mexico takes, is likely to be a long and potentially disruptive process, especially viewed in the context of the nation's political history, replete with populist opportunism, corruption, and presidential absolutism. Beyond politics, Pamela K. Starr (2006, 13) lists other matters that will influence Mexico's future: "fiscal dependence on volatile petroleum revenues, enormous pension liabilities that expand with Mexico's aging population, insufficient investment capital in the energy sector, declining global competitiveness, weak job creation and growth, corruption, inadequate rule of law, and increasing crime." Crime is indeed one of the foremost human security challenges. It is to a large extent fueled by the trafficking of illicit drugs by organized criminal groups. For sure, the profitability of the illicit drugs trade can be seen as a major cause of corruption in the nation, not only among the general public, but also police and security forces. But while many Mexicans continue to suffer a lack of economic opportunities, the attraction of crime and the "bite" of corruption will not abate. Indeed poverty is a major factor encouraging Mexicans to cross illegally into the United States in search of better livelihoods.

Under the current circumstances little reason exists to believe that the pull of higher paid work in the United States will become any weaker, regardless of developments there that may make illegal immigration and undocumented labor a riskier enterprise for all parties involved. For this reason and Mexico's proximity to the United States, pragmatic relations with Washington, DC, remain highly important regarding international relations, trade, and more general security linkages. The importance of economic growth that addresses the uneven distribution of wealth and the irregular economic geography of the nation, which favors the North, cannot be overstated.

NOTES

1. The president is elected via first past the post (FPTP).
2. PVEM is the Partido Verde Ecologista de México (Ecologist Green Party of Mexico).
3. Abuses mentioned elsewhere in the essay are not repeated here.
4. For comparison, the nation perceived to be least corrupt in the world, Iceland, scored 9.7. In Latin America, Chile was perceived to be the least corrupt, scoring 7.3.

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Myanmar (Burma)

Chakrit Tiebtienrat

GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

The Union of Myanmar is located between latitude 9° 32 and 28° 31 north, and between longitude 92° 10 and 101° 11 east (Myanmar Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006); the Union of Myanmar is situated at the western edge of the southeast Asian region. The Union is surrounded by, and has boundaries with, China to the north, India to the northwest, Laos to the northeast, Bangladesh to the west, and Thailand to the east.

Myanmar has territories of 657,740 square kilometers (261,288 square miles), which is close to the size of Chile and slightly smaller than the state of Texas. The authority of the Union has seven divisions and seven states (Thai Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006). The divisions are the states that are occupied by ethnic Burmese (or Burmese as the dominant ethnic group), while the states comprise the non-Burmese majority. The divisions are the Ayeryarwady Division, the Bago (or Pegu) Division, the Magway (or Magwe) Division, the Mandalay Division, the Sagaing Division, the Tanintharyi (or Tavoy) Division, and the Yangon Division. The seven states are Chin State, Kachin State, Kayin (or Karen) State, Kayah (or Karenni) State, Mon State, Rakhine (or Arakan) State, and Shan State.

The Union of Myanmar has a land boundary of 6,159 kilometers. The border with Bangladesh consists of 271 kilometers, and the border with the Peoples' Democratic Republic of Laos is 238 kilometers in length. The Kingdom of Thailand has borderlines of 2,107 kilometers and India has a border of 1,338 kilometers. The border with the People's Republic of China consists of 2,204 kilometers (Thai Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006).

The north, east, and west regions consist of hills, valleys, and mountains. The highest, Mount Hkakabo Razi, which stands 5,881 meters above sea level, is also the highest point in the Union (CIA *World Factbook* 2006). The alpine systems in the North produce four major rivers that create the best agricultural lands in the South. These are the Sittaung River, the Ayeryarwaddy (Irrawaddy) River, the Chindwin River, and the Salween River.

Myanmar (Burma)

Formal name of country: Union of Myanmar
Size of country: 657,740 sq km (261,288 sq mi)
Natural resources: Petroleum, timber, tin, teak, antimony, zinc, copper, tungsten, lead, coal, marble, limestone, precious stones, natural gas
Population: 47,382,633
Life expectancy at birth: 60.97 years
Key ethnic groups:

- Burman
- Shan
- Karen
- Mon
- Rakkhine
- Chinese
- Indian
- Karenni
- Kachin
- Chin

Key religions: Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, Animist
Political system: Military Junta
Key political groups:

- State Peace and Democracy Council (SPDC-Military Junta)
- National League of Democracy
- Karen National Union (rebel group)

Legal system: Does not accept compulsory International Court of Justice jurisdiction
Real GDP growth: -1.3%
Population below poverty line: 25%
Size of military: 375,000 active personnel: army 350,000; navy 13,000; air force 12,000; paramilitary 107,250 (2007 est.)
Relationship with the United States: Hostile towards the U.S. government
Important human security issues: Burmese Junta practices abuses of human rights
Future important security issues: External threat, civil war with ethnic minority
Source: International Institute for Strategic Studies 2007, 366.

Petroleum, timber, tin, teak, antimony, zinc, copper, tungsten, lead, marble, limestone, precious stones, and natural gas are the main natural resources in Myanmar (CIA *World Factbook* 2006). Myanmar has numerous ministries to deal with the development of the natural resources including the Ministry of Energy, the Ministry of Forestry, and the Ministry of Mines. However, information about

the development is provided solely by the Burmese government and shows that development in these resources is mainly for self-consumption, and for some exporting purposes by the foreign investors, mostly as raw materials. The levels of industrial or mass production are not available by either states or public agencies. However, considering the level of development in Myanmar, there is a strong possibility that the level of development in these areas is still very low, as their main focus is on domestic usage.

In a similar way to the human rights problems in Myanmar, the environmental problems in the Union are also visible, but receive little or no attention from the Burmese government. There are natural hazards such as earthquakes, cyclones (mostly from the Gulf of Bengal), flooding, and landslides. Apart from these natural hazards, there are also environmental issues caused by human actions such as deforestation, pollution, and inadequate sanitation and water treatment (CIA *World Factbook* 2006).

HISTORY FROM SETTLEMENT

The first ethnic group that migrated to present day Myanmar was the Mon in 1500 BC. However, their civilization was not established until the late 500s AD. In 1044 AD, the Barma (Burmese) migrated to the Irrawaddy region and founded their kingdom. The Mon ruled present day Lower Burma, and the Barma ruled the North. During the warfare between the king of Mon and the king of Barma all possible tactics were used, but neither emerged as the final victor.

The Shan migration to Northern Burma in 1527 AD reduced the Burmese kingdom back to the level of principalities. In 1531, Mangtra Bin Sotyi, the ruler of Toungoo, declared himself the King of all Barma, and started his war of unification of the Barma principalities, along with the invasion of Shan. He had further military success, when he besieged the Mon Kingdom in 1538, and his forces largely consisted of Portuguese mercenaries along with Persian foot soldiers. However, the death of Buyinnaung in 1581 led to the disintegration of his Burmese Empire. The new Siam-Burmese War erupted in 1584 and lasted 15 years. In 1636, the Burmese king decided to move the capital city to Ava (Wichitwatakhan 2001).

The weakness of the Toungoo Dynasty led to the reestablishment of the Mon Kingdom in 1740, which later led to the Barma-Mon War which lasted until 1757 (Myint-U 2001). This led to the end of the Toungoo Dynasty in 1752, and provided the opportunity for U Aung Zay Ya's Lord of Shwebo to proclaim the House of Konbaung as the successor to the House of Toungoo, and the new ruling dynasty of Burma (Myint-U 2001). King Alungpaya (U Aung Zay Ya) successfully besieged Pegu and ended the Mon Kingdom in his fifth year as the king (ibid.). The First Anglo-Burmese War took place in 1824, when King Bagyidaw ordered General Thado Maha Bandula to invade Assam (ibid.). The Treaty of Yandabo was signed in 1826, under which the Burmese conceded Arakan, Tannessarim, Manipur, Ye, Mergui, and Tavoy to the British (ibid.).

In 1852, the second Anglo-Burmese War broke out, which led to the British annexing Rangoon, Pegu, and Prome (Myint-U 2001). This defeat led to a palace coup by Prince Mindon to overthrow King Bagan and crown himself King Mindon in 1853. The new king decided to move his capital to Mandalay (ibid.). Mindon

realized the differences between the West and his kingdom. Therefore, Mindon and his brother Ka Naung implemented the Grand Modernization project, which led to the establishment of the domestic production of rifles and ammunition (ibid.). However, the project was paralyzed by the War of Succession in 1866, which led to the death of Crown Prince Ka Naung, and an unsuccessful coup to overthrow Mindon (ibid.) The conflict between conservative aristocrats from Hluttaw (the Council of States), which allied with Queen Sin Phyu Ma Shin, against the modernizing elites of the king, grew significantly during the last 12 years of his reign. The queen successfully manipulated the Hluttaw Chief Ministers, Kinwun Mingyi and Taingda Mingyi, to name her daughter Princess Supayalat to become Queen of Burma and allow her married half-brother Prince Thibaw to become King of Burma. In 1884, the Burmese and French signed the Trade and Peace Agreement. The Burmese later sued the British owned Bombay-Burma Trading Company over illegal logging and a proposal to give the monopoly for logging to the French (ibid.). The British wanted to seek a compromise on the Bombay-Burma case by asking the Burmese government to allow a British arbitrator to solve the dispute. The Burmese rejected the proposal, which led to the Third Anglo-Burmese War and the British colonizing the remaining Burmese land (ibid.). The British exiled the House of Konbaung to Ratanagiri in India.

The British decided to govern the multicultural states such as Burma as a single entity. It is important to understand that the traditional Burma might have created ethnic conflict between Barma and Mons, but the British colonization created more complications for modern day Burma, as the colonizers decided to convert the ethnic minorities, especially the Karen, into Protestants. In addition, the British recruited Karen and many ethnic minorities into their civil services and armed forces. This led to further ethnic conflicts between Burmese and other ethnic groups. In 1947, General Aung San signed an Accord with Prime Minister Clement Attlee to guarantee Burmese independence within one year. He signed the Panglong Agreement with all ethnic minorities in Burma to guarantee their civil rights and the solidarity of Burma, in the agreement for democracy under a Federal system. However, Aung San, his brother, and his cabinet ministers were assassinated in July. In 1948, the Burmese gained independence from the British, and U Nu became the first prime minister of Burma. Unfortunately, civil war began between the Burmese, the Karen, and ethnic insurgencies, which lasted until 1949. The end of the civil war did not mean a peaceful Burma, but rather the ethnic minorities started to run guerilla warfare within their territories. However, the

political instability in 1958 led to U Nu inviting the military to stage a coup to solve the political deadlock (Myint-U 2001). General Ne Win gradually returned power to U Nu in 1960 via a general election, in which the former prime minister won a landslide victory. However, democratic government was short lived, as Ne Win staged another coup in 1962, which started the period of the Military Junta in Burma (ibid.).

In 1974, the Military Junta boycotted the funeral of former UN Secretary General U-Thant. This led to mass demonstrations, which were started by university students

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8888 UPRISING

This event took place on August 8, 1988, and is still known as the 8888 uprising. The incident occurred during the Buddhist annual festival, when the Junta decided to suppress the protestors at Shwedagon Pagoda. This led to a large protest by Buddhist monks and their followers against the military Junta. The incident led to the SLORC taking control of politics and renaming Burma as Myanmar and Rangoon as Yangon. In order to end the political tension, the SLORC promised a general election on May 27, 1990.

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from the University of Rangoon, and later joined by large numbers of Rangoon citizens. The Junta decided to use the army to suppress the masses for the first time since 1962 (ibid.). In 1988, Aung San Suu Kyi led monks and students in the 8888 uprisings against the military regime, which were suppressed by the Military Junta (ibid.). State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) took control of Burma and decided to rename Burma as Myanmar in 1989, and allowed a general election in 1990. However, after the landslide election victory by Aung San Suu Kyi and her National League for Democracy Party, the SLORC government refused to accept the result of the election and imposed house arrest on Aung San Suu Kyi (ibid.). In 1995, the Burmese government under Than Shwe released U Nu and Aung San Suu Kyi. The SLORC decided to rename itself the SPDC (State Peace and Development Council) in 1997. However, the SPDC Junta decided to arrest Aung San Suu Kyi again after the European Union and the United States imposed sanctions on their Junta in 2000.

In 2003, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs Kyin Nyunt became prime minister. He announced the Roadmap to Democracy for Myanmar. He has also successfully negotiated with Karen President and Commander in Chief General Bo Mya a cease-fire agreement between the Burmese and the Karen for the first time since 1947. Kyin Nyunt's decision to compromise with the ethnic minorities and gradually relax military control of Myanmar led to his conflict with the hardliner military officers. General Than Shwe staged a coup in October 2004 and successfully arrested Kyin Nyunt and his key officers. The Junta named hardliner General Soe Win as prime minister, and his statement showed clearly that he had no desire to allow the National League for Democracy (NLD) to govern or even participate in politics. Later in 2005, Than Shwe and Soe Win prosecuted Kyin Nyunt and his family, which led to 44 years of imprisonment (*Matichon Newspaper* 2005). In 2006, the SPDC completed their move of the capital city from Rangoon (Yangon) to Naypyidaw (in Pyinmana Township, Mandalay Division) (*Matichon Newspaper* 2006). On December 24, 2006, the leader of the Karen, General Bo Mya, passed away from diabetes and heart disease, which could lead to another setback to Karen and Burmese relations. There are approximately 20 cease-fire agreements between SLORC/SPDC and ethnic minorities.

SOCIETY

The Union of Myanmar has a population of 47,382,633 people and the current population growth is 0.81 percent. The distribution by age has 26.4 percent of the population aged 0–14 years, the majority of the population (68.5 percent) are aged 15–64, while those above the age of 65 represent 5.1 percent of the population. The median age in Myanmar is 27 years. The demographic transition appears as birth rates are 1. 917 percent, while the death rates are 0.983 percent. The current infant mortality rates are as high as 6.185 percent and life expectancy is 60.97 years. The racial characteristics of the Burmese populations are those of the Burmese-Tibetan branches. Currently, Burmese literacy rates are 85.3 percent (CIA *World Factbook* 2006). Apart from the Burmese, the indigenous population in Myanmar consists of hill tribes in the Shan States, Karen and Mon in southern Burma, Rakkhine in the Southwest, and another 128 indigenous ethnic groups. The largest ethnic group in Myanmar is the Burmese, consisting of 68 percent of the population. There are another 134 ethnic groups in Myanmar. Among the largest are Shan 8 percent, Karen 7 percent, Rakkhine 4 percent, Chinese 3 percent, Mon 2 percent, and Indian 2 percent of the total population (Thai Minister of Foreign Affairs 2006). Even though none of the minorities achieves 10 percent of the population, some groups such as Shan or Karen have a population size of over four million, which is on a par with small or medium sized states such as New Zealand, Croatia, and Norway.

Currently over 140,000 refugees from Burma are reported to be residing in Thailand. Most of the Burmese refugees are from ethnic minorities in Burma and largely displaced internally by the Burmese government. In addition, there are politicians from the NLD and university students who were involved in the political incidents in 1974, 1988, and 1990 among the refugees as well. Beyond the 140,000 refugees, there are more than 500,000 internally displaced people in Burma. Most are ethnic minorities, especially Karen and Shan (ibid.).

Buddhism is the largest religion in Myanmar; approximately 90 percent of the population is Buddhist. The second largest religion is Christianity, adhered to by 5 percent of the population. The majority of Christians are the Karen, who reside in the southeast part of Myanmar. They were mostly converted to Protestantism during British rule. The Karen served the British as military officers back then, and currently they are the most experienced and best trained antigovernment forces in Myanmar. Muslims appear as 3.8 percent of the population and are largely followed by Rakkhine. Apart from Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam, Hinduism is another religion that is followed by Indians in Myanmar (ibid.).

Mynamar appears to have one of the most underdeveloped infrastructures within Asia and is unsuitable for foreign investors. The transportation system in Myanmar consists of 21 airports with paved runways, 15 of which have runways between 2,438 and 3,047 meters, and are able to land most of the jetliner aircraft. In addition, four airports reach the standard for regional and mid-body jetliner aircraft as their runways range from 1,524 to 2,437 meters. The road network is 27,000 kilometers, and the rail network 3,955 kilometers. However, the rail gauge appears to be the narrow gauge, which measures 1.00 meter, instead of the standard gauge of 1.435 meters. Myanmar has three major seaports—Rangoon, Sittwe, and

Moulmein (CIA *World Factbook* 2006). The union also has 12,800 kilometers of waterways. The air-transport in Myanmar consists of four commercial airlines, Myanmar Airways (international service) and Yangon Airways, Air Mandalay, and Air Bagan (domestic service). The merchant Marines have a fleet of 34 ships. The communication system in Myanmar has only 424,900 telephone lines in the Union, and the mobile cellular network is as low as 92,500. These barely meet the minimum requirements for local, intercity, and international services. The quality is relatively low for modern states, especially compared to their neighboring states such as Thailand, China, India, or even Vietnam; however, the communication system in Myanmar is still better than Laos or Bangladesh. At the end of 2005, there were only 43 Internet hosts and 63,700 registered Internet users. There are two television broadcast stations. The energy sources in Myanmar vary from oil, coal, natural gas, and hydroelectric plants. The states are able to produce only 7.393 billion kWH, while the consumption is 6.875 billion kWH. Oil production is only 18,500 barrels per day, while the consumption is 32,000 barrels per day. Natural gas can be produced at 9.98 billion cu. m. while consumption is 1.569 billion (ibid.).

The nature of Myanmar's economy is pervasive government control. There is low economic participation by the people, while Myanmar is a resource-rich country. However, Myanmar has no economic, financial, or even political stability (due to the conflict and successive coups within the SPDC) which has led to an imbalance in economic structure, especially macroeconomics. There are inflation, an overvalued currency, and even worse, the economic sanctions from the United States and European Union. Interestingly, the difference between official exchange rates and the unofficial (black market) is nearly 200 times (20,000 percent), as the official rate is U.S.$1= MMK (Myanmar Kyat) 5.8, while the black market is expected to be U.S.$1= MMK1,000. With 25 percent of their population below the poverty line, the government declared that unemployment in Myanmar is 5 percent. Currently, Myanmar is experiencing 36.6 percent inflation, -1.3 percent growth of the GDP, and has merely U.S.$672 million in reserve, and GDP per capita is as low as U.S.$100 (ibid.). In August 2007 there was public dissent over increases in fuel prices.

The quality of life in Myanmar differs between rural and urban areas. The basic infrastructures such as water supply, electricity, and the road system are available to the people in the urban areas and some rural areas, but most of the rural areas are likely to face problems over the basic infrastructure. However, in the urban centers, even the large metropolises, the quality of life is still significantly lower than the living standards of the urban dwellers in the developed countries. The people, especially in rural Myanmar, still have limited access to health providers, even the district health services. Housing is still one of the major problems in Myanmar; the urban areas have a better standard than the rural but it is still much lower than the Western standard of housing.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

Since the coup in 1962 by General Ne Win, Burma (and present day Myanmar) has been under a military regime. Regardless of the name change from the SLORC

to the SPDC, it is largely the same Junta from 1962, with a different leader, who comes from the military line of succession anyway.

The Head of State of Myanmar is Senior General (equivalent to Marshal) Than Shwe. Than Shwe succeeded Saw Muang in 1992 and renamed the SLORC as the SPDC. He is currently chairman of the SPDC and commander in chief of the Burmese Armed Forces. Like most of the military Juntas throughout the world, the Burmese Junta has total control of the executive branch, and the Junta leader is always the head of state and head of the armed forces. However, speculation about the succession from Than Shwe to General Shwe Mann has been stronger since the coup in Thailand. This is because Than Shwe intends to pass the military control to his possible successor, instead of letting the military go to another line of command, and possibly face a coup in the future. The vice chairman and army commander is General Muang Aye.

The current head of government is General Soe Win. The hardliner Soe Win was selected by the SPDC to replace the liberal prime minister, Khin Nyunt. Soe Win was one of the key officials involved in the 1988 crackdown of the student protests at Rangoon University. The Junta hardly cares about the public support, as they hold the administration within their members. While urban and ethnic minorities, as well as rural Burmese, do not support the Junta, the SPDC still maintains its position and uses the armed forces to suppress the masses.

While there are no political parties that the SPDC has accredited, the political landscape of Myanmar is based on the Junta and its opposition. While all political parties became outlawed in 1992, the Junta founded the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) to govern the states. Despite the fact that all political parties became outlawed, their network, supporters, and politicians still exist. The SPDC is clearly the military group, and promotions to political offices are based on the military merit system.

Among the antimilitary Junta, the National League for Democracy (NLD) seems to be the only group that was originally a political party. The NLD is led by Aung San Suu Kyi. Currently, the NLD is claiming their legitimacy to rule Burma, based on their victory in the 1990 general elections. However, the Junta is still ignoring both election results and international pressure and currently, Aung San Suu Kyi is still detained by the SPDC at her house in Yangon. The NLD's future was partially promising under Khin Nyunt; however, since Soe Win took over as the prime minister of Myanmar, and arrested Khin Nyunt, the future of the NLD seems to be in danger. The new hardliner Premier claims that he does not have any desire to let the NLD govern, and even worse, he does not respect the organization as a political unit or credible political institution, which is worth mentioning or negotiating with.

Apart from the SPDC and NLD, there are large numbers of ethnic minorities that fought against the SPDC. The most prominent movements were the Karen National Union (KNU), the God Army (Karen Protestants), the Shan Democratic Union (SDU), Mon Unity League (MUL), Karenni, and Chin. Some of them such as the KNU, the God Army, and the SDU have significant military might to battle with the Burmese authority. The surrender of Khun Sa (Shan leader and

Commander of the Mong Tai army) to the Burmese Junta in 1996 has reduced the battle strength of the SDU significantly. However, the battle between the SDU and SPDC still continues. The cease-fire agreement between the KNU and SPDC in 2004 was likely to develop into the peace agreement on December 26, 2006. However, the death of General Bo Mya has led to delays in the process until further notice from both parties. The peace agreement is still possible; however, it depends on the ability of the new KNU leader to control all factions to agree on the original proposal by Bo Mya. If the disintegration of the Karen does occur, it would lead to another possible civil war between the Karen and the Burmese Junta in the Southeast and Eastern Myanmar.

Due to the harsh suppression of political participation by the SLORC and SPDC Junta, elections in Myanmar have vanished in the Union. Participation in politics no longer exists through conventional means in Myanmar, and as all protests will be suppressed by the Junta, political activities are likely to be carried out secretly. However, if the Junta partially released some of the key figures of the NLD especially Aung San Suu Kyi, participation in politics by the masses would increase significantly. The most popular issue in Myanmar is still the democratization of the Union. In September 2007, Buddhist monks held anti-government protests that were brutally suppressed by security forces.

Former Prime Minister Khin Nyunt announced the Roadmap to Democracy after his meeting with the former Thai prime minister, Thaksin Shinawatra. The future of Myanmar democracy seemed promising until the coup by General Than Shwe to oust Khin Nyunt. The new prime minister Soe Win has never denied that the Roadmap was planned, due to ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asia Nations), EU, and U.S. pressure. However, the coup in Thailand is likely to put an end to the Burmese Roadmap to Democracy plan. It was the strong pressure from the Thai democratic administration under Dr. Thaksin that played a significant role in ASEAN's accrediting the Roadmap plan and pressuring the Burmese Junta to commit to it. After the coup in Thailand, the SPDC Junta saw a significant decrease in the ASEAN and Thai pressure.

Representation in Myanmar was claimed to be via a unicameral system under 485 elected representatives to Pyithu Hluttaw (Parliament) in 1990. However, the Junta did not recognize the election results and all legislative procedures are carried out by the SPDC and the executive branch instead.

Separatism is another strong issue in Myanmar; Karen, Mon, Karenni, Chin, Shan, and many other ethnic minorities are confronting the Naypyidaw Regime. Politically, Shan, Mon, Karen, Chin, and Karenni have joined the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples' Organization (UNPO), the nongovernmental organization that acts as a pressure group at the international level, especially in human rights areas (UNPO Official Website 2006). Apart from the pressure group, most of the ethnic minorities have military forces to confront the government as well. The best trained are the KNU, Shan-Muang Tai Army, and the God Army. If the negotiation between the KNU and SPDC fails due to the death of Bo Mya, it is very possible there will be another series of civil wars between the KNU and the SPDC.

DRUG TRADE

In order to fund their military expenditure against the Junta, numerous ethnic minorities used drug dealing as their source of income. The Shan and the Wa are among the best known drug dealers in Southeast Asia. In order to avoid drug smuggling charges in the United States, Khun Sa surrendered himself and his factions of the Shan army to the Burmese Junta. The Junta has refused to extradite Sa to the United States and allows him to carry out his business in Yangon and all major cities. The Wa army is another ethnic minority that has allied itself with the Junta. The Wa still produce drugs on a gigantic scale. Currently, Burma is the world's second largest producer of illicit opium. They are also a major producer of heroin and methamphetamines.

LAW AND ORDER

The police are the main body that serves as law enforcement. The Myanmar Police Force has been controlled by the SPDC regime, and the commissioner (director general) of police is Brigadier General Khin Yi. Apart from the police forces, the military has acted as the law enforcement agency under certain circumstances as well. The police force in Myanmar is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Home Affairs (Myanmar Ministry of Home Affairs 2005).

Due to the harsh military control and martial law in Myanmar, information about crimes and criminal activities there has been limited. However, it is understandable that the nature of harsh military control would lead to safety in urban and military controlled zones. However, drug dealing is one of the major issues, as some of the ethnic minorities including the Shan and Wa are known for funding their military expenditure through drug dealing. The Ministry of Home Affairs has announced that the police force has successfully countered the heroin trade (ibid.). Apart from the drug trade, it is highly likely that the rural areas, where the villages are between governmental and antigovernmental control, are at risk from criminal activities.

Myanmar is the second largest producer of illicit opium in the world (CIA *World Factbook* 2006). Whether the producers are the SPDC themselves or the ethnic minorities, the nature of crime is still centered on drug production and drug trafficking activities.

Generally, the Burmese and most of the ethnic minorities have little confidence in the legal system, along with law and order bodies, because of the nature of the Junta that suppresses civil disobedience through violent means.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Myanmar has eight departments and foreign missions in 32 countries. The eight departments are the Office of the Minister, the Political Department, the Department of Consular and Legal Affairs, the Department of Protocol, the Department of ASEAN Affairs, the Department of Training, Research and Foreign Languages, the Department of International Organizations and Economy, and the Department of Planning and Administration. Importantly, the military councils (SPDC) directly control foreign affairs, as the minister of foreign affairs is Major General Nyan Win. He is also one of the key members of the SPDC Committee.

The key foreign policy of the SPDC is to achieve a respected level of isolation and nonalignment, and to retain their independence on the decision-making processes of their foreign and domestic policies. Their key policies are based on their

relationships with their neighboring countries; the SPDC opposes hegemonic stability practices, as they see them as the new form of imperialism (Myanmar Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006). At the UN General Assembly, Nyan Win delivered a speech attacking U.S. foreign policy towards Myanmar and demonstrating their isolationism and anti-hegemonic principles (Leopold 2006). In general, the policies of Myanmar are largely related to their colonial experience and are based on anti-imperialism. They tend to treat all forms of international practices, including free trade, as the new form of imperialism. Still, Myanmar has a close relationship with China. It can be argued that their commitment to neighboring countries might be the cause of their close ties to the Beijing administration, but in actual fact, it is more likely that the SPDC Junta decided to side with the Chinese as they share nondemocratic principles.

Since the SPDC took control of Myanmar, the states have been sanctioned by most of the Western world. Myanmar has military cooperation with the Chinese government. This is understandable as most of their supplies come from the Beijing government. In addition, the Chinese navy has made official visits to Burmese ports as well.

Even though the SPDC has been sanctioned by the United States in political areas, Myanmar still does not possess a nuclear arsenal. However, the country has never been dedicated to nuclear-free policies. The Junta does not favor nor object to nuclear issues and proliferation.

Myanmar has been a member of the Association of Southeast Asia Nations, which has a major concern with economic cooperation and national developments, and has received international aid from Thailand, Singapore, and Japan during the past decades. However, the coup in Thailand is likely to bring major changes in the Burmese-Thai economic aid relationship. There is a possibility that the new Thai regime will distance itself from the Burmese Junta as much as possible.

Myanmar has been an active member of numerous organizations. These are the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), the Asian Development Bank (ADB), G-77, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IEAE), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Interpol, the United Nations, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), the World Health Organization (WHO), and the World Trade Organization (WTO).

Myanmar has one of the worst track records on the human rights list. The Junta has little respect for NGOs and is very uncooperative with them. Importantly, the Junta tends to see some NGOs as being in the forefront of the antigovernment activities in the Union as well.

Myanmar is involved with foreign and humanitarian aid as the receivers. The military governments had to deal with issues such as military supply, development, and economic problems. Among the most prominent donors are Japan, Singapore, and Thailand. Thailand was actively assisting the Burmese Junta in road construction, upgrading of the communication system, and improving the infrastructure. However, the coup in Thailand has led to uncertainty on humanitarian aid because the Thai Junta has declared that they will withdraw from politics after the election in 2007. At this stage, they might decide to distance themselves from the Burmese

Junta, as they might fear possible trade and economic sanctions from their trading partners in the West. Still, this study will not deny another possibility which is an even closer relationship between the Thai and Burmese Juntas, if the Thai Junta decides to follow the Burmese path and declare military government instead of a democratic regime. Even though this scenario seems to be very unlikely, one cannot deny its possibility until the outcome of the new Constitution and elections in Thailand have been finalized.

Myanmar makes no commitment to peacekeeping. It is also unlikely to allow any peacekeeping process to be carried out within its territory, despite the ethnic conflict within the states.

SECURITY

The major security organization is the Burmese Armed Forces, which is divided into an air force, army, and navy. The military has 375,000 active personnel (army 350,000, navy 13,000, and air force 12,000) (International Institute for Strategic Studies 2007). In Myanmar, the major intelligence service is the military intelligence, which directly interacts with the chairman of the SPDC. The intelligence service under the prime minister has been transferred to serve military intelligence after the coup against Khin Nyunt.

The past security issues in Myanmar are primarily the separatist and the democratic movement that battles against the Burmese Armed Forces. During the Cold War conflict, the Burmese Junta kept themselves out of the conflict successfully.

The ethnic minorities' separatist movement and the democratic movement are still the major concerns of the Burmese Junta. While the Junta has no desire to give up its authority, the antigovernment movement has no intention of surrendering to the SPDC Junta either (as shown by the 2007 protests). After the U.S. invasion of Iraq, speculation by the SPDC Junta over the possibility of superpower intervention through military means grew significantly. The move of the capital city from the seaside city of Rangoon to the remote mountain town of Naypyidaw (Pyinmana) seems to support the speculation. However, the possibility of a superpower invasion is relatively low.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The Burmese government has loosely observed the international justice system. The Burmese Junta tends to use traditional values to respond to international incidents. Unlike other states in Southeast Asia, the Junta has no interest in promoting human rights in its own states. The constitutional process for Myanmar still has made no progress since 1962. Currently, the government has been notorious among the NGOs for being at the forefront of the abuse of human rights. There are three areas that the government has been infamous for: First is forced labor by the government, where men, women, or even children have been forced to work for government projects. The International Labour Organization reports that this

practice started in 1962 and still continues today. Second are violations to freedom of speech and political expression. The Junta has suppressed any political activities which appear to oppose their regime. In addition, Amnesty International reports that over 1,300 political prisoners in Myanmar have been imprisoned since 1989 (Amnesty International 2006). Third is rape by soldiers, who were accused by NGOs, especially in Shan states.

Although Myanmar has been a member of the United Nations and ASEAN, the Burmese government plays roles in both ASEAN and the United Nations only in the context of it receiving criticism.

The Myanmar justice system is still based on the British model, which was implemented in the colonization period. However, the executive branch has authority to control the judicial branch in the Union. In addition, there is a military court which can take any cases involved with the regime into their jurisdiction instead of the civil court's.

Under the ruthless military Junta, it is very clear to the people that the practice of human rights must not exceed the level which is allowed by the authority. However, during the period of Khin Nyunt, the practice began widening after the release of Aung San Suu Kyi, along with the announcement of the Roadmap towards Democracy by the prime minister himself. However, after the coup by Than Shwe in 2004, along with another house arrest of Aung San Suu Kyi, and imprisonment (speculation as a house arrest) of Khin Nyunt, confidence has been dropping significantly. Protest in Rangoon still exists; however, due to the harsh suppression by the Junta, the NLD has been weakened significantly. The coup in Thailand is likely to deliver a permanent setback for the Roadmap plan in Myanmar. The Junta rules are likely not to deliver any improvement in child labor, forced labor, or even rape issues for the time being. It suggests that maintaining the current level of human rights in the union is a more realistic goal for the human rights movement than seeking wider human rights participation in Myanmar. While human rights is one of the issues of least concern in Myanmar, the Junta has no desire to participate in any roles promoting human rights either at home or abroad.

CONCLUSION

Since the United States imposed sanctions on Myanmar, the relationship between Myanmar and the United States has been hostile. The U.S. government wants to seek UN security action against the Junta towards resolution plans. It appears that U.S. senior officers, such as then Ambassador to the United Nations John Bolton, see Burma as having a "destabilizing impact on the region and likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security" (Reuters 2006).

According to the civic culture, the Burmese population is a subject culture, along with government control of the press and communication. It is understandable that the attitude towards the United States will never be read in the local newspaper. It is believed that the general attitudes among the masses are more neutral than pro-American, due to the harsh suppression from the state authority. However, the Junta has its own attitude towards the U.S. government as Major General Nyan Win accused the United States at the UN General Assembly: "The founders of

the UN did not intend the world body to become a forum where some members with political and economic clout could gang up against a member state and label it for what it is not" (ibid.). Nyan Win still claims that the junta has "done nothing that can undermine the peace and security of any country, let alone regional or international peace and security" to counter the argument of John Bolton.

Owing to the strict control by the government, the linkage between government and citizens is based on a master and subject relationship. The government has no intention of disclosing any state information to the public. In addition, the government does not show any interest in expanding the linkage between security and society at the current stage.

Owing to the nature of the Junta, it is very unlikely that possible change by the action of the citizens will be seen. The NLD has been weakened significantly in the last 17 years, and the Junta has suppressed any political activities that might lead to any impact on their regime. The ethnic conflict might continue, but independence is unlikely to be achieved without assistance from abroad. It is still unlikely that the United States, the United Kingdom, or any superpower will intervene with the Burmese Junta through an armed conflict. Perhaps the sanctions and political pressure are the only actions that superpowers are willing to implement. Unless the United States or superpowers carried out total warfare, which they conducted in Afghanistan and Iraq, it is highly unlikely that the end of the military Junta in Myanmar will be seen.

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Nepal

Kristine Eck

BACKGROUND

Nepal is a landlocked country located in South Asia, sandwiched between India and China. Nepal is one of the least developed nations in the world, with almost half of its population living below the poverty line. Its greatest natural resource is the Himalayas, which generate not only water and hydropower, but also tourism. The mountain ranges which cover over 80 percent of Nepal provide the country with a dramatic range in altitudes and ecoclimates, from the flat, tropical plains of the Terai in the South to four alpine mountain ranges, including the Himalayas. Nepal is home to eight of the world's ten highest mountain peaks, including Mt. Everest.

Nepal is also rich in forests: timber represents one of Nepal's most valuable resources and is an important source of revenue. Agriculture accounts for over half of the country's exports, but it is poor in mineral resources, which are scattered and underdeveloped. Deforestation and illegal logging of Nepal's forest resources is a key environmental issue. The forest industry has seen overcutting and poor management, which has resulted in erosion, landslides, and reduced yields. Water is also an important issue: while Nepal's enormous hydroelectric potential has yet to be fully tapped, there are concerns about water contamination. Human and animal wastes, agricultural runoff, and industrial effluents have all contributed to these fears. There is also concern that poaching in national parks is threatening endangered wildlife. Pollution is a growing problem and many have expressed alarm about the levels of pollution in the Kathmandu Valley.

The history of Nepal begins and centers on the Kathmandu Valley, stretching from around the seventh or eighth century BC. Nepal prospered from its location as resting place along extensive India-China trade routes. In 1769, Nepal was unified by the founder of the Shah dynasty. Shortly after this, the British arrived on the subcontinent and expressed their concern over expanding Nepalese boundaries. After a brief war, the 1816 Sugauli treaty established Nepal's eastern and western

Nepal

Formal name of country: Kingdom of Nepal
Size of country: 140,800 sq km
Natural resources: Water, timber, hydropower, quartz, and scenic beauty
Population: 27,676,547
Life expectancy at birth: 59.8 years
Key ethnic groups:

- Chhettri 15.5%
- Brahman-Hill 12.5%
- Magar 7%
- Tharu 6.6%
- Tamang 5.5%
- Newar 5.4%
- Muslim 4.2%

Key religions: Hindu 80.6%, Buddhist 10.7%, Muslim 4.2%
Political system: Parliamentary democracy and constitutional monarchy
Key political groups/parties:

- Nepali Congress
- Communist Party of Nepal/Unified Marxist-Leninist
- National Democratic Party

Legal system: Headed by the Supreme Court (or Sarbochha Adalat)
Real GDP growth: 2.5%
Population below poverty line: 42%
Size of military: Approximately 130,000 (including the army, armed police force, and civilian police)
Relationship with the United States: While the United States contributed substantial economic and military aid to Nepal over the past decade, it took an increasingly hard tone with the Nepalese government after the royal coup of February 2005. The United States supported a return to multiparty democracy, but remains skeptical to the inclusion of Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M) as a political party.
Important human security issues: Economic development, social relations, health provisions, and personal security are key human security issues for Nepal; development in all of these areas is contingent on a stable political situation, including a peaceful settlement with Maoist rebels.
Future important security issues: The principal security issue for Nepal in the near future will be returning political stability and attaining sustainable peace, in order to allow for economic, health, and social security. Environmental security also remains a concern, particularly in the Kathmandu Valley.

Sources: U.S. State Department 2006, CIA 2006, Mayhew et al. 2003, Uppsala Conflict Database 2006.

borders. This treaty also opened the door for Indian business influence in Nepal, which remains today. Nepal lost sway in the region after a direct trade route was established between India and Tibet, and from 1816–1951, Nepal's borders were cut off to foreign contact.

MT. EVEREST

At 8,848 meters, Mt. Everest reigns as the world's highest peak. Serious attempts to climb Everest began in the 1920s, but it was in 1953 that New Zealander Edmund Hillary and Sherpa climber Norgay Tenzing attained the fame of reaching the peak. Since then, there have been a succession of increasingly daring ascension attempts, including exploring more difficult routes and opting against the use of supplemental oxygen. In one famous stunt, Swede Göran Kropp bicycled from Sweden to Everest with all of his gear, climbed the peak without supplemental oxygen, and then bicycled home to Sweden. Despite political instability over the past decade, the peak has remained one of the world's most popular mountaineering attractions, yet it is a dangerous one as well: while over 1,300 climbers have reached the top, about 170 climbers have died trying.

The Shah dynasty was effectively sidelined in 1846, with the Kot Massacre, when power struggles and intrigue led to the massacre of several hundred of the most important men in the kingdom, making way for the leader of the massacre, Jung Bahadur, to take the title of prime minister under the name Rana. In 1950 the political situation became unstable as Rana power was challenged. In 1959, a new constitution provided for parliamentary government and the first general elections were held. The new king, however, disliked the new government and had them arrested, banning political parties at the same time. By 1962, King Mahendra introduced the *panchayat* (council) system. This system provided a veneer of democracy, but in reality all power remained consolidated with the king, who appointed the prime minister and the cabinet; political parties remained illegal. This period also saw censorship, mass arrests, torture, and other violations of human rights. Political leaders were often arrested and held at the whim of the king.

Fed up with this situation, in 1989, opposition parties launched the People's Movement to fight for multiparty democracy. After several months of protests and pressure from foreign aid donors, the government backed down and a new constitution was promulgated in November 1990. The constitution provided for a unitary state with powers centralized almost entirely within the executive, creating incentives for power-grabbing at the center by political parties. This system fostered a political culture characterized by pervasive power abuse and corruption that resulted in widespread instability throughout the mid-1990s. In 1996, Maoists fed up with corruption and the failure of democracy declared a People's War against the government and formed the insurgent group Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M). The government's response was to crack down with increasingly repressive security measures undertaken by the poorly trained police force. Political dialogue between the Maoists and the government was hampered by the continuous political bickering amongst the parties; the key political parties were unable to unite either in fighting or negotiating with the Maoists because they were hindered by their own efforts to maximize power.

In June 2001, Crown Prince Dipendra massacred 10 members of the royal family, including the king, and then took his own life. Shortly after this, the new King Gyanendra took a much harder line against the Maoists and the conflict escalated after the breakdown of negotiations in November. After several years of war, however, it became increasingly evident that the parties were militarily stalemated; the Maoists were not able to take the cities and the government was unable to root out the Maoists from large swathes of rural areas.

The political situation continued to worsen as the king continually undermined the political parties, a situation which elicited little protest from a populace tired of party corruption and power-mongering, and desperate for security. In February 2005, the King sacked the prime minister, declared a state of emergency, arrested opposition leaders, and suspended civil rights. This move was unequivocally labeled a coup by domestic and international observers. By November 2005, the political parties had joined forces with the Maoists to try to pressure the government into a return to a democratic system. In April 2006, the King capitulated to a widespread mass movement for democracy and agreed to reinstate parliament and accept popular sovereignty. The newly reinstated parliament voted in May 2006 to severely restrict the King's power, including his control over the army. The government also arranged a cease-fire with the Maoists and began a peace process that resulted in a number of agreements, including a decision to elect a Constituent Assembly to rewrite the Constitution. Many political roadblocks remain, however, as the parties and Maoists negotiate over the timeline for changes and disarmament. Fractions within the Maoists, particularly in the Terai region, may also cause problems in the path to peace. Nepal also faces an uphill battle to rebuild infrastructure, generate investment, and restore suspended aid projects. Nepal's long-term possibilities for development depend in large part on the political actors reaching agreement and creating a stable political and social environment for change.

> ### ROYAL MASSACRE
>
> On June 1, 2001, Crown Prince Dipendra gunned down almost every member of the royal family; amongst the victims were his parents, the ruling king and queen of Nepal. The crown prince finished by turning the gun on himself, though he did not die until two days later. The motive behind the massacre remains unknown, though most speculation suggests that Dipendra's deranged rage was fueled by his parents' disapproval of the woman he wanted to marry. Reports also suggest that he was under the influence of alcohol, and possibly drugs. The country was shocked and horrified by the killing of the popular royals. Disbelief quickly gave way to a rash of speculation and conspiracy theories, which continue today.

SOCIETY

Nepal has a population of just over 23 million people, with an annual growth rate of around 2.5 percent. Approximately one million people live in the Kathmandu Valley, but 85 percent of the population is rural, living mostly in the fertile lowlands of valley areas or in the Terai. The difficult economic situation and the rural Maoist insurgency, however, have resulted in increased movement to urban areas, the Terai or India. The level of population growth is quite high (2.17 percent), and the Kathmandu Valley is especially strained from the pressure of a growing populace.

Nepal has one of the lowest levels of GDP per capita in the world, with nearly half of the population living below the poverty line. There are large income disparities within the population, many of which run along urban-rural, caste, and ethnic lines. The primarily rural population is mainly engaged in agricultural production, which consists of 40 percent of the GDP. Manufacturing and tourism are small but important aspects of the economy, but tourism has decreased in recent years as the political situation became increasingly unstable. Foreign aid is a vital component of

Nepal's economy, although this sector has been criticized for failing to generate the economic improvements promised. There is also an active, illegal smuggling trade for which there are no official estimates. Nepal's primary trading partner is India, and many economic activities in Nepal are Indian-owned or controlled. Moreover, approximately half a million Nepalis seek seasonal work in India.

Life expectancy in the country is just under 60 years, and with only one doctor per 18,500 people, the infant mortality rate is high compared to Western standards. The generally inadequate health facilities have resulted in high infant mortality rates (65 per 1,000). Moreover, diseases such as malaria, tuberculosis, cholera, and typhoid are prevalent. While the government has taken steps to improve health care, the overall quality of the public health system remains inadequate. There are very limited health services outside Kathmandu. The overall literacy rate in the population is 45 percent, but there is a large discrepancy between men (63 percent) and women (28 percent).

The country has a limited transportation network; there are relatively few roads, and these are of varying quality. They are supplemented by a few railway links. In addition to the national air carrier, there are also several private air carriers servicing Nepal's 48 airports, 10 of which are paved. There is a telephone system which connects major towns, and Internet connections are available in larger cities. These services, however, are spotty, as the government has occasionally shut them down in periods of political crisis, and telecommunications towers have often been the target of Maoist sabotage. The Maoist rebels also targeted other aspects of Nepal's infrastructure, such as bridges, hydroelectric and power stations, airports, dams, and so on, most of which remain to be rebuilt.

Improvements in infrastructure, education, health, and the economy were difficult throughout the duration of the armed conflict which took place during 1996–2006. The unstable security situation served to scare away foreign investment and development aid, and the targeting of infrastructure and schools by the Maoists damaged the few resources Nepal had. With the return to democratic governance and the implementation of a viable cease-fire in 2006, hopes have risen that the cessation of armed violence may improve Nepal's prospects for economic and social development. Within weeks of the return to democracy, Norway, Denmark, and the International Monetary Fund pledged the restoration of aid previously withdrawn after the coup, and other forms of economic assistance to Nepal. India also agreed to a substantial aid and loans package, as well as opened trade discussions.

Religion is an integral aspect of Nepalese society. Nepal was long the only official Hindu state in the world, but a parliamentary decision in May 2006 changed its status to a fully secular state. While Hindus make up approximately 80 percent of the population, Nepal is also an important place for Buddhism (the Buddha was born in Nepal) and around 10 percent of Nepal's population is Buddhist. Many aspects of Hinduism and Buddhism have intermingled, resulting in a blending of Nepal's two principal religions. A small percentage of the population follows other faiths (Muslims, Christian, and Shamanists).

The ethnic composition of Nepal has been determined by large-scale migrations of Indo-Aryan people of India and Tibeto-Burmese of the Himalayas, producing a diverse ethnic, linguistic, and religious settlement pattern. Nepal's assorted ethnic

groups speak between 24 and 100 different languages and dialects, but Nepali functions as the main language. Numerically, all groups are minorities in Nepal; the largest are the Chhettri and Brahman-Hill groups, which together make up almost 30 percent of the country's population. Although the caste system was abolished in 1963, these two groups still retain a privileged position in Nepali society, holding a predominant position in political life. The earliest recorded group in Nepal is probably the Kirati, who are today divided into the Rai and Limbu groups. The Newari dominate the area around the Kathmandu Valley, and the Magars and Gurungs also occupy the midlands. Until the 1950s the Tharu were the principal group in the Terai; today a large number of groups inhabit the Terai. There are also a number of ethnic groups which occupy the Himalaya zone, such as Sherpas, Tibetans, Tamangs, and Thakalis.

There are few formal refugees from Nepal to other countries, though many thousands have chosen to relocate to India where the economic and security situations are deemed better. An estimated 100,000–200,000 people were internally displaced by the conflict-related violence in the countryside; these people mainly moved to district capitals or the Kathmandu Valley. Reports suggest that young men in particular were uprooted in order to avoid forced recruitment into the Maoist rebel movement.

Nepal also currently hosts over 100,000 refugees who fled Bhutan in the early 1990s after the enforcement of a Citizenship Act which made life difficult for people of Nepalese ethnicity. This is one of the most protracted refugee situations in Asia, and despite numerous rounds of bilateral negotiations on repatriation, no agreement has been reached. In July 2006, Nepal allowed that several of the most vulnerable refugees could be resettled in Western countries, a prospect which it previously opposed. This proposal met with a mixed response from the refugee community, and for the thousands of refugees remaining in Nepal, the situation grows increasingly hopeless.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

Nepal is formally a parliamentary democracy with a constitutional monarchy. The constitution promulgated in 1990 provided for a bicameral parliament, and at the time of promulgation, the palace ostensibly surrendered its powers and acquiesced to a purely constitutional role. The exact powers of the king, however, were not entirely clear from the text of the Constitution, and this point of ambiguity proved to be problematic in later years. Because almost all power was centralized within the executive, the cabinet effectively controlled all legislation and implementation, and no other governmental entity could challenge or review the decisions of the cabinet.

The experience of domestic politics over the past 10 years has been dominated by the mutually reinforcing processes of Maoist insurgency and power consolidation in the monarchy. After Gyanendra became king in 2001, the monarch instigated a steady subversion of the democratic system in order to consolidate power in royal hands. Acts such as dismissing parliament and multiple prime ministers led to public alienation. At the same time, political parties were widely viewed by the populace as corrupt and prone to infighting. This weariness of political parties

in part explains the reticence of the population to initially protest against King Gyanendra's consolidation of power.

The royal coup in February 2005 in which the king sacked the prime minister, declared a state of emergency, arrested opposition leaders, and suspended civil rights effectively excluded the political parties from any further exercise of politics. Realizing that negotiating with and pandering to the king would not facilitate a return to power, nor help resolve the civil war, the political parties opted instead to explore the possibility of allying with the Maoists. In November 2005, a seven-party alliance (SPA) met with CPN-M and established a common agreement based on the rejection of absolutist monarchy, ending the conflict, multiparty democracy, the possible formation of a constituent assembly, acceptance of past mistakes, and requesting impartial external help (such as the United Nations) to supervise any future elections. The agreement left open a number of important questions, such as whether the Maoists would accept a role for the king in a future government. Because the SPA unconditionally condemned the use of violence, the Maoists agreed to a cease-fire to demonstrate their commitment to the agreement.

This alliance created the possibility of not only a return to democracy, but a resolution to the armed conflict. The populace grew increasingly restless for change, and in April 2006, widespread discontent resulted in strikes and protests for democracy, eventually pressuring the king into giving way. And while the SPA and the Maoists played an important role in these demonstrations, the mass people's movement was very much guided by the wishes of the populace for democracy and security. With the king's reinstatement of the parliament, the SPA gained control of the government and subsequently restricted the powers of the king.

This interim government is currently in negotiations with the Maoists as to how to proceed in restructuring the government. It has agreed to a Constituent Assembly to draft a new constitution, a key demand of the Maoists that impeded previous rounds of negotiations. The timeline for elections to this Constituent Assembly, however, remains ambiguous, as it is tied to disarmament discussions with the Maoists. The role the king will have in a new constitution remains at the discretion of the Assembly, and the Maoists have agreed to accept whatever decision is taken there. It is most likely that the monarchy will either be eliminated in favor of a republic, or the king will only have a limited and ceremonial role. Political leaders have expressed a hope to hold the elections by September 2007, but bickering over arms management and whether to dissolve the interim parliament have hindered somewhat negotiations on the Constituent Assembly.

A true return to democracy and a popularly elected government has been long in coming, as the last general elections were held in May 1999. Approximately 8.6 million Nepalis voted in that election, primarily for Nepali Congress (NC), Unified Marxist-Leninist (UML), and Rashtriya Prajatantra Party (National Democratic Party), a right-wing pro-monarchy party. While local elections were held in February 2006, these were widely decried as lacking legitimacy since they occurred in the context of the royal coup; few turned out to vote. In May 2006, the cabinet of the interim government decided to cancel the results of these elections.

The head of the interim government is Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala. He is also responsible for a number of other ministerial posts, including Defense,

Health & Population, Industry, and Commerce and Supplies. The Deputy Prime Minister is K.P. Sharma Oli, who is also minister for Foreign Affairs. The entire cabinet, called the Council of Ministers, is composed of 18 members from four parties: the NC, UML, Nepali Congress-Democratic, and United Left Front. These are four of the most influential parties, all of which are part of the seven-party alliance. The other members of the alliance are Nepal Workers and Peasants Party, Janamorcha Nepal, and Nepal Sadhavana Party-Anandi Devi. It should be stressed that because the administration is only an interim one, it has limited legitimacy to take decisions beyond those relating to the peace process and ensuring that political reforms take place.

Another key political actor is naturally the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M) which has been engaged with armed conflict with the government for the past 10 years. Formed in 1996, the organization's original goal was to overthrow the constitutional monarchy and install a communist government in its place. Disgruntlement with government mismanagement, increasing income disparities between rural and urban populations, limited opportunities for some ethnic groups and castes, and the failure of development programs to produce promised results have all also played an important role in drawing support to the Maoists. Over the past years, CPN-M has increasingly softened its stance, including advocating democratic politics, though this demand has always been contingent on its playing a prominent role in such a democratic system. CPN-M was estimated to have approximately 8,000–25,000 troops in 2005, and several hundred thousand supporters (Bedi 2005).

How the political parties behave after a return to the political mainstream as a result of the people's movement of April 2006 will provide a crucial test of their viability in Nepal's future political system. People remain somewhat skeptical to the parties due to their previous mixed record and long willingness to deal with the king, though their behavior over the past year has raised hope for better governance and a period of responsible leadership could provide much needed political capital to the parties. The seven-party alliance which took power in May 2006 remains fragile, though it has continued to hold a relatively common line in negotiations with the Maoists. Knowledge that their return to power is the direct result of the people's protests will hopefully encourage the parties to remain in tune with public sentiment and work cooperatively for peace and the rebuilding of Nepal. Similarly, CPN-M's transformation into a purely political party is likely to be fraught with difficulties associated with disarmament and power-sharing, but the fact that its leaders have pledged nonviolence increases the likelihood that the CPN-M can successfully transform into a political party.

The CPN-M and the SPA have reached several agreements since the interim administration took power. A 25-point code of conduct from May 2006 outlines the behavior both parties are meant to take to ensure the stability of the cease-fire. The United Nations criticized this code of conduct for being too general, arguing that it should have included more specific provisions, particularly related to arms management. Indeed, the parties have since volleyed accusations about violations of the code of conduct, though these accusations have not effectively hindered further progress on negotiations. A National Monitoring Committee on the Code of Conduct for Cease-fire was also created to oversee both parties'

compliance with the agreement. After additional talks, an eight-point agreement was reached in June 2006, in which the two sides agreed to draft an interim constitution, dissolve parliament and Maoist's local governments, invite the United Nations to manage and monitor the arms of both armies, and hold constituent assembly elections in a free and fair environment. The agreement states that both sides have expressed commitment to competitive and multiparty politics, rule of law, and civil rights and also a commitment to uphold human rights and press freedom. This agreement also received its share of criticism, and as of September 2006, most of the points remained to be implemented. Nevertheless, the current peace process has raised hopes for a durable solution to the war in Nepal. The sidelining of the monarchy, the cooperation of the political parties, and the Maoists' willingness to modify the demands to include democracy and nonviolence have all promoted hopes that the conflict can indeed be resolved.

LAW AND ORDER

The administration of law and order has long been considered problematic. Reports of arbitrary arrests and harsh detention conditions increased after the start of the Maoist rebellion, as did reports of extrajudicial killings. The Nepali police system is largely regarded as inefficient and corrupt while international agencies charge the army with gross violations of human rights. The judicial system is seen alternately as ineffective or as a façade for government repression. Furthermore, Nepal has very limited capacity and resources for emergency services such as fire and ambulances. Fire service is reportedly available in approximately two dozen cities and suffers from a lack of adequate training and manpower. Due to limited economic resources, even the several dozen firefighters in the Kathmandu Valley lack proper training. Outside of larger cities, ambulance service is limited or nonexistent.

It is difficult to determine the level of crime in Nepal, since the forces of law and order have largely been preoccupied with the armed conflict over the past 10 years. The level of petty crime in Kathmandu is reportedly low compared to cities of similar size in the United States. There are reports of Indian-based organized crime syndicates being active in Nepal, and the Maoist rebels have also been implicated in numerous bank robberies and other forms of extortion (in addition to violations of human rights). Illegal drug activities are present in Nepal. There is both illicit production of cannabis and hashish for the domestic and international drug markets, and Nepal reportedly serves as a transit point for opiates from Southeast Asia to the West (CIA 2006). Nepal is also reportedly a conduit in the illegal trafficking of wildlife products.

The U.S. State Department reports that Nepal is a source country for girls and women trafficked to India and elsewhere for the purposes of commercial sexual exploitation, domestic servitude, and forced labor. During the conflict, the Maoist rebels abducted and forcibly conscripted children. Reports indicate that internal trafficking rose due to the insurgency, as rural women and children left their homes to seek both employment and security in urban centers. Government efforts to combat trafficking have been hindered by political instability and security issues.

There is very low confidence in Nepal's legal system. Human rights violations by police and army troops have created an atmosphere of fear and distrust regarding security forces. The legal system is perceived to be corrupt, inefficient, and often bypassed by security forces. The future of Nepal's legal system rests with the decisions that a Constituent Assembly will take when drafting a new constitution. With the new government in power, the more gross excesses of law and order bodies have been curbed, but many aspects of the law and order system remain suspect in the eyes of the populace.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Nepal's founding father, Prithvi Narayan Shah, once referred to Nepal as a "yam between two boulders," a description which succinctly sums up Nepal's position in regional geopolitics. Situated between the two giants of China and India, Nepal is a landlocked country dependent on good relations with both of its neighbors. Nepal has a particularly close relationship with India, though this is not always untroubled. Indian interests have long played a major influence in directing Nepalese politics, a situation which many Nepalis resent.

The main governmental body involved in foreign policy is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The current minister for Foreign Affairs is Deputy Prime Minister K.P. Sharma Oli of the CPN (UML) party. Because of the current state of political upheaval and uncertainty, the country lacks a clear, established foreign policy. Like most governments, Nepal's general foreign policy objectives are to protect its vital interests and promote its image abroad. There are perhaps two main issues on the foreign affairs agenda, external influence in the peace process and external economic cooperation.

The government is interested in gaining support for its peace process from external actors; the approval of India, which faces its own domestic Maoist insurgency, has been especially central in ensuring that negotiations move forward. While Nepal stresses that this is a domestic problem which can be solved by domestic actors, the assent of its influential neighbors and trading partners (like the United States) is nevertheless important to its future. In terms of conflict mediation, Nepal has asserted that external mediation is not necessary, but it has solicited advice from the United Nations regarding aspects relating to the peace process, such as arms management.

Economic development is especially important to rebuilding Nepal and demonstrating that the return to democracy can produce substantive gains for the populace. This includes reestablishing trade, promoting tourism, restoring halted developmental aid and soliciting new aid projects, and other forms of economic growth. The new government has engaged in trade talks with India, and has proposed, amongst other things, that a Sino-India trade corridor pass through Nepal. Ensuring that Nepal is perceived as stable, and marketing it as a target for investment, is an important component of its foreign affairs policy. In general, Nepal is active in promoting increased trade, and is a member of several economic organizations, such as the World Trade Organization. Furthermore, Nepal receives a large amount of foreign and humanitarian aid, which constitutes an important component of its economy. This foreign aid comes from both international organizations

and foreign countries. As such, it is involved in a large number of development-cooperation programs with various sponsors. Some of this aid was suspended after the royal coup in 2005, but the recent political changes should ensure that aid money can again flow freely into Nepal. Several Scandinavian governments, for example, were quick to reestablish suspended bilateral aid programs after May to support the new democratic government, and the International Monetary Fund also promised financial support.

Nepal is not part of a formal military alliance, but after 2002, it received substantial military support for its war with Maoist rebels. In particular, Nepal was successful in capitalizing on the U.S.-led War on Terror to gain substantial military assistance from the United States, United Kingdom, and India. The United States contributed direct military hardware, financial support, and training. Likewise, India also provided counterinsurgency training and military hardware, and the United Kingdom donated military training and helicopters. China provided economic aid. After the royal coup in February 2005, these countries either withdrew or severely restricted their military aid to Nepal. It is unclear whether military aid will be reinstated to the subsequent democratic government, or indeed if it is desired given the precarious state of the Maoist cease-fire.

In terms of other forms of foreign interaction in Nepal, there are a plethora of international non-governmental organizations operating in Nepal; most have mandates relating to development goals, but some human rights organizations like Amnesty International also operate in Nepal. Nepal has a rich civil society, with hundreds of local NGOs (nongovernmental organizations) working in the field of human rights, democracy, and development. This sector, however, was targeted by the government during King Gyanendra's reign: in 2005, the government introduced a code of conduct that established a number of restraints on NGO behavior, including the provision that they may not affect social or political harmony, disclose confidential information, or form any political alliance. Many NGO workers were also arrested or harassed by security forces. Civil society and the media played an influential role in the return to democratic rule, and restrictions on their activities have eased since June 2006.

Outside its borders, Nepal's weak economic standing has limited its influence. It is, however, a member of most prominent international bodies, such as the United Nations, World Trade Organization, World Health Organization, and many others. It is also a member of the regional South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation. Nepal has also been continuously participating in the UN peacekeeping operations since 1958 and has contributed more than 50,000 peacekeepers to 29 UN missions. Current deployment is approximately 3,500 peacekeepers in 13 peacekeeping missions, which makes Nepal one of the top five troop-contributing countries to UN peacekeeping missions (Pandey 2005).

SECURITY

Nepal is a highly militarized country. It has a large standing army in addition to a paramilitary force, civilian police, and Maoist cadres. Nepal's military consists of the nearly 69,000-strong Nepalese Army, which is organized into six divisions (Far Western, Mid Western, Western, Central, Eastern, and the Valley Division)

with separate Aviation, Parachute, and Royal Palace Brigades as well as brigade-sized directorates encompassing air defense, artillery, engineers, logistics, and signals which provide general support to the army (U.S. State Department 2006). The Nepalese Army also functions as Nepal's primary intelligence-gathering body. Its capabilities, however, are extremely limited. Analysts repeatedly noted throughout the armed conflict that one of the army's chief weaknesses was its inability to gather adequate human intelligence to preempt Maoist attacks, as well as its frequent incapacity to act on the intelligence it had. The army was long considered loyal to the king, and formed an important component of his power base. After the return to democracy, however, the Royal Nepalese Army was renamed the Nepalese Army and power over it transferred from the King to the interim government in May 2006. Maoist leaders have suggested that their cadres could be merged into the Nepalese Army after elections but stress that they believe that the overall size of the security forces must be reduced to more reasonable, peacetime levels.

In addition to the Nepalese Army, Nepal has two other bodies which engaged in security provision: the 15,000-strong paramilitary Armed Police Force, which was formed in 2003 to combat the Maoist insurgency, and which serves as a complement to the traditional civilian police who number approximately 47,000. It is the police which handle most violations of domestic crime.

Primary security issues for Nepal have centered on improving the standard of living for its inhabitants. Economic development, health services, and education have all been the focus of securitization. Nepal also faces a number of natural hazards, such as severe thunderstorms, flooding, landslides, drought, and famine which threaten the individual security of Nepalis. Additionally, political concerns have been a prime object of security throughout Nepal's modern history; the demand for a functioning democratic system has been an important question. The nexus between economic development and governance is especially pertinent, as many accusations have been leveled against political leaders of siphoning development aid for personal use rather than for improving the lives of ordinary Nepalis.

Most of Nepal's past security issues remain on today's agenda, as there is a desperate need to improve the economic and health situations of most Nepalis. Natural hazards remain a problem, and pollution and overpopulation of certain areas have also become growing issues.

The advent of the Maoist insurgency also created numerous security issues. Violence from the armed conflict between the government and Maoist forces spread over large parts of the country and left few people's lives untouched since the Maoists consistently targeted infrastructure, security targets (police and army posts, and so on), political figures, and educational institutions like schools (which are seen as a means for the government to convey its policies). Those who lived in rural areas were particularly vulnerable to Maoist violence, though Kathmandu was largely left alone by the Maoists. In addition to the risk of being forcibly recruited or kidnapped by Maoists, civilians also faced the threat of being caught in crossfire or victimized by either Maoist or government security forces.

Both sides to the conflict routinely violated human rights, with security forces acting with particular impunity. The conflict affected other aspects of ordinary life

beyond personal security as well: economic resources which would normally go to development projects were redirected to military ends, and Maoist targeting of infrastructure, education, and industry resulted in the destruction of many of Nepal's few existing resources. Concerns about personal safety have waned somewhat since the implementation of a cease-fire between the interim government and the Maoists, but sporadic reports of violations of human rights suggest that problems still exist. Both parties remain armed, and so many civilians continue to be displaced and afraid to return to their homes. Furthermore, with the political situation in a state of limbo, progress on economic development has proceeded slowly.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Between 2000 and 2005, the King consolidated nearly all governmental power in his office. His dismissal of parliament and various prime ministers and refusal to call new elections to replace them were widely considered to be violations of the constitution. During this period, there was a clear lack of judicial checks and balances on the executive, since the king himself appointed the justices of the Supreme Court. Moreover, the government itself was seen as widely violating the rule of law, from the widespread human rights violations by the security forces to the king's coup in February 2005.

Nepal's modern history is rife with reports of arbitrary arrests and brutal abuses; such reports increased over the past decade with the advent of the Maoist insurgency. The government of Nepal has been implicated in widespread human rights abuses throughout the duration of the armed conflict over the past 10 years. Both the security forces and the judicial system were implicated in gross violations of human rights, ranging from torture to extrajudicial killings to illegal detention. The government also suspended many civil, political, and social rights, with censorship, widespread arrests of political opponents, and indiscriminate violence becoming the norm for long periods during the 1990s and 2000s. The opposition Maoists also engaged in widespread violations of human rights, including the seizure of property, forced labor, forced recruitment, torture, kidnapping, and killings.

The widespread reports of torture and extrajudicial killings by the security forces which took place during this period were rarely investigated and prosecuted, and the judicial system was often bypassed by security forces who illegally detained people for long periods of time without recourse to legal representation. This atmosphere of impunity created little confidence by the populace in the government's ability to ensure human rights over the past 10 years. The armed conflict placed most average Nepalis in a difficult position: armed Maoists often demanded civilian assistance in the form of information, shelter, supplies, and so on, but such support was seen by the government as aid to the Maoist cause and often resulted in violence and extrajudicial killings. The security forces engaged in other forms of human rights violations, such as torture and illegal detention, as well. Much of this was carried out under the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Control and Punishment) Ordinance (TADO) which was introduced in October 2002 in an effort to tackle the Maoist insurgency. TADO was criticized by human rights defenders for, amongst other things, allowing for detention for up to one year before trial.

The advent of the May 2006 cease-fire led to a marked improvement in the human rights situation across the country, though some sporadic violence still occurs. Both sides accuse each other of breaking the cease-fire agreement, with reports of Maoist kidnappings and killings continuing to surface. Despite political progress, an atmosphere of fear still hangs over much of the countryside that has inhibited internally displaced civilians from returning to their homes. In terms of justice, despite the return to democratic rule and the 2006 cease-fire with the Maoists, there are currently no plans for a truth and justice commission or other body which would be mandated with investigating and punishing the human rights violations which occurred during the 10-year-long civil war. The new government did appoint, however, a high-level judicial commission to probe those who suppressed the popular movement for democracy which took place in April 2006. Similarly, it has removed many of the previous ordinances that restricted civil rights and TADO was allowed to lapse in June 2006, by the new government, and ceased to be in effect.

The future for the judicial system is somewhat unclear, as it may be reorganized once a new constitution is drafted. The courts currently comprise three tiers: the Supreme Court, appellate courts, and district courts. The Supreme Court is the highest court: all other courts and institutions exercising judicial powers, except the military courts, are under its jurisdiction. The Supreme Court consists of a chief justice and 14 other judges. The future structure of the justice system remains an issue for the Constituent Assembly to determine when promulgating a new constitution.

In terms of the international observance of justice, Nepal generally follows its commitments under international agreements; its primary violation has been its domestic record of human rights violations which contravened several international conventions to which Nepal is a party. In terms of treaty accession, Nepal has acceded to the Convention on the Prevention of Genocide; the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment; the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. It has also signed the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. Nepal has not accepted compulsory International Court of Justice jurisdiction, nor has it acceded to the Rome Statute which regulates the International Criminal Court.

CONCLUSION

After September 11, the United States became a central partner in the Nepali government's battle with the Maoist rebels, with the United States contributing military and political support to Nepal. Military security assistance from the United States totaled over $23 million and focused on military financing, military training, counterterrorism, and improving peacekeeping capabilities. This assistance was withdrawn after the royal coup in February 2005. Though the United States expressed support for the monarch and remains skeptical to CPN-M, the

A CHRONOLOGY OF KEY POLITICAL EVENTS SINCE 1996

February 4, 1996	CPN-M presents the government with a list of demands.
February 13, 1996	Maoists launch initial attacks largely concentrated in their strongholds of the Rolpa and Rukum districts
1998	The government launches police reprisals in the form of Operation Kilo Sierra II, which lead to accusations of police brutality.
September 23, 2000	Fourteen police in Dolpa district killed, leading to an escalation in violence.
June 2001	Crown Prince Dipendra massacres ten members of the royal family. Gyanendra declared King.
August–November 2001	Three rounds of peace talks held.
November 2001	Maoists pull out of the talks unilaterally and launch high profile attacks against military, police, and government facilities across the country, including the army barracks at Dang.
November 2001	Gyanendra introduces state of emergency, and declares CPN-M a "terrorist organization." Royal Nepalese Army deployed for the first time in the conflict.
May 2002	Gyanendra dissolves parliament upon recommendation of Prime Minister Deuba. Deuba also dissolves local elected bodies and replaces them largely with appointed officials.
October 4, 2002	King Gyanendra, assailing the "incompetence" of the political parties, dismisses Deuba's government and appoints Lokendra Chand, as new prime minister.
April–August 2003	Peace talks held between CPN-M and government.
2003–2004	Chand resigns as prime minister, as does his successor. Deuba is again appointed prime minister.
February 1, 2005	Gyanendra sacks government, assumes power himself.
November 2005	Maoist rebels and main opposition parties agree on a program intended to restore democracy.
April 2006	Strikes and protests are called by opposition parties in protest at the direct rule of the king. This is accompanied by clashes in the capital. On April 24, King Gyanendra capitulates and agrees to give power to an interim government.
May 2006	Power of Nepalese Army transferred from monarchy to government; 25-point code of conduct agreement reached with Maoists to govern cease-fire. Negotiations start between seven-party alliance and Maoists.
June 2006	High-level talks result in 8-point agreement. United Nations invited to advise on arms management.

return to democracy and the return of political parties to the fore of domestic politics have received the backing of the United States.

Nepal has close relations with the United States in other areas, especially economic. The United States and Nepal have signed numerous formal treaties relating to commerce and trade; economic and technical cooperation; education; employment; finance; judicial assistance; and postal matters. The United States has also long provided development assistance to Nepal in various sectors, such as transport, communication, public health, family planning, malaria eradication, agriculture, and forestry as well as manpower development and institution building. There is also an active trade between the countries, which provides Nepal with an important source of hard currency.

The general attitude of the Nepali government towards the United States is one of cooperation. While governmental relations with the United States are ostensibly friendly, relations between the United States and CPN-M are far more troubled. CPN-M has complained of adverse U.S. interference in the peace process and the United States remained skeptical to CPN-M as a political player. This was manifest, for example, in its reluctance to remove CPN-M from the State Department's list of terrorist exclusion designees as long as the Maoists remained armed.

The peace process offers hope for a more stable political future for Nepal, though it is not a cure-all for Nepal's many problems. The decade-long civil war led to not only decreased economic revenues, but also the redirection of development aid to the security sector. A weakened infrastructure, heightened social polarization, widening income disparities between urban and rural populations, internal displacement, overpopulation, and pollution are all concerns which must be addressed. With the return to democracy and ongoing peace process, hopes are high in Nepal that the future will lead to improved human security. The success of the political and peace processes, however, hangs on the willingness of political actors to compromise and place the interests of the country first. Many key political issues remain unsolved, and as long as an interim administration reigns in the absence of a new constitution, political instability and uncertainty will remain high. The current political atmosphere, however, provides hope that political and economic reconstruction will be possible.

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New Zealand

Colm McKeogh

BACKGROUND

New Zealand (or Aotearoa/New Zealand) lies in the South Pacific, halfway between the equator and the South Pole and just to the west of the International Date Line. Its nearest neighbor is Australia, 1,400 miles away to the west. Excepting a few island micro-states, no country is more distant from the world's population centers and economic hubs. At 103,800 square miles, it is slightly larger than the United Kingdom, and the same size as Colorado in the United States. Its population of 4.1 million people also matches that of Colorado.

Twenty miles of Cook Strait separate the North Island (40 percent of the territory but 75 percent of the population) from the South Island. The territory of New Zealand also includes the Antipodes Islands, Auckland Islands, Bounty Islands, Campbell Island, Chatham Islands, Kermadec Islands, and Stewart Island, the result of which is that New Zealand's combined territorial waters and Exclusive Economic Zone are the seventh largest in the world at over 1.5 million square miles (15 times its land area). Since 1923, New Zealand has also claimed the Ross Dependency in Antarctica, a claim not recognized by the United States or most other states. New Zealand remains directly responsible for Niue and also for Tokelau, where a referendum for independence in 2006 failed to reach the required two-thirds majority. The Cook Islands have been self-governing in free association with New Zealand since 1965, when it became the first non-self-governing territory to opt for free association rather than independence under the UN General Assembly Resolution 1541 (XV) of 1960. Tokelauns, Niueans, and Cook Islanders are New Zealand citizens.

The islands of New Zealand were created by the interaction of the Australian and Pacific tectonic plates. The North Island is 44,281 square miles in area and has active volcanoes at Mount Ruapehu, Mount Tongariro, Mount Ngaruhoe, and White Island as well as many hot springs and geysers. The South Island (58,093 square miles) contains the Southern Alps and Aoraki/Mount Cook, at 12,316 feet the country's highest point. Geothermal power is used to generate

New Zealand

Formal name of country: New Zealand
Size of country: 268,000 sq km
Natural resources: Coal, lignite, fish, timber, natural gas, hydropower, ironsands, and gold
Population: 4.1 million
Life expectancy at birth: 76.3 males, 81.1 years females (Statistics New Zealand 2004a)
Key ethnic groups:

- Pakeha (European) 70%
- Maori (15%)

Key religions: Christianity (Anglican, Catholic, and Presbyterian)
Political system: Unicameral parliament with members electors through MMP
Key political parties:

- Labour
- National
- New Zealand First
- Greens
- Maori Party
- United Future
- ACT
- Progressive Party

Legal system: English common law
Real GDP growth: 2.7% (2005)
Population below poverty line: NA
Size of military: 8, 271 regular force and 2,275 territorial force
Relationship with the United States: Though they are no longer in a military alliance, the relationship between New Zealand and the United States is good, and the two countries work closely together on many issues of international security, international trade, and global governance.
Human security issues: Volcanic eruption and earthquakes are the greatest threats to human security in New Zealand, followed by biosecurity threats from livestock diseases that would disrupt agricultural exports.
Future human security issues: Climate change and rising sea levels may result in population transfers from islands of the South Pacific to New Zealand, while climate change and resource scarcity may cause greater competition for access to the land and waters of Antarctica.

electricity in the Taupo volcanic zone but over 60 percent of New Zealand's electrical generation is from hydro resources. The main hydroelectric catchments include the Waikato River in the North Island, and the Waitaki and Clutha Rivers in the South Island. However, there is no scope for new large-scale hydroelectrical development in the country and even medium-scale proposals face ecological and

environmental concerns. The country's one major gas resource, the Maui offshore field, may run out as soon as 2010. Failure to discover more reserves may require $500 million of gas to be imported by electricity companies every year, affecting the country's balance of payments. Coal deposits exist throughout New Zealand, and are used for electricity generation. In 2005, environmental opposition blocked proposals to open a coal-fired power plant at Marsden. The lignite resources of the Southland coal region comprise 70 percent of New Zealand's recoverable coal resources but these resources have never been utilized. Though they have the potential to provide 30 percent of New Zealand's electricity or to be converted into methane to fuel transport, environmental opposition would be significant unless clean technologies were developed. In 2005, New Zealand produced 732,000 tons of crude petroleum domestically (from the Taranaki basin) and imported 3.9 million tons of crude petroleum (Ministry of Economic Development 2006*). Exploration continues in the waters to the south of New Zealand.

New Zealand society is a product of globalization, its population established in most part by the migrations from the Polynesian

THE TREATY

The Treaty of Waitangi, signed on February 6, 1840, by the Crown and Maori chiefs, marked the British colonization of New Zealand. The Treaty confirmed and guaranteed to Maori their exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands and fisheries. These guarantees rapidly came to be disregarded as colonists' demands led the government to confiscate and compulsorily purchase Maori land. To the Pakeha, the Treaty became meaningless, an attitude expressed with characteristic bluntness in 1877 by the Chief Justice, Sir James Prendergast, when he rejected it as "worthless—a simple nullity" (King 326). This view prevailed for almost a century but Maori protests at Crown seizures and demands for restoration and restitution eventually bore fruit. The Waitangi Tribunal was established in 1975 to address Crown breaches of the principles of the Treaty. By 2005, there had been 18 settlements of historic Treaty claims with a value of $500 million (Ministry for Culture and Heritage 2006). The Treaty now has far-reaching recognition in legislation and in the institutions of national and local government. Prendergast's view of the Treaty of Waitangi has come to be supplanted by one that upholds it as the founding document of New Zealand, a New Zealand that is a partnership between Maori and Pakeha.

islands in the 1300s and the British Isles in the 1800s and 1900s. The Polynesian settlement of New Zealand occurred in a planned migration from the islands of East Polynesia 700 years ago. From the initial few hundred settlers, they expanded to a population of 100,000 by the eighteenth century (King 169). The country acquired its name in 1643 from an anonymous cartographer of the Dutch East Indies Company as the islands were sighted the year before by the Company's Abel Tasman (though he did not land). It was named after the Dutch province of Zeeland, with New Holland (now Australia) being named after another. Captain James Cook of Britain did land in 1769. British sovereignty was established in 1840 with the Treaty of Waitangi signed by representatives of the Crown and Maori chiefs. Most former colonies celebrate their independence from their masters but for their national day, New Zealanders celebrate not the date in 1857 they acquired self-governance as a colony or the date in 1907 they acquired independence as a dominion, but rather the date of the treaty that established British sovereignty over the islands (February 6, 1840).

The population grew rapidly through immigration from Britain and Ireland. The well-being of the new country was founded on technology, trade, and membership of an international community. The technology was principally European

farming practices applied to the New Zealand soil. Trade depended on technology too (the shipping and, from 1882, the refrigerated shipping that transported goods to faraway markets) but also on a stable international system to which New Zealand was a contributing member. When its territorial integrity and trade links were guaranteed by British naval supremacy, New Zealand was an energetic supporter of British imperialism. After the second World War, when the United States took over Britain's role, New Zealand made its contribution through the Australia, New Zealand, United States security treaty (ANZUS), a defense pact with Australia and the United States. Since the 1980s, when the United States stepped out of that role, New Zealand has sought new means of making its contribution to regional and global security.

SOCIETY

New Zealand's population of 4.1 million is highly urbanized with 86 percent living in towns and cities. The population is not evenly spread with the Auckland region having 32 percent of the people. In common with many OECD (Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development) countries, fertility in New Zealand is below the replacement level, and it is only because of immigration and increasing longevity that the population of New Zealand grows. There were 81,600 migrants to New Zealand in the year to September 2006, and 68,400 emigrants, resulting in a net migration gain of 13,200 (up from 6,400 the previous year). The United Kingdom remains the largest provider of migrants to New Zealand (11,000 net for the year to September 2006), followed by Fiji (2,300), India (2,200), and the Philippines (1,800). Australia, where New Zealand citizenship confers residency and work rights, gained from a net trans-Tasman flow of 20,600 (Statistics New Zealand 2006a).

The descendents of the first settlers who came to New Zealand 700 years ago are the Maori (from their own language in which *tangata maori* means ordinary people). The 2006 census records that they make up 14.6 percent of the population of New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand 2006b). Those of European (mainly British and Irish) descent make up 70 percent of New Zealand's population and are often called "Pakeha" (from the Maori for pale-skinned). Pasifika (people from other Pacific Island nations) account for 6.9 percent (those of Samoan descent being the most numerous, followed by Cook Islanders, Tongans, Niueans, and Tokelauans). Asian New Zealanders make up 9.2 percent of the population and are predicted to rise to 13 percent (670,000 people) by 2021 (Statistics New Zealand 2006c).

Of those choosing to state a religious affiliation in the 2006 census, 94.25 percent chose Christian (Statistics New Zealand 2006d). Nearly 37 percent of those responding stated that they had no religion. Most of the population thus affiliate with a Christian religion, of which Anglican (13.5 percent of all New Zealanders), Catholic (12.4 percent), and Presbyterian (9.4 percent) are the largest denominations. Anglican and Catholic were again the main Christian denominations among Maori, followed by the Ratana Established Church of New Zealand, founded in 1925 by Presbyterian layman turned mystic and healer, Tahupotiki Wiremu

Ratana (1873–1939). The largest non-Christian religions are Hinduism (1.5 percent), Buddhism (1.3 percent), and Islam (0.9 percent). Half of the 36,000 Muslims in New Zealand are of Fijian Indian, Indian, Pakistani, or Bangladeshi ethnicity. Another 20 percent are of African origin and 10 percent of Southeast Asian origin (Shepard 2002).

Ethnic disparities are revealed by all social indicators. Infant mortality remains low though New Zealand has slipped in the international rankings from seventh in the 1970s to seventeenth out of the 19 OECD countries for which information was available by the late 1990s (Statistics New Zealand 2004b). The rate then was approximately 6.5 deaths of infants under a year old per 1,000 live births. The mortality rate among Maori infants was 50 percent higher, at 10.3 per 1,000. The free-market reforms and privatizations of the 1980s were followed by growing income disparity in the 1990s. Income and employment inequalities are discernible on an ethnic basis. In 2006, when unemployment was 3.6 percent, it was 2.4 percent for the Pakeha population, 8.2 percent for Maori, and 5.9 percent for Pasifika (Statistics New Zealand 2006e). The average Pakeha income was 108 percent of the New Zealand average while the average Maori and Pasifika incomes were 79 percent and 69 percent of the New Zealand average, respectively. Non-Maori now live about 8.5 years longer than Maori, an improvement on the 9.1 year difference recorded in 1995–1997 (Statistics New Zealand 2004c). Ethnic disparities are also evident in schooling (which is mandatory in New Zealand from six to 16 years of age though most students continue beyond the minimum school-leaving age) with 32 percent of students who left school in 2004 qualifying for university entrance, but only 12 percent of Maori and 14 percent of Pasifika students. New Zealand faces a social issue of ethnic disparity in all measures of well-being with income, health, longevity, and unemployment indicators revealing the quality of life for Maori and Pasifika New Zealanders to be worse than average.

New Zealand has a Western-style capitalist economy, with a GDP per capita 86 percent of the OECD average, behind Spain and Italy, and ahead of South Korea and the Czech Republic (OECD 2006). The New Zealand economy is small (23rd of the 31 in the OECD) and distant from the world's economic heartlands. It is one of the world's least-regulated economies, ranked fifth in the world for economic freedom (*Wall Street Journal* 2005). It is a trading economy with exports accounting for a quarter of the gross supply of goods and services in the economy. But the New Zealand economy is most distinctive among those of the OECD in its continued reliance for exports on comparative advantage in resources. Despite the relative decline of agriculture in the New Zealand economy in terms of both employment and output, New Zealand remains a specialist exporter of primary products (in this regard its economy appears more like that of a developing than a developed country). The agriculture, forestry, and fishery sectors account for half of New Zealand's exports. In return, the country imports from industries which are not present in the New Zealand economy (such as cars, aircraft, and consumer goods). This is in contrast to the rest of the OECD in which the growth in intraindustry trade (in which countries export and import much the same product to and from each other) has been a defining feature, and a source of growing wealth and specialization, in recent decades. Only with Australia has New Zealand developed a mature intraindustry trade relationship.

Australia is New Zealand's largest overseas market (taking over a fifth of exports) followed by the United States (a seventh), and then Japan and China. Britain is New Zealand's fifth largest market for exports, though the European Union as a whole is its second largest single market. Though farm products have diversified to include cut flowers, fruit, vegetables, and wines, dairy products are still 16 percent of the country's exports by value, and meat is 10 percent. Services make up 25 percent of exports, accounted for largely by the growth of international tourism with 2.4 million international tourists visiting New Zealand in 2005 (Statistics New Zealand 2006f).

Trade access is an important issue for New Zealand and its well-being depends on the regulatory regimes as well as the security of physical access. Another important economic issue facing the country is whether its economy can deliver high growth and rapidly rising living standards while it remains a specialist exporter of primary products. Productivity growth is seen as essential to the maintenance of high living standards, and sectors other than agriculture may offer the best prospects. New Zealand underwent large-scale privatization of state-owned assets from the late 1980s. The telecommunications company, a gas utility, New Zealand Rail, and most electricity distribution companies were privatized in the late 1980s and early 1990s (the country's rail-tracks have since returned to government control). Government shareholdings in airports and a major generating company were sold off in the late 1990s. Most electricity generation capacity, as well as the high voltage transmission system, remains in government ownership. The government-owned New Zealand Post is responsible for most of the postal system. Roads and water utilities are owned by national or local government. The government is the dominant owner of health care facilities. Nearly 70 percent of housing units are owner-occupied and most of the rental market is non-state (Statistics New Zealand 2004d).

Roads are the most important transport system for passengers and freight within the country, with 57,000 miles of roads and over three million cars for 4.1 million people. New Zealand has a single petrol refinery at which 1.63 million tons of refined petrol were produced in 2005 (mostly from imported crude oil) with an additional 619,000 tons of fully refined petrol imported in that year (Ministry of Economic Development 2006). There is a heavy reliance on sea transport for overseas trade with almost 85 percent of New Zealand exports by value, and 75 percent of its imports, carried by sea. That trade is carried predominantly on the ships of other nations. To effectively manage the risks to public safety and biosecurity from trade, the government seeks safety, security, and biosecurity regulations that are consistent with internationally recognized standards. Interagency cooperation is acknowledged as increasingly important, and New Zealand must respond to the security requirements of the international community to avoid serious disruption to its trade.

Air transport is crucial to New Zealand's tourism industry. To foster it, New Zealand pursues a policy of "open skies," seeking agreements with other countries to remove restrictions on international airlines flying to New Zealand and to leave decisions on the number of services, routes flown, and type of craft used to the airlines. The national flag carrier, Air New Zealand, was privatized in 1989 but

returned to public ownership in 2001 following its failed attempt at expansion into the Australian domestic market. In December 2001, a new Multilateral Agreement on the Liberalization of International Air Transportation came into force between Brunei, Darussalam, Chile, New Zealand, Singapore, and the United States of America, allowing an airline of one country to operate flights between two other countries, without the flight originating or terminating in the airline's own territory. It also allows an airline of one country to carry domestic traffic between two points within the territory of another country. However, continued air service restrictions in other markets, bilateral agreements between states, and greater anti-terrorism and biosecurity requirements will limit the growth of air transport.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

New Zealand is a constitutional monarchy and parliamentary democracy. The head of state is Queen Elizabeth II represented by the governor-general, Anand Satyanand. The abolition of the 10 elected provincial councils in 1876 and of the upper house of parliament (the appointed Legislative Council) in 1950 left New Zealand with a centralized system of government and a unicameral parliament. With the extension of the franchise to Maori in 1867, the abolition of the property qualification in 1879, and the granting of votes to women in 1893, New Zealand became the first state whose franchise made no reference to gender, race, or wealth. The year 1893 also saw the election of a woman to a mayoralty, the first in the British Empire. Georgina Beyer, 102 years later, became the first transgender to be elected mayor in New Zealand and in 1999 she entered parliament as the country's first transgender member of parliament (MP). The country's first Maori MPs took their seats in 1868. Maori, who constitute 15 percent of the population, make up 17.4 percent of MPs in the current parliament. Electors choose to register on either the general roll or the Maori electoral roll.

Free and fair elections to the 120-seat (currently 121 seats) New Zealand parliament are held every three years. Airtime for political advertising is state funded and allocated to political parties on the basis of past electoral performance. The country is divided into 62 general constituencies and also into seven Maori constituencies. Voting is by the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) system, used for the last four general elections, which assigns to each party a number of seats proportionate to its vote. Citizens and permanent residents vote both for a candidate (in one of 69 single-seat electorates) and for a party list. Candidates from the party lists are assigned 52 seats so that each party's total number of seats corresponds to its party vote. There is a 5 percent threshold that each party must reach to be eligible for seats in parliament, a requirement which is waived if one of its candidates wins a constituency seat.

Helen Clark, leader of the Labour Party, was elected prime minister on November 27, 1999. Clark, a former lecturer in political studies at Auckland University, won reelection in 2002 and 2005. Her deputy prime minister since 2002 has been Dr. Michael Cullen, a former lecturer in history. All three Clark governments have been Labour-led coalitions as single-party governments, the norm under the old first-past-the-post voting system, have disappeared with the advent of MMP voting. The current government is a minority coalition of Labour, the

Progressive Party, and United Future New Zealand. Not in coalition, but supporting the government on matters of confidence and revenue-supply is the New Zealand First party, whose leader is the minister of foreign affairs. Also supporting the government on confidence and supply is the Green Party, two of whose MPs act as government spokespersons.

New Zealand's domestic political landscape, like its international relations, is in large measure the product of the 1980s. The Labour government of 1984 introduced fundamental free-market economic reforms similar to, and surpassing, those associated with the names of Ronald Reagan in the United States and Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom. Dissatisfaction at the reforms, and at the fact that they were supported by both of the main political parties, led to the creation of new political parties and the replacement of the first-past-the-post voting system in 1993.

As of October 2007, Labour was the largest party in parliament with 49 of the 121 seats. It is the major party of the center-left and maintains its links to the labor movement though only 17 percent of the workforce is unionized. It campaigned in 2005 on a promise to offer benefits to students and to working families, to retain the Maori electorates, and to maintain references to the Treaty of Waitangi in legislation. It brought the railway tracks back under government control though services continue to be run by a private company.

The *National Party*, which dominates the center-right of the political spectrum, won 48 seats in the 2005 election. It campaigned on a platform of lowering personal and corporate tax rates, abolishing the seven Maori electorates, and bringing a rapid close to Maori claims for compensation for government breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi. Many within the party seek to rebuild defense ties with the United States, amending New Zealand's nuclear-free legislation if need be.

New Zealand First is a conservative party led by its charismatic Maori founder, Winston Peters, a former National cabinet minister. It does not share National's commitment to low taxes and less government. Instead, supported by many retirees, it seeks to protect state pensions and promote conservative social values. It won no electorate seats but its party vote entitled it to seven seats in the current parliament.

The *Green Party* has six MPs in the current parliament (all list MPs). More to the left than Labour, it campaigns for a cleaner environment, a fairer society, sustainable energy and healthier food. In line with Green parties internationally, it supports action on climate change and curbs on the genetic modification of crops. Domestically, it seeks to protect the New Zealand environment from mining and coastal development.

The *Maori Party* was formed in 2004 out of dissatisfaction with Labour's commitment to Maori rights. Though a supporter of the Waitangi Tribunal as a means to settle Maori grievances, Labour did not wish the Tribunal to allow Maori ownership of the seabed and foreshore. A Maori MP quit Labour and became co-leader of the new Maori Party which (though it did not reach 5 percent of the party vote) went on to win four seats in the 2005 election, all in Maori electorates. As its party vote entitled it to only three seats, the current parliament has 121 rather than 120 members.

The centrist *United Future New Zealand* is the product of a merger between United New Zealand, founded by former Labour Minister Peter Dunne, and Future New Zealand, a Christian party. It has two seats in parliament and is part of the coalition government. Dunne, who won an electorate seat, is the minister for revenue.

ACT (formerly the Association of Consumers and Taxpayers) is a right-wing libertarian party promoting personal responsibility, free markets, and the diminution of the state to a greater extent than National. It has two MPs.

The *Progressive Party* was also founded by a former Labour Minister, Jim Anderton. It has only one seat in parliament, that won by Anderton, who holds the agriculture, biosecurity, fisheries, and forestry portfolios.

Enrollment is compulsory but not voting. Nonetheless, participation in elections is high. Turnout in the 2005 election (there are also some independent members) was 80.92 percent, up from 76.98 percent in 2002 (New Zealand Chief Electoral Office 2005). The seven electorates with the lowest turnouts were the seven Maori seats, averaging 67 percent in 2005. The introduction of the Mixed-Member Proportional voting in 1993 was a product of dissatisfaction with the two-party system that was the outcome of plurality voting. The MMP voting system has led to fragmentation of political parties with eight gaining representation in parliament in the 2005 election. Yet New Zealand politics remains dominated by the Labour and National parties. Another measure intended to give voters a greater feeling of control was the introduction of Citizen Initiated Referendums in 1993. Although these have been held, they have not been successful, as they are nonbinding on parliament.

Key political issues include Maori claims for redress, environmental management, and New Zealand's contribution to global and regional security. The settlement of Maori grievances is the most fundamental issue in New Zealand politics. The creation of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975 provided a body to rule on alleged breaches of the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi (such as government confiscation of Maori land). The number of cases before the Tribunal has grown to 1,000 and settlements of $120 million each have been made by the Crown with the Ngai Tahu and Tainui peoples (Ministry for Culture and Heritage 2006). The expansion of the Tribunal's work has led politicians on the right to protest the creation of a "grievance industry" and to call unsuccessfully for limits both on the time-frame of the Tribunal and on the size of settlements. The success of these procedures for addressing Maori claims, and their acceptance by the general and Maori populations, mean that the threat of political instability is negligible. The World Competitiveness Yearbook 2005 regards New Zealand as having a very low risk of political instability, lower than that of the United States.

The tensions between environmental concerns and economic development of New Zealand's land and water resources are a second ongoing political challenge. Key environmental issues include agricultural practices, mining and power generation. The pollution of waterways with nutrients from human activity has seriously impacted the ecological systems of some lakes; water diversion, and sewage system upgrades, and regulation of agricultural practices are required to restore them. Proposals to mine gold on the Coromandel peninsula and ironsands off the West Coast have both met public opposition. The Resource Management Act (RMA)

of 1991 brought together laws on the use of land, air, and water resources and governs the environmental effects of human activities and aims to promote the sustainable management of natural and physical resources. The RMA is criticized by some as too complex and cumbersome and National's electoral campaign in 2005 included proposals to "re-balance" the process in favor of economic development and property rights, and to "streamline" the process and shorten the time for processing of applications.

A third issue concerns the means of New Zealand's contribution to international security. "ANZUS" remains shorthand in New Zealand politics for a set of issues that includes the country's contribution to global and regional security, its relations with the United States and Australia, and even the prospects for a free-trade deal with the United States. The ANZUS Treaty, signed at San Francisco on September 1, 1951, between Australia, New Zealand, and the United States, bound the signatories to treat an armed attack in the Pacific area on any of them as a threat to the safety of the others and committed them to respond in the event of an attack. The Treaty is no longer operative between the United States and New Zealand, but is still in force between each of these and Australia, separately. The global fears raised by a reinvigorated Cold War in the 1980s, which led to the "nuclear freeze" movement in the United States and to protests against Cruise missiles in Europe, led the 1984 Labour government in New Zealand to ban nuclear-powered and nuclear weapon-carrying ships from its ports. U.S. fears of the New Zealand "contagion" spreading to other allies, led to the suspension in 1986 of its Treaty obligations to New Zealand. In the 2005 election campaign the National Party called for resumed defense links with the United States, even at the expense of New Zealand's nuclear-free status. For most political parties, however, "nuclear-free" has become such a part of the country's identity that international and security cooperation with the United States must take place within its parameters.

LAW AND ORDER

New Zealand is policed by a national service responsible for enforcing criminal and traffic laws. The New Zealand Police has a staff of 8,800 (of whom 7,500 are sworn officers) and is responsible for reducing crime and enhancing community safety. There are 12 local police districts, each with a central station from which subsidiary and suburban stations are managed. The chief executive of police is the commissioner, appointed by the governor-general and accountable to the minister of police for the administration of police. Police do not routinely carry guns. Instead there are 17 Armed Offenders Squads available to respond to situations in which armaments are required.

Corruption in the bodies concerned with law and order is not currently a political issue in New Zealand. However, public confidence in the police has deteriorated in recent years due to a series of high-profile events. The fatal use of firearms by an on-duty police officer in April 2000 generated controversy and allegations of racism (the victim was Maori) though a civil suit for murder brought by the victim's family failed in the courts. There have also been widely publicized failures to respond to emergency calls. The private conduct of police officers has also

been an issue with the unsuccessful prosecution of an Assistant Commissioner on historic rape allegations in 2006.

The New Zealand Police report that, for the year to October 2005, crime in New Zealand has continued its downward trend to 1,000 recorded offenses per 10,000 population (down from 1,300 in the late 1990s). Over the same period, the resolution rate has increased so that nearly 45 percent of recorded crimes are now solved (*New Zealand Herald* 2005). With nearly 8,000 prisoners in 2006, New Zealand had an imprisonment rate of 189 prisoners per 100,000 population, compared with a rate of 724 in the United States, 145 for England and Wales, and 120 for Australia (ICPS 2006). The involvement of motorcycle gangs in organized crime is a distinctly New Zealand problem. The membership of the gangs, which have names like Mongrel Mob, Black Power, and Nomads, is dominated by Maori. Income-generating activities center on theft and drugs though inter-gang violence is a problem in itself.

The New Zealand Fire Service is a single, unified state agency, funded in part by a levy payable on all insurance contracts covering New Zealand property against loss from fire. Ambulance services are operated by many private providers, the largest of which is the St. Johns Ambulance service, which covers 85 percent of the country. The Ministry of Civil Defense and Emergency Management deals with hazards and disasters. It seeks to reduce risks and enhance readiness for disasters such as earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, tsunamis, and pandemics, as well as to coordinate the response and recovery from such.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

In New Zealand, the primary agency involved with foreign policy is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT). With a staff of around 600, it advises the government on foreign, security, and trade policy issues as well as representing New Zealand in its relations with foreign governments and international organizations, and providing consular services and development assistance. The promotion of trade through increased access to foreign markets is also part of MFAT's brief. The ministry is headed by Minister for Foreign Affairs Winston Peters. The minister for foreign affairs has always been a high-ranking member of Cabinet, but Winston Peters has chosen to be a minister outside cabinet (in order to honor an election pledge to keep his New Zealand First party out of coalition). New Zealand also has a Minister for Arms Control and Disarmament and MFAT has a disarmament division. This division develops New Zealand policy on international negotiations on arms control and disarmament issues and also implements that policy by ensuring that New Zealand meets its obligations under international treaties and arms control regimes. The division was extensively involved in the negotiations of the Ottawa Convention banning antipersonnel landmines.

The Clark government takes a liberal and internationalist approach to foreign policy with a vigorous promotion of free trade, support for the United Nations, promotion of human rights abroad, championing of nuclear disarmament, and restructuring of the armed forces to prioritize peacekeeping (McCraw 2005, 217). Key foreign policy goals of the current government relate to trade facilitation, terrorism, and the promotion of international partnership and the rule of law. First,

the government seeks to facilitate trade with other countries, through quality free-trade agreements (FTAs) and through harmonization of standards and regulations. New Zealand has always favored global-level multilateral approaches to the reduction of tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade and the World Trade Organization (WTO), and the current Doha round of negotiations remain centrally important to New Zealand's trade policy objectives. However, the slow pace of negotiations makes bilateral and regional agreements important, as a spur to multilateral negotiations and as a fallback should they fail. The government is currently seeking an FTA with the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council. It has also been negotiating with China since 2004 and hopes to conclude negotiations by 2008 (an agreement would be China's second FTA with a Western country). Negotiations for an FTA between the 10 members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and China, India, Japan, Australia, South Korea, and New Zealand may begin in 2008. An FTA with the United States remains a prime foreign policy goal of the current government.

Second, New Zealand participates in the international campaign against terrorism through military deployments to Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) and to the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan. In the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, attacks, the deployment of Special Air Service troops was the major component of New Zealand's contribution to OEF against Al Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan. This commitment was maintained for 12 months and a redeployment occurred in 2004. New Zealand has also contributed a maritime patrol aircraft and its two frigates to Maritime Interdiction Operations in the Gulf of Oman and Arabian Sea. Domestically, New Zealand moved quickly to fulfill its obligations under UN Security Council Resolution 1373, including taking steps to prevent terrorist financing, recruiting, or other forms of support. In 2002, parliament passed the Terrorism Suppression Act which enables full New Zealand compliance with the financing-related obligations of Resolution 1373. The government has also strengthened the country's border controls and intelligence capabilities in order to improve domestic security against terrorism and to prevent the use of New Zealand territory or facilities by terrorists. A range of domestic initiatives has boosted counterterrorism efforts in the areas of customs, immigration, intelligence, maritime security, police, and defense.

Third, maintenance of the international rule of law and multilateral approaches to global governance are important to New Zealand. As a small trading nation and inevitably a small contributor to international security, it has a strong interest in promoting internationalism and the rule of law. Any rise of bilateralism or in lawlessness can threaten its well-being. An important foreign policy goal is thus to seek always to work with other nations in multilateral organizations where New Zealand's voice can be heard on matters of international concern. In March 2003, Clark declared her government's willingness to contribute logistical or medical support to a UN-authorized intervention in Iraq. Criticized by the Greens, who held that a second Security Council resolution did not of itself make an intervention right, she responded, "If we are going to pick and choose Security Council resolutions we uphold, then we contribute to undermining the organization"

(McCraw 2005, 225). No second resolution was forthcoming and New Zealand did not participate.

Clark's government has no interest in resuming a formal military alliance with the United States, Clark declaring in 1993 that the ANZUS alliance was "out of time" and of "no relevance to New Zealand's security needs today" (McCraw 2005, 229). However, New Zealand works with the United States to counter the proliferation of nuclear weapons through the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI). This initiative, launched by President George W. Bush in 2003, aims to counter the trafficking of WMD, sensitive materials, equipment, and technology by non-state actors and states. In 2005 and 2006, the United States lifted its ban on military exercises with New Zealand to allow New Zealand to participate in PSI interdiction exercises alongside the United States, Australia, Japan, the United Kingdom, and Singapore.

New Zealand remains a member of the Five Power Defense Arrangements (FPDA) along with Australia, Malaysia, Singapore, and the United Kingdom. The FPDA came into effect in 1971 and aims to ensure the integrity and sovereignty of Malaysian and Singapore territory and airspace. New Zealand participated in the major joint and combined FPDA maritime and air exercise in the region in 2005, sending a frigate and a tanker vessel. New Zealand is also a member of alliances aimed at promoting development and economic cooperation. It is a dialogue partner of ASEAN and is working towards a free-trade agreement between ASEAN and Australia and New Zealand. The ASEAN Regional Forum is the region's prime forum for security and defense issues and New Zealand participates in this dialogue. New Zealand is also a member of Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) which works towards free-trade in the region and of the Pacific Islands Forum which seeks to facilitate regional cooperation and integration in areas such as avian flu preparedness and a regional HIV/AIDS strategy.

New Zealand is a charter (founding) member of the United Nations and remains an active supporter of its activities. Its small size and strategic situation have led New Zealand always to see collective security and the development of agreed norms and rules of international behavior as strongly in its national interests. The country participates energetically in the United Nations and has served three terms on the Security Council: in 1954–1955, in 1966, and in 1993–1994. It was also a founding member of the Commonwealth which retains importance in New Zealand's overseas relations. The country has long engaged in a wide range of Commonwealth activities and is the fifth largest contributor to the Secretariat's budget.

New Zealand is a provider of foreign and humanitarian aid and assistance, with an Official Development Assistance (ODA) program managed mostly by the New Zealand Agency for International Development (NZAID), a semi-autonomous body within MFAT. This semi-autonomy was instituted by the Clark government with the aim of directing aid on the basis of need rather than New Zealand's self-interests (Smith 2005, 16). In 2005, New Zealand's ODA expenditure was $275 million or 0.27 percent of gross national income. Eight NZAID bilateral programs have been targeted for the majority of growth in the future, on the grounds of their relative need, poverty indicators, and the capacity for New Zealand to make a difference on the ground. The eight are Vietnam, Indonesia, the Solomon Islands,

Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Tokelau, and Niue. A significant proportion of New Zealand's funds are channeled through nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) as the government supports the role they play in combating poverty and promoting sustainable development. NZAID engages actively with New Zealand's NGO development community and provides funding to support a wide range of NGO programs overseas.

Since the ANZUS dispute of the 1980s, New Zealand has increased its peace-keeping activities and restructured its defense forces. New Zealand defense force personnel are currently serving in 19 missions around the world. Since 2004, New Zealand has participated in the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan, the NATO Stabilisation Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the United Nations Assistance Mission in Iraq, the UN Mission in the Sudan, the UN Mission in Sierra Leone, the UN Truce Supervision Organization in the Middle East, the UN Interim Administration in Kosovo, the UN Mission of Support in East Timor, the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan, the EU Force in Bosnia, the Multinational Force and Observers in Sinai, the multinational force in Iraq, and the Regional Assistance Mission in the Solomon Islands. The deployment to East Timor, announced in 1999, saw over 1,000 NZDF personnel sent to East Timor, including an infantry battalion, a frigate and a helicopter squadron, the largest deployment for the NZDF since the Vietnam War. In 2006, a company, platoon, and support staff were rushed to East Timor after rioting broke out in Dili, the capital.

SECURITY

The New Zealand Defense Force is comprised of the army, navy, and air force and has 8,721 service men and women in the regular force, 2,275 in the territorial force, and 2,134 civilian personnel. Military expenditure in 2004 was $994 million, having gradually fallen from 2 percent of the GDP in the 1980s to 1 percent of the GDP. The New Zealand Army has no armored fighting vehicles. It does have vehicles that provide mobility for infantry in combat or peace support operations (most of the 105 LAV-IIIs ordered from General Dynamics Land Systems of Canada are now in service with the army, as well as some of the 321 Pinzgauers on order from Austria). The Navy operates two frigates of 3,600-ton displacement each, a 7,300-ton replenishment tanker, a survey and research vessel, and a diving support vessel. Instead of additional frigates, the Clark government has opted instead to purchase a new 9,000-ton ice-strengthened multi-role vessel, along with two new 1,600-ton offshore patrol vessels and four 340-ton inshore patrol vessels. With the Clark government's mothballing of the Skyhawks and cancellation of a deal to lease F-16s, the New Zealand Air Force no longer has an air-combat role (Hoadley 2000, 58–60). The Iroquis medium utility helicopter fleet will be replaced with eight European-made NH90 helicopters to be delivered from 2009–2011. In addition to helicopters and trainers, the air force operates six Lockheed Orion P3-K maritime patrol aircraft, five Lockheed C-130H Hercules, and two Boeing 757-200 transport aircraft. With the Labour government's rejection of military alliances and its restructuring of the defense forces to prioritize

peacekeeping, one commentator sees a change in policy from "collective security" (deterrence through the threat of collective armed force) to "common security" (which seeks to move away from force). In 1994, Clark declared that the country's security rested, not on military capability, but on relationships built with Asia-Pacific nations (McCraw 2005, 228).

Two government bodies collect foreign intelligence. The Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB) is responsible for signals intelligence and has a staff of 300 including foreign-language experts, communications and cryptography specialists, engineers, technicians, and support staff. The Bureau has two communications stations: the HF radio interception and direction-finding station at Tangimoana, (commissioned in 1982) and the satellite communications interception station at Waihopai, near Blenheim (1988). The GCSB contributes foreign intelligence to the New Zealand government through its foreign signals intelligence collection and is also responsible for providing advice and expertise to ensure that the government's official information is protected. It is a member of an international partnership for the exchange of intelligence and security technology, along with the United States' National Security Agency, the United Kingdom's Government Communications Headquarters, Australia's Defense Signals Directorate, and Canada's Communications Security Establishment. Thus, though the ANZUS dispute led to the reduction of military ties with the United States, and the downgrading of political and diplomatic links, the opening of the Waihopai listening station in 1988 represented a closer integration of New Zealand into the intelligence alliance with the United States, United Kingdom, Australia, and Canada.

The New Zealand Security Intelligence Service (SIS), with a total staff of about 115, is a civilian organization responsible for domestic security intelligence and foreign intelligence collection. It collects, correlates, and evaluates intelligence relating to security and advises the government of the day about matters relevant to security. It also makes recommendations relevant to security in regards to immigration and citizenship matters. The SIS and GCSB are overseen by the parliament's Intelligence and Security Committee and by the inspector-general of intelligence and security, who ensures that their activities are lawful and that any complaints concerning them are independently investigated.

Historically, the greatest threat to security faced by the people of New Zealand was the arrival of Europeans which led to a severe diminution of the Maori population through war, disease, and social dislocation. For the first half of the twentieth century, the main threats New Zealand faced were threats to British security and British naval supremacy, as these would impact New Zealand's trade and its links to the mother country. The difference in size between Britain and New Zealand made it inevitable that the greater effort in maintaining the relationship would be made by the smaller country. It was the Pakeha concern that New Zealand keep the relationship with Britain in good order that contributed to New Zealand's involvement in the South African War and then the first and second World Wars. For four decades after the second World War, this role of protector was played by the United States, again in an asymmetric relationship.

For 40 years after the second World War, New Zealand's region, the South Pacific, was one of the most peaceful areas of the world (Henderson and Watson 2005). This period ended with the 1987 military coups in Fiji, the civil war in

Bougainville through the 1990s, and further coups in Fiji and the Solomon Islands in 2000. The Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands of 2003, an Australian police-led operation to restore law and order in the Solomon Islands, saw the long-standing Pacific Island apprehension about interference by Australia and New Zealand (former colonial powers to some members) overridden by concerns over the collapse of democratic order, the spread of instability, and the establishment of crime in the region. Australian fears, influenced by the post 9/11 international context of terrorism, and failed states played a role too (Firth 2005, 95). In 2006, violence broke out in Timor Leste, Papua New Guinea, and Tonga and Fiji suffered its fourth coup in two decades. It is withPolynesia (Samoa, Tonga, the Cook Islands, Tuvalu, and French Polynesia) that New Zealand has the closest ties of proximity, cultural affinity, and immigration, yet it is in Melanesia (Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, New Caledonia, Fiji, and West Papua) that most political instability has occurred, a difference explained in large part by the greater diversity of cultures and islands of the Melanesian states. After the riots of November 2006, New Zealand sent 71 troops to Tonga, and Australia sent 50. Outside Polynesia, Australia will take the lead, and New Zealand will play the supporting role, as the deployment to Dili in 2006 shows.

The South Pacific region is attracting greater interest from Asian powers. China is expanding its geopolitical influence there to acquire allies in international organizations, to counter the influence of Taiwan, and to gain access to fish, timber, and seabed resources. Both China and Taiwan have wooed Pacific Island nations, offering large aid packages and other incentives in a bid to gain international support and recognition. Japan, the country most threatened by China's desire for regional leadership, has responded with increased aid to South Pacific nations, often connected to its desire for pro-whaling allies in the International Whaling Commission (Henderson in Henderson and Watson 2006, 506–9).

The main threats to New Zealand security, however, are low-level and stem from nongovernmental organizations and transnational organizations. Environmental issues in the Pacific region may also impact on security. Climate change and rising sea levels could affect the viability of some small island states and could result in population movements to New Zealand. The discovery of a large methamphetamine manufacturing operation in Fiji in 2004 highlighted the need for regional efforts against drugs. Both Australian and New Zealand police aided the Fijian force in their investigation and in the dismantling of the manufacturing facility. Another threat to New Zealand's well-being is biological. Outbreaks of plant and animal diseases have the potential to trigger severe responses by importing countries and curtail exports of New Zealand's major commodities and principal foreign currency earners.

New Zealand's inability to police its own exclusive economic zone (EEZ), especially in sub-Antarctic waters, is an issue which the seven ship naval acquisition program, due to be completed in 2008, aims to overcome. The multi-role vessel, capable of carrying 250 troops, four helicopters, and two 59-ton landing craft, which joined the navy in 2007, is ice-strengthened, thus allowing it to contribute to the economic and security interests of New Zealand throughout the country's EEZ as well as to contribute to disaster relief overseas. Two offshore patrol vessels

and four inshore patrol vessels complete the program. Though disruption to international trade routes would compromise New Zealand's well-being and could result from developments in the Asia-Pacific (for example, a rise in piracy in the Straits of Malacca following political weakness or turmoil in Indonesia), the naval acquisition program will barely alter New Zealand's limited capacity to contribute to the naval policing of the Straits.

Direct threats of terrorism are very low. In its 2006 report to parliament, the SIS said that it was not aware of a specific threat against the country (*New Zealand Herald* 2006). There is a negligible domestic terrorist threat and very low exposure to international threat. The only incident of international terrorism in New Zealand remains the attack by the French DGSE (Direction Générale de la Sécurité Extérieure) on the Greenpeace ship *Rainbow Warrior* in Auckland Harbour in which one person was killed. The incident remains important in shaping New Zealand attitudes towards its security. New Zealanders have been victims of terrorism overseas with two killed in the Bali bombing of 2002 and one in the London bombings of 2005.

> **THE RAINBOW WARRIOR**
>
> Just before midnight on July 10, 1985, two explosions in Auckland Harbour sank the *Rainbow Warrior*, the 40-meter flagship of the international environmental organization, Greenpeace. One person on board was killed. The ship was in New Zealand to lead a fleet of vessels to Muroroa Atoll to protest against the French nuclear testing in the South Pacific. The explosive devices had been transported to New Zealand by an ocean-going yacht and as many as 11 agents of the French Secret Service, the Direction Générale de la Sécurité Extérieure had entered New Zealand as part of the operation. Two, Dominique Prieur and Alain Mafart, appeared in an Auckland court on November 4, 1985, where they pleaded guilty to charges of manslaughter and arson. French government pressure, including threats to block New Zealand's agricultural exports to Europe, led to the agents serving short sentences on French territory. France apologized and paid $13 million in compensation. The bombing of the *Rainbow Warrior* remains the only act of international state-sponsored terrorism in New Zealand (New Zealand Police 2006).

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Generally, human rights are well protected in New Zealand and the government itself adheres to the law and observes the principles of justice. The greatest challenge lies in accepting traditional Maori rights and forms of ownership, as required under the Treaty of Waitangi, and incorporating them into law. Much controversy was generated domestically by the *Foreshore and Seabed Act* of 2004 which sought to ensure public access to the foreshore by denying to Maori the right to claim traditional ownership of it. This abolition of the right to claim customary title was criticized by many as akin to the land confiscations of the nineteenth century. A special report for the UN Human Rights Commission released in 2005 called for the law to be reviewed and for the Treaty of Waitangi to be entrenched constitutionally (UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights 2005). Both the Labour-led government and the opposition National Party rejected the findings of the UN special rapporteur, though the Maori Party, which was formed in opposition to the law, welcomed his findings as an accurate portrayal of life for Maori.

The legal system of New Zealand has developed from that introduced by Britain in 1840. It is a common law system based on the laws of parliament but also on

common law recognized and developed by the courts independently of parliament. The courts system is four-tiered, comprising District Courts, High Courts, the Court of Appeals, and the Supreme Court (which came into being in 2004, replacing the Judicial Committee of the London-based Privy Council as the final court of appeal for New Zealand). There are also a number of specialist courts such as the Employment Court, Maori Land Court, and Family Court.

The New Zealand population is secure in the rule of law, with none prosecuted or persecuted for their views or for nonviolent political action. A Human Rights Commission has statutory responsibility to plan for the better protection and promotion of the human rights which underlie New Zealanders' expectations about life, education, health, work, personal security, equal opportunity, and fair treatment and the ability to have a say in their system of government. There are no notable areas of abuse. In 2005 out of 159 counties assessed, New Zealand ranked as the second least corrupt (defined as the abuse of public office for private gain) nation in the world, alongside Finland and behind Iceland (Transparency International 2005).

As a member of the United Nations, New Zealand promotes international human rights, as embodied in the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. It is also a signatory to the six key human rights treaties (the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [ICCPR], International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women [CEDAW], Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child). At the international level, New Zealand seeks to play an active and constructive role in multilateral human rights forums, notably at annual meetings of the UN Commission on Human Rights and in the Third Committee of the UN General Assembly. At the regional level, it actively supports human rights capacity building efforts undertaken by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. New Zealand also allows individuals who consider their rights under the ICCPR and CEDAW to have been breached (and who have exhausted domestic remedies) to take their concerns to the respective agencies. A number of complaints alleging breaches of the ICCPR by the New Zealand government have been lodged with the UN Human Rights Committee but none have so far been upheld.

CONCLUSION

Relations with the United States are vital to New Zealand's well-being as the United States is a major source of investment, tourism, science, and technology. The relationship is well managed (including through numerous bilateral treaties and agreements covering issues as diverse as air transport, copyright, double taxation, extradition, trade, and the delimitation of the maritime boundary between Tokelau and the United States), and the two countries have successfully negotiated and implemented resolutions to many disputes (Hoadley 2000). The United States' colonial history had ended before New Zealand's had begun, yet the United States

shares with New Zealand, and all former dominions of the Commonwealth, much in terms of culture and common institutional foundations. The use of the English language is common to both but so too are deep commitments to global security, the rule of law, human rights and the freedom of the individual. Despite the suspension of its military pact with the United States, New Zealand remains a contributing member of the Western world of which the United States is the leading nation. The two countries differ on Iraq but work closely together in Afghanistan and on Operation Enduring Freedom. They differ on nuclear weapons but New Zealand works with the United States for nuclear nonproliferation. The United States is one of New Zealand's closest allies on the important issue of trade liberalization. The shared commitment to free trade means the two countries cooperate closely in trade forums such as the WTO, APEC, and the OECD. The conduct of the relationship contains episodes best described by different schools of international relations theory: realists, with their focus on power and interest, will see a small country whose foreign policy has been determined primarily by considerations of security and trade; idealists, who look for the expression of moral values in international relations, can point to New Zealand's nuclear ban, still in place despite U.S. hostility; and dependency theorists, who focus on the economic subordination of the periphery to the center, can highlight the asymmetric relationship between New Zealand and the United States and the pressures placed on the former by the latter with regards to intellectual property rights, parallel importing, and the "dumping" of agricultural produce (Hoadley 2000).

New Zealand exists in a benign security environment, as far as short- and medium-term threats of direct human origin are concerned. Natural catastrophes present the greatest threat to the well-being of New Zealanders. One person was killed by a volcanic eruption on the remote Kermadec islands in 2006 and the eruption of Mount Tarawera on the North Island in 1886 killed 153. Earthquakes are common throughout New Zealand though loss of life has also been rare (258 were killed in the Napier earthquake of 1931). Earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and tsunamis are a threat to most population centers. The possible loss of life from such an event far exceeds that from other threats.

In the short- and medium-term, the economic well-being of the country could be severely impacted by breaches in bio-security. Livestock diseases such as "foot and mouth" could quickly and completely disrupt key areas of New Zealand's agricultural exports and therefore its fiscal capacity to import. In the longer term, climate change presents challenges as no OECD nation is as dependent for its exports on a favorable and reliable temperate climate. New Zealand has ratified the Kyoto Convention but the country will not meet its targets under the convention, thus raising the need to purchase $700 million of carbon credits internationally. The current Labour-led government has had to abandon plans for a "carbon tax" given the lack of support from its United Future coalition partner. Climate change may also make the hydrocarbon, mineral, fish, and water resources of Antarctica more valuable and more accessible. Pressures on the last resource storehouse of the world may rise in the next few decades. The legal status of all Antarctic territorial claims is indeterminate and, if New Zealand secures its claim, it will be through law and not force.

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Nigeria

Peter Nwanesi

BACKGROUND

Nigeria is located in west Africa, on the Gulf of Guinea. The country shares borders with Benin (773 kilometers west), Cameroon (1,690 kilometers east), Chad (87 kilometers north), and Niger (1,497 kilometers north). Two major landmarks, which have directly or indirectly impacted Nigerian history, international relations, and environmental conditions are the Sahara Desert (in the North) and the Atlantic Ocean (in the South). The country has a total area of 356,669 square miles (923,768 square kilometers); of that around 5,000 square miles (13,100 square kilometers) is water.

Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa. From 1966 to 1999, Nigeria was ruled (except for a short-lived Second Republic in 1979–1983) by military personnel who seized (or attempted to seize) power in coups d'etat and counter-coups. The country regained democracy in 1999. Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, a former military ruler in the 1970s, was chosen as a consensus candidate for elections marking the end of military rule in 1999. Nigeria is a Federal Republic, comprising 36 states plus the Federal Capital Territory of Abuja. At the federal level the government is made up of three different branches. These include the following:

Executive branch—the president is elected by popular vote for no more than two four-year terms.

Legislative branch—bicameral National Assembly consists of Senate (109 seats, three from each state, and one from the Federal Capital Territory; members elected by popular vote to serve seven-year terms) and House of Representatives (360 seats, members elected by popular vote to serve seven-year terms).

Judicial branch—Supreme Court, judges appointed by the Provisional Ruling Council; Federal Court of Appeals, judges are appointed by the federal government on the advice of the Advisory Judicial Committee.

Nigeria

Formal name of country: Federal Republic of Nigeria
Total size of country: 923,768 sq km
Land size: 910,768 sq km
Major ethnic groups:

- Hausa
- Yoruba
- Ibo

Key religions: Islam and Christianity
Political system: Democracy (presidential)
Key political groups/parties:

- People's Democratic Party (PDP)
- All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP)
- Alliance for Democracy (AD)

Legal system: Constitution, Customary and *Shari'a* laws
GDP (purchasing power parity): $132.9 billion (2005 est.)
GDP (official exchange rate): $76.46 billion (2005 est.)
GDP—real growth rate: 5.6% (2005 est.)
GDP—per capita (PPP): $1,000 (2005 est.)
GDP—composition by sector: Agriculture: 26.8%, industry: 48.8%, services: 24.4% (2005 est.)
Labor force: 57.21 million (2005 est.)
Labor force by occupation: Agriculture 70%, industry 10%, services 20% (1999 est.)
Unemployment rate: 5.8% (2006 est.)
Population below poverty line: 60% (2000 est.)
Natural resources: Petroleum, natural gas, tin, and coal
Life expectancy at birth: Total population: 47.08 years (males 46.52 years; females 47.66 years) (2006 est.)
Size of military: Active 85,000 (army 67,000, navy 8,000, and air 10,000); paramilitary 82,000 (2007 est.)
Relationship with the United States: Nigeria has lent strong diplomatic support to the United States' "War on Terror," and the United States has provided wide-ranging assistance to Nigeria.
Human security issues: These include infectious diseases, poverty, corruption, political instability, the lack of law and order, and environmental problems such as rapid deforestation and pollution.
Important future security issues: The potential worsening of the above issues is a major concern.

Sources: Nigeriaworld.com 2006, CIA 2006 and 2007, *The Nigeria Newspaper—This Day* 2006, International Institute for Strategic Studies 2007.

At the state level, each state has an independent House of Assembly and an elected governor, who appoints an Executive Council. The 1979 constitution is still in use while a new draft constitution is being debated at the National Assembly. The Nigerian Constitution is a legal system based on English common law, Islamic law, and Traditional laws, with suffrage at 18 years of age.

Conversely, the diversity of Nigeria's heterogeneous environment defines Nigeria as a unique place. Located within some key geographic features, Nigeria is evenly divided into equal halves by two major rivers—the Benue and the Niger. The Niger River enters the country in the Northwest and flows southward through tropical rain forests and swamps to its delta in the Gulf of Guinea. The Niger is the third longest river in Africa, exceeded only by the Nile and the Congo River, and it flows over 4,000 kilometers (2,500 miles). Its main tributary is the Benue River. Nigeria got its name from this great river. The Benue River on the other hand is approximately 1,400 kilometers long and is almost entirely navigable during the dry season (summer months). The Benue River rises in the Adamawa Plateau of northern Cameroon, from where it flows west, passing a number of towns/villages before entering the Niger at Lokoja.

In the center of Nigeria around the city of Jos is a plateau area with short grasses and open scenery. The only mountains are in the far east along the Cameroon border. Moving inland from the coastal oil-producing region, there are thick forests, swamps, seasonal rivers, and lakes, all equally densely populated. Additionally, Nigeria is endowed with valuable natural resources. These include petroleum, coal, and tin.

Petroleum was discovered in Nigeria in the late 1950s. Today the extraction and drilling of petroleum in Nigeria is the largest industry and the main generator of the gross domestic product. Nigeria is arguably the world's 12th largest producer of petroleum and a member of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). However, petroleum has created more problems than wealth for the people of Nigeria. Major problems associated with this natural resource include civil and political unrest, border disputes, corruption, and environmental degradation. Poor governance has equally derailed the gains of petroleum exploration in Nigeria. In fact, the last nine years have been a difficult period for the Nigerian Upstream oil sector—political problems arising from the hanging of activist Ken Saro-Wiwa, cash-call problems with the government, budget cuts, and the continuing problems with the host communities in the Niger Delta area. Regardless, given the important role that this sector plays in the economy of Nigeria, the business of oil continues.

Coal resources have been estimated at 2.5 billion tons, lignite at 250 million tons, and limestone at 600 million tons that are spread over 15 states. The Nigerian Coal Corporation is responsible for most of the existing coal mines. Among the major causes of the poor performance of the Nigeria coal industry are technical limitations. However, the Nigeria coal mining industry is slowly being privatized as part of increasing production back to levels of 900,000 tons per annum, last achieved in 1959, to increase capital flow in order to sustain the industry growth.

Nigeria used to be the world's sixth largest tin producer, but dwindling tin deposits have severely cut production—a fact directly related with the environmental problems in and around Jos. In the 1970s Nigeria produced an average of 10,000 tons of tin ore annually. Output fell to 3,000 tons in the 1980s and dropped again to 500 tons in the 1990s. Nigeria now earns less than 0.5 percent of its foreign exchange from tin. As tin deposits dwindle, miners have to tear up more and

more land and dig deeper holes to reach the metal. Eighty percent of Nigeria's deposits are now around 36 meters below the surface—twice as deep as they were 20 years ago. Many locals complain that decades of tin mining have left them a legacy of polluted water supplies, impoverished land, and even radioactive waste.

Unfortunately, like the petroleum, these mining and exploration activities in Nigeria have increased environmental problems. Today, key environmental issues in Nigeria include periodic droughts (mostly in the northern region), flooding (in the southern region), and environmental pollution due to mineral exploration, especially oil spillage.

Prior to Nigerian amalgamation in 1914 and subsequent independence in 1960, the entity called Nigeria today was comprised of a conglomeration of independent and self-governed states, empires (Benin, Oyo, Kanem-Bornu, Fulani Empires/Caliphate, and so on), kingdoms (for example Kastina, Kano, and Jukun), and nations (Ibo, Tiv, and so on). Thus, the political entity known as Nigeria came into formal existence in 1914 with the amalgamation of the northern and southern British protectorates. Even after that, all parts of Nigeria did not share a common experience at the political level. From the time of amalgamation of the northern and southern parts of Nigeria from 1914 to 1946, the British Colonial administration ensured that the two parts maintained only a tenuous linkage through the Colonial governor. Both parts retain their distinctive political identities, structures, and religiosity, and also maintain separate administrations. In 1960, Nigeria became independent and this culminated into a unified legal system, political identity, and government.

SOCIETY

The exact population figure of Nigeria is subject to speculation. But most estimates put the population at 128,771,988. The 2006 national census placed Nigeria's population at 140 million. According to the National Population Commission, this was an increase of 63 percent since 1991. At least 24 cities have populations of more than 100,000. The population grows at 2.92 percent, with a birth rate estimated at 41.84 per 1,000 population and a death rate at 12.98 deaths per 1,000 population. At this rate, most statistics placed Nigeria population by 2020 at 340,000,000.

Nigeria, Africa's most populous country, is composed of more than 250 ethnic groups with varying languages and customs, creating a country of rich ethnic diversity. The most populous and politically influential are Hausa and Fulani (29 percent), Yoruba (21 percent), Ibo (18 percent), Ijaw (10 percent), Kanuri (4 percent), Ibibio (3.5 percent), and Tiv (2.5 percent). In Nigeria a number of religions coexist, thus accentuating regional and ethnic distinctions. According to the 1991 census, 48 percent of Nigerians were Muslim, 42 percent Christian, and 10 percent members of local indigenous congregations. If accurate, this indicated a sharp increase in the number of Christians (up 10 percent) and a slight decline among those professing indigenous beliefs (18 percent in 1963). Furthermore, there has been the growth of the Aladura Church, an Africanized Christian sect

that was especially strong in the Yoruba areas, and of evangelical churches in general, spilling over into adjacent and southern areas of the middle belt. At the same time, Islam was spreading southward into the northern reaches of the middle belt, especially among the upwardly mobile, who saw it as a necessary attribute for full acceptance in northern business and political circles. Generally, Nigeria is seen as having a predominantly Muslim north (especially since 13 of Nigeria's 36 states adopted *Shari'a* laws in 2000) and a non-Muslim, primarily Christian, south.

One major problem that has hampered economic growth in Nigeria is the state of its basic infrastructure. Decaying and nonexistent infrastructures coupled with a substandard transportation network are the major characteristics of Nigerian roads, railways, waters, and airports. Although the government has begun to repair the country's transportation networks, the parlous condition of these networks will take years and huge financial and human resource to bring to a reasonable standard. For example, there are about 3,505 kilometers of mainly narrow-gauge railways. In fact, it was only in July 2006 that the government of Olusegun Obasanjo contemplated constructing a standard gauge railway which would be 1,435 mm wide; a line running from Lagos in the southwest to Kano in the north central. This will be constructed based on the two principal lines connecting Lagos with Nguru and Port Harcourt with Maiduguri. The road network does not fare any better. For example, in 1996 Nigerian roads totaled 193,198 kilometers, including 2,044 kilometers of motorways, 30,054 kilometers of main roads, and 30,500 kilometers of secondary roads; some 37,000 kilometers were paved. Moreover, the National Inland Waterways Authority, responsible for all navigable waterways, is unreliable. Yet there is a need to acknowledge that the principal ports in the Delta Port complex (which include Warri, Koko, Burutu, and Sapele ports), Bonny and Burutu, the main petroleum ports, are gradually being improved. Besides, Port Harcourt and Calabar, other significant ports situated at Apapa and Tin Can Island, near Lagos, are handling the flow of goods and services in the above ports. The same kudos can be extended to the principal international airports at Lagos (Mutala Muhammed Airport), Kano, Port Harcourt, Calabar, and Abuja. There are also 14 airports for domestic flights. In early 1997 a two-year program to develop the airports at Lagos, Abuja, Port Harcourt, and Kano was announced. But the pace of development at these airports is very slow.

Although still problematic, advances in communication have occurred. The number of mobile cellular phones has increased from fewer than 9,070 in February 1999 to 19,000,000 by December 2005. Although the main lines were still low at 853,100 in 2003, the years 2005 and 2006 witnessed a great improvement. In fact the country's telecommunications markets are among the fastest growing in the world and are still at very low levels of penetration, making it the most attractive investment arena besides petroleum. The economic liberalization and the deregulation embarked upon by the present civilian administration are gradually paving the path to full utilization. Nigeria, as one of the largest and fastest growing markets, offers particularly attractive opportunities, starting with the privatization of the national carrier Nitel in 2005 which was finally sold in July 2006. A takeover of V-Mobile, the country's number three mobile network, and the securing of

funding for Nigeria's first telecommunication satellite have equally been completed. Indeed, recent deregulation of the mobile phone market has led to the introduction of GSM mobile network providers operating on the 900/1800 MHz spectrum, MTN Nigeria, V-Mobile, Globacom, and MTel. The use of cell phones has soared and has mostly replaced the unreliable Nitel-operated ground phones. However, this turnaround of Nigeria's telecommunications did not overflow to the energy sector.

In the Nigeria energy sector, irregular power supply and blackouts are common in most Nigerian cities and villages. Millions of dollars have been spent on fixing the problems but they have continued unabated.

Petroleum consumption accounted for the lion's share of Nigeria's total energy consumption in 2001, making up 61.4 percent of the total. Natural gas accounted for the bulk of the remainder with 31.7 percent, with hydropower (6.8 percent) and coal (0.2 percent) rounding out the country's fuel mix. Essentially, the utilization of renewable energy sources in Nigeria is minimal. While the use of solid biomass, such as fuel-wood, is prevalent and constitutes a major energy source for rural Nigerians, these traditional resources are not being consumed sustainably. These energy problems are often attributed to Nigeria's poor economy and instability in the political life of the country.

The oil-rich Nigerian economy continues to be hobbled by political instability, corruption, and poor macroeconomic management. Nigeria's unpopular military rulers failed to make significant progress in diversifying the economy away from overdependence on the capital-intensive oil sector which provides 30 percent of the GDP, 95 percent of foreign exchange earnings, and about 80 percent of budgetary revenues.

The largely subsistence agricultural sector has failed to keep up with rapid population growth, and Nigeria, once a large net exporter of food, imports 60 percent of the food consumed. Economic growth in 1999 was negative because of continued low oil prices and persistent inefficiencies in the system but recent figures show an improvement over pre-1999 economic trends. Major non-oil exports include, cocoa, rubber, urea, and ammonia. Imports are machinery and transport equipment, foodstuffs, and chemicals. The main export markets are the United States, Germany, India, and France; import suppliers are the United Kingdom, Germany, the United States, and France. However, right now the Nigerian economy is undergoing a massive reform. The government is trying to improve the delivery of social services including health and education. The public sector is being reformed. Procurement practices are being tightened up, and the authorities are seeking to tackle corruption. Most moribund public utilities have either been privatized or are in the latter stages of being privatized. After a long campaign by the Nigerian authorities, in October 2005 Nigeria and its Paris Club creditors reached an agreement and in April 2006 Nigeria's debt was reduced by approximately 60 percent, after completing debt payback to its major creditor (the Paris Club). Today, the external debt stands at $5 billion. However, unemployment among Nigeria's youth is still very high—a factor which has led to many young Nigerians embarking on illegal migration to Europe. Thus, the poor state of the Nigerian economy equally reflects on its social indicators.

Nigeria has some of the worst social indicators in the world. For example, one in five children born in Nigeria die before the age of five. This under-five mortality rate has virtually stagnated over the past 10 years. Almost half of Nigeria's population are still illiterate. Twelve million children are not in school; and there are nearly one million AIDS orphans. Only 12 percent of Nigerian children in their second year of life have been completely immunized against common childhood diseases, and almost 30 percent of young children suffer chronic malnutrition.

Nigeria's fertility rate, which is twice that of East Asia, has barely decreased in the past 25 years. Only 13 percent of married women have four or fewer children as their ideal, and only about 4 percent of couples practiced efficient, modern methods of family planning in 1990. Thirteen percent of Nigerian girls have begun childbearing by age 15, and nearly half by age 20. Half of the Nigerian adults are illiterate and only 55 percent of eligible children currently attend primary school. Pervasive poverty and the poor educational and health status of Nigerian children and adults are the key development challenges for the country, and with its per capita income placed at $800 and life expectancy at 50.5 years, Nigeria seems to be facing an uphill task.

DOMESTIC POLITICS AND LAW AND ORDER

Despite the end of military rule in 1999, Nigeria is still beset by political thuggery, chronic corruption, and bouts of politically motivated ethnic and religious violence. In 2005/2006, scores were killed in religious violence in the North and Southeast, while insurgents in the oil-producing delta region cut Nigeria's oil output by a fifth. Prior to the general election in April 2007, diplomats feared deep geopolitical divisions could resurface. The country's population of 140,003,542 (2006 census) was split evenly between Christians and Muslims and further divided into three main ethnic groups with hundreds of minorities. Nigeria's political elite were polarized after months of debate over the "third-term" issue (a phrase coined after President Olusegun Obasanjo attempted to prolong or extend his leadership through the amendment of the Nigerian Constitution). While more than two-thirds of Nigerians continue to concur that democracy is preferable to any other form of government, their trust in institutions and leaders declined significantly in 2003 and the president's approval rating dipped from 72 percent to 58 percent. Improved performance in economic management, health and education service delivery, conflict resolution, and ensuring household food security is urgently needed to rebuild public confidence in the government. Key political parties include

- the Advanced Congress of Democrats (ACD),
- the Alliance for Democracy (AD),
- the All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP),
- the All People's Party (APP),
- the People's Redemption Party (PRP),
- the People's Salvation Party (PSP),

- the United Nigeria People's Party (UNPP),
- the Fresh Democratic Party (FDP),
- the All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA),
- the National Democratic Party (NDP), and
- the People's Democratic Party (PDP).

As the 2007 elections approached, many Muslim Northerners felt the next president should be from the North given that the most recent President Chief Obasanjo was a Christian southerner. This outraged other regional politicians who maintain that the North has dominated the presidency for much of the last four decades. However, after much consultation and politicking, and through fraudulent means, a northerner and Muslim, Umaru Musa Yar'Adua, was declared the winner of Nigeria's April 2007 presidential election. Prior to this election, both regional and political upheaval had led to many deaths and wanton destruction of properties. Many regional politicians are busy re-arming private militias. Conversely, the Nigeria Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) chairman maintains that the agency will begin a large swoop on corrupt politicians in its effort to stop corrupt Nigerians from participating in an electioneering process—a task some people view as suspicious and others feels is impossible. Moreover, the divisions within the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP), which won landslide victories in the 1999 and 2003 elections—widely seen as marred by rigging and violence—are rife. Already, factions of the PDP have decamped to form a rival political party; like the PDP, rival parties are looking to attract candidates who have clout (*The Nigeria Newspaper—This Day* 2006). As of May 2007 official results for the Senate and House of Representatives 2007 elections had not been posted.

Political ideologies, involvement in elections, and the opinions of politicians and the political system are hard to quantify or explain because of two major factors. These are: (1) political dispensation in Nigeria is still at a formative stage, and (2) the high level of corruption and election malpractices, and sometimes political assassination, continues to affect the political system and participation. It is accurate to state "politicking is a dangerous venture in the present day Nigeria." Law and order in Nigeria are far from being adequate or functioning to protect life and properties.

The Nigerian police force is the governmental department charged with the regulation and control of the affairs of internal security. The department was chiefly established to maintain order, enforce the law, and prevent and detect crime. In Nigeria, the development of the police force was on a tangential direction to that of the British Force in 1861. Since then the police force has developed as a paramilitary force bearing arms from its inception. A section of the Nigerian police has been designated as the "Police Mobile Squadrons." This section is tasked with emergency services such as controlling rioting and communal conflicts. The fire brigade, ambulance service, and sometimes military are called upon in cases of emergencies such as fires, accidents, flood, draught, and so on (however, these departments are often inadequately equipped and financed to effectively perform their roles). The Nigerian borders are controlled or monitored by the

Nigerian customs and immigration services. Explicitly, the Nigerian borders have remained very porous. This is because, like the Nigerian police force, the customs and immigration services are dogged with corruption, are ill-equipped, and are poorly compensated.

Major crimes in Nigeria include armed robbery, human and drug trafficking (Nigeria is mainly a transit country for this trafficking), mail scam (locally referred to as "419"), and corruption both at high and low levels of the governmental hierarchy. Generally, the Nigerian public has no confidence in the police or the paramilitary services or personnel.

Compared with its neighbors, Nigeria possesses overwhelming military strength. Its sizeable and relatively well-equipped armed forces were capable of defending the country against any likely external threat and of projecting power in the region. The Nigerian military's active duty personnel in the three Nigerian armed forces are estimated to number 85,000. The Nigerian army has about 67,000 personnel deployed in two mechanized infantry divisions, of both airborne and amphibious operations. These divisions are the Lagos Garrison Command—a division-sized unit—and the Abuja-based Brigade of Guards. The Nigerian navy on the other hand is equipped with frigates, fast attack craft, corvettes, and coastal patrol boats. In addition, the Nigerian air force flies transport, trainer, helicopter, and fighter aircraft.

Although the army had been drastically cut in 1970, 1985, and 1999, its firepower and mobility have increased considerably. In addition, the other services have had their combat systems increased in number and sophistication. The navy, for example, has expanded its mission from coastal defense to sea-land protection and acquired modest amphibious and antisubmarine warfare capabilities. Also, the Nigerian air force developed and improved its capacity for ground attack, air support, interdiction, air defense, airlift, and air mobility operations. Nigerian military armed forces (and the police force) have demonstrated their capabilities to mobilize, deploy, and sustain battalions in support of peacekeeping operations. This is more visible in their peace missions in Liberia, the former Yugoslavia, Angola, Rwanda, Somalia, and Sierra Leone. Nigeria also has pursued a policy of developing domestic training and military production capabilities. Nigeria has continued a strict policy of diversification in its military procurement from various countries. After the imposition of sanctions by many Western nations in the 1990s, Nigeria turned to the People's Republic of China, Russia, North Korea, and India for the purchase of military equipment and training. The military expenditure is placed at $737.6 million (2005 est.). Finally, the Nigerian armed forces have remained highly politicized, despite efforts at professionalism (CIA 2006, World Bank 2006).

FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND SECURITY

Since the country's independence on October 1, 1960, the Nigerian foreign policy's centerpiece has been on Africa and by attachment to several fundamental principles such as

- peaceful settlement of disputes (through the African central body—the African Union),

- nonalignment and nonintentional interference in the internal affairs of other nations (in association with the Non-Aligned Movement, the Commonwealth, and the United Nations), and
- regional economic cooperation and development (through the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

In addition to its membership in the above-mentioned organizations, Nigeria is a member of the following international organizations: the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), the Organization of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU), the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), the World Bank/International Monetary Fund (IMF), the International Labor Organization (ILO), and Interpol.

However, economic indices and the realignment of global interests have necessitated a new focus in Nigeria's foreign policies, especially in the drive to improve the economy and grow the industrial base of the nation. On a larger scale, Nigeria maintains cordial and mutually beneficial relationships with many nations and international organizations. For instance, Nigeria is a notable member of the United Nations with eminent citizens holding offices. Nigeria has also at various times been given the privilege to preside over the meetings of this world organization, presided over the World Court, and has held positions of eminent responsibility on global issues. Following the outbreak of war in Liberia in 1990, the Anglophone countries of West Africa set up the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). Nigeria provided the bulk of the funds, personnel, and equipment used in running the body. Shuttle diplomacy and roundtable talks brokered by Nigeria have also arrived at peaceful resolutions of internal conflicts and political uprisings in West African and other African countries such as Cote d'Ivoire, Togo, the Sudan, and Senegal. ECOMOG largely saw the return of peace to countries such as Liberia and Sierra Leone. In fact the ECOMOG put down the mutiny that ousted the president of Sierra Leone in May 1997 and returned him to power by March 1998. As noted above, Nigeria has also sent peacekeeping contingents to other parts of the globe such as the former Yugoslavia and Bosnia. Finally, Nigeria has no interest in developing nuclear weapons or their proliferation and it is a signatory to non-nuclear proliferation.

After a period of complete break down in the rule of law and, after the death of General Abacha in June 1998 and his replacement by General Abubakar, the strained diplomatic relationship between the United States and Nigeria saw a new phase of improved bilateral relations established. Since the new relationship, the Nigerian government has lent strong diplomatic support to the U.S. government counterterrorism efforts in the aftermath of 9/11. The government of Nigeria, in its official statements, has both condemned the terrorist attacks as well as supported military action against the Taliban and Al Qaeda. Nigeria also has played a leading role in forging an anti-terrorism consensus among states in sub-Saharan Africa.

The federal government of Nigeria admits entering into military cooperation with the United States, but not a military pact. Part of this cooperation includes

- providing training to some battalions of the Nigerian army,

- providing eight patrol vessels for the Nigerian army to police the oil producing areas,
- meeting broad objectives of protecting oil installations in the Niger Delta,
- and training the Nigerian army for peacekeeping operations.

Finally, the United States has remained the major trading associate in petroleum products.

SECURITY

The two biggest threats to Nigerian security are the religious in-fighting and the constant violent attacks in the oil-rich Niger-Delta area.

The source of these problems is multi-dimensional, as their origins date back to the pre-colonial era. However, the core issue has been linked to popular frustration over the government's inability to deliver basic services and jobs to the growing army of unemployed youth. In essence, it is estimated that 85 percent of the violence is rooted in poverty and unemployment. Various sources have put the number of such unemployed Nigerians at 60 percent of the nation's population.

Indeed, estimates of the number of Nigerians that have been killed in sectarian and communal violence since 1987 vary, but the figures run into the thousands and the value of properties damaged into the millions of dollars. What is more, the imposition of *Shari'a* or Islamic laws in the 13 northern states has increased religious hostilities between Christians and Muslims. Moreover, the 1999 election which ushered in President Obasanjo (a Southerner and a Christian) only exacerbated the country's deep divisions. For example, during this administration thousands of Christians were forced to flee northern states and many Muslims from the North were forced to flee many southern states, while the infamous Danish cartoons ridiculing the Muslim Prophet Mohammed created additional incentives to attack many Christians' homes, churches, and businesses. This reprisal killed dozens and injured or displaced thousands in the North and South. Throughout Obasanjo's eight-year administration and leadership in Nigeria, he failed to make a definitive response to the religious violence, Niger Delta crisis, and other communal tensions. The new president in his inaugural speech endorsed these national problems (especially the Niger delta crisis) as his major priorities. So far, he has failed to take any decisive action or steps toward solving these problems. The inability of the administrations to tackle these security issues has encouraged many secessionist groups.

Although there are no specific rebel force(s) in Nigeria, there is a mixture of secessionist forces that are very active. These include the Yoruba separatist Oodua People's Congress, the IJAW Egbesu in the Niger Delta, the Bakassi Boys in the southeast or Igbo area, and the AREWA People's Congress in the North.

Nigeria, which normally pumps 2.5 million barrels of crude oil a day, is Africa's largest oil producer and the fifth largest source of imports to the United States. Unrest in the oil-producing region has often driven oil prices higher in the international markets. Consequently, Nigerian militants have blown up oil

pipelines and kidnapped foreign oil workers to press their demands for local control of oil revenues by inhabitants of the oil-producing south, who feel cheated out of the wealth produced in their region. Other groups have kidnapped oil workers to use as bargaining chips to prod oil companies to increase jobs or improve benefits. The kidnappings usually end peacefully but have often had an economic impact on the international market.

With the return of democracy in 1999, President Olusegun Obasanjo worked tirelessly to take an increasingly prominent position in Africa especially on policy formulation and the championing of economic growth. Recognized and commended by the international communities for his efforts to broker peace in regional conflicts, Obasanjo followed it up by taking some important steps to combat corruption and introduce economic reforms in Nigeria. Furthermore, one of the first policy actions of President Olusegun Obasanjo when he assumed office in 1999 was the setting up of the Oputa Commission. The purpose of that commission was to contribute to a culture of respect for human rights in Nigeria. This was necessary especially given the atmosphere of impunity and gross violations of human rights experienced through the many years of military rule. This single action raised the profile of human rights in Nigeria. However, the government of Nigeria has not shown the same commitment to addressing human rights abuses among law enforcement agents. Undeniably, there are widespread and persistent violations perpetrated by the security forces. This is most conspicuously perceived among the Nigerian police, military, and other law enforcement agencies against persons they arrest or detain (lawfully or unlawfully). For example, although the Nigerian Constitution and international laws prohibit the use of torture, a Human Rights Watch investigation in Nigeria in March 2005 found the use of torture and other cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment by the Nigerian Police Force to be widespread and routine. Despite Nigeria's election to the United Nations Human Rights Council, the inhuman acts of its law enforcement agencies are yet to be addressed.

Currently there is ongoing reform of the Federal Ministry of Justice. Part of this reform targets effective performance in the justice system. This has been acclaimed to be central to survival of democracy in Nigeria. So far the committee tasked with this reform has concluded the review of the Legal Aid Council and the outcome of that review was a new Legal Aid Council bill. The committee is equally working toward the reform of criminal justice administration which is central to ensuring that justice is neither denied nor delayed. According to the Nigerian Minister of Justice Chief Bayo Ojo (SAN), in an interview granted to the *Nigeria Vanguard Newspaper* (2006),

> We have concluded work on the Administration of Criminal Justice Bill. The bill responds to the problems associated with the administration of criminal justice such as chronic delay in the trial of cases, lack of effective coordination amongst the agencies of the criminal justice system—the police, prisons, prosecutors and the courts, absence of clear and consistent sentencing guidelines, growing number of awaiting trial inmates, "holden" charge and limited alternatives to imprisonment to mention a few.

CONCLUSION

The relationship between Nigeria and the United States can be clearly understood based on the trade agreement both countries signed on February 16, 2000, which states in part,

> The Parties affirm their desire to expand trade in products and services consistent with the terms of this Agreement. They will take appropriate measures to encourage and facilitate the exchange of goods and services and to secure favorable conditions for long-term development and diversification of trade between their respective nationals and companies.

Subsection 11 of this agreement further affirmed the importance of providing adequate and effective protection and enforcement of intellectual property rights and taking into account each party's obligations contained in the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) and in intellectual property rights conventions. This agreement was followed with a historic visit of U.S. President Bill Clinton to Nigeria in August 2000. In addition, a military agreement or understanding exists between the two countries. Prior to and after these agreements Nigeria and the United States have maintained a cordial relationship and remain close allies in the fight against terrorism and other development matters. The Nigerian government has neither opposed the United States' involvement in Iraq nor has it supported it. Within the Nigerian population, opinion varies depending mainly on religious inclination. Yet such views are often silent and do not represent the views of the government.

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North Korea

Julia Macdonald

BACKGROUND

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (also known as North Korea) forms the northern half of the Korean Peninsula which extends southward from the northeastern part of the Asian continent. North Korea is surrounded on three sides by water and is bordered by the People's Republic of China to the north and northwest, by Russia to the northeast, and by the Republic of Korea to the south. The Demilitarized Zone (DMZ), a 250-km long, 4-km wide fortified strip of land running from the east to the west coast of the peninsula, separates North and South Korea.

North Korea occupies 55 percent of the total land area of the Korean Peninsula or 120,410 square miles, making it roughly the same size as the state of Mississippi (United States Library of Congress 2006). The country is divided into nine provinces (*do*)—Chagang, North Hamgyŏng, South Hamgyŏng, North Hwanghae, South Hwanghae, Kangwŏn, North P'yŏngan, South P'yŏngan, and Yanggang; and four municipalities (*si*)—P'yŏngyang (the capital of North Korea), Najin-Sŏnbong, Namp'o, and Kaesŏng. The remaining cities are under provincial control.

North Korea has a temperate climate often with cold, dry winters and hot, humid summers. Rainfall is concentrated in the summer months and temperatures can range from -6°C to 25°C (21° F to 77° F) (Europa 2006). Approximately 80 percent of North Korea's land area is comprised of mountain ranges with deep, narrow valleys. According to recent estimates, only 22.4 percent of this land is suitable for farming and only 1.6 percent is in permanent crops (CIA *World Factbook* 2007). North Korea is prone to flooding and droughts and the consecutive occurrence of both throughout the 1990s has further debilitated the country's agricultural production.

North Korea also suffers from a number of broader environmental problems. Current issues include air and water pollution (largely the result of rapid industrialization in the 1990s and poor environmental controls), waterborne disease,

North Korea

Formal name of country: Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK)

Size of country: 120,410 sq km

Natural resources: Coal, lead, tungsten, zinc, graphite, magnesite, iron ore, copper, gold, pyrites, salt, fluorspar, and hydropower

Population: 23,301,725 (2007)

Life expectancy at birth: 71.92 years (2007)

Key ethnic groups: Korean; small Chinese and Japanese populations

Key religions: Traditionally Buddhist and Confucianist with small pockets of Christian and syncretic Chondogyo (Religion of the Heavenly Way). *Note:* autonomous religious activities have been virtually nonexistent since 1945.

Political system: Communist state dictatorship

Key political groups/parties:

- Korean Workers' Party (KWP)
- Chondoist Chongu Party (under KWP control)
- Social Democratic Party (under KWP control)

Legal system: Three-level judicial system based on the Soviet model comprising the Central Court, provincial courts, and county courts.

Real GDP growth: 1.8% (2006)

Population below the poverty line: 27% (2006)

Size of military: 1,106,000 (active); army 950,000; navy 46,000; air force 110,000 (2007)

Relationship with the United States: The United States and DPRK do not have diplomatic relations. In more than 50 years since the end of the Korean War, tensions have remained high between the two countries. The United States and North Korea have been engaged in talks over P'yŏngyang's nuclear program for over 10 years. In early 2002, amidst suspicion of North Korea's continued pursuit of weapons of mass destruction, the Bush administration identified the DPRK as part of an ''Axis of Evil.'' Despite this increasingly strained relationship, the United States has continued to provide humanitarian assistance to DPRK, mainly through the World Food Programme (WFP).

Human security issues: North Korea is renowned for its disregard of human rights. The death penalty is frequently administered and there are credible reports of public executions. Individuals can be detained without due process, and the use of torture and other inhumane forms of punishment is well documented. There are an estimated 200,000 political prisoners held in forced labor camps and other detention centers throughout the country. The North Korean population is also suffering from severe malnutrition, which is further exacerbated by the country's poor infrastructure and economic underdevelopment.

Important future security issues: The United States and South Korea combined pose the greatest external security threat to North Korea. This has recently been exacerbated by North Korea's pursuit of a nuclear weapons program. P'yŏngyang's actions have been condemned widely by the international community, and many countries fear further regional instability if North Korea's weapons program is not brought under international control. North Korea also faces severe economic hardship and unless the government undertakes a program of serious economic reform, the country risks internal collapse. Should this occur, North Korea would become a nuclear-capable failed state holding significant risk for the rest of the world.

inadequate supplies of potable water, deforestation, and soil erosion and degradation. While the country is rich in natural resources, with large deposits of coal, lead, tungsten, zinc, graphite, magnesite, iron ore, copper, gold, pyrites, salt, and fluorspar, many are yet to be fully exploited (CIA *World Factbook* 2007). As a result, North Korea remains economically underdeveloped with a poor standard of living.

The division of the Korean Peninsula into two independent countries is a relatively recent development. Korea existed as a united and independent kingdom from 668 CE until 1905 when it came under Japanese occupation in the aftermath of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). Korea was formally annexed by Japan in 1910, and it remained under foreign occupation until the end of World War II. At the conclusion of the war, the Soviet Union and the United States temporarily divided Korea into two parts along the 38th parallel, with the United States accepting surrender in the South and the Soviet Union doing so in the North.

While a number of attempts were made to reunify the country, Cold War tensions and the respective interests of the United States and the Soviet Union prevented this occurrence. In 1948, an independent government closely allied with the United States emerged in the South under the leadership of President Syngman Rhee (the Republic of Korea). In the same year, a communist state with allegiance to the Soviet Union was established in the North under the leadership of Kim Il Sung called the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

In 1950, North Korea invaded the Republic of Korea in an attempt to remove the anticommunist regime and reunify the peninsula under northern leadership. The United Nations responded with a series of resolutions, first calling for the cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of North Korean forces (UNSCR 82), then requesting that member nations provide assistance to South Korea to repel the attack (UNSCR 83), and finally that member states' forces be made available to a unified command under the United States (UNSRC 84). The U.S. government responded to the third resolution, and a UN force led by the United States counterattacked and drove North Korean forces back across the 38th parallel. A military stalemate ensued for the next two years with the war eventually ending in failure for North Korea. The armistice signed on July 27, 1953, simply reaffirmed the division of the peninsula and established a demilitarized military zone (DMZ) along the 38th parallel. No comprehensive peace agreement has replaced the 1953 armistice pact.

The end of the Cold War eased some of the tension between North and South Korea, as well as between North Korea and the United States, and at several points there have been significant but often temporary improvements in both relationships. The South Korean President Kim Dae-jung introduced a policy of dialogue and cooperation with North Korea upon his inauguration in 1998. This announcement was followed by a summit with Kim Jong Il in P'yŏngyang in June 2000, which culminated in the signing of a Joint Declaration of Cooperation between the two countries. These initiatives were strongly supported by the U.S. Clinton administration.

North Korea's long-range missile development, as well as its nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons programs, however, have proved a sticking-point in the North-South relationship and are of ongoing concern to the international

community. In 2002, the United States claimed it had evidence that North Korea was pursuing a nuclear weapons program based on enriched uranium, contravening the two countries' 1994 agreement. North Korea admitted that it had a nuclear weapons program in October 2002, and upon expelling international inspectors from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) restarted its reactors and reprocessing facilities. In 2003, North Korea announced that it was leaving the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

Since August 2003, North Korea, South Korea, China, Japan, Russia, and the United States have participated in Six-Party Talks to resolve the standoff over North Korea's nuclear weapon's program. After several impasses, North Korea pulled out of the talks in November 2005 and proceeded to test-fire ballistic missiles in July 2006 and a nuclear weapon in October 2006. The United Nations condemned both tests and retaliated by unanimously adopting Security Council Resolutions 1695 and 1718 in July and October 2006, respectively (see sidebar 2). Talks reconvened in December 2006 and on February 13, 2007, North Korea agreed to shut down its nuclear reactors in return for economic aid and security guarantees. In July 2007, IAEA inspectors confirmed that North Korea had closed all five of its nuclear facilities. While these developments are encouraging, the much greater challenge remains—ridding North Korea of its existing nuclear weapons stockpile and permanently removing its nuclear weapons potential. Unfortunately this is the point at which cooperation has broken down in the past.

THE 1994 AGREED FRAMEWORK

North Korea's relations with the United States have been shaped most significantly by North Korea's efforts to acquire nuclear weapons. Despite signing the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1985, there was significant evidence throughout the late 1980s and early 1990s that North Korea was violating the terms of the treaty by refusing to declare the full extent of its nuclear material. In 1992, amidst growing suspicion that North Korea was pursuing a clandestine weapons program, inspections were requested under the NPT. Tensions rose when North Korea refused to allow access to the international inspectors and announced its intention to withdraw from the treaty. The United States retaliated by threatening sanctions to force North Korea's compliance. In order to subvert a crisis, former President Jimmy Carter traveled to P'yŏngyang to engage in direct talks with the North Korean leadership. Carter was successful and the proceeding negotiations resulted in North Korea and the United States signing the Agreed Framework in October 1994.

Under the terms of the framework, North Korea agreed to suspend operations at its nuclear facilities with the ultimate aim of dismantling its plutonium-based nuclear program. In return, the United States established a consortium known as the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization to provide North Korea with proliferation-resistant light water reactors and shipments of heavy fuel oil while the reactors were under construction. North Korea agreed to fully abide by the terms of the NPT and open talks with South Korea. The United States and North Korea pledged to move towards normalized relations, including the United States' removal of economic sanctions, and the United States agreed to guarantee that it would not use nuclear weapons against North Korea.

SOCIETY

North Korea has a population of approximately 23,301,725 with an annual growth rate of 0.785 percent. The population density currently stands at 188 persons per square kilometer, with 40 percent of the population living in rural areas and 60 percent concentrated in urban centers. In terms of demographics, 23.3 percent of the population are between zero and 14 years of age, 68.1 percent are

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UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1718

On October 14, 2006, the United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted UNSCR 1718 imposing severe sanctions on North Korea. The resolution requires North Korea to abandon its nuclear weapons programs and demands that all countries take actions to prevent North Korea from importing or exporting any material capable of assisting the manufacture of WMD or ballistic missiles. Additionally, any assets of people or businesses connected to these programs are to be frozen and the individuals banned from traveling. All countries are required to inspect cargo leaving and arriving in North Korea to prevent illegal trafficking in these weapons. The resolution also bans the sale of luxury goods to the country, a measure targeted at North Korea's elite.

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between 15 and 64 years of age, and 8.5 percent are 65 years of age or over. The birth rate in North Korea is 15.06 births per 1,000 population, and the death rate currently stands at 7.21 deaths per 1,000. The 2007 estimated life expectancy averages at 71.9 years for the total population; however, the infant mortality rate is also high at 22.56 deaths per 1,000 live births (CIA *World Factbook* 2007).

North Korea is a racially homogeneous society with small pockets of Chinese and Japanese inhabitants. Korean is the official language. The society is traditionally Buddhist and Confucianist, with smaller numbers adhering to the tenets of Christianity and syncretic Chondogyo (Religion of the Heavenly Way). While the constitution provides for the freedom of religious expression outside of these officially sanctioned groups, autonomous religious activity is now deemed almost nonexistent due to the highly centralized nature of the state.

North Korea has a national literacy rate of 99.9 percent due to its free, compulsory, and universal education policy for all children from the ages of four through 15 years. North Korea also has a nationwide free medical service and health insurance system. Medical treatment is free and there are an estimated 13.6 hospital beds per 1,000 population—one of the highest ratios in the world (Turner 2006).

Unfortunately, many other quality-of-life indicators are less encouraging. Flooding and drought cycles in the late 1990s, combined with poor infrastructure and an underdeveloped economy, resulted in somewhere between 500,000 and three million people dying from famine. The most recent large-scale study carried out by UN agencies in 2004 found that 37 percent of children are chronically malnourished and one third of mothers are both malnourished and anaemic. In 2005, daily rations were cut from 300 grams to an average of 250 grams per person per day, only 40 percent of the internationally recommended calorie intake (United Nations World Food Programme 2007). The 2006 national food deficit was estimated at 800,000 metric tons, or 15 percent of the population's food needs, and 27 percent of the population is at or below the poverty line (United States Library of Congress 2007).

The impact of these deficiencies varies between social classes and the party, state, and military elites have a much higher standard of living than the average citizen. While migration from North Korea is not legally sanctioned, it is estimated that from 2003 to 2004 between 140,000 and 300,000 North Koreans fled to China to avoid famine with the hope of eventually reaching South Korea. In February 2007, the South Korean Ministry of Unification stated that more than 10,000 North Koreans were in residence in the South, compared with nine in 1990, 41 in 1995, and 312 in 2000 (United States Library of Congress 2007). A further

50,000 to 250,000 people have been internally displaced due to famine and government repression (CIA *World Factbook* 2007).

North Korea's infrastructure is unsophisticated and outdated. Inadequate rail, road, and maritime transportation have hampered both economic and social development. Railroads are the most important mode of transportation, accounting for 70 percent of cargo and 80 percent of passenger movements. Road transportation is more limited and accounts for only 12 percent of cargo movement. Of the 31,200 kilometers of road in North Korea, only 1,997 kilometers are paved and the remainder is poorly maintained. Merchant marine and river transportation systems have grown but still account for a mere 2 percent of cargo transporting capacity, and transportation by air within North Korea is rare.

All forms of communication in North Korea are under the control of the government. Telecommunications are controlled by the Korean Workers' Party (KWP) and most national broadcasting is via the Korean Central Broadcasting Station located in P'yŏngyang. There are three known government-controlled radio broadcast stations in North Korea (AM 17, FM 14, shortwave 14) and most households have access to the broadcasts via radio or public loudspeaker. There are also four government-controlled television stations, although fewer citizens have access to these broadcasts with 55 television sets estimated per 1,000 population (United States Library of Congress 2007). There are only 980,000 telephones available throughout North Korea and as a result most citizens do not have private phone lines. Some international phone connections are available via Russian and Chinese satellite services (CIA *World Factbook* 2007). The number of cellular phones in circulation is unknown since their withdrawal by the government in May 2004, and public Internet access is limited to high-ranking officials and other designated elites. Any access to electronic media by the wider community would most likely be subject to strict censorship by the government, and print media is also controlled by the state.

North Korea relies heavily on coal and hydropower as its domestic sources of energy. According to 2003 estimates, coal accounted for 83 percent of the country's chief energy consumption, while hydropower accounted for almost 70 percent of North Korea's electricity generation. There is potential for better utilization of geothermal power, though fuel shortages render this unlikely in the near term. As a consequence, North Korea often suffers from electricity shortages and residents can experience blackouts for extended periods of time. Oil accounts for approximately 6 percent of the country's energy consumption, for which North Korea is entirely dependent upon imports due its lack of domestic oil reserves (United States Department of Energy 2006). While nuclear energy may offer a reasonable solution to these power generation deficiencies, the development of North Korea's nuclear energy program has been slowed by international concern surrounding its potential militarization.

North Korea has one of the most highly centralized and isolated economies in the world. Most means of production are owned by the state or state-run cooperatives, and prices, wages, national trade, budgets, and banking are all controlled by the central government. During the Cold War, economic mismanagement was offset by injections of foreign aid from China and the Soviet Union; however, these packages were substantially reduced in the post-Cold War period. The flooding

and droughts of the mid-to-late 1990s compounded the economic hardship incurred by these funding reductions. Enduring systemic problems have served to prolong the crisis and include a lack of arable land, collective farming practices, and shortages in key resources such as tractors, fertilizer, and fuel. North Korea's current gross domestic product is $40 billion and $1,800 on a per capita basis. The country is estimated to be in $12 billion of external debt. Furthermore, national funds that should be used to revitalize and reform the economy are instead used to support the "military first" policy introduced by Kim Jung Il in 1999.

Some improvement measures were announced in 2001 in an attempt to prevent complete economic collapse. These included the adjustment of state-fixed prices to near market levels for certain commodities and allowing salaries to increase in specific sectors. In 2003, the government relaxed restrictions on farmers' markets and gave citizens the right to sell a wider range of food and manufactured products. The improved relationship between North and South Korea has also resulted in the establishment of the Kaesong Industrial Zone situated north of the DMZ but only 50 kilometers from Seoul. The Kaesong Zone, run by the Hyundai Asan Corporation, is a production plant for South Korea which also employs several thousand workers from the North.

These measures, however, while representing important changes to the North Korean model of centralized state planning, have failed to transform the North Korean economy which remains in a desperate condition. The government reversed some of these reformist policies in October 2005 and reintroduced a centralized rationing system. In December 2005, Kim Jong Il announced a new policy of self-sufficiency and stated that external economic aid was no longer needed. As a result, the World Food Programme's assistance to North Korea was cut drastically in January 2006 and relabelled a "developmental" program. The budget restrictions mean that the WFP can only offer support to 1.9 million of the 6.5 million people estimated to be in need of food aid (United Nations World Food Programme 2007).

DOMESTIC POLITICS

North Korea has been a totalitarian, communist dictatorship since its inception with power tightly concentrated in the hands of the Korean Workers' Party and its leaders, Kim Il Sung (1948–1994) and his son, Kim Jong Il (1994–present). The government is repressive and authoritarian with strict controls over all aspects of society. Other parties include the Korean Social Democratic Party and the Chondoist Conhgu Party, although both are controlled by the KWP. The Salvation Front for the Democratic Unification of Chosŏn, an exile party with branches in Moscow, Beijing, and Tokyo, was established in the early 1990s.

Kim Il Sung's reign was governed by a Marxist-Leninist inspired principle called *Juche* which directed North Korea towards self-reliance in both political and economic affairs. While this remains a guiding principle for Kim Jong Il, a stronger military focus has become more evident in recent years, most likely to help strengthen his claim to power. In 1998, the Supreme People's Assembly (SPA)— the highest organ of state power—confirmed Kim Jong Il as chairman of the

National Defense Commission and elevated that position to the highest in the state. Kim Jong Il and his head of government, Kim Tong Nam, were returned to office in September 2003 with 100 percent voter support. The next elections are due to be held in 2008.

Both Kim Il Sung ("Great Leader") and Kim Jong Il ("Dear Leader") have maintained control through a "cult of personality" which serves to glorify their respective accomplishments. Loyalty to the government is demanded of all citizens, the strength of which can determine employment opportunities and access to basic welfare services such as health and education. Dissenters and political opponents face labor camps, imprisonment, torture, and execution. The government can arrest and detain suspected opponents without due process and North Korea is frequently criticized by the international community for human rights abuses. While the population's participation in politics is virtually nonexistent due to the threat of severe consequences, signs of dissatisfaction were reported both in November 2004 and early 2005 when portraits of Kim Jong Il were allegedly removed from public locations and defaced with slogans criticizing his leadership. These rumors of discontent remain unconfirmed.

LAW AND ORDER

The various law and order institutions serve to keep North Korean society under tight control. The Ministry of People's Security has approximately 189,000 paramilitary forces responsible for internal security, social control, and basic police duties, including border control (IISS 2007). Public security bureaus have been established in every province, county, city, and some city substations, and all villages have a police force. Other bodies with relevant law and order duties include the State Security Department, the National Security Agency, the National Security Police, and the KWP. The security infrastructure is tightly controlled by the KWP and movements by all citizens are monitored.

In addition to the paramilitary force, some 3.5 million Koreans are members of militia-type forces, most notably the Red Guard Youth (14–17 years) and the Workers and Peasants Red Guards (40–60 years). Members are organized into brigades, battalions, companies, and platoons at the provincial, town, and village levels. Some of these units hold small arms and mortars, but many remain unarmed. The Workers and Peasants Red Guards and Red Guard Youth, in combination with college training units, account for the majority of the reserve forces in North Korea.

While crime levels in North Korea are difficult to determine due to the closed nature of society, the country is believed to engage in human trafficking for the purposes of forced labor and sexual exploitation. North Korean officials have also been apprehended by foreign authorities on a number of occasions for drug trafficking, and North Korea has been linked to illegal shipments of narcotics in recent years. The general population's level of confidence in the various law and order bodies is also difficult to ascertain. Given the direct role of these institutions in consolidating state control, however, and their implied involvement in the documented disappearances, detentions, torture, and execution of citizens, confidence is likely to be low.

THE 1961 AGREEMENTS

Following the establishment of an anticommunist government in South Korea in 1961, North Korea signed security agreements with the Soviet Union and China. The treaties committed the Soviet Union and China to providing military and other assistance to North Korea in the case of war and vice versa. The agreements held force until the end of the Cold War, when the economic needs of both the Soviet Union and China took precedence over traditional ideological ties. While China has maintained the original 1961 Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance with North Korea, China has made clear that it will not support any attack on South Korea. Russia has distanced itself from North Korea further, and in 2000 a new Treaty on Good Neighborliness and Cooperation was signed to replace the 1961 agreement. Under the terms of the new Treaty, Russia is not committed to North Korea's defense.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is nominally responsible for North Korean foreign policy. Military and economic institutions have a direct bearing on its creation, however, and all are accountable to the SPA. The KWP also has an international department and branches tasked with carrying out foreign affairs. As with all aspects of Korean society, the foreign policy of the state is under the tight control of Kim Jong Il.

The North Korean constitution, last amended in 1998, identifies the ideals of independence, peace, and solidarity as the basis for the country's foreign policy. It also states that North Korea should establish diplomatic, political, economic, and cultural relations with friendly countries based upon principles of equality, independence, mutual respect, non-interference, and mutual benefit. Despite this rhetoric, however, North Korea's underlying objective since 1948 has been the reunification of the Korean Peninsula under Northern rule, and consequently the country's foreign policy has been shaped by strong anti-imperialist and anti-American sentiment.

During the Cold War, North Korea formed alliances with the Soviet Union and China, both of which had vested interests in supporting the North Korean government against a possible U.S.-sponsored invasion from the South. As a result, North Korea received a substantial amount of economic aid from both countries and attained security guarantees from China and the Soviet Union in 1961. The end of the Cold War fundamentally altered these relationships, however, with both Russia and China seeking distance from North Korea in order to establish relations with the South. While both countries retain Treaties of Friendship and Cooperation with North Korea, the terms have become much more vague. In the absence of alternative security guarantees, North Korea has sought to provide for its own defense with a nuclear weapons capability.

North Korea became a member of the United Nations in 1991 and maintains a permanent mission in New York. North Korea participates in a number of UN agencies, including the UN Development Programme, UN Conference on Trade and Development, UN Children's Fund, UN Fund for Population Activities, World Food Programme, and under the UN Economic and Social Council, North Korea belongs to the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific. North Korea also belongs to a number of UN special organizations which include the International Civil Aviation Organization, International Finance Corporation, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, International Fund for Agricultural Development, International Telecommunications Union, World Intellectual Property Organization, Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency,

Universal Postal Union, World Meteorological Organization, International Maritime Organization, UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, International Labour Organization, Food and Agricultural Organization, International Monetary Fund, World Health Organization, and UN Industrial Development Organization.

In terms of non-UN organizations, North Korea is a member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations Regional Forum, Group of 77, Inter-Parliamentary Union, International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, World Federation of Trade Unions, International Hydrographic Organization, International Olympic Committee, International Organization for Standardization, Non-Aligned Movement, and the World Tourism Organization. North Korea's participation in the majority of these organizations is negligible.

In the mid-1990s, in the face of reduced subsidies from both China and Russia and with widespread famine threatening, North Korea began accepting international aid donations. The WFP established a comprehensive program in North Korea focused on delivering food aid and reducing malnutrition rates. In its 10 years of operation, the WFP program secured more than four million tons of commodities valued at $1.7 billion from contributing nations (United Nations World Food Programme 2007). The United States was the largest donor to the WFP, contributing an estimated $675 million over this period (United States Library of Congress 2005). China is believed to have provided even more assistance than the United States but prefers to send aid directly to North Korea rather than through the UN system. Since 2002, South Korea has also become a major contributor of food aid to North Korea and, like China, has opted to make shipments directly to P'yŏngyang.

Despite WFP estimating that 6.5 million people were still in need of food aid in North Korea in 2005, the government announced in December 2005 that foreign humanitarian aid programs were no longer needed (United Nations World Food Programme 2005). The reasons cited were better harvests, the growing intrusiveness of the international organizations, and concerns over developing a dependency culture. As a consequence, the WFP was forced to scale back the program significantly in May 2006 and redefine its operations as "developmental" in nature, focused on addressing medium- and long-term needs only. For its part, the United States decided to halt food-aid shipments to North Korea in early 2005 amidst heated disputes over North Korea's nuclear weapons program. While the United States has repeatedly denied that it uses humanitarian assistance as a means of forcing North Korea's hand over the nuclear issue, a substantial aid package will almost certainly be a component of future negotiations.

SECURITY

North Korea maintains one of the largest standing armed forces in the world with a total active number of 1,106,000 personnel (Library of Congress 2007). The Korean People's Army (KPA) comprises 950,000 ground troops (including 88,000 special operations forces and 600,000 reserves), 46,000 naval forces, and 110,000 air force personnel. This is in addition to the 189,000-strong paramilitary force responsible for maintaining internal security. North Korea has a further

4,700,000 personnel in its reserves (IISS 2007). The majority of these forces are forward deployed along the DMZ.

According to 2006 estimates, North Korea spends close to $5 billion on defense per annum. The country has a large tank force of some 3,500, although most are the older Soviet models (T-34, T-54/55, or Type-59). The KPA has close to 18,000 artillery pieces and 2,500 multiple rocket launchers, many of which are forward deployed and either in hardened or hidden locations that are hard to reach. North Korea also has approximately 590 combat capable aircraft, although only 100 of these are the more modern MiG-23/29 or Su-25 models. In terms of foreign military relations, North Korea has army advisors deployed to 12 African countries. Despite being member to various UN bodies, the KPA does not engage in any peacekeeping activities.

The armed forces are under the control of Kim Jung Il who holds the positions of supreme commander of the Korean People's Army, the general secretary of the KWP, and the chairman of the National Defense Commission. Control over the armed forces is concentrated mainly in the National Defense Commission and filters down through the Ministry of the People's Armed Forces and the State Security Department to the Department of General Staff and then finally to the specific operational units and command centers. The KWP remains highly involved in these structures to ensure political oversight of the military. Control over the intelligence and security organizations follows a similar line of authority.

North Korea has faced a series of "traditional" security threats since the division of the peninsula in 1948. Repeated skirmishes and struggles for power in the late 1940s finally came to a head in 1950 when North Korea, with Chinese and Soviet support, invaded South Korea in a bid to take the country by force. Although the Korean War came to an end in 1953 with both the North and South retaining sovereign status, a number of incidents in the 1960s and 1970s had the potential to spark another conflict on the peninsula. Throughout this period, the threat of a U.S.-supported invasion from the South was constantly feared by the North Korean leadership and paranoia led to an aggressive policy of confrontation towards the South.

Since the end of the Cold War, and with the slight warming of relations with the South, a new range of security threats have beset North Korea. The flooding and drought cycles of the mid-1990s, combined with reduced support from the Soviet Union and China, deteriorated the economy to such an extent that North Korea was forced to accept international aid to prevent further famine and to provide basic welfare services for its citizens. The potential impact of economic desperation on the population led Kim Jung Il to increase measures of control over all aspects of society in order to protect his leadership from a potential backlash and civil unrest. The combination of these policies has resulted in waves of internally displaced persons and refugees attempting to flee economic poverty and societal oppression. Those who have managed to escape this dictatorial regime document the grave human rights abuses perpetrated by the government to maintain control over the population.

While relations have improved with South Korea since the end of the Cold War, North Korea's military is opposed by a strong South Korean force supported by

25,000 U.S. troops stationed on the peninsula. As a result, the traditional security threat of the Cold War still very much influences much of North Korea's foreign and domestic policy. The loss of the Soviet Union and Chinese security guarantees combined with poor economic performance degrading North Korea's conventional military capabilities has led to Kim Jung Il looking towards nuclear weapons as an alternative means of national defense.

A nuclear-capable North Korea has been of serious concern to the United States and the international community more generally for over 10 years due to the nature of the regime (often referred to as ''irrational'' or ''rogue'') and the risks associated with a nuclear-capable failing state. The Six-Party talks resumed once again in December 2006 and made some progress with North Korea agreeing to shut down its nuclear reactors in February 2007 in return for economic aid and security guarantees. While we await the outcome of further negotiations, it is clear that North Korea's two key security challenges of the future—its nuclear weapons program and economic recovery—are closely linked to the country's relationship with the United States.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

North Korea has a three-level judicial system based on the Soviet model, comprising the Central court, provincial courts, and county courts (the ''People's Court''). The Central Court is the highest judicial organ but is ultimately accountable to the SPA. The court's judges are appointed by the SPA and can be held liable for handing down ''unjust'' sentences. All judicial affairs in North Korea are handled by the Central Procurator's Office, which is also responsible to the chairman of the National Defense Commission and the SPA. Kim Jung Il therefore has complete control over all aspects of the country's judicial system.

The legal system in North Korea does not recognize individual rights and the Ministry of People's Security often denies trial for political prisoners and instead defers to the Ministry of State Security to administer punishment. North Korea reportedly engages in the frequent executions of political prisoners, those suspected of opposing the regime, repatriated defectors, and even military officers suspected of treason. The death sentence can be given to anyone found guilty of conspiring with ''imperialists'' or engaging in ''counterrevolutionary activity.'' According to reports, torture of political prisoners is routine and severe. Forced labor is a common punishment and includes mining, logging, and tending to crops in harsh conditions. This is often accompanied by forced "reeducation" involving the memorization of Kim Jong Il's speeches and participating in self-criticism assessments. According to recent estimates, up to 200,000 people are held in political detention camps in North Korea and more than 400,000 are estimated to have died in North Korean prisons in the last 30 years (U.S. Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, 2006).

Despite its poor human rights record, North Korea has ratified four of the key UN conventions on human rights, including the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. Conventions relating to slavery and human

trafficking have not been adopted. The government has failed to meet the full reporting obligations required of member states, however, and the national Human Rights Committee established in 1992 remains under government control. North Korea does not allow any independent domestic organizations to report on human rights conditions and requests for international visits by human rights organizations are largely refused. As a result, the international community's chief source of information on human rights abuses in North Korea is from survivors of the regime living in refuge in China and South Korea.

CONCLUSION

North Korea's relations with the United States are complex, and this is unlikely to change in the near future. The two countries remain officially at war and the strong presence of troops in the South underline the United States' commitment to defending South Korea should P'yŏngyang elect to resume hostilities. The development of a nuclear weapons program was P'yŏngyang's attempt to redress the growing imbalance between the conventional military capabilities of the KPA and the forces located in South Korea. The success of this program, however, has seen tension between North Korea and the United States rise to levels not experienced since the Cold War.

Improved relations with the United States (and the West more generally) would not only serve to alleviate North Korea's security concerns, but could help to save the country from economic collapse—a factor that is gaining greater traction with the current government as the country continues to suffer from natural disasters. Not only would North Korea benefit from economic aid packages, but also increased trade and investment flows, and the removal of economic sanctions, some of which have been in place since the end of the Cold War.

These developments need to take place in conjunction with government-initiated economic reform, however, without which none of this will have any long-term benefit. Money needs to be redirected away from military spending and towards the development of basic infrastructure and social institutions. In the absence of these measures, North Korea may collapse sometime in the near future, posing a great risk to regional security and raising the issue of how to manage a nuclear-capable failing state.

Recent steps are encouraging, however, and P'yŏngyang seems to be moving in the right direction. International inspectors have confirmed that North Korea has shut down its nuclear reactors in return for economic aid and security guarantees. Based upon past experience, however, some commentators doubt North Korea's will to move past this point in the negotiations, which entails full disclosure of nuclear activities with the ultimate aim of completely disarming the Korean Peninsula. In 1994, for example, after agreeing to this same level of cooperation with then-U.S. President Bill Clinton, North Korea opted to circumvent the disarmament process by discretely pursuing an alternative route to nuclear weapons capability. Almost 15 years has passed, however, and much hardship has befallen North Korea since that time. One can hope, then, that these negotiations represent one in a series of steps that will move the country towards sustainable political and economic reform.

NOTE

Bi Jianhai undertook preliminary research for this chapter.

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Pacific Island States

John Henderson

This chapter considers the following five Pacific Island case studies: Fiji, Papua New Guinea (PNG), Tonga, the Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu. The choice of these five of the 14 independent or self-governing Pacific Island states that make up the main regional organization, the Pacific Islands Forum, was made on the basis that these countries are generally regarded to be the most important and newsworthy, maintain military or paramilitary forces, and have been the scene of significant violent conflict. New Caledonia and West Papua, both of which have experienced serious internal conflict, are not included as they have yet to attain independence.

It may be observed that Pacific Island violence and unrest was mainly restricted to Melanesia. But in November 2006 an angry Polynesian mob rioted and burned the Tongan capital, Nuku'alofa. There had also been earlier rioting in French Polynesia. Political violence is clearly not restricted to Melanesia, although the most recent regional crisis was again in Melanesia: the December 5, 2006, military coup in Fiji.

BACKGROUND

These five Pacific Island states are located in the Southwest Pacific. Four—PNG, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, and Fiji—are in the subregion of Melanesia, the most conflict prone area of Oceania. Tonga is located in Polynesia. Only PNG has a land border (with the Indonesian province of Papua). Fiji's central Pacific location makes it the meeting point between Polynesia and Melanesia, and the natural location for regional bodies, such as the Pacific Islands Forum. PNG is clearly the largest Pacific Island country, containing 84 percent of the Forum countries' combined land area and providing a bridge between the Pacific and Asia.

None of the five states have territories. Fiji has a special relationship with the Polynesian island of Rotuma, which has representation in both the Fiji Parliament and Senate. PNG has a unique relationship with the autonomous government of

Pacific Island States

Fiji
Formal name of country: Republic of the Fiji Islands
Size of country: 18,270 sq km
Natural resources: Timber, fish, gold, copper, offshore oil potential, and hydropower
Population: 918,675 (July 2007 est.)
Life expectancy at birth: Total population 70.12 years; male 67.6 years; female 72.76 years (2007 est.)
Key ethnic groups (2005 est.):

- Fijian 54.8% (predominately Melanesian with a Polynesian admixture)
- Indian 37.4%
- other 7.9% (European, other Pacific Islanders, and Chinese)

Key religions (1996 census): Christian 53%; Hindu 34%; Muslim 7%; other or unspecified 5.6%; none 0.3%
Political system: Republic with a bicameral parliament—as of September 2007, Fiji was governed by a military regime that seized power in December 2006
Key political groups/parties:

- United Fiji Party/Sogosogo Duavata ni Lewenivanua (SDL)
- Fiji Labor Party (FLP)
- United Peoples Party (UPP)

Legal System: Based on British system. Supreme Court (judges are appointed by the president); Court of Appeals; High Court; and Magistrates' Courts
Real GDP growth: 3.1% (2006 est.)
Population below the poverty line: 25.5% (FY90/91)
Size of military: Active 3,500 (army 3,200; navy 300); reserve: 6,000 (2007 est.)
Relationship with the United States: The United States has not recognized the government established by the 2006 coup. It has also placed targeted sanctions on the government.
Human security issues: Issues include poverty, deforestation and soil erosion, crime, violence against women; problematic relations between Fijians and Indians, the violation of human rights, and the history of coups.
Important future security issues: Continued instability and military interference in politics are ongoing threats. These issues also have a negative impact upon the economy, and thus the population's economic well-being.

Sources: CIA *World Factbook* 2007; International Institute for Strategic Studies 2007; U.S. Department of State, *Background Note: Fiji*, April 2007.

Papua New Guinea
Formal name of country: Independent State of Papua New Guinea
Size of country: Total 462,840 sq km (land 452,860 and water 9,980)
Natural resources: Gold, copper, silver, natural gas, timber, oil, and fisheries.
Population : 5,795,887 (July 2007 est.)
Life expectancy at birth: Total population 65.62 years; male 63.41 years; female 67.95 years (2007 est.)

Key ethnic groups:

- Melanesian
- Papuan,
- Negrito
- Micronesian
- Polynesian

Key religions: Roman Catholic 22%; Lutheran 16%; Presbyterian/Methodist/London Missionary Society 8%; Anglican 5%; Evangelical Alliance 4%; Seventh-Day Adventist 1%; other Protestant 10%; and indigenous beliefs 34%

Political system: Constitutional parliamentary democracy with a unicameral National Parliament

Key political groups/parties: The top parties in terms of the 2007 elections are the National Alliance (NA); the Papua New Guinea Party (PNGP); the People's Action Party (PAP); and the United Resources Party (URP).

Legal system: This is based on English common law. There is a Supreme Court where the chief justice is appointed by the governor-general on the proposal of the National Executive Council after consultation with the minister responsible for justice. Other judges are appointed by the Judicial and Legal Services Commission.

Real GDP growth: 3.7% (2006 est.)

Population below the poverty line: 37% (2002 est.)

Size of military: Active 3,100 (army 2,500; air force 200; maritime element 400) (2007 est.)

Relationship with the United States: The United States and PNG established diplomatic relations upon the latter's independence, and the United States has provided significant humanitarian assistance.

Human security issues: Issues include poverty, deforestation and pollution, crime, land tenure, human rights abuses, and the worsening HIV/AIDS epidemic.

Important future security issues: Instability remains a threat given the issues identified above along with the country's past political volatility and conflict.

Sources: CIA *World Factbook* 2007; International Institute for Strategic Studies 2007; U.S. Department of State, *Background Note: Papua New Guinea*, April 2007.

Solomon Islands

Formal name of country: Solomon Islands

Size of country: Total 28,450 sq km (land 27,540; water 910)

Natural resources: Fish, forests, gold, bauxite, phosphates, lead, zinc, and nickel

Population: 566,842 (July 2007 est.)

Life expectancy at birth: Total: 73.16 years; male 70.64 years; female 75.81 years (2007 est.)

Key ethnic groups (1999 census):

- Melanesian 94.5%
- Polynesian 3%
- Micronesian 1.2%
- Other 1.1%
- Unspecified 0.2%

Key religions (1999 census): Church of Melanesia 32.8%; Roman Catholic 19%; South Seas Evangelical 17%; Seventh-Day Adventist 11.2%; United Church 10.3%; Christian Fellowship Church 2.4%; other Christian 4.4%; other 2.4%; unspecified 0.3%; and none 0.2%.

Political system: Parliamentary democracy with a unicameral National Parliament

Key political groups/parties: The top three parties in terms of the 2006 election results are the National Party; the People's Alliance Party (PAP); and the Solomon Islands Party for Rural Advancement (SIPRA).

Legal System: English common law (which is widely disregarded); a Court of Appeals

Real GDP growth: 4.4% (2005 est.)

Population below the poverty line: NA

Size of military: There is no military.

Relationship with the United States: The United States and the Solomon Islands established diplomatic relations following its independence in 1978. The United States has provided assistance to the Solomon Islands, including training border protection officers.

Human security issues: Issues include deforestation and soil erosion, ethnic violence, the lack of infrastructure, the fragile state of law and order, political instability, and economic problems.

Important future security issues: The threat of further instability and conflict is a major concern.

Sources: CIA *World Factbook* 2007; U.S. Department of State, *Background Note: Solomon Islands*, April 2007.

Tonga

Formal name of country: Kingdom of Tonga

Size of country (sq km): Total 748 sq km (land 718 and water 30)

Natural resources: Fish and fertile soil

Population: 116,921 (July 2007 est.)

Life expectancy at birth: Total population 70.12 years; male 67.6 years; female 72.76 years (2007 est.)

Key ethnic groups: Polynesian and European

Key religions: Christian

Political system: Constitutional monarchy with a unicameral Legislative Assembly

Key political groups/parties: People's Democratic Party

Legal System: Based on English common law. There is a Supreme Court (judges are appointed by the monarch) and a Court of Appeals.

Real GDP growth: 2.4% (2005 est.)

Population below the poverty line: 24% (FY03/04)

Size of military: 430 personnel

Relationship with the United States: There is close cooperation on a range of international issues.

Human security issues: Issues include high unemployment, poverty, pressure for democratic reform, political instability, rising civil service expenditures, deforestation, and some damage to coral reefs.

Important future security issues: Political instability and the breakdown of law and order are concerns as pressure for democratic reform grows. Economic problems may also lead to instability.

Sources: CIA *World Factbook* 2007; U.S. Department of State, *Background Note: Tonga*, April 2007.

Vanuatu

Formal name of country: Republic of Vanuatu

Size of country (sq km): Total 12,200 sq km

Natural resources: Manganese, hardwood forests, and fish.

Population: 211,971 (July 2007 est.)

Life expectancy at birth: 63.22 years; male 61.67 years; female 64.84 years (2007 est.)

Key ethnic groups (1999 census): Ni-Vanuatu 98.5% and other 1.5%

Key religions (1999 census): Presbyterian 31.4%; Anglican 13.4%; Roman Catholic 13.1%; Seventh-Day Adventist 10.8%; other Christian 13.8%; indigenous beliefs 5.6%; other 9.6%; and unspecified 1.3%

Political system: Parliamentary republic with a unicameral parliament.

Key political groups/parties: The top three parties in terms of the 2004 election results are the National United Party (NUP); the Union of Moderate Parties (UMP); and Vanua'aku Pati (Our Land Party or VP).

Legal System: A unified system is being created from former dual French and British systems. There is a Supreme Court.

Real GDP growth: 6.8% (2005 est.)

Population below the poverty line: 40% (2002 est.)

Size of military: The Vanuatu Mobile Forces (VMF) (300) are formally part of the police but have a para-military role.

Relationship with the United States: The United States and Vanuatu established diplomatic relations in 1986 and the United States provides aid.

Human security issues: Issues include political volatility, an unreliable transport infrastructure, the vulnerability to natural disasters, deforestation, poverty and the lack of potable water.

Important future security issues: Issues such as poverty and political volatility pose threats to stability.

Sources: CIA *World Factbook* 2007; U.S. Department of State, *Background Note: Vanuatu*, April 2007; DeRouen and Heo 2005; Asian Development Bank 2007; International Institute for Strategic Studies 2007.

The information within this box was compiled by Paul Bellamy.

Bougainville, established as part of a peace settlement in June 2005. There will be a referendum on the Bougainville independence issue in 10 to 15 years' time.

The common geographic feature is that all five states are made up of many islands scattered across vast areas of ocean. For example, the Solomon Islands consist of two main islands, Guadalcanal and Malaita, plus around 300 smaller islands, spread across 900 miles of ocean. Fiji has two main islands, Viti Levu (where the capital is located), Vanua Levu, and around 110 other inhabited islands. Vanuatu is a "Y"-shaped archipelago consisting of around 80 islands. While the island states are generally small in land area and population (with the notable exception of PNG, which occupies the eastern half of the Island of New Guinea), these Pacific Island states claim large areas of ocean as their Exclusive Economic Zone (1,290,000 square kilometers in the case of Fiji).

The Melanesian islands are generally mountainous, with coastal low land. The 36 Tongan islands in Polynesia are similarly rugged, and volcanic.

The Melanesian states are well endowed with a wide range of natural resources, particularly minerals, fish and forestry. PNG has large reserves of oil and gas. But despite these riches, only a low level of development has been achieved, in large part because poor governance and political instability has deterred investors. Disputes over resources, and particularly land, contain the seeds of past and future conflicts. Tonga has few natural resources, apart from fish and fertile soil. It relies heavily on the many Tongans living abroad returning remittances to their families.

Climate change, resulting in a rise of sea levels, is of serious concern to Pacific Island states. However, none of the five states covered in this analysis are low lying atoll states, which are the most threatened. All have been affected by storm surges and severe cyclones.

The commercial exploitation of natural resources has raised a range of environmental issues. Mining, and the damage it causes to the environment, has triggered several regional conflicts in Bougainville, the Solomon Islands, West Papua, and New Caledonia. Unsustainable logging, and the related erosion of rain forest, is

an issue of considerable concern in the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea. Over fishing and damage to the marine environment are further important concerns. So-called ''natural'' disasters are also becoming more prevalent. These include severe droughts, floods, cyclones, volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, and tidal waves.

The British were the dominant colonial power of the region and had a major impact on all five states. Vanuatu was jointly ruled by Britain and France. Tonga was never a colony, although it was, until 1970, a British protectorate, with Britain taking responsibility for foreign affairs. Independence for the remaining colonies came in the 1970s, with Fiji gaining independence in 1970, PNG in 1975, the Solomon Islands in 1978, and Vanuatu in 1980. Papua New Guinea, and other state borders remained unaltered, reflecting the deals agreed upon by competing colonial powers, rather than the local culture. The net result has been ''artificial'' historical boundaries which have helped generate present day conflicts.

Western style democracy bestowed at independence, although not without its problems, has prevailed as the acceptable form of government. However, it came late to Tonga, which has yet to complete a political reform process that will give effective power to an elected House of Representatives. At present just nine of the 30 MPs are elected by popular vote. Where military coups have occurred (four in Fiji since 1987 and one in the Solomon Islands [2000]), there has been a quick promise of restoration of democracy. There have been military rebellions in Vanuatu and PNG, but these stopped short of military takeovers. Secession attempts by Santo (Vanuatu) and Bougainville (PNG) were curbed, although not without violence.

SOCIETY

PNG, with an estimated population of five million, is by far the largest Pacific Island state. Indeed it has a population far greater than the rest of the Pacific Island states put together. The population of the other states are as follows: Fiji 918,675, the Solomon Islands 566,842, Vanuatu 211,971, and Tonga 116,921 (CIA 2007). A similar number of Tongans live abroad as in their home islands. Polynesian migration has helped maintain population at manageable levels. But in Melanesia birth rates are high and migration opportunities extremely limited. The ''youth bulge'' (43 percent of Vanuatu's population is under 15 years of age) is growing much faster than available jobs. Large numbers of unemployed youth in the capitals provide ready recruits for gangs and crime.

The indigenous population makes up the great majority of the population of these five countries, with the exception of Fiji. In the 1940s the indigenous Fijian population was overtaken by Indo-Fijians, who were the descendants of laborers originally recruited from India to work in the sugar industry. This population trend ended with the Fiji military coups in 1987 and 2000, after which many of the Indian population decided that they had no future in Fiji and emigrated. (The impact of the fourth Fiji coup in December 2006 was not clear at the time of this writing. The coup leader, Commodore Josaia Voreqe [Frank] Bainimarama, in contrast to earlier coup leaders, declared himself in favor of a multicultural Fiji.)

BAINIMARAMA

Commodore Frank Bainimarama's December 6, 2006, military takeover of Fiji was actually his second coup. In 2000 he ended the attempted coup of George Speight, but in the process forced the president to step aside. Bainimarama took over presidential powers for two months before returning Fiji to civilian rule. After his 2006 coup Bainimarama made it clear that this time he would retain power for a much longer period, with new elections to be held after 2010.

Bainimarama is from the chiefly family of Kiuva in the village of Bau. However, he does not use his chiefly title. He joined the navy in 1975 and quickly rose through the ranks, taking his first command in 1983. After peacekeeping duties in the Middle East he was appointed commander of the Fiji Navy, and then in 1999 the commander of Fiji's military forces.

But Bainimarama fell out with his choice as prime minister, Laisenia Qarase. When Bainimarama learned that he was not to be reappointed commander for a further five-year term, he finally got his way by effectively threatening a coup. It was the first of many such threats he would make over the next three years. The threats related to his deeply held belief that those responsible for the 2000 coup and the army mutiny which followed—and included an attempt to assassinate Bainimarama—should be brought to justice. Following the 2006 coup Bainimarama, in contrast with previous coup leaders, committed himself to a multiracial Fiji. He also vowed to rid Fiji from corruption before holding new elections.

It is estimated that Indo Fijians currently make up around 38 percent of the total population, with the trend continuing downwards.

Melanesian society is fragmented into many "wantoks" (one talk) or language groups. There are over 700 languages spoken in PNG, the Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu. Fiji is different, reflecting the Polynesian influence. Tonga is pure Polynesia, with a different language for the nobles and commoners.

Refugees fleeing from the independence struggle in West Papua have caused friction along the PNG-Indonesian border. There were also many refugees created along the eastern border with the Solomon Islands during the Bougainville conflict. (It is estimated that 9,000 refugees were created by the conflict).

Papua New Guinea became caught up with Australia's so called "Pacific Solution" to its refugee problem. The "solution" was to prevent refugees from setting foot on Australian territory by detaining and processing refugees in adjoining island states, particularly Nauru. PNG was asked to make Manus Island available as a refugee processing center. It reluctantly agreed but has since closed the facility.

There are a wide range of ethnic groups in the Pacific which transcend the national boundaries. Bougainville is an example of a misplaced ethnic group as the island's population feels a much greater affinity with the Solomon Islands than with PNG. In the Solomon Islands the people of Guadalcanal regarded the inhabitants of the neighboring island of Malaita as foreigners. There is little or no consciousness about being a "Solomon Islander." In Vanuatu, at the time of independence in 1980, the Island of Santos unsuccessfully sought to break away from the rest of Vanuatu. Tension remains between the ethnic groups, as well as the Anglophone-Francophone division dating from colonial times. In Fiji the ethnic divisions between the descendents of the immigrant labor from India and the indigenous Fijians has been reinforced by the retention of communal seats in parliament. There are strong regional differences between the more Polynesian influenced East and the Melanesian West of Fiji. The 1987 and 2000 coups sparked talk of breaking the prosperous West (the location of the tourist, sugar, and mining industries)

away from the rest of Fiji. In short, what is important is not the country but the clan.

The church plays a central role in Pacific society. Strongly held religious beliefs continue to divide the Pacific. Most Pacific Islanders are Christian (PNG 64 percent; Fiji 52 percent; the Solomon Islands 63 percent; Tonga 80 percent; and Vanuatu 90 percent). Other religions include the Jon Frun sect on the Vanuatu island of Tanna, traditional religions in PNG, and the Hindu (38 percent) and Muslim (8 percent) communities in Fiji (Janes 2003, 86, 353,381).

Infrastructure in the Melanesian Pacific Island states varies greatly. Modern forms of communication are generally available. Roading must confront difficult and rugged terrain as well as political neglect. This, together with the scattered island geography, results in wide use of shipping and internal air services.

Within Oceania, infrastructure is most developed in Fiji. Nadi provides a regional air hub equipped with modern communication systems. About half of Fiji's 3,000 kilometers of roads are sealed. This contrasts with PNG, where the road system is poorly developed and deteriorating. There is no road link between the capital and the Highlands or the north coast.

Subsistence agriculture and fishing still either provide for or supplement the needs of most Melanesians. In the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, and PNG less than a quarter of the working age population have paid employment. In PNG, 80 percent of the population live in rural areas. In contrast, Fiji is rapidly becoming urbanized, with more than 50 percent of the population living in urban centers, particularly the capital Suva.

All five countries have dual economies: the formal business economy and informal, largely subsistence farming. There are a range of common problems—including governance issues, political instability, contested land tenure, and limited infrastructure.

The five countries span the wide range of Pacific economies—from semi-developed Fiji, to remittance- and aid-rich Tonga. PNG is resource rich but poor in governance, as are Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands, but on a lesser scale.

Papua New Guinea

The PNG economy continues on a path of slow growth after coming out of recession in 2001. It achieved a growth rate of 3 percent in 2005, based on good commodity prices for minerals, oil, and agriculture. The Asian Development Bank (ADB) expected the economy to grow 3.2 percent in 2006 and 3 percent in 2007. Inflation was down from 14.7 percent in 2003 to 4.5 percent in 2006.

In 2004 PNG was due to receive a major boost in assistance from Australia through the Enhanced Cooperation Programme (ECP). The objective was to help PNG meet its governance and security concerns by deploying a multifaceted task force made up of Australian personnel drawn from the police, military, justice, customs, the Treasury and other public servants. The full application of ECP was prevented by a court ruling that the Australian requirement of immunity from prosecution was unconstitutional. A scaled-down ECP proceeded in 2006.

Fiji

Fiji has by far the most developed and largest Pacific Island economy. It has the advantage of size, resources, and skills. Major earners have been sugar and tourism, and more recently, remittances, mainly from Fijian soldiers serving abroad.

But severe problems have developed in recent times. Sugar and garments have lost preferential access to markets in developed countries. There was also self-inflicted damage from four military coups over the past 20 years. The most recent coup of December 2006 has had a devastating effect on the tourist industry and foreign investment. The Fiji economy has shrunk after previous coups, and is likely to again follow this pattern. (Before the coup 2.6 percent growth was expected by the Reserve Bank [EIU 2006, 9].)

Solomon Islands

The Solomon Islands, already one of the poorest Pacific Island states, confirms that there is a very high price to pay for political instability. The Solomon Islands economy stagnated then contracted during the period of ethnic conflict from 1999–2002. The economy shrank 17 percent in the period 2000 to 2002, and then grew by 10 percent over the next two years (EIU 2006, 51).

Further growth is expected to be gained through log sales, the reestablishment of the palm oil plantations, and the reopening of the Gold Ridge mine in 2007. The Australian-led Regional Assistance Mission Solomon Islands (RAMSI) force, which was deployed in 2003, restored law and order and has also provided expert assistance to help restart the economy. But the growing number of critics, which includes the prime minister, suggest that RAMSI is in danger of overstaying its welcome.

Vanuatu

The economy in Vanuatu is based on agriculture, which engages 80 percent of the population, many on a subsistence basis. Copra, kava, and beef are main exports supplemented by offshore banking facilities and tourism. In 2005 the economy grew by 3.1 percent (EIU 2006, 99). But Vanuatu remains a poor country where 40 percent of the population live below the poverty line (ADB 2007).

Tonga

Political unrest has taken its toll on the Tongan economy. The November 2006 riot and arson destroyed much of the capital Nuku'alofa. The public service strike in late 2005 secured pay increases of 60–80 percent that now must be paid. There are plans to cut the public service in half. Remittances are a vital part of the economy, as is agriculture (particularly squash) and tourism. The economy grew by 1.6 percent in 2005 (EIU 2006, 84).

Aid is important to all five states, but particularly PNG where Australian aid makes up 20 percent of the national budget. Other aid donors include Japan, New Zealand, the European Union, Taiwan, and China.

With aid have come the pressures and costs of globalization. An example is Fiji's loss of preferential access to the European Union and Australian markets for sugar and garments, respectively. Donors may assert pressure on security issues. In early December 2006 a number of aid donors made it clear to Fiji that they would withdraw assistance if (as happened) the army went ahead with threats to mount a coup.

The five states covered in this analysis span a wide range of ratings on the UN Development Program (UNDP) 2006 Human Development Index, which covers 177 countries. Tonga has displaced Samoa as having the highest rate of ''human development'' amongst the Pacific Island states. Human development is described as including much more than economic growth. "It is about creating an environment in which people can develop their full potential." From most to least developed these ratings are Tonga 55, (flanked by Bulgaria and Oman); Samoa 75 (Thailand and Saudi Arabia); Fiji 90 (Suriname and Paraguay); Vanuatu 119 (Guatemala and Equatorial Guinea); the Solomon Islands 128 (Cambodia and Myanmar); and Papua New Guinea 139 (Nepal and Congo). PNG's relative position has been declining. In 1997 the UNDP ranked Tonga 42 of 78 developing countries (UNDP 2006).

There is a need to treat these findings with care. In November 2006 Tonga was described as the region's most successful state because of its high human development rating. At the same time its capital Nuku'alofa was being subjected to a night of rioting and arson. Clearly all was not well in Tonga.

The gap between ''those with'' and '' those without'' is growing in the five states. There is a growing level of poverty in Fiji. Long-term poverty in the Solomon Islands and PNG has resulted in literacy levels of only a third of the adult population.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

The four Melanesian states (PNG, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, and Fiji) adopted at independence the Westminster type of political system. This requires the executive cabinet (National Executive Committee in PNG and Council of Ministers in Vanuatu) to be drawn from an elected parliament, and held accountable to parliament, which chooses the prime minister (PM). There is a separate head of state. This is the British monarch in the case of PNG and the Solomon Islands, represented by a governor-general elected by parliament.

Vanuatu and Fiji have their own president (chosen by the Great Council of Chiefs [GCC] in Fiji and an electoral college in Vanuatu). Vanuatu also has a National Council of Chiefs to advise on matters of custom and language.

Tonga is a Kingdom which, until recently, gave near absolute powers to the King. The political system was under reform at the time of writing, but appeared to be moving to a democracy based on the Westminster system. In 2005 the late king made a preliminary move in the direction of reform by appointing two People's representatives from the Legislative Assembly to Cabinet. In late 2006 there was broad agreement, including from the new monarch King Tupou V, that democracy in Tonga should be advanced through the establishment of an elected assembly, which would choose the prime minister.

PACIFIC ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

Papua New Guinea adopted a new electoral system for the 2007 general elections: the Limited Preferential Vote. This requires voters to record their preferences on three of the parliamentary candidates. This contrasts with the Alternative Vote (AV) preferential system used by Australia, and more recently Fiji, in which preferences may be recorded of all candidates either by the voter, or by accepting the party list.

It is interesting to note that Papua New Guinea used a preferential system as an Australian territory prior to independence. It was dropped in favor of what was regarded as the simpler first-past-the-post (FPP) system. This gave victory to the candidate receiving the most votes, even when this fell well short of a majority. In PNG a number of candidates won election with under 10 percent of the vote. In AV systems victory requires majority vote, achieved through redistribution of the votes received by the lowest polling candidate. AV has the further advantage, it is claimed, of encouraging candidates to appeal beyond their clan or wontok.

In Fiji, coup leader Bainimarama has pledged to change the electoral system, and particularly the communal seats—regarded as "racist" by Bainimarama. A return to FPP is also possible.

The November 2006 riots in the Tongan capital of Nuku'alofa placed the reform process in jeopardy. The riots were sparked in part by concern by the pro-democracy supporters that parliament intended to finish the 2006 session without making a firm decision to support the democratic reforms. But the effect of the riots has been to delay the reform process. Several pro-democracy supporters were arrested on riot-related offenses, and those opposing reform argued that the lawlessness showed that Tonga was not ready for democracy.

While there are exceptions, the politics of Pacific Island states are characterized by multiple and weak political parties. These are considered to be divisive, and are often little more than support gatherings around particular leaders, rather than groups formed as a result of ideological considerations. The political "left" and "right" is of little relevance in the PNG parliament.

The main problem with the Westminster system is that it requires an effective party system to make it work. In PNG and the Solomon Islands this is clearly not the case, and independent members are amongst the largest winning group in recent elections. In other words, parties are not an essential vehicle for an ambitious politician's political success.

The absence of effective parties and large numbers of candidates has allowed some PNG candidates to win an electorate on a low vote—under 10 percent of votes cast in a number of cases. This has led to a change in the electoral system to the limited preferential voting system. There is a high turnover of MPs—two thirds in the Solomon Islands. There are currently 18 political parties in the Solomon Islands' parliament.

The large number of parties leads to unstable coalitions; what in the Solomon Islands has been referred to as "unbounded" politics. The coalition government in Vanuatu is made up of 11 parties. PNG and Fiji have anti-party hopping laws which exclude from parliament those who change their party after an election. To provide a period of stability, the Solomon Islands and PNG maintain a "peace clause"—under which no motions of confidence may be moved during the first 18 months of a new PM taking office.

There are exceptions to this tendency to fragment into multi-parties. At the 2006 election, the Fijian parties came together to form a united front against the Indo-Fijian dominated Fiji Labour Party.

Tonga is also different. The main pro-democracy group prefers to be known as a "movement"—Human Rights and Democracy Movement. This was the preferred title as it avoided the divisive reputation of political parties. A movement could be all embracing in its search for supporters and funding. It is interesting to note that the conservative pro-Royal grouping is known as the Kotoa movement.

A further problem is that the Westminster system works best for centralized systems and does not work well for federal or other devolved systems. Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands, Fiji, and PNG have modified provincial systems. Fiji has an appointed Senate and 14 Provincial Councils.

The terms of parliament and the number of members of parliament (MPs) are PNG 109 MPs with a five-year term; Fiji 71 MPs with five-year terms (prior to the December 2006 coup); the Solomon Islands 50 MPs with four-year terms; the Vanuatu parliament with 52 seats and a four-year term; and Tonga with nine elected members with three-year terms. (This is expected to change with reforms expected in the near future.)

Problems may arise with deviations from the Westminster system. For instance, the power sharing requirement in multi-party cabinets in Fiji's 1997 Constitution has implications for collective cabinet responsibility. Parties which win at least eight seats in parliament are entitled to representation in cabinet.

A number of the Pacific Island countries maintain separate bodies to take account of the views of the traditional leaders. Indeed, until the recent reforms, Tonga was a working example of a traditional chiefly system. Fiji's Great Council of Chiefs continues to wield considerable influence. There are also Chief's Councils in Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands.

Clearly, from the previous discussion, in the Melanesian context, the first-past-the-post electoral system does not produce stable two-party politics. Melanesia is the exception to what is widely held to be one of the "golden rules" of political science.

Fiji, and now PNG, have adopted preferential voting systems. In theory this should encourage candidates to look beyond their clan when campaigning. This is because they will require this much wider support amongst preferences to win the seat.

Fiji's 1997 constitution provides for a 71-seat parliament made up of 25 "open" (nonracial) seats and 46 elected from ethnic rolls in the following numbers: Fijian 23, Indian 19, general three, and Rotuma one. The 2006 coup leader and interim prime minister, Bainimarama, has vowed to rid Fiji of "race-based" politics and do away with the communal seats.

Of the five states in this analysis, only Fiji has an appointed Senate. Of the 32 senators, 14 are appointed by the GCC, nine by the prime minister, eight by the leader of opposition, and one by the Council Rotuma. The Senate has a key task of securing the interests of indigenous Fijians, including their land rights.

In pre-reform Tonga, with just nine of the 30 MPs elected by popular vote, there was no way in which an election could bring about a change of government.

PNG's Prime Minister Michael Somare, is a charismatic leader affectionately known as "the Chief." He led PNG to independence in 1975 and has served as

PM on three occasions, most recently since 2002. He was re-elected as prime minister at the mid-2007 general election. Somare has hinted that he may retire in 2008—which will be his 40th year in politics.

In the Solomon Islands Manasseh Sogavare, the current PM, is a controversial figure. He first became PM in the wake of the 2000 overthrow of the elected prime minister, Bartholomew Ulufa'alu. In 2006 he became prime minister following a confidence vote.

Ham Lini is the current prime minister of Vanuatu. He is the brother of Vanuatu's first and longest-serving prime minister, the late Walter Lini. He is president of the National Unity Party and was elected to replace Serge Vohor as prime minister in December 2004

In Fiji, Prime Minister Laisenia Qarase was deposed from office in the December 2006 military coup launched by Bainimarama. Ironically, it was Bainimarama who appointed Qarase interim prime minister at the time of the 2000 coup. He was elected PM in his own right in 2001 and again in 2006.

Bainimarama, who has a naval background, was appointed commander of the Fiji military forces in 1999. He is widely credited with restoring order after the Speight coup in 2000. From 2004 he became an increasingly strong critic of Qarase, whom he deposed in the December 2006 military coup.

Tongan King George Topou V assumed the throne following the death of his father in 2006. As crown prince he had a reputation for eccentric and unorthodox behavior. He served a period as foreign minister in his father's cabinet, but his leadership qualities are untested. He is likely to allow the political reforms to proceed, but leave the business of government to his Prime Minister Feleti (Fred) Sevele. The PM is a New Zealand educated economist, a successful business man, and a former People's representative in parliament.

LAW AND ORDER

In theory the prime responsibility for maintaining law and order rests with the police. All Pacific countries maintain police forces but these may not be up to the task, or may be part of the problem. (This was the case in the Solomon Islands during 2000 when the mainly Malaitan police sided with the militia, the Malaitan Eagle Force, to overthrow the elected government.) Where the military exist, they can provide back up for the police. In the event of widespread breakdown of law and order, outside powers or organizations may be called upon to assist. The move to a regional response is evident in the RAMSI intervention into the Solomon Islands in 2003. The Australian-led force of more than 2,000 police and military quickly reestablished law and order.

The level and nature of crime varies amongst the five countries. The ranking of these states from worst to best, or most to least crime, is PNG, the Solomon Islands, Fiji, Vanuatu, and Tonga.

While crime is on the increase throughout the region, it is particularly threatening in PNG. Armed criminal gangs known as Raskals specialize in a particularly violent form of crime. This has made PNG towns amongst the most violent in the world, with break-ins and rape often carried out in daylight hours.

Transnational crime is also on the increase, with growing evidence of Chinese criminal gangs becoming involved in corruption, drugs, and human trafficking.

The public's confidence in the legal system is low.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

All five states have a Ministry of Foreign Affairs which coordinates foreign policy and representation overseas. Fiji is the host for the most important of the regional organizations: the Pacific Islands Forum. All five states are Forum members and committed to the Forum's so-called "Pacific plan" for greater regional cooperation and integration. Fiji's foreign relations are undergoing a major shake-up as a result of its fourth military coup. There were even suggestions that the Pacific Islands Forum secretariat be moved from Fiji as part of the sanctions program, but no action was taken.

A major policy goal of the current governments is securing trade and aid. The Solomon Islands, PNG, and Vanuatu are the most dependent aid recipients. The most important donor countries are the European Union, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and China.

For Fiji there has been a growing tendency following the 1987, 2000, and 2006 coups to "look north" to Asia (for example China and Malaysia) for economic assistance and political understanding and to fill the gaps left by sanctions imposed by traditional aid donors, Australia and New Zealand. Other Pacific states have followed Fiji's lead and welcomed the absence of the "good-governance" type conditions often applied by Western donors.

The Asia-Pacific attraction has been mutual. China, taking advantage of U.S. preoccupation with Iraq, has increased its attention to the Pacific. China has become an important aid donor, with a preference for constructing prestigious buildings, such as the Vanuatu parliament. Fiji established an Embassy in Beijing (as has PNG which also has a joint venture nickel plant in the Madang province).

Australia and New Zealand have continued as major donors while recognizing that the Pacific states also have other options. In any case, Australia and New Zealand are in no position to be critical, as they are also pursuing closer ties with China—preferably including a Free Trade Agreement.

The main foreign policy concern of the Solomon Islands is managing a difficult relationship with Australia. This is dominated by the continued operation of the Australian-led RAMSI. Prime Minister Sogavare has made known his view that RAMSI has completed its mission and should leave. He has claimed that, given the breadth of RAMSI's mandate, the Solomon Islands have in effect had "two governments"—its own and that provided by RAMSI.

The Solomon Islands has no military forces of its own. It considered the establishment of a military force during the Bougainville conflict which spilled across the border into Solomon Islands territory, but settled for developing a paramilitary capacity in the police.

Of the five Pacific Island countries studied here, only the Solomon Islands give diplomatic recognition to Taiwan. It receives considerable aid in return. This may have had the unintended consequence of prolonging the conflict by providing something to fight for: compensation provided by Taiwan.

Vanuatu still has a strong French connection. It has also pursued the most radical of foreign policies, including relations with Libya and Cuba and membership of the Non-Alignment Movement.

PNG is seeking to establish its credentials as an Asian state, while playing a leading role in the Pacific. It is an associate member of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) and a member of Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). PNG has taken a leadership role in the Melanesian Spearhead Group. But the Melanesian states do not always agree—for instance on West Papua which is seeking to breakaway from Indonesia. Vanuatu has urged action from the Forum to promote independence for West Papua. PNG is cautious about relations with its large neighbor (Indonesia). In 1996 PNG recognized West Papua as an integral part of Indonesia.

None of the Pacific Island states have entered into formal military alliances. Most are comfortable in the Western camp. As has been noted, Vanuatu is the only Pacific Island state in the nonaligned grouping.

Although not a formal security alliance, the importance of the Pacific Island Forum Biketawa Agreement (2000) provides for a collective regional response to a Forum state requiring assistance. The Forum Secretary General may act "in times of crisis or in response to a member's request" to initiate an appropriate response in the event of a regional crisis. It is interesting to note when the agreement has, and has not, been invoked. It provided justification for the 2003 RAMSI intervention into the Solomon Islands. It was also the basis for the mainly economic PRAN (Pacific Regional Assistance Nauru) assistance provided to Nauru.

But it is noteworthy that Biketawa was not invoked during the November 2006 Tongan riots. The initiative for providing assistance was left to Australia and New Zealand, not the Forum. During the 2006 standoff between the government and military in Fiji, both sides made it clear they were not seeking outside intervention. A special meeting of Forum foreign ministers agreed to establish an "Eminent Persons Group" to monitor developments and make recommendations on the Fiji issue.

Within Melanesia, subregional cooperation is promoted by the Melanesian Spearhead Group made up of PNG, Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands, the French overseas territory, New Caledonia and, since 1996, Fiji. The group has expressed its support for a Melanesian peacekeeping capability.

With the possible exception of Tonga, all of the Pacific Island countries support a regional antinuclear stance, and are signatories to the Rarotonga Treaty (1986) that established a nuclear weapons-free zone in the South Pacific. Vanuatu maintains a similar policy to New Zealand and bans visits by nuclear armed and powered ships. Most of the other Pacific Island states remain sympathetic towards New Zealand's antinuclear policy.

The Pacific Islands Forum has the task of promoting development, economic cooperation, and more general cooperation. It is assisted by the Secretariat of the Pacific Community, the Commonwealth, the United Nations, and other agencies and NGOs (nongovernmental organizations).

Pacific Island states have membership of a wide range of international organizations in addition to the Pacific Island Forum. All five states are members of the United Nations, where they make up a significant voting bloc.

Several of the five Pacific Island states have been both providers and beneficiaries of peace support programs. Fiji has an impressive record of international peace support. Two Fiji battalions were maintained in Lebanon from 1972 to 2003. Fiji troops have served, or currently serve, in Afghanistan, East Timor, and the Solomon Islands. Many ex-Fijian military personnel work for private security firms, especially in Iraq. Concerns that the fourth coup in 2006 might end Fiji's UN peacekeeper role and recruitment into the British army appear to be misplaced.

Vanuatu has contributed to peacekeeping in Bougainville, and more recently the RAMSI operation in the Solomon Islands.

Vanuatu benefited from the first regional peacekeeping operation at the time of independence in 1980. PNG forces were transported to the rebel island of Santos in Vanuatu by the Australian Air Force in a successful effort to put down a secession attempt.

Tonga took a leading role in the first Pacific Islands regional peacekeeping force despatched to Bougainville in 1994. In November 2006 it requested assistance from Australia and New Zealand to restore order following the rioting in the capital.

PNG has had limited participation in peace support operations due to concerns about the limited capability of its armed forces. New Zealand- and Australia-led Bougainville peace support forces eventually ended a decade of civil war.

The Australian-led RAMSI operation, which has been referred to several times, has dominated peace support operations.

SECURITY

Only three of the Pacific Island countries have military forces: Fiji (3,500), PNG (3,100), and Tonga (430). The Vanuatu Mobile Forces (VMF) (300) are formally part of the police but have a paramilitary role (DeRouen and Heo 2005, 546). There were plans to transform elements of the Solomon Island's police into a paramilitary force (the Solomon Islands Field Force), but these were overtaken by events.

Capabilities vary widely between these forces, from well trained and experienced, as in the case of Fiji, to poorly equipped and disorganized in PNG (or largely ceremonial in Tonga's case).

Papua New Guinea Defense Force

The main component of the Papua New Guinea Defense Force (PNGDF) is the army with 2,500 active personnel. This is made up of two infantry battalions and an engineering battalion. It is supported by a small navy of 400 active personnel, which crew four patrol boats provided by Australia. There is also a small air wing

of around 200 active personnel, which provide crew for the helicopters and transport aircraft. Overall the PNGDF is ineffective mainly because of its lack of resources and low morale. Most of the budget is spent on wages. In 2000 the average age of a soldier was around 40 years. The Engineer battalion is widely used on public works.

While PNG has so far avoided military coups, there have been times when the PNGDF has not been under civilian control. In 1988 the military defied government orders to close Lae air base. In 1997 the military blocked Prime Minister Julius Chan's plan to use a mercenary force to defeat the Bougainville rebels. The PNGDF was furious that money could be found to pay mercenaries, but not to properly equip its own forces. The Sandline mercenaries were apprehended, and Chan was effectively sidelined pending new elections.

Fiji

The Republic of Fiji Military Forces (RFMF) are made up of a regiment-sized army of around 3,200 consisting of six infantry battalions, an engineer battalion, and a logistics battalion. There is a small naval contingent of 300 who crew nine patrol boats. There is no air force. However, a small aviation wing is part of the army.

In contrast to the PNGDF, the Fiji military is well trained and disciplined. It has built up a commendable record, and Fijians are widely sought as peacekeepers. But it is also highly politicized, having taken part in four military coups over the past 20 years.

Relations between the Fiji military and the police are strained. While the military is overwhelmingly indigenous Fijian, the police force is more balanced between the different ethnic groups. Under its Australian commissioner, Andrew Hughes, the police developed a well-armed Tactical Response Unit. Following the Bainimarama coup, Hughes was dismissed and the Tactical Response Unit, which was being built up to counter the influence of the military, disbanded.

Tonga

The small Tongan Defense Service of 430 has mainly a ceremonial role. (Its limited ''military'' capability was demonstrated by its inaction at the time of the November 2006 riots.) It includes a maritime force which crew the three Australian supplied patrol boats. The other units are the Royal Tongan Marines and the Tongan Royal Guards. The force also has a tanker and two aircraft.

Vanuatu

Vanuatu does not have a military force, although the Vanuatu Mobile Force (the VMF which numbers around 300) has paramilitary objectives and capabilities. It also has a Police Maritime section to crew the patrol boats.

One important security issue is the security forces themselves. There have been four coups in Fiji and mutinies in PNG and Vanuatu. Both Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands have decided not to develop military forces. There is a growing

recognition that more armed forces would be likely to result in more coups. The military can become part of the problem.

Economic, environmental, and social issues rather than military concerns form the main items on the Pacific Island security agenda.

Under a broad definition of security this may include health, development, human rights, and environmental issues, in addition to more traditional issues such as the threat of invasion, resource protection, and incursions. It can also cover natural disasters, domestic upheavals, and threats to public health such as the increasing levels of type 2 diabetes.

The 9/11 terrorist attacks on the United States and the Bali bombing of October 12, 2002, which killed more than 80 Australian tourists, put terrorism high on the Pacific security agenda. But the threat of a terrorist attack on a Pacific Island state is considered to be low. However, as the hijacking of the Air New Zealand plane at Nadi airport during the first Fiji coup in 1987 demonstrated, the region is not free of such threats to security. There is concern that the lax border and aircraft security could lead terrorist groups to consider a Pacific Island state to be a "soft touch." But given the small size of most Pacific Island states, outsiders are likely to be instantly recognized.

Although PNG shares a land border with the world's largest Muslim nation (Indonesia), only Fiji has a significant Muslim population. While there were reports from Fiji regarding past links to Al Qadea, there is no known recent contact.

Pacific Islands provide unlikely targets for terrorism—although the experience of Bali suggests an attack on a tourist facility cannot be ruled out.

Australian concern about "failing" Pacific Island states is drawn by a fear that the Islands could be used as a base or transit point for terrorists. There was also concern that money laundering and passport sales could be exploited by terrorist organizations.

While there can be debate over how real the threat of terrorism is, it has been real in its consequences. It has proven to be expensive for Pacific Island states to meet U.S. and international anti-terrorist requirements.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Pacific Island governments remain committed to the rule of law. There are exceptions, as the Fiji coups demonstrated.

Pacific Island justice systems are based on the UK model of a Supreme Court, Court of Appeals, High Court, and Magistrate's Court. Wide use is made of expatriate judges, especially at the Supreme Court level.

In PNG the Supreme Court consists of the 13 National Court judges sitting collectively. District courts are presided over by magistrates. Village courts deal with minor offenses and matters of custom and tradition.

In Fiji military courts have been active hearing cases arising out of the 2000 coup and mutiny.

Pacific concerns tend to relate to collective rather than individual rights. For many Fijians, and other Pacific Islanders, indigenous rights are more important than democratic rights. Nevertheless most Pacific Island constitutions include a

Bill of Rights. The 2006 Freedom House survey put Fiji, PNG, the Solomon Islands, and Tonga in the "partly free" category, while giving Vanuatu a status of "free" (Freedom House 2007).

The U.S. State Department has expressed concern at the favorable treatment given to indigenous Fijians. This included a pro-Fijian bias in employment, education, and land tenure. Evictions of Indo-Fijian tenant farmers by indigenous Fijian land owners were continuing. Also mentioned were restrictions on freedom of movement, violence—particularly against women—and the delay in getting cases to court. Discrimination against women is a problem throughout the region. Very few women are elected to parliament.

The 2006 coup brought a state of emergency and a restriction on the freedom of expression and assembly. There have been many cases of arbitrary detention and reports of abuse, including severe beatings. Emergency regulations were lifted in June 2007, but were then reimposed that September following the return of Qarase to Suva from exile on Vanuabalavu Island.

Freedom of the media is generally respected—but problems have arisen in Fiji and Tonga. In Fiji there have been government moves to replace the independent Press Council with a government-controlled body. Following the 2006 coup, the military put considerable pressure on the media to avoid criticizing the military.

Police violence has been a notable area of abuse in PNG, and to a lesser extent, Fiji. Human rights have also been seriously violated following military coups. Human rights violations are a key issue in PNG.

Regarding Tonga there is concern over the lack of democracy and press freedom, but the reform process is underway. It is not yet clear the extent to which the November 2006 riots will stall or energize the reform process.

CONCLUSION

None of the five Pacific countries covered in this section have a formal alliance relationship with the United States. However, Australia, the lead Forum country, does and all Forum states seek to maintain friendly relations with both Australia and the United States.

The United States' interest in the region has tended to wax and wane. After World War II, U.S. interest was high because this was the site of some of the major battles between U.S. and Japanese forces. But with the end of the Cold War, interest lapsed with the United States closing its embassy in the Solomon Islands more than a decade ago (U.S. embassies continue to operate in Suva and Port Moresby). U.S. concerns further declined as it became preoccupied with the war in Iraq. The United States has been largely content to leave the protection of its South Pacific interests to its "Deputy Sheriff" Australia.

Broader social, economic, cultural ties of South Pacific states with the United States, including migration and trade, are minimal. Vanuatu and the other states have received modest aid from the United States including peace corps. A regional U.S. aid station in Suva was closed in the mid-1990s.

There are signs that U.S. attitudes are changing. The U.S. State Department declared 2007 as the year of the Pacific. This was partly a response to China's

increased interests in the region. The strategic significance of the region is chang-ing and is attracting increased major power interest.

It may be observed that Pacific Island violence and unrest was mainly restricted to Melanesia, but in November 2006 the Tongan capital was burned. The Pacific Islands face a wide range of security issues that are likely to continue to be a con-cern in the future. This is especially the case given recent events, such as the 2006 coup in Fiji.

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Pakistan

Marie Lall

BACKGROUND

Location, Key Geographic Features, Territories and Jurisdiction of the State

Pakistan is located in South Asia, between India in the East, Iran and Afghanistan in the West, and China in the North as well as bordering the Arabian Sea in the South. The country's total land and water area are 796,095 square kilometers, around four times the size of the United Kingdom. The land boundaries comprise a total of 6,774 kilometers bordering Afghanistan (2,430 kilometers), China (523 kilometers), India (2,912 kilometers), and Iran (909 kilometers) and 1,064 kilometers of coastline. Pakistan's key geographic features include the flat Indus plain in the South and East; the Himalayan mountain range starting at the Khyber Pass in the northwest and reaching across the North to the Indian border, and the Balochistan plateau in the West.

The total population is estimated at around 150 million. The city of Islamabad (between 800,000 and 950,000) is the capital and with adjacent Rawalpindi holds a combined population of around 3.5 million. Other major cities include Karachi (estimated at over 20 million), Lahore (between five and six million), Faisalabad (around two million), and Hyderabad (just over one million). Population estimates vary greatly depending on the source. (It should be noted that most Government of Pakistan websites still use the 1998 estimates, which are grossly out of date. The figures here show the variance between various websites specializing in population figures such as http://www.citypopulation.de/Pakistan.html.)

Pakistan is made up of four provinces: Punjab (capital—Lahore), Sindh (Karachi), Balochistan (Quetta), and the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) (Peshwar); one territory (the Federally Administered Tribal Areas); and one capital territory (Islamabad). The Pakistani-administered portion of the disputed Jammu and Kashmir region consists of two administrative entities: Azad Kashmir and the Northern Areas.

Pakistan

Formal name of country: Islamic Republic of Pakistan

Size of country: 796,095 sq km (land and water area)

Natural resources: Land, natural gas reserves located mainly in Balochistan, limited petroleum, poor quality coal, iron ore, copper, salt, and limestone

Population: 165,803,560 (July 2006 est.)

Life expectancy at birth: 63 years

Key ethnic groups:

- Punjabis
- Sindhis
- Balochis
- Pashtun
- Mohajirs

Key religions: Sunni Islam with a significant Shia minority

Political system: Islamic republic with a federal parliamentary system of government, with president as the head of state and the popularly elected prime minister as head of government. Currently the president is a military dictator and there is emergency rule.

Key political groups/parties: The main transnational parties are the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) and the Pakistan Muslim League (PML). The Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) represents a conglomerate of Islamic parties. Other Islamic parties are the Jamiat-al-Hadith (JAH), the Jamiat-i-Islami (JI), the Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam, Fazlur Rehman faction (JUI/F), the Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam, Sami ul-HAQ faction (JUI/S), and the Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan (JUP). There are also smaller parties such as the Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaaf and the Awami National Party as well as powerful local parties representing the interests of very specific groups such as the Muttahida Qaumi Movement for the Mohajirs and various factions of the Balochistan National Party.

Legal system: Pakistani law is based on the English common law with provisions to accommodate Pakistan's status as an Islamic state.

Real GDP growth: between 6.5% and 7% per year

Population below poverty line: 24%

Size of military: Voluntary army approximately 520,000 active; 500,000 reservists

Relationship with the United States: The Pakistani government wants to be an ally of the United States. However, at the popular level the United States is seen as an international bully whose illegal occupation of Iraq is driven by anti-Islamic policies. This has driven many ordinary Pakistanis to rally around Islam, and there has been a consequent rise in the number of anti-American Islamic parties.

Important human security issues:

- the law and order situation, especially with regard to the treatment of women and minorities,
- the lack of access to education and health care across the country for the poorer sections of society,
- the slow growth of the agricultural sector with an increasing economic gap between the urban and rural areas,
- the increasing economic gap between the urban rich and poor.

Future important security issues:

- Domestic: the insurgency in Balochistan, the continued Sunni-Shia conflict, opposition to emergency rule.
- International: the peace process with India, the role of the army with regard to the situation in Kashmir.

Natural Resources, the Level of Development, and Key Environmental Issues

Pakistan's main natural resource is land (arable land: 24.44 percent), though the percentage of irrigated land is very low, making most of the agriculture monsoon dependent. There are also extensive natural gas reserves located mainly in Balochistan, limited petroleum, poor quality coal, iron ore, copper, salt, and limestone.

The main natural environmental issues include earthquakes, occasionally severe ones especially in the North and West, as well as flooding along the Indus after heavy monsoon rains (mainly between July and August).

Man-made environmental issues include water pollution from raw sewage, industrial wastes, and agricultural runoff which are not controlled despite the limited natural fresh water resources especially in the desert regions in the West. The majority of the population does not have access to potable water. There is also deforestation, soil erosion, and desertification and an increasing number of endangered species who cannot survive as their natural habitats, such as the wetlands and mangroves, shrink. Increasingly there is overpopulation in the urban centers as the rural population looks for a better life in the city resulting in increased pollution and urban poverty.

Outline of History from Settlement

Pakistan (along with parts of western India) contains archaeological remains of urban civilizations dating back 7,000 years. The excavation of Mehrgarh (Balochistan) in the 1970s revealed one of the earliest Neolithic settlements in that region. The ruins of Mohenjo-Daro (Sindh) also testify to a vibrant Bronze Age civilization. Alexander the Great crossed into the Indus Valley around 326 BC. Subsequently the Indo-Greek kingdom of Bactria was founded extending from today's Afghanistan to the NWFP. The Buddhist renaissance of Afghanistan and Pakistan is known as the Gandhara period (sixth century BC through eleventh century AD). It reached its height between the first century to the fifth century AD under Buddhist Kushan Kings.

Islam first reached South Asia in the eighth century brought by Arabs who employed the doctrine of *ijtihad*, a mechanism by which Islamic scholars and thinkers can reapply the fundamental principles of Islam to adapt to cultures unexplored by Islam and ever-changing social evolutions. The inherent values of empathy and compassion in *ijtihad* allowed for these two civilizations to coexist, each respecting the others' cultures and traditions within the confines of Islam.

The Mughal Empire collapsed in the eighteenth century and the English East India Company extended its control over much of the subcontinent. However, a Sikh dominion extending between Kabul, Srinagar, and Lahore was carved out by Ranjit Singh. British rule only replaced the Sikhs in the first half of the nineteenth century, making this the frontier area of the empire.

As part of British India the people of Pakistan took part in the ''quit-India'' movement to rid the subcontinent from imperial rule. Muslim anticolonial leaders formed the All-India Muslim League in 1906. At first the League and Congress both adopted the same objective: self-government for India within the British

THE 1998 NUCLEAR TESTS

Pakistan's nuclear weapons program was established in 1972 by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who founded the program while he was Minister for Fuel, Power, and Natural Resources. Shortly after the secession of Bangladesh and the 1971 war with India, Bhutto initiated the program with a meeting of physicists and engineers at Multan in January 1972.

On May 28, 1998, the Pakistani government announced that it had conducted five nuclear tests. Two days later it conducted one final nuclear test. The tests were held in response to a series of five nuclear explosions India had conducted earlier in the month. At the time the tests exacerbated the escalating tensions between New Delhi and Islamabad over the disputed territory of Kashmir and fueled the nuclear arms race in the region.

It had been suspected for a long time that Pakistan had the capability to detonate a nuclear device. The nuclear tests occurred at the Chagai Hills test site, where ''cold'' tests of a nuclear implosion device had been held in 1986. To fuel the bombs, Pakistan had stockpiled fissile material consisting of weapons-grade uranium. The country's primary uranium enrichment plant is located at the Dr. A. Q. Khan Research Laboratories in Kahuta, while other experimental-scale enrichment facilities are located at Sihala and Golra Sharif. It is suspected that at the time, Pakistan had a stockpile of approximately 460 to 785 kg of highly enriched uranium, enough for 23 to 29 nuclear weapons.

The nuclear tests were followed by international sanctions led by the United States, which were lifted after Pakistan joined the U.S. War on Terror after 9/11 (Cirincione 2001).

Empire. However, in the longer run Congress and the League were unable to agree on a formula that would ensure the protection of Muslim religious, economic, and political rights. The expression of a separate national identity from the majority Hindu population through the Muslim league led by Mohammad Ali Jinnah resulted in the demand for a separate homeland for Muslims. This in turn led to the partition of British India into the Muslim state of Pakistan and largely Hindu India in August 1947. To this day this issue is at the base of the difficult relationship between the two sovereign states. India and Pakistan fought two wars—in 1948 and 1965—over the disputed Kashmir territory.

Between independence and 1971, Pakistan encompassed Muslim East Bengal, despite the 1,000 miles of separation of both entities by Indian territory until 1971. After 25 years of economic exploitation and political discontent, a bloody civil war based largely on a separate Bengali identity led to the secession of Bangladesh. India became involved due to the large number of fleeing refugees and this resulted in the third Indo-Pakistani war.

In 1998 Pakistan conducted its first nuclear tests in response to India's test a few days earlier. Shortly after, an undeclared war was fought between the two countries over the Siachen glacier in the Kargil area of Kashmir. Troops again converged on the border after terrorists attacked the Indian parliament in 2001, yet this time there was no battle. The peace process was resumed in 2003 and has led to a decrease in tensions, especially through a series of confidence-building measures despite continuation of the dispute over Kashmir.

SOCIETY

Population and Demographics

The population size is estimated at around 165,803,560 (July 2006). The majority of the population is concentrated in the Punjab and the Indus Valley mainly around the major cities such as Karachi, Faisalabad, Lahore, and Rawalpindi/

Islamabad. Balochistan is the most sparsely populated province despite being the largest territory-wise.

Pakistan's population growth rate is around 2.09 percent (2006) with 29.74 births per 1,000 population and 8.23 deaths per 1,000 population (2006). The median age is very young at 19.8 years.

There are five major ethnic groups encompassing the Punjabis, Sindhis, Pushtuns, Balochs, and Mohajirs (who are Urdu-speaking immigrants from India and their descendants). However, there are other smaller groups and many tribes mainly in the NWFP and Balochistan. The majority religion is Islam (97 percent) but divided between Sunni and Shia (including Ismaelis). There are no exact figures of the percentage of Shias and estimates vary between 5 and 15 percent. There is a small minority of Ahmadiyyahs, who though a Muslim sect, are not recognized as Muslim by either Pakistani society or the legal system. Other religious groups (3 percent) include a small Christian and Hindu minority. The main religious problems are between Shia and Sunnis.

The national and official language is Urdu (although only the first language for less than 8 percent of the population). However, English is widely spoken in the educated circles including in government and military circles. Other provincial languages include amongst others Punjabi (spoken by 48 percent), Sindhi (12 percent), Saraiki (Punjabi variant) (10 percent), Pushtu (8 percent), and Baloch (3 percent). The distinct scripts of these ethnic languages are, however, no longer used as they have been replaced with the Arabic script used for Urdu.

Pakistan had born the brunt of refugees from Afghanistan with an estimated 960,041 people still not having returned back home. There has been internal displacement of an estimated three million people due to the earthquake in Kashmir in October 2005 and some other undetermined internal displacement due to the military strikes on Islamic militants in South Waziristan.

Basic Infrastructure

The basic transport infrastructure across the country is mediocre, but quite acceptable in large parts of the Punjab where a new highway links Lahore and Islamabad. The total of Pakistan's roads is 254,410 kilometers of which 152,646 kilometers are paved (including 367 kilometers of expressways). The Karakorum Highway (also known as Friendship Highway) is the main link between Pakistan and China and was completed in 1986 after 20 years of construction. It is one of the highest roads on earth leading to five of the highest mountains on earth (all over 8,000 meters high). There are both road and rail linkages to India through the Punjab. Good-quality express intercity buses link all major cities and are the safest mode of public transportation.

There are 63 airports—major international airports are located in Karachi, Islamabad, Lahore, Peshawar, and Quetta (World Aero Data.com). The antiquated railway system has a total of 8,163 kilometers of rail of which 7,718 kilometers are broad gauge (1.676 m) and 445 kilometers are narrow gauge (1.0 meters).

The main ports are Port Muhammad Bin Qasim, located in Karachi (Sindh), and Gwadar Port, which is currently being developed with Chinese help as a deep sea port in Balochistan.

Telecommunications remain problematic despite the government having promoted investment in this sector which has significantly increased network capacity. Despite these improvements in urban areas, landline telecommunication services are still not readily available to the majority of the rural population. However, cell phones are increasingly available both in urban and rural settings and are quickly overtaking landline services. (In 2004 there were 4,502,200 phones and 5,022,900 cell phones.)

For its energy production Pakistan relies on gas, coal, and petrol. Solar and hydroenergy production has not yet been harnessed successfully. There are two nuclear power plants which produce electricity: Kanupp has been running for the last 32 years and Chasnupp began to operate in 2000. However, nuclear energy represents only 0.9 percent of the electricity produced (SDPI Research).

Economy in 2006

Pakistan's economy has been growing between 7 and 7.5 percent per annum over the last few years and has largely improved since the sanctions of 1998 were lifted (Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Finance):

- Industrial production growth rate is 9 percent (lower than the past two years when it was 15.6 and 14.5, respectively).

- Agricultural growth is 2.5 percent (much lower than the past year's 6.7 percent due to adverse weather conditions).

- Per capita income as GNP at market price in dollars rose from $582 in 2002/2003 to $846 in 2005/2006 with a 14.2 percent increase over the last year.

- Domestic fixed investment grew by 10.3 percent.

- Inflation runs around 8 percent.

Almost half of Pakistan's population is employed in the agricultural sector (42 percent) but the service industry is growing (38 percent) while only 20 percent of the population are working in industry (2004).

The principal agriculture products are cotton, wheat, rice, sugarcane, fruits, vegetables, milk, beef, mutton, and eggs. The main industries produce textiles and apparel, food processing, pharmaceuticals, construction materials, paper products, fertilizer, and shrimp.

There is extensive labor migration to the Middle East, whereby family members send back remittances, as well as the continuing use of child labor, especially in the rural areas.

Pakistan's trade in 2005–2006:

Exports: $17 billion (18 percent higher than the previous year): textiles (garments, bed linen, cotton cloth, and yarn), rice, fish, fruits, leather goods, sports goods, carpets, rugs, chemicals, and manufactures. Major partners: the United States, the United Arab Emirates, the United Kingdom, Germany, Hong Kong, and Saudi Arabia.

Imports: $20.7 billion (up from $14.4 billion due to the rising oil prices): petroleum, petroleum products, machinery, plastics, paper and paper board, transportation equipment, edible oils, pulses, iron, steel, and tea. Major partners: China, the United States, the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Japan, Kuwait, and Germany.

Social Indicators

Pakistan is considered a low-income country. Life expectancy is relatively low at 63 years.

Pakistan has suffered from a very poor education infrastructure and the literacy rate in 2003 was estimated at 45.7 percent (59.8 percent for males and 30.6 percent for females). Unofficial estimates are as low as 35 percent, and even lower in the rural areas. In 1959 the government started to introduce privatization into the public education sector.

The major education goals of the subsequent nine five-year plans (1957–2003) set out to increase the quality of the schooling infrastructure and increase the enrolment of children through mass literacy programs. None of the targets of these plans were achieved, however, as envisaged. Literacy was raised from 16 percent in 1951 to 51.6 percent in 2003, but did not reach 100 percent by 1975 as had originally been envisaged (Lall, forthcoming).

Under General Zia (1977–1988) the madrassah system was greatly expanded as a part of the Islamization of society. Madrassas education and public school education were made compatible with each other so as to allow pupils to switch from one to the other. Today madrassas is a vital part of Pakistan's public education system as the state does not have the means to ensure basic education for all those who are entitled to it.

The public health system is underfunded and in bad shape. The infant mortality rate is high at 72.44 per 1,000 (higher for girls), and life expectancy is 62.04 years for men and 64.01 years for women. The major infectious diseases are principally food or waterborne diseases: bacterial diarrhea, hepatitis A and E, and typhoid fever. The high prevalence of vectorborne diseases such as dengue fever, malaria, and cutaneous leishmaniasis are high risks in certain areas.

Low levels of spending in the social services and high population growth have contributed to persistent poverty and unequal income distribution. More resources are now being devoted to socioeconomic development and infrastructure projects, although public expenditure remains below global averages in these sectors.

The unemployment rate is 6.5 percent and, in addition, there is substantial underemployment (2006 est.). The population below the poverty line is 24 percent (FY05/06 est.) (CIA 2007).

During the 1980s, Pakistan embarked on market-based economic reforms. In 1988 the government began to remove barriers to foreign trade and investment, reform the financial system, ease foreign exchange controls, and privatize dozens of state-owned enterprises as a part of an International Monetary Fund (IMF)-assisted structural adjustment program. Between 1980 and the early 1990s, the economy grew on an average of 6 percent per year. Despite this the economy suffered in 1992–1993 as natural disasters (floods) and political turmoil depressed growth. The Asian financial crisis in 1997 also seriously affected Pakistan's

economy, especially the export sector. In 1998 the nuclear tests and the subsequent economic sanctions set back economic growth dramatically.

After the coup in late 1999, President Pervez Musharraf prioritized policies to stabilize the macroeconomic situation through economic reforms which started in 2000. These included the privatization of the state-subsidized utilities, instituting anti-money laundering laws, taking on intellectual property right issues, and instigating regulations to quickly resolve investor disputes. However, Pakistan was still reeling under the international sanction regime.

After 9/11 Pakistan was forced to choose between supporting the Taliban and the U.S. War on Terror. By allying itself with the United States, it managed not only to negotiate a lifting of the international sanctions regime but also to increase foreign assistance. The United States, the World Bank, and the Asian Development Bank have all started to provide aid to help Pakistan develop its education and health sectors as well as to rebuild areas hit by the October 2005 earthquake in Kashmir. Foreign investments also sharply increased as a result of 9/11 as expatriate Pakistanis in the West and the Middle East found that it was safer to invest their money back home, rather than have it prone to inspection in light of a much tighter security regime in the United States, the United Kingdom, and other countries. Pakistan capitalized on this by making the repatriation of monies as easy as possible and by issuing $600 million worth of Islamic bonds. Inflation at around 8 percent remains the biggest problem.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

Type of Political System

Pakistan was ruled by civilian leaders for 28 years and by military dictators for 32 years.

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan has a Federal Parliamentary System of government, with the president as the head of state and the elected prime minister as head of government. The Federal Legislature is a bicameral Majlis-e-Shoora (parliament, 342 seats, formerly 217; 60 seats represent women; 10 seats represent minorities; members elected by popular vote to serve five-year terms), composed of the National Assembly and the Senate (100 seats, formerly 87; members are indirectly elected by provincial assemblies to serve six-year terms). Senate elections were held in March 2006 (the next are scheduled to be held in March 2009). National Assembly elections were held on October 10, 2002. The next were scheduled for late 2007 but were delayed when Musharraf declared emergency rule in November 2007.

Since its creation in 1947, Pakistan has had three constitutions (1956, 1962, and 1973). The 1973 Constitution of Pakistan envisaged a parliamentary system of government, with the balance of power tilted towards the prime minister. Originally the president could not exercise his powers without the concurrence of the prime minister. The Eighth Constitutional Amendment, which was passed by the Senate in 1985, altered the form of the Constitution drastically by affecting 19 clauses and bringing the office of the president of Pakistan almost at par with that of the prime minister.

Current Leadership and Its Public Support

On October 12, 1999, the Pakistan Army once again ousted the civilian government headed by prime minister Nawaz Sharif. The coup immediately followed the premier's attempt to replace the army chief while he was on a tour to Sri Lanka. After two days of chilling uncertainty, Chief of Army Staff General Pervez Musharraf assumed the title of chief executive and suspended Pakistan's constitution. He assumed the additional title of chief executive on May 12, 2000. Although the use of the term "Martial Law" was avoided, Pakistan once again came under military rule. It was claimed that the army was forced to take this step to save the country from "turmoil and uncertainty."

The coup was validated by Pakistan's Supreme Court in October 1999. Musharraf was given executive and legislative authority for three years. On June 20, 2001, Musharraf named himself president and was sworn in. Through a referendum held on April 30, 2002, his presidency was extended by five more years, and on January 1, 2004, Musharraf won a vote of confidence in the Senate, the National Assembly, and four provincial assemblies. Musharraf won the most votes in the October 2007 presidential election, but the Supreme Court said no winner could be announced until it ruled if the general was eligible to stand for election while still army chief. Musharraf declared emergency rule in November 2007 while still awaiting a Supreme Court ruling, and dismissed Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry. The prime minister is Shaukat Aziz who is selected by the National Assembly and also appoints the cabinet.

The Political Landscape

The main transnational parties are the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) and the Pakistan Muslim League. These have split into sub-parties allied to specific leaders over time—for example the PPP (Shaheed Bhutto). The Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal represents a conglomerate of Islamic parties. Other Islamic parties are the Jamiat-al-Hadith, the Jamiat-i-Islami, the Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam, Fazlur Rehman faction, the Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam, Sami ul-HAQ faction, and the Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan. There are also smaller parties such as the Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaaf and the Awami National Party, as well as powerful local parties representing the interests of very specific groups such as the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) for the Mohajirs and various factions of the Balochistan National Party. Political alliances in Pakistan tend to shift frequently and the military remains the most influential political force. More recently the Islamic clergy (Ulema) has gained in importance, competing with the more traditional landowners from Sindh and Balochistan and the industrialists from the Punjab.

Popular Interest and Participation in Politics

Democracy has few supporters in Pakistan. The army has been in power for over half of the country's existence and politicians are seen as too incompetent and too corrupt to govern. Pakistan's urbane elite and Islamic radicals do not agree on much but do agree on the issue that democracy as a parliament is considered

un-Islamic. The traditional explanation for the failure of democracy is the quality of the civilian political leaders.

Key Political Issues

The Army

The army's political involvement started whenever there was political violence or ethnic problems—the army was given responsibility of restoring law and order. Insurgencies were crushed to preserve national integrity (Balochistan 1974—successful; Bagladesh 1971—unsuccessful). Throughout the 1950s–1970s, the Pakistani Army was the most powerful elite in the country. When other elite political factions struggled for power, the praetorian concern of the military was the inevitable outcome as elite factional conflicts started legitimizing themselves along ethnic rather than national lines. Ethnic nationalism threatened the existence of the state—the army felt it had to intervene. The army became conscious of the role it had to play in maintaining the national identity of the state.

The army and the intelligence agencies are at the center of any foreign policy decisions to be made, especially with regard to Afghanistan, Kashmir, and India. The army has found it easy to grab power. But none of the three first army chiefs gave up power voluntarily. It does not look like Musharraf will step down either.

Feudalism

The blame for the failure of democracy is often put on major landowners or on the government which has resisted land reforms. In both military and civilian rule, feudals held the "power behind the throne" (Malik). Classic feudals are large land owners of Sindh and Punjab and tribal leaders of Balochistan and NWFP. But there are many who have smaller land holdings and more limited authority. The rural elite carries out functions that are normally the responsibility of the courts, police, or other administrative bodies: they settle local disputes, give divorces, and order punishments for crimes.

Ayub Khan announced land reforms (no more than 500 acres of irrigated and 1,000 acres of nonirrigated land) in 1959, but these never worked. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto tried again in 1972 (150 irrigated and 300 non-irrigated land) but it was still possible for landowners to pass property on to family and laborers and the reforms failed. In 2000 Musharraf announced further land reforms, but this would mean a major confrontation with some of Pakistan's most powerful feudals and politicians. Today Musharraf needs the support of the feudals in the fight against Islamic extremism.

Regionalism

Ethnic identities precede independence. The British colonial administrators created diverse administrative forms (tribal territories, princely states, provinces, and so on) based on the divide and rule concept. This encouraged the growth of ethnic identities which survive to this day.

Pakistan was born with a temporary sense of national identity—a reaction to Hindu nationalism which led to various Muslim ethnic groups to suspend their

regional ethnic and linguistic identities. But after independence the Muslim nationhood and Muslim national identity became less important and there was a rebirth of regional and ethnic identities. Ever since Pakistan has struggled with the balance between the region and the state—because of the regional conflicts it took nine years to write a constitution.

The strongest group—the *Bengalis*—seceded from Pakistan in 1971. Today there are five other dominant groups, each with their own aspirations:

The *Punjabis* became the most powerful group in the 1960s and 1970s with a strong participation in the army and a strong industrial base in the Punjab, the richest province. Most Punjabis do not see any distinction between being Pakistani and Punjabi. A smaller subgroup, the Saraikis have been demanding separation from the rest of the Punjabis.

The *Sindhis* had a relatively weak regional autonomy movement. Z.A. Bhutto coming to power gave them a boost as he tried to redress some of the grievances of the Sindhis by enforcing rural-urban quotas for provincial services. The major problem is between the Sindhis and the Mohajirs for the control of Karachi.

The *Mohajirs* were initially dominant in Pakistan's civil service. Although a majority settled in Karachi, they never integrated into Sindh. When the capital moved from Karachi to Islamabad, the Punjabis became more powerful. The MQM, the party representing them since the 1980s, has demanded that the Mohajirs should be recognized as the fifth nationality in Pakistan.

Pathans or Pakhtuns are the tribals who inhabit the North-West Frontier province. Their demand for an independent homeland predates Pakistan's independence.

The *Balochis* inhabit the largest state, home to a heterogeneous tribal area where many languages are spoken. The first violent separatist movement took place in 1973 and the intervention of the army resulted in over 9,000 official deaths. Today there is renewed instability as the natural resources (mainly gas) are being used to enrich the other provinces, yet hardly any economic benefit has filtered down to the Balochi people.

Islam

The Islamization of Pakistan goes back to the rule of General Zia-ul-Haq between 1977 and 1988. Zia's Islamization program was pursued within a rather complicated ideological framework. His stance contrasted with the popular culture, in which most people are "personally" very religious but not "publicly" religious.

An unexpected outcome was that by relying on a policy grounded in Islam, the state fomented factionalism: by legislating what is Islamic and what is not, Islam itself could no longer provide unity because it was then being defined to exclude previously included groups. Disputes between Sunnis and Shia, ethnic disturbances in Karachi between Pakhtuns and Mohajirs, increased animosity toward Ahmadiyyas, and the revival of Punjab-Sindh tensions can all be traced to the loss of Islam as a common vocabulary of public morality.

General Musharraf knows that the vast majority of Pakistanis reject narrow-minded dogmatism and prefer a tolerant version of Islam. Traditionally, the religious parties in Pakistan have won under 5 percent of the national vote. But in

2002, against the backdrop of the American-led offensive in Afghanistan, the radicals achieved 11 percent and formed the local governments in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan.

The role of religion and national identity has led to internal dualism: ethno-Islamic and ethno-national. Within the ethno-Islamic framework, the national identities of citizens of Pakistan fluctuate between their religion and their state: if a citizen was a Muslim first and Pakistani second, he or she transcended national boundaries and is sympathetic to pan Islamism. If he or she was a Pakistani first and a Muslim second, the basis of his or her identity is ethnicized.

LAW AND ORDER

Pakistani law is based on the English common law with provisions to accommodate Pakistan's status as an Islamic state. Pakistan accepts compulsory International Court of Justice jurisdiction, with reservations. However, Musharraf currently governs through emergency rule.

Pakistan has a Supreme Court and a high court in each province as well as other courts exercising civil and criminal jurisdiction. The Supreme Court is at the apex of the judicial system, and the chief justice of Pakistan is appointed by the president (and as already noted, was dismissed in November 2007). Other judges are also appointed by the president after consultation with the chief justice. The Islamabad Capital Territory falls within the jurisdiction of the Lahore High Court of the Punjab. In every district there are both civil and criminal courts. There is a Court of District judge which is the principal court of original jurisdiction in civil matters (Sial and Iqbal 2005).

General Zia-ul-Haq introduced Islamic law to Pakistan in the late 1970s. He also introduced the Zakat, Ushr (both religious tax), Islamic Hudood, and Penal Code in the country. Zakat was to be deducted from bank accounts of Muslims at the rate of 2.5 percent annually above the balance of Rupees 3,000. Ushr was levied on the yield of agricultural land in cash or kind at the rate of 10 percent of the agricultural yield, annually. The Hudood Ordinance covers the punishments ordained by the Holy Quran or Sunnah on the use of liquor, theft, and adultery. Under this ordinance, a culprit could be sentenced to lashing, life imprisonment and in some cases, death by stoning.

A federal *Shari'a* court was established to decide cases according to the teachings of the Holy Quran and Sunnah. Appeals against the lower and high courts can be presented before the *Shari'a* court for hearing. To this day Pakistan has retained the Islamic legal system. The federal *Shari'a* court comprises eight Muslim judges including the chief justice to be appointed by the president. Of the judges, four are qualified judges and three are ulema (scholars well versed in Islamic Law).

The tribal legal system consists of justice meted out by the jirga (a Persian word that means a gathering, or a consultation) or council of tribal elders. Tribes had recourse to the jirga to solve their various problems which cover a broad spectrum of subjects.

Currently the most controversial bills are the Hasba Bill, the Women Protection Bill, the Hudood Ordinance, the Law Reform Ordinance 2006, and the Blasphemy Laws.

The controversial Criminal Law Amendment (Protection of Women) Act, 2006, was passed by the National Assembly and the Senate and signed by the president. While giving some respite to the plight of women, the bill has incorporated amendments made by the ulema, which have diluted its content.

The Level of Crime and Its Nature

Pakistan's level of crime is high. There are problems relating to drug trafficking, people trafficking, rape, murder, domestic violence, and theft. Pakistan's overburdened judicial system cannot deal with the volume and consequently local jirgas mete out justice, which in itself often results in criminal acts, by perpetuating swara (cultural practices where young girls are offered in marriage to the offended party to settle blood disputes) and karo kari (a cultural practice which sanctions murdering women for adultery—real, imagined, or contrived) crimes against women. Recently, some jirgas have called for a ban on Western NGOs, closure of girls' schools, and a ban on female teachers in the NWFP. Cases of karo kari continue despite being made illegal under the Karo Kari Bill, 2004. Although it bans honor killings, it still allows for out of court settlements.

The incidence of kidnappings has been increasing in Pakistan recently. Women are kidnapped for purposes of rape, illicit relations, their choice of marriage, matrimonial reasons, old enmities, prostitution, and property or ransom.

Regarding state crimes, there have recently been military killings both in Balochistan as well as the NWFP and Waziristan. Part of these operations are related to the War on Terror and others are part of the campaign being waged in Balochistan by the army. Recent examples include the killings at Bajaur (80 students killed by the army: they claimed they were militants; critics allege it was America that carried out the strike but the government denies it) and 40 people killed in Wana by the army. Nawab Bugti, the Balochi leader, was killed in Balochistan in late summer 2006 without anyone taking responsibility.

Corruption of public bodies is high and consequently there is little popular confidence in the state legal system. There have been increasing numbers of disappearances linked to the War on Terror.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

In 2006, Pakistan claimed that "Sustainable democracy and empowerment at grassroots level, through good governance, have been established at the local, provincial and national levels" (pledge to the Human Rights Council, HRF 159).

However, Pakistan's human rights record remains poor, with concerns increasing with the declaration of emergency rule. Illustrative of its human rights record are the following:

- Ethnic violence: In Balochistan there has been widespread human rights abuse for over two years as the Pakistani Army tries to control a rising insurgency. The conflict has resulted in internal displacement and the deaths of hundreds of civilians and army personnel. The 2005 assassination attempt of Musharraf has resulted in this conflict becoming a personal issue for the president who is now determined to crush the rebel movement. For further details, please see the regionalism section and the conclusion.

- Women: Crimes against women include honor killings, domestic violence such as burning and physical abuse, rape, and kidnapping. The Mukhtaran Mai case made international headlines as a woman was sentenced to gang rape by a jirga in order to make amends for her brother's behavior.

- Religious minorities: Blasphemy laws—these allow the conviction of any person seen to be insulting Islam or the prophet Mohammad with life imprisonment or the death penalty. This law targets non-Muslims in particular, but also the Ahmadiyyah sect who have been decreed non-Muslim under Pakistani law and whose very religion makes them guilty of constant blasphemy. This law tends to be used to settle personal scores.

Other areas of abuse include child labor, denying the rights of migrants, and sectarian and ethnic abuse/violence.

The general population's confidence in the ability of the government to practice human rights is low.

As mentioned above, the judicial system is overburdened, and it has a bad reputation—so much so that people tend to avoid it. Jirgas, tribal chiefs, and feudal lords practice a parallel system of justice which many have recourse to.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Pakistan and India

India and Pakistan fought three wars in 1948, 1965, and 1971. Tensions increased after both countries tested their nuclear weapons in May 1998. The Kargil crisis followed soon thereafter with Pakistani troops moving into parts of Indian Kashmir. Battles ensued over the Siachen glacier. Renewed tension broke out in autumn 1999 after the Musharraf coup. The terrorist attacks on first the Kashmiri assembly in Srinagar and later on the Indian Parliament in Delhi led to the mobilization of over one million men on the Indo-Pakistani border in 2002, yet did not turn into a war. Since 2003 a slow-moving peace process has been in operation.

Kashmir is at the center of the dispute; as in 1947 the Maharaja of Kashmir did not join either state, hoping for independence. It was only after an attack by Pathan troops, trying to force the largely Muslim state to join Pakistan, that Kashmir acceded to India. The following two wars between India and Pakistan were largely fought over this state. The 1971 dispute focused on the secession of Bangladesh; however, the 1972 Simla agreement at the end of that war formalized the Line of Control dividing Kashmir into two.

To this date the tensions over Kashmir run high as India sees the issue as a bilateral affair and Pakistan insists that this is an international problem. The nuclear tests did move the issue into the international domain.

The Nuclear Issues

The Pakistani perspective on getting nuclear weapons is directly related to India's nuclear ambition, as it seeks to redress the strategic imbalance of its conventional forces. Unlike India, Pakistan has no great power ambitions.

A long-term timetable of testing follows:

- Bhutto 1965—"we will eat grass to get the bomb"—however no serious program
- 1972 taking more steps; aware of India's capability
- 1974 seriously trying to build one
- Pakistan relies on outside technology; hit hard by non-proliferation regime
- Nuclear program goes underground late 1970s
- 1983–1984 Pakistan had a serviceable nuclear bomb (Bennett Jones 2002)
- Set out to develop missiles to deliver, with Chinese and North Korean help
- 1994 Nawaz Sharif revealed at rally that Pakistan had the bomb

Pakistan in the Muslim World

In the early days of independence, Pakistan had little contact and cooperation with the Middle East, despite the role of Islam in Pakistan's creation. Liquat Ali Khan was assassinated in 1951 at the time that he was trying to move away from a pro-Western policy and closer to the Middle East.

Throughout the 1970s there was more contact with the Gulf States through the increasing Pakistani labor Diaspora. Trade also increased with the Gulf States, yet they viewed Bhutto's leftist policies with alarm. This started the funding of Sunni Islamic institutions which soon took on a momentum of its own. The 1979 Iranian (Shia) Revolution had a direct effect on the Shia minority in Pakistan as money to create more Shia madrassas flowed into the country. This in turn resulted in more Sunni madrassas being funded and built primarily in the NWFP and Balochistan, as Sunnis in the Gulf and Pakistan were increasingly concerned about the success of the Shia revolution. The 1980s involvement in the Afghanistan war was supported by the Gulf States to prevent Communism.

Currently Pakistan's involvement in the U.S. War on Terror is complicating its relationship with the Muslim world.

Pakistan and China

China and Pakistan grew closer during the 1960s despite Pakistan's close relationship with the United States. Pakistan became a priority as a second front against India. To this day China is seen as a more reliable friend whose large-scale infrastructural investments (for example the Karakorum Highway and Gwadar port) have allowed for serious development in Pakistan.

Pakistan and the United States

Pakistan has been historically friendly with the United States since independence. During the Cold War it sought extra regional allies for diplomatic and military help. The United States provided Pakistan with $1.3 billion in the 1950s for infrastructural support. Between 1954 and 1965, U.S. weapons exports to Pakistan amounted to $1.5 billion.

In the 1970s Pakistan's relationship with the United States soured as they felt that the United States had not supported their position against India during the secession of Bangladesh. After 1971 Bhutto sought to move towards the Arab Muslim world and China, as these were seen as more reliable than the West.

The relationship with the United States was restored after 1979 due to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, but also because pro-U.S. General Zia-ul-Haq had removed democratically elected Zulfikar Ali Bhutto from power. Aid was renewed under Zia as Pakistan fought on the American side against the Soviet Union. As a part of that, American aid was directed at the creation of Sunni Madrassas to create an Islamic force to fight communism. This force later mutated into the Taliban who are at the center of today's War on Terror.

SECURITY

International Security Issues

Throughout Pakistan's history there has been a general mistrust of India. Pakistan had done poorly at partition, receiving only 30 percent of the army, 40 percent of the navy, and 20 percent of the air force. The 1,400-mile border with India and the 1,300-mile border with Afghanistan means that security has always been a high priority. Defense spending has always been a high percentage of GDP, but due to budget constraints over the years Pakistan has struggled to maintain its conventional military infrastructure.

Pakistan has the world's eighth-largest armed forces. The military services include the army (includes the National Guard), the navy (includes the Marines), and the air force. The army is a voluntary army with around 520,000 active soldiers and another 500,000 reservists. Although young men can volunteer at 16 years of age, soldiers cannot be deployed for combat until they are 18. Originally Pakistan was supported by generous military aid from the United States. Both military and development aid was suspended after the United States discovered Pakistan's illegal nuclear weapons program in the 1990s. After the 1998 nuclear tests, international sanctions were put in place. Pakistan has remained a non-signatory of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Pakistan's main international security issues have been relations with India (see Foreign Affairs section) and the continuing wars in Afghanistan fought first against the communist Soviet Union and now against the Taliban. The former issue has resulted in the nuclearization of the region, with both India and Pakistan developing nuclear weapons. The latter has resulted in increased domestic insecurity as the conflict spills across the Afghan border into the Tribal belt.

Terrorism

Since the events of September 11, 2001, and Pakistan's decision to support the United States in the War on Terror by suspending its relationship with the Taliban, sanctions have been waived and military assistance has resumed. This is necessary in particular as Pakistan takes on the brunt of the fighting on the border with Afghanistan and in the tribal areas where Taliban members are allegedly hiding. In 2003 President George W. Bush announced a $3 billion package in economic and military aid over five years.

The effects of the War on Terror have been felt acutely across Pakistan as there are increasing numbers of terrorist attacks. Most of these are related to the popular protest of having U.S. forces stationed in Pakistan and a poplar perception that

Pakistan is fighting its Muslim brothers in the name of the West and the United States in particular.

The principal terrorist organizations are Islamic fundamentalist groups, which have been outlawed by Musharraf. However, despite the crackdown at the government level, these organizations have regrouped under new names and continue to operate with impunity.

Intelligence Services

Pakistan has a series of intelligence services who are considered very powerful and are feared:

Civilian: Intelligence bureau and special branch of police

Military: Military intelligence—Inter Services Intelligence (ISI)

The ISI's remit is to focus on external threats (concentrating particularly on India), but with the 1971 war the ISI started to deal with domestic issues as well. During the 1970s Bhutto increased ISI funding dramatically while using them to spy on his political opponents. The ISI is often portrayed as a state within a state, an out-of-control organization with its own policies. However, both in Kashmir and Afghanistan their involvement was state approved and supported by the military. The ISI officers are seconded from the army and there is a turnover which means that they are likely not to be totally "independent."

Kashmir

This was originally the main remit of the organization. Today the ISI is close to militant groups who fight in Kashmir. The ISI has helped to create much of the Islamic militancy that General Musharraf is now trying to combat. It is unclear how far he controls the militant part of the ISI.

Afghanistan

Under Zia, the ISI managed the anti-Soviet campaign with the help of U.S. funding. The

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THE INSURGENCY IN BALOCHISTAN

Balochistan is Pakistan's largest province sparsely populated by tribal groups and very rich in natural resources such as natural gas. The Sui gas fields were rediscovered in 1952 and today produce around 700 MMscf of natural gas daily from 88 wells. Currently Pakistan is constructing a deep-sea water port with Chinese help at Gwadar.

The region is strategically vital for Pakistan but has been marred with conflict between the Balochi tribes and the Pakistani government for decades. The first violent separatist movement developed in 1973 and the intervention of the army resulted in over 9,000 official deaths.

Today there is renewed instability as the gas is being used to enrich the other provinces and the local tribal leaders feel they have no say in the port development. To this day hardly any economic benefit has filtered down to the Balochi people. The current fight, which started as a demand for more provincial autonomy, increased after Dr. Shazia Khalid was raped in 2005 by a member of the Pakistani Army on the Sui gas field where she worked. The rape was seen by members of the local Bukti clan as being a breach of their code of honor and they attacked the gas field with rockets, mortars, and AK-47s. President Pervez Musharraf's response was to send tanks, helicopters, and an extra 4,500 soldiers to guard the installation (Grare 2006).

Nawab Akbar Bukti, president of Jamhuri Watan Party Balochistan and head of the Bukti tribe was killed by a Pakistan army raid in the summer of 2006. Earlier he had served as a governor and chief minister of Balochistan. The Pakistani government refuses to acknowledge the killing, claiming that in an exchange of rocket fire between the army and his tribesmen the roof of the cave he was in collapsed killing him and his grandsons. The armed insurgency continues and looks unlikely to abate in the near future.

Mujahideen's success and Soviet withdrawal made the ISI the best financed and most powerful Pakistani state institution. The ISI also helped create and finance the Taliban movement. When Mullah Omar took Kandahar in 1994, he was joined by Pakistani fighters and many religious students of the Balochi and NWFP madrassas who went to Afghanistan with the support of the ISI.

Domestic Security Threats

This includes the Balochi separatist movement's insurgency which has been raging on and off since the 1970s. Currently there is a severe resurgence of the insurgency (Grare 2006) which could lead to long-term civil war.

The return from exile of ex-Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in October 2007 and the declaration of emergency rule the following month have increased domestic tensions and the threat of instability. Bhutto's homecoming parade in Karachi was hit by a deadly suicide bomb, and she has called for more protests against Musharraf.

CONCLUSION

The relationship between Pakistan and the United States has to be seen on two levels. At the government level, there has generally been a desire to be recognized as an ally and to have the United States on the side against India. The principal exception to this was the time under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Largely driven by the Cold War logic, this policy priority is true even today. But at the popular level, the United States has been disliked, even hated, for many decades. Pakistan's definition of national identity is closely linked with Islam, and as such it sees itself bound into the Muslim world. American policies in the Middle East and the wider Islamic world have resulted in a backlash of popular opinion with regard to the United States. As the War on Terror continues, and as American involvement in Iraq is increasingly seen as an illegal occupation, ordinary Pakistanis are rallying around their faith and those who call for the U.S. forces to leave the region. The rise of Islamic parties across the country, no longer limited to the NWFP, is a direct result of anti-American, anti-Western, and anti-Musharraf sentiment across the country.

This could in the future develop into an anti-Musharraf movement as he is seen as personally allied with the enemy. Currently the government's involvement in the War on Terror is unpopular, and opposition to Musharraf has further increased with emergency rule. While democracy might be restored in the future, it might not result in a pro-Western government. This would have major consequences on the United States' ability to wage war in Afghanistan and the tribal areas. Relations between Pakistan and the United States have already been further complicated by the declaration of emergency rule and the delay of scheduled elections.

The most severe regional issue remains the insurgency in Balochistan which could, if badly handled, result in a bloody war. Balochistan's large gas reserves are crucial for the economic development of the more industrialized Sindh and Punjab, yet the fact that economic growth has not filtered down to Balochistan itself has created resentment on a massive scale. The development of the deep-sea port at Gwadar with Chinese help is seen as further colonization which has resulted in

the attacks against the army and attempted attacks against Musharraf. While Musharraf could have counted on the Baloch tribal leaders' support against the Taliban, the killing of Nawab Bukti in the summer of 2006 has opened up a parallel competing front for the Pakistani Army whose forces are still trying to control Taliban infiltration across the Afghan border. This could very well lead to a civil war in the foreseeable future.

The most pressing religious issue is the Sunni-Shia divide. The issue of national identity and the debate over which Islam makes a "real" Pakistan will continue to engender fights and bombings across the country.

On the economic front, Western aid packages are not making the difference needed at the rural level. The situation has been especially critical since the earthquake in 2005. Many villages have still not been rebuilt and families remain without permanent housing due to Western donor fatigue. However, unless the economic issues are tackled across the three poorer provinces (Sindh, Balochistan, and NWFP), parents will have no choice but to send their children to madrassas where education, board, and lodging is free.

The foreign policy situation linked with the domestic situation is becoming untenable. The current government is walking a tightrope of supporting Western policies which are seen by the population as anti-Islamic and against the national interest. As the Western War on Terror proceeds, the rise of political Islam in Pakistan will become inevitable. It is only on the India-Pakistan peace process that a positive outlook can be projected. The peace talks and confidence-building measures are likely to continue, barring another major terrorist attack in India.

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Philippines

Edna Estifania A. Co and Maria Elissa J. Lao

BACKGROUND

The Philippines, officially known as the Republic of the Philippines, is referred to as the Pearl of the Orient Seas by its great national hero, Jose Rizal. It is the only Christian nation in the Far East. The Philippines lies southeast of the continent of Asia, directly below Taiwan and 530 kilometers at its northern tip from the nearest coast of China. It is bounded on all sides by the Pacific Ocean and its tributaries, the China and the Celebes Seas. Among its closest neighbors are the Indo-Chinese peninsular countries to the west, and Indonesia and Malaysia to the northwest, the Philippine southwestern tip being as close as 48 kilometers from Malaysia.

The Philippines is an archipelago of 7,107 islands scattered over the oceanic waters and lands which account for approximately 300,000 square kilometers. The islands make up a beauteous pearl, with beaches stretching across 1,851 kilometers in length and 1,107 kilometers in breadth, with mountains, forests, volcanoes, mineral springs, and extensive plains. The Philippine deep found in Mindanao, the southern part, has the lowest ocean floor in the world and its Mayon volcano has the world's perfect cone. There are three major islands, namely, Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao. The Philippines has a tropical climate characterized by high temperatures, high humidity, abundant rainfall, and an alternation of two seasons, dry and wet. The rich natural resources do not only boast of a beautiful sight but also a source that should not allow starvation to stalk the land. However, the terrain and boundaries of water and mountains make internal travel and communication difficult.

The Philippines lies in both the typhoon and seismic belts; it suffers from periodic storms and floods especially during the wet months of June through September, and from earthquakes which have no season. These natural calamities probably contribute to the fatalism of the people and spawn a relaxed attitude among them.

The country is endowed with natural resources like timber, petroleum, nickel, cobalt, silver, gold, salt, and copper. The plains, plateaus, and hillsides provide

Philippines

Formal name of country: Republic of the Philippines
Size of country: 300,000 sq km
Natural resources: Timber, petroleum, nickel, cobalt, silver, gold, salt, and copper
Population: 89,468,677 (as of July 2006)
Life expectancy at birth: 70.21 (July 2006)
Key ethnic groups:

- Tagalog 28.1%
- Cebuano 13.1%
- Ilocano 9%
- Bisaya/Binisaya 7.6,
- Hiligaynon Ilonggo 7.5%
- Bikol 6%
- Waray 3.4%
- other 25.3% (2000 census)

Key religions: Roman Catholic 80.9%, Evangelical 2.8%, Iglesia ni Kristo 2.3%, Aglipayan 2%, other
    Christian 4.5%, Muslim 5%, other 1.8%, unspecified 0.6%, none 0.1% (2000 census)
Political system: Democratic government
Key political groups/parties:

- Kabalikat Ng Malayang Pilipino (Kampi)
- Laban Ng Demokratikong Pilipino (Struggle of Filipino Democrats) or LDP
- Lakas—CMD or Lakas (National Union of Christian Democrats)
- Liberal Party or LP
- Nacionalista (Manuel VILLAR)
- National People's Coalition or NPC (Frisco SAN JUAN)
- PDP-Laban (Aquilino PIMENTEL)
- PROMDI (Emilio OSMENA)
- Pwersa Ng Masang Pilipino or PMP (Party of the Philippine Masses)
- Reporma (Renato DE VILLA)

Legal system: Based on Spanish and Anglo-American law; accepts compulsory International Court of
    Justice jurisdiction, with reservations
Real GDP growth: 5.3% (2006)
Population below the poverty line: 40% (2001)
Size of military: About 150,000 troops
Relationship with the United States: Generally maintains friendly ties with the United States; in some
    cases, the United States has been viewed by others as too patronizing with the Philippines because
    the latter is considered as a showcase of the American model of democracy in the Asia-Pacific. The
    Philippines officially looks up to the United States for much of the institutional and government inno-
    vations and reforms.

Human security issues: The Philippines faces a crisis in securing its natural resources and as a consequence human security, which depends on the domestic resource base which is also threatened. Security against terrorism has become a critical issue during the last three or four years and this has also gripped human security across the country.

Important future security issues: The war against terror is set to continue in the years ahead. More importantly, the security of natural resources and of the environment will emerge as increasingly important issues.

fertile farms and plantations; forests cover the interior; mountains contain rich mineral deposits; and the coastal waters and inland waters yield enormous nourishment more than sufficient to feed its population. Rice, which is the staple food, is grown in most parts of the country. In recent years, banana, pineapple, and other fruit crops have increased not only in terms of production, but also of hectarage of rice lands converted to large-scale agribusiness. Forests provide contrasting sources of livelihood—some hill tribes subsist on agriculture, hunting, and communal forestry, while modern logging companies get logs and lumber for sale and export. Watershed areas have been sources of hydroelectric power and irrigation. Although there are no established data that indeed harnessing these sources of power has caused environmental degradation, there are accounts that say putting up power infrastructures have threatened watershed and forest areas, including community settlements. In the 1960s and 1970s, the country went into manufacturing products such as food, textiles, tobacco, as well as electrical machinery, transport equipment, and petroleum refining, among others. But since the 1980s the growth has not been sustained due to external and internal shocks, and the gains were concentrated in the hands of the affluent few. The Philippines remains a dependent economy. It continues to export labor and such is also a result of economic dependence on a globally dictated export-led economy.

The Philippines was a colony of Spain for over 400 years, the most enduring legacy of such colonization was Christianity. However, the United States molded its political system, and the economy and education remain as American legacies. British capitalists also have a strong hold in the Philippine commercial and industrial enterprises. Today, investments are dominated by the Americans, Europeans, and the Japanese. Philippine history is largely a history of colonial domination, and the country's history and current events continue to be both enriched and clouded by that continuing foreign intrusion. Like a pearl, it is absorbent, notwithstanding Western influx, yet retaining much of the intrinsic "Easternness."

From 1965 to early 1986, the Philippines came under a strong one-man rule of Ferdinand Marcos. Marcos declared martial law in 1972 and posed a problem of legitimacy of the political system. The impact of repression and the maintenance of the inequalities in power, access to resources and livelihoods, combined with the concentration of power to the center of Filipino politics, meant that for the majority of Filipinos the contradictions and injustices that existed prior to martial law seemed to have become even more entrenched. As an attempt, therefore, to suppress inherent social, political, economic, and institutional contradictions martial law failed, and in the longer term, made them more extreme. Marcos

centralized patronage and had his own propensity to employ violence, even against fellow elites. At the same time the violence and oppression used against rural and urban poor communities, especially those that stood in the way of further rent-seeking or resource extraction, had also convinced many of the need to resist. This in turn created strains within a heavily politicized military that was rife with its own internal conflicts, cronyism, and corruption. It is in this context that the first "People Power" (mass demonstration) of 1986 has to be seen.

Corazon Aquino, wife of slain national leader Ninoy Aquino, was brought to the presidency by the "People Power of 1986." Her primary task was the passage of a new constitution to legitimize the regime and to set the path for smooth transitions in the future. In essence the Aquino administration achieved a form of reversion to the U.S.-based model of which Marcos had disposed. It consists of a bicameral legislature. The Philippine constitution is probably one of the longest constitutions in the world, so anxious were so many of the constitutional commissioners to prevent a reversion to Marcos-style government. Despite her reinstallation of the democratic institutions such as the legislature, the Supreme Court, and the constitutional bodies, Aquino faced five coup attempts often backed by sections of the old Marcos-aligned opposition.

Fidel Ramos, a retired military officer and one of the important figures involved in "People Power" 1986, assumed the presidency through a minority vote in 1992. His administration saw the adoption of landmark policies such as the Local Government Code (LGC) and the Party-list Law. The former had been passed during the Aquino regime, and reflected a wish to decentralize the functions of government as a reaction to the over-centralization of the Marcos years. Despite some limitations, the LGC has seen a florescence of political space and civil society engagement with many local governments. The implementation of the LGC also combined well with the formalization of the party-list system and the move from appointed sectoral representatives in congress to the election of party-list candidates with links to civil society groups. By the time of elections in 1998, and with the effects of the Asian financial crisis in full swing, the Ramos government went into seeming collapse in the face of soon-to-be President Joseph Estrada's populism.

Joseph Estrada, a former film star, assumed the presidency through a landslide victory as a result of his popularity. Estrada's short term was characterized by populism and clientelism. Very personalistic in style of leadership, Estrada relied on personal friends rather than his cabinet with regard to crucial decisions. His behavior and personal lifestyle did not sit well with the ethos of the Catholic church and of the elite who both led the call for another "People Power" in 2001 on grounds of corruption and ineffective leadership. Thus, Estrada was dislodged after only two years in the presidency and after a failed attempt at an impeachment by the Senate. Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, then vice president, assumed the presidency for the rest of the remaining term.

SOCIETY

As of July 2006, the population was estimated to be 89,468,677 of which 61 percent were in the age bracket of 15–64 years, 35 percent were between 0–14

WESTERN INFLUENCE

The Republic of the Philippines is an amazing, complex country. Its history and culture are marked by a mix of Western influence seen in the people's religion, culture, and democratic institutions. Probably the most Westernized country in Asia due to a history of colonization, the Philippines shuttles between cultures. Some consider it a tragedy that the Philippines does not seem to have its own brand of culture, society, and institutions; however, others consider this an asset because the Filipinos exhibit a flexible, warm, and extremely facilitative trait as a people.

years, and 4.1 percent were 65 years and over (CIA 2006). The population growth rate was placed at 1.8 percent, life expectancy was 70.21 years, and the infant mortality rate was approximately 2.2 percent. There has been an increasing migration rate over the last 10 years, with approximately between 12 to 12.5 million Filipino labor migrants all over the globe (CIA 2006). There is a high-level brawn-and-brain drain due to a combination of several factors, including economic hardship (the difficulty of finding work for even those who are skilled) and the high prices of essential necessities such as food, shelter, and clothing. Labor cost is kept low to attract investors and the right to strike is severely limited to protect management from labor's demands for wages. Quite important also is the fact that the educational structure produces skills not absorbable by, nor relevant to, the economic and social conditions of the country. This results in an oversupply of lawyers and an artificial surplus of doctors and nurses. The surplus is artificial because the demand for them is high outside Manila and other urban areas had they been willing to serve there. And finally, there is a deeply rooted colonial mentality that regards anything foreign, especially if American, as necessarily superior.

The country is predominantly Christian with 80.9 percent being Roman Catholic, 2.8 percent Evangelical, 2.3 percent Iglesia ni Kristo, 2 percent Aglipayan, 4.5 percent other Christian denomination, and 5 percent Muslim. Others are unspecified (National Census Office 2000). The Philippines has an interesting mix of ethnic groups, and nearly all groups identified with their dialects. Around 28 percent are Tagalog, considered to be the major group, 13.1 percent are Cebuano, 9 percent are Ilocano, 7.6 percent are Bisaya/Binisaya, 7.5 percent Ilonggo, 6 percent are Bikol, 3.4 percent Waray, and 25.3 percent are the various indigenous groups scattered all over the country, with large concentrations in Northern Luzon and in Mindanao (CIA 2006). Filipino and English are considered official languages. There are eight major dialects, namely Tagalog, Cebuano, Ilocano, Hiligaynon or Ilonggo, Bicol, Waray, Pampango, and Pangasinan.

There is a high literacy level with approximately 82 percent of the population aged 15 and over able to read and write.

The Philippines has a total of 256 airports. Of these, 83 have paved runways and 173 have unpaved runways. Railways are least developed in the Philippines with only a total of 897 kilometers. Of the total 200,037 kilometers of roadways, 19,804 kilometers are paved and 180,233 kilometers are unpaved. There are only seven major ports and terminals (CIA 2006).

In spite of an economic slowdown, an export slump, and political and security concerns, the GDP growth increased by up to 5 percent between 2002 and 2005, reflecting the resiliency of the service sector. The Philippines finds it difficult to

achieve progress in poverty alleviation due largely to the high population growth rate and the immensely unequal income distribution. It suffers from a large budget deficit; and it has a high debt level which forces the national government to allot a large portion of its budget to debt service. Even the 2005 implementation of the expanded Value Added Tax (e-VAT) failed to increase money for social expenditure and infrastructure, although it helped boost the confidence in the government's fiscal capacity and strengthened the peso against the dollar.

As of 2005, the unemployment rate was placed at 12 percent, underemployment at 16.1 percent, and the inflation rate at 7.9 percent (University of the Philippines-NCPAG, Quezon City 2005). The population below the poverty line is 40 percent. The labor force is high in the service sector (48 percent), agriculture at 36 percent, and industry at 16 percent. The country's agricultural products include sugarcane, coconuts, rice, corn, bananas, cassavas, pineapples, mangoes, pork, eggs, beef, and fish. The industries are mainly focused on electronics assembly, garments, footwear, pharmaceuticals, chemicals, wood products, food processing, petroleum refining, and fishing (National Economic and Development Authority 2005).

The major export partners are Japan 20.1 percent; the United States 18.2 percent; the Netherlands 9 percent; Hong Kong 7.9 percent; China 6.7 percent; Singapore 6.6 percent; Taiwan 5.6 percent; and Malaysia 5.2 percent (CIA 2006).

The state can be said to be formally respecting the economic and social rights of its people (to food, housing, education, health, labor and employment, clean water, and environmental security) by voluntarily signing on to the international conventions and treaties that specify and define these rights. For example, the Philippines adopts a law that criminalizes demolition of urban poor houses without prior and proper notice, options for relocation, and compensation for affected property. Being a party means that the government recognizes that its citizens possess such rights, and that by doing so, it is committed to safeguarding and fulfilling them to the best of its abilities. To reiterate its commitment to such rights, the country's constitution specifically guarantees the human rights of its people and the government has promulgated specific legislation covering specific aspects of those rights. The constitution even created an independent commission to oversee and monitor their realization. However, formal respect does not always translate to realization or to the prevention of violations by both state and third parties. For example, despite a law against illegal eviction and demolition of informal settlements, reports in the media and from civil society groups working with the urban poor continue to document such cases. Certain provisions of the relevant laws themselves may actually prevent the full exercise of rights. Provisions in the labor laws regarding the assumption of jurisdiction in labor disputes curtail the workers' right to strike, while overly bureaucratic provisions regarding the formation of trade unions set formidable obstacles to the workers' right to organize themselves.

There exists a pro-urban bias in government spending and service provision. Services in many rural areas are either poor or nonexistent, such as access to safe water and the provision of housing.

PHILIPPINE IRONY

The Philippines has many "firsts" in the region: it codified the first constitution in Asia called the Malolos Constitution in 1898; it had the first woman president in 1986, Corazon C. Aquino, who was instrumental in restoring the institutions of democracy after a long period of dictatorship; and it showed the world a new revolution—a "people power" in 1986 that toppled a dictatorship peacefully and in a nonviolent way. In spite of these marvelous talents of its people, the country ironically trails behind its neighbors in terms of economic growth and development. That should tell a tale of the Philippine governance and political system. The Philippines is a country of ironies.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

The Philippines has a republican type of government whose capital is Manila. There are 80 provinces and 117 chartered cities. The legal system is based on Spanish and Anglo-American law. The presidential system is a political legacy of the Americans in the 1900s, setting checks and balances between the executive and the legislative branches, and keeping the judicial branch seemingly insulated from politics. There is a strong presidency which wields discretionary authority over a range of decisions from budgetary and political appointments to parole and pardon. The chief of state who is also the head of government is the president, currently, Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo. She stepped in as president under a people power change of leadership in 2001. The legitimacy of the current leadership is persistently questioned due to a strong allegation of fraud and influencing of the Commission on Elections. She faced impeachment in congress in 2005 and then again eight complaints for impeachment in 2006.

There is a bicameral congress which consists of a 24-member Senate—one half elected every three years and other members elected at large by popular vote to serve six-year terms. The House of Representatives with 212 members, represents districts and 24 sectoral party-list members.

The Supreme Court has 15 justices appointed by the president on the recommendation of the Judicial and Bar Council and they serve until 70 years of age. The *Sandiganbayan* is a special court for hearing the corruption cases of government officials.

The major political parties include Kabalikat Ng Malayang Pilipino or Kampi (the president's party), Laban Ng Demokratikong Pilipino (Struggle of Filipino Democrats), Lakas-CMD (National Union of Christian-Muslim Democrats), Liberal Party, Nacionalista Party, Nationalist People's Coalition, PDP-Laban, People's Reform Party, Pwersa Ng Masang Pilipino (Party of the Philippine Masses), and Reporma.

Party-list groups also serve as political pressure groups. Legislative and local elections were held in May 2007 with President Arroyo's coalition winning 195 of 220 seats in the House of Representatives, 72 of 81 gubernatorial seats, and 102 of 118 city mayoral seats. However, her coalition won only two out of 12 vacant seats in the Senate. The elections were marred by some violence.

Among the key political issues are the persistence of calls for autonomy by the Muslim provinces in Mindanao, federalism whose proponents suggest might also solve the Muslim Mindanao problem, fierce campaigns for or against charter change, and the presidency threatened with another impeachment in the House of Representatives.

LAW AND ORDER

In response to international imperatives, the Philippines has enacted a number of new laws to address issues of law and order:

1. Republic Act No. 9160 (Anti-Money Laundering Act of 2001) and its subsequent amendment in 2003, which created the Anti-Money Laundering Council in relation to the ratification of the UN Convention Against Transnational Crimes.
2. R.A. No. 9208 (Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act of 2003), which also established the Inter-Agency Council Against Trafficking.
3. R.A. No. 9184 (Government Procurement Reform Act), which established the Government Electronic Procurement System or E-Procurement System.
4. R.A. 9262 (Anti-Violence Against Women and their Children Act of 2004), which strengthened earlier initiatives towards gender mainstreaming and women's rights.

However, the historical role of the Philippine National Police (PNP) (again, in the martial law era) and surveys citing the PNP as a key source of human rights violations coupled with low trust of the public in law and order institutions have hampered the effectiveness of the above-mentioned efforts as a result of on-the-ground reforms.

The Philippine National Police, a traditional source of local power, is now under the Department of Interior and Local Government, which reserves the right to assign and rotate its members, in an effort to lessen the possibility of "private armies" especially in far flung provinces.

Much has also been done to improve the forces' image on several fronts: anti-drug trafficking efforts, crime prevention (particularly kidnapping), and the maintenance of peace and order. Still, much has to be done to overcome problems that hinder effective policing.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By virtue of constitutionally mandated sharing of powers among the branches of government, foreign policy decision making is shared by important actors from different groups, mainly between the Executive and Legislative branches, where no one of which has the ability to decide and force compliance on the others.

However, in practice, Philippine foreign policy decision making is generally viewed to follow a top-down approach. The president, together with the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA), is regarded to be the forerunner of Philippine foreign policy. The crafting of foreign policy rests mainly in the hands of the president, who is the chief architect and diplomat, and the Department of Foreign Affairs is the government agency in charge of implementing such policies.

The DFA is considered the lead executive agency in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy, as well as the repository of diplomatic talent and expertise. It works in consultation with other line agencies depending on the issues at hand and the required technical expertise to address such issues. For example, in addressing the concerns of overseas Filipino workers, the DFA collaborates with

the Department of Labor and Employment, Overseas Workers Welfare Administration, and the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration. In the case of negotiating defense cooperation agreements, the DFA refers to the Department of National Defense and the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

On the other hand, the 1987 Constitution, consistent with the principles of "checks and balances" and a unified foreign policy, gives Congress a vital role in the foreign policy process. The Senate, for example, has the power to review, reject, and concur treaties and agreements. Congress exerts direct influence by virtue of its "power of the purse." It also has the power to issue nonbinding resolutions that could be used to voice nuanced opinions on the floor. Nevertheless, the usual role of Congress is the creation of appropriate enabling legislation. Interaction at the policy formulation stage between the executive and legislative branches is the exception rather than the rule.

The current administration has identified the following foreign policy goals:

(1) enhancement of national security;

(2) promotion of economic security;

(3) promotion of the welfare of Filipino nationals;

(4) promotion of Philippine culture for national development;

(5) public diplomacy; and

(6) organization and institution building.

These goals have to be met within the context of existing realities confronting the country, including

(1) the paramount influence of China, Japan, and the United States in the security and economic evolution of East Asia;

(2) the growing context of ASEAN (the Association of Southeast Asian Nations) in global affairs;

(3) the role of the international Islamic community;

(4) the role of the European Union;

(5) the looming importance of interregional organizations;

(6) the protection of the environment, natural resources and maritime territory;

(7) the drive for foreign markets and foreign investments in which Europe is also a major source along with the United States, Japan, China, and ASEAN;

(8) the importance of international tourism; and

(9) the crucial role of overseas Filipinos in socioeconomic stability.

Strategies for the attainment of these goals are elaborated in the DFA's Strategic Plan 2003–2013.

The modernization of the armed forces remains the country's primary instrument for external security. This is supplemented by the network of bilateral defense cooperation with the United States and other allies, particularly within ASEAN and the ASEAN Regional Forum. Such cooperation agreements focus on capacity building and training, while remaining committed to the provisions

of the Philippine Constitution and the principles of international law, including nonproliferation of nuclear weapons.

Beyond defense cooperation, the Philippines pursues collaborative arrangements with its allies towards improving the quality of life of its citizens. Through memberships in regional and international organizations such as ASEAN, the Asia-Europe Meeting, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, and the World Trade Organization, as well as other bilateral partnerships, the Philippines is able to gain access to other markets for the promotion of Philippine goods and services. These partnerships are likewise instrumental in gaining support for the country's development efforts.

SECURITY

The Philippine military branches include the army, navy (including Marine Corps), and the air force. The Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) is considered by many as small and barely medium sized—outranked and outspent by regional powers. The manpower available for military service are as follows: males aged 18–49 years: 20,131,179 and females aged 18–49: 20,009,526. Those fit for service are males aged 18–49: 15,170,096 and females aged 18–49: 16,931,191. Estimated at about 150,000 troops, it has a shrinking budget (neighbors Malaysia and Thailand easily outstrip the AFP in military spending) of only a couple of billion pesos. In 2005, the military expenditure was placed at $836.9 million. This figure is approximately 0.9 percent of the GDP (CIA 2006).

Although its budget greatly constrains the AFP from figuring prominently in regional affairs, it has still actively participated in peacekeeping missions in conflict areas in the region (East Timor) and beyond (the Middle East). However, the changing security environment in the Asia Pacific region post 9/11 further complicates existing areas of conflict in the region. Within the last two decades there has been a spate of confrontations in the Spratly Islands; most notable for the Philippines is China's occupation of Mischief Reef. In March 2005, the national oil companies of China, the Philippines, and Vietnam signed a joint accord to conduct marine seismic activities in the Spratly Islands. Also contributing to the tension is the rise in kidnappings in the southern part of the country attributed to the Abu Sayyaf group, and this requires a more flexible and well-equipped force.

To address the more long-standing disparities, the AFP Modernization Act of 1995 (Republic Act 7898) was enacted to respond to the qualitative and quantitative disparity between the Philippine Armed Forces and regional counterparts. While some aspects of the law have been translated into implemented programs, the bulk of what is promised has yet to come into being due to the chronic budgetary considerations of the Philippine government.

More recently, the controversial *Balikatan* (literally, "shoulder to shoulder") exercises in the Philippines heightened the U.S. presence in conflict areas to provide training and support. Controversy has plagued Philippine-U.S. military ties since the military base pullout during President Corazon C. Aquino's administration. These exercises first drew the ire of nationalists when their legal status was questioned (while treaties require concurrence by the Philippine Senate, executive orders do not, prompting militant groups to label the Estrada

administration as "pro-American"). Later on, protests again were raised based on reports of the U.S. service members engaging in actual combat in Mindanao, the southern part of the country.

However, the most contentious issue remains an internal one: the politicization of the Philippine Military is set against the backdrop of the "people power revolutions" but has its roots in the martial law era when former strongman Ferdinand Marcos leaned heavily on his trusted military aides to keep him in power. Since then, one president has come directly from military ranks, although stressing his civilian role in the years he was president, Fidel Ramos was criticized for heavily recruiting retired generals into key civilian posts. Both Estrada and Arroyo have also played the military card well, keeping the leadership in close check during their time in power.

This is with good reason: the 2003 Oakwood Mutiny that threatened the Arroyo government was in many ways similar to the string of coup attempts initiated during the Aquino years. The Oakwood Mutiny in particular, led by disgruntled factions of the military, raised systemic issues of graft and corruption, which is said to have cost the country billions of dollars. Current efforts at "lifestyle checks" on government officials living ostentatiously have yielded a few generals who have yet to be tried and convicted.

Perhaps most disturbing is the inability of the military to keep insurgency in check. Post the EDSA 1986 revolution, presidents have generally "flip-flopped" on anti insurgency measures ranging from all out war (Estrada) to peace brokering (Ramos). Gloria Macapagal Arroyo herself, as commander in chief, has played towards peace initiatives in Mindanao while declaring an all out war against communist insurgents.

The protracted time frame of such a conflict has put a strain on the Philippine military establishment, weakening morale and preventing it from taking larger steps towards the country's overall security.

The Philippines finds itself in a strategic location within the Asia-Pacific region. Found between the Pacific Ocean and the South China Sea, it stands guard to the Asian mainland and adjacent to the critical straits leading to the Indian Ocean and the Middle East.

Persisting sources of threat in the region include the conflict in the Korean Peninsula and the conflicting claims in the South China Sea. The region is also confronted by threats posed by transnational crime (for example, piracy, money laundering, trafficking in persons, arms smuggling, and terrorism), diseases (for example, SARS, avian influenza, and HIV/AIDS), and environmental hazards (for example, global warming, transboundary haze, pollution, and natural disasters including tsunamis, earthquakes, and volcanic eruptions).

The Philippines has to contend with these issues given the limited amount of resources at its disposal, hence, the imperative to capitalize on bilateral, regional, and international partnerships.

Over the years, threats to the Philippines have evolved to include foreign invasions (for example, Spanish, American, and Japanese occupations), conflict over contested territorial claims (for example, the Sabah and Spratly Islands issues), political instability brought about by tyrannical rule and martial law, and uprisings

from secessionist and rebel groups (for example, the Communist Party of the Philippines-New People's Army-National Democratic Front, Moro National Liberation Front, Moro Islamic Liberation Front, and the Abu Sayyaf). Recently, the government has also seen the need to respond to issues such as the spread of transborder diseases (for example, HIV/AIDS, SARS, and avian influenza) and environmental hazards, the proliferation of transnational crimes, poverty, and the vulnerability of Filipino nationals abroad.

The discussion of terrorism remains sensitive for the Philippines because of the lack of a unified definition for terrorism and the perception of some sectors that the label is used to justify attacks on detractors of the government.

However, events such as the Davao bombings, the Valentine's Day bombings of 2005, and similar violent attacks on civilians attest to the fact that the Philippines has been victimized by a number of terrorist attacks. These assaults have been linked to the activities of the Abu Sayyaf, the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), and the Communist Party of the Philippines-New People's Army-National Democratic Front (CPP-NPA-NDF). The Philippine government though does not consider the MNLF, MILF, and CPP-NPA-NDF to be terrorist groups and, in fact, has ongoing peace negotiations with these organizations.

The failure of government services to reach the far-flung regions of the country and the resulting unequal levels of development and poverty have been identified as root causes for the formation of breeding grounds for terrorist activities.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The Philippine Judiciary is the most apolitical of the three branches in its presidential system. The current constitution (1987) declares the Supreme Court to be a constitutional court, whose membership and powers cannot be altered by mere legislation. Furthermore, the judicial branch is given some measure of fiscal autonomy as well as a more apolitical means of selecting judges and justices: the judicial and bar council comprised of judicial peers.

However, a well-entrenched system of patronage, along with an overbearing structure of legal procedures, has compromised this independence and slowed the administration of justice in the country.

Accusations of corruption as a result of the low pay of judges and judicial staff and a glaring lack of judges (as much as 45 percent of courts are reported to have no judges) and administrative inefficiency due partly to "litigation explosion" have alarmed citizen watch groups. The inability of the *Sandiganbayan*, the antigraft court, (and the Ombudsman) to catch the "big fish" has been a constant sore point with civil society groups.

Recent events have also taken the Supreme Court (SC) on a more politicized trail (owing partly to the constitutional section which makes Supreme Court decisions part of the law of the land) by making it the final arbiter of issues of *realpolitik*: from the abrupt end of the Estrada administration to the resolution of martial law era issues such as the coconut levy and the ongoing electoral and impeachment protests involving Gloria Macapagal Arroyo.

As a response, the government has undertaken a series of measures towards judicial reform, a handful of which have been well received by the general public. Some of these measures are a direct result of responsive and pro active judicial officials (former SC Chief Justice Hilario Davide's Justice on Wheels as well as the Ombudsman and Sandiganbayan's transparency efforts have been well documented and well lauded), while others are a product of higher policy making: Republic Act 9227, for example, increased the salary of judges while Republic Act 8557 promoted the continuing education for members of the Judiciary. Republic Act 9285, on the other hand, increased the possibilities in other areas of alternative dispute resolution such as mediation. A growing impetus is also seen for dispute resolution at the local level (*katarungang barangay*, or the village justice, among others).

CONCLUSION

The United States remains one of the most important allies of the Philippines. Bilateral relations cut across issue areas ranging from defense cooperation to economic and sociocultural ties.

In the area of defense, the Philippines and the United States signed a number of agreements including the 1947 Military Assistance Agreement (MAA), the 1951 Mutual Defense Treaty (MDT), the 1953 Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement (MDAA), the 1958 Serrano-Bohlen Memorandum of Agreement (MOA), and the 1998 Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA).

Current defense and security cooperation efforts focus on strengthening counterterrorism cooperation and capabilities.

The United States also supports the Philippines' reform and antipoverty agenda, as well as the peace process and development in Mindanao. Partner agencies include the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), the U.S. Institute for Peace (USIP), and the Millennium Challenge Corporation, to name a few.

The year 2006 marked the 60th anniversary of Filipino-American Friendship and the Centennial of Filipino Migration to the United States. As of December 2005, the estimated number of Filipinos in the United States was 3,421,597. Most are professionals and have made significant contributions both in their host communities and in the communities they left behind.

In spite of the thriving partnership between the Philippines and the United States, anti-

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A CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

1947   MAA formalized the United States' commitment to assist the development of the Armed Forces of the Philippines. It likewise established the Joint U.S. Military Assistance Group (JUSMAG).

1951   MDT provides the overall framework for defense cooperation between the Philippines and the United States.

1953   MDAA updated the 1947 MAA to provide for the United States' support to the Philippines in terms of making equipment, materials, devices, and other assistance available.

1958   MOA established a permanent Philippine-United States Mutual Defense Board.

1998   VFA provided a mechanism for regulating the circumstances and conditions under which U.S. forces may visit the country for bilateral military exercises.

U.S. sentiments persist due largely to the perception that the country's security policies post-9/11 fulfill requirements of siding with the United States on the War on Terror and may have adverse consequences on issues of domestic conflict, such as the peace process in Mindanao.

The evolving configurations of power in the global arena, specifically the emergence of new powers such as China, Japan, and the European Union, the increasing pressure on ASEAN to serve as a balancing force in the Asia-Pacific region, the precarious situation in the Middle East, reforms in the United Nations, and the seeming unilateral direction that American foreign policy is taking, provide both opportunities and challenges to governments' abilities to provide security to their nationals. The Philippines will have to balance its relations with traditional partners while diversifying its allies.

NOTE

Katrina Isabelle Borja undertook preliminary research for this chapter.

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Russia

Jim Headley

BACKGROUND

Russia is the largest country in the world. It forms the bulk of the area known as Eurasia, spanning from Eastern Europe to the Pacific Ocean. It is conventionally divided into a European part west of the Ural mountains and an Asian part (Siberia) east of the Urals. Formally known both as Russia and the Russian Federation, it is a federal system comprised of 89 federal subjects.

Russia has a wealth of natural resources, including natural gas, oil, timber, precious metals, and minerals. Many of these resources are located in remote parts of Siberia, where the harshness of the climate and transportation difficulties make extraction extremely difficult. Much of the North is unsuitable for agriculture as it is covered by permafrost. Only 7 percent of the country is arable land.

Russia suffers from a range of human-caused environmental problems, many of which are the legacy of rapid industrialization and exploitation of the environment in the Soviet period. There is heavy air pollution from heavy industry and coal-fired power stations, and from vehicles in the large cities. Many rivers and coasts are polluted from industrial and agricultural effluents. Parts of the country suffer from soil erosion as a result of extensive agricultural use, deforestation, and soil contamination from agricultural chemicals. Particularly serious is the extreme radioactive contamination of certain areas and contamination of groundwater from toxic waste.

The history of the Russian state is usually traced to the rise of Kievan Rus' in the ninth century. Eastern Slav tribes were united in an area covering most of what is now Ukraine and Belarus as well as part of European Russia. Greek Orthodox Christianity was made the state religion in 988. After the invasion by the Mongols (Tatars) in 1237–1240, all of the Russian cities except Novgorod and Pskov came under Mongol control, the empire of the Golden Horde. However, the Principality of Muscovy broke away from Mongol control in the fifteenth century and began gradually to conquer and absorb neighboring principalities. In 1547, Ivan IV ("the Terrible") was crowned tsar of all Russia. He conquered the Tatar khanates of

Russia

Formal name of country: Russia (Rossiya), Russian Federation (Rossiyskaya Federatsiya)

Size of country: 17,075,200 sq km

Natural resources: Oil, gas, coal, minerals, and timber

Population: 142,893,540

Life expectancy at birth: 67.08

Key ethnic groups: Russians; Tatars; Ukrainians; Bashkirs; Chuvash; many other groups constituting less than 1% of population

Key religions: Russian Orthodox, Muslim, other Christian, Buddhist

Political system: Federation; presidential democratic system

Key political groups/parties:

- United Russia
- Communist Party of the Russian Federation
- Liberal Democratic Party of Russia
- Motherland (Rodina)
- Yabloko
- Union of Right Forces
- Agrarian Party

Legal system: Civil law; judicial review of legislative acts

Real GDP growth: 6.4% (2005)

Population below poverty line: 17.8% (2004)

Size of military: 1,027,000 active personnel (army 395,000; navy 142,000; air 160,000; strategic deterrent forces 80,000; command and support 250,000); paramilitary 418,000 (2007)

Relationship with the United States: Good working relationship in areas of shared concern; but geopolitical rivalry in former Soviet space, and disagreements over Iraq, Iran, and democracy promotion.

Important human security issues: Low life expectancy; environmental problems; high incidence of infectious disease; refugee crisis in North Caucasus; terrorism

Future important security issues: Energy disputes; violations of human rights; inequality; continued environmental problems.

Kazan and Astrakhan, which laid the basis for expansion into Siberia. In the early seventeenth century, the Romanov Dynasty continued this policy of expansion across Siberia to the Pacific, and under Peter I ("the Great," 1682–1725), Russia defeated Sweden in the Great Northern War to acquire the Baltic provinces. Peter's attempt to turn what was now called the Russian Empire into a modern European state was symbolized by the foundation of St. Petersburg in 1703. Russian expansion into southeastern Europe and Asia continued in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with the empire reaching its greatest extent before the Russo-Japanese war in 1904–1905.

Defeat in that war and repression of opposition movements sparked the 1905 revolution. Tsar Nicholas was forced to issue a manifesto establishing an elective legislative assembly (the Duma) and granting civil rights. Russia entered the first

World War in August 1914 in support of Serbia, but the war destroyed the tsarist regime. Catastrophic defeats and hardship on the home front were blamed on the Tsar and his advisors. Riots and strikes broke out in the main cities, and in February 1917 the regime was overthrown. Two rival sources of power emerged: the liberal Provisional government, and the socialist soviets (workers councils). In November 1917, the Bolshevik (Communist) Party under Vladimir Lenin seized power. A humiliating peace was signed with Germany. Civil war raged from 1918–1920, but the victorious Bolsheviks consolidated their control and implemented a radical program to create a socialist state. This consisted of a planned economy and state ownership of the means of production, under the control of the Communist Party. The country was renamed the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR, or the Soviet Union) in 1922. Josef Stalin won the power struggle after Lenin's death in 1924, and introduced radical Five-Year Plans and severe repression. Rapid industrialization and forced collectivization of agriculture were accompanied by purges of potential political opponents, and the creation of a vast network of prison camps, the Gulags.

In 1941, the Soviet Union was invaded by Nazi Germany. The USSR emerged victorious, but suffered utter devastation and a death toll of 25–30 million. The Soviet Union established hegemonic control over socialist satellite states in Central/Eastern Europe. Rivalry with the United States developed into a Cold War in which the communist and capitalist camps competed globally. In the postwar period, the Soviet Union became a superpower able to challenge the United States, symbolized by the nuclear arms race.

After Stalin died in 1953, there was relative liberalization under Nikita Khrushchev, but a shift back to strong authoritarianism occurred when Leonid Brezhnev became leader of the Communist Party in 1964. Rapid growth rates were evidence that the Soviet Union was becoming a modern industrial state; for the first time in its history, the majority of the population lived in urban areas. However, by the 1980s, there was economic stagnation reflecting the inability of the Soviet system to adjust to a postindustrial economy. There was also political stagnation under an aging Communist Party leadership and a stifling bureaucracy. The relatively youthful Mikhail Gorbachev attempted to breathe life into the system after 1985 through the policies of *perestroika* (reconstruction) and *glasnost'* (openness). These combined selective political liberalization and democratization with economic decentralization and the introduction of market forces. But Gorbachev's economic reforms merely led to greater economic crisis and shortages, while politically the Communist Party's monopoly on power was no longer tenable. Nationalist movements arose in the 15 Soviet republics, particularly after the satellite states broke away from Soviet control in 1989. After a failed coup in August 1991 by Communist hardliners, the republics rapidly declared independence. In December 1991, the leaders of the Russian, Belorussian, and Ukrainian republics agreed to replace the Union with a loose Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Eventually, all of the newly independent states joined the CIS, with the exception of the Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania).

On January 1, 1992, the Russian Federation—comprising 50 percent of the area and 75 percent of the population of the Soviet Union—became an independent

state. Under President Yeltsin, a program of rapid transition to a market economy was implemented together with the establishment of a liberal democratic political system. The problematic development of post-Soviet Russia under Yeltsin and, from January 2000, his successor, Vladimir Putin, are traced in subsequent sections.

SOCIETY

The bulk of the population lives in the European part, with the population decline being particularly noticeable in Siberia where the breakdown in basic infrastructure made living conditions even harsher. There are estimated to be 126 different nationalities/ethnic groups within the Russian Federation, many speaking their own language. The majority of the population are ethnic Russians (79.8 percent). According to the 2002 census, the other groups making up more than 1 percent of the population are Tatars (3.8 percent), Ukrainians (2 percent), Bashkirs (1.2 percent), and Chuvash (1.1 percent). There are a number of small indigenous groups in the far North and in Siberia. In some cases (for example, on the island of Sakhalin), their traditional life and land is threatened by exploitation of energy and mineral resources. Large numbers of displaced persons remain within the conflict region of Chechnya and in neighboring parts of the northern Caucasus (estimated at 339,000 in 2005). Since declaring that the war had ended in 2002, the Russian state has tried to enforce their return.

It is hard to put a figure on religious affiliation: the Soviet Union was officially an atheist state, and religions were repressed, even if Russian Orthodoxy was co-opted for nationalist purposes in times of crisis. Ethnic Russians often identify themselves as Orthodox, but are nonpracticing. Estimates place the number of atheists/nonreligious at around 50 percent of the population, with Russian Orthodox 15–20 percent, Muslim 10–15 percent, other Christian 2 percent, and other beliefs including Buddhism and Judaism, each constituting less than 1 percent of the population. Officially, Russia is a secular state in which freedom of religion is guaranteed. Putin has attempted to strengthen the attachment to Orthodoxy as a marker of Russian national identity, but not to alienate moderate Muslims. The Orthodox church has also sought to prevent "proselytizing" activities by the Catholic church or by other groups such as Jehovah's Witnesses.

In such a large country, basic transportation infrastructure is crucial for economic activity. At the heart of the transport system is an extensive railway network. The Russian economy is more rail dependent than any other large country in the

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RUSSIA'S DEMOGRAPHIC CRISIS

In his annual address to the Federal Assembly in May 2006, President Putin called the "demographic problem" the "most acute problem facing our country today." The population has dropped from around 148 million in 1990 to approximately 143 million (CIA 2006). This is due to emigration, a low birth rate, and decreasing life expectancy as a result of the socioeconomic crisis of the 1990s. Life expectancy has dropped disproportionately for men, with ill health often being associated with alcoholism. The World Health Organization estimates life expectancy for men at 59, compared to 72 for women, in 2004. Diseases such as tuberculosis rose especially in the 1990s although incidences have fallen since 2000, but AIDS is of particular concern (nearly one million are estimated to be living with HIV/AIDS). The average fertility rate is only 1.3 per woman, reflecting a very high use of abortions, and results from difficult living conditions and economic uncertainty. There are signs, however, that the decline may now have been reversed. Estimates for 2006 put the figures for male and female life expectancy at 60.45 and 74.1. Putin has advocated specific policies to try to boost the population figures.

world. Since the breakup of the USSR, however, Russian railways have lost half of their traffic, particularly to a growing road haulage system which now makes up around 20 percent of the total freight market. Nevertheless, many roads are impassable in winter, and the system is reaching capacity. This is putting a brake on economic growth, so the government has launched a major construction and maintenance program. Goods are also transported in European Russia by the 72,000-kilometer waterways system linking the Baltic Sea, White Sea, Caspian Sea, Sea of Azov, and Black Sea. Under market conditions, a number of airports and passenger air routes proved uneconomic, so the number of airports continues to decline (the present figure is fewer than 500).

The communication network, like all areas of the economy, was affected by the reforms in the 1990s. For example, there are more than 1,000 companies now licensed to offer communication services; but the network still experiences significant problems brought about by lack of investment and heavy demand. Access to the Internet is increasing, although still relatively low, especially in rural areas (the estimate for 2005 was 23.7 million users).

The economic transformation in Russia in the 1990s was the most extreme of any of the post-communist transitions. The core of the communist system for 70 years was transformed into a capitalist economy within a decade. The transition was particularly rapid because of the adoption of so-called "shock therapy" in 1992, a set of policies designed to effect a rapid transition to a capitalist economy within a limited window of political opportunity. Disputes still rage over whether it was the policies themselves that led to the catastrophic economic decline, or whether, as the architects of the policy claim, the fact that the policies were abandoned before being fully implemented. Most analysts agree, however, that it was a mistake to free prices and allow private control of enterprises before the fundamental conditions of a capitalist economy were created. This enabled a small number of well-placed administrators to take control of enterprises, hike up prices, and strip the assets. In the process, a small number of people became extremely rich, and subsequently used their economic standing to influence politics to their advantage, earning them the name of oligarchs. Such influence came through control of the media, direct involvement in politics, and behind-the-scenes influence on the ailing President Yeltsin through involvement in his "family." This corruption emanating from the very top was evident in the loans-for-shares scheme (by which oligarchs baled out the government by lending money in return for shares in lucrative enterprises), and by insider auctions through which oligarchs acquired ownership of assets at miniscule prices.

While a small proportion of the population became superrich and transferred their assets abroad, the vast majority suffered from dire economic conditions in which unemployment rose, wages went unpaid, and rampant inflation wiped out savings. Many were forced into desperate measures such as turning small gardens in apartment complexes into vegetable plots.

The crisis came to a head in August 1998, when the high value of the rouble and government debt, together with knock-on effects from the Asian crisis, hit Russia. The rouble was devalued, dropping to 20 percent of its previous value, the Central Bank defaulted on its debts, stock market shares crashed, and numerous banks went

into liquidation, destroying people's savings. The crisis weakened further Yeltsin's political position, and Yevgeny Primakov became prime minister, opting for more cautious macroeconomic policies. These policies, together with the devaluation of the rouble, laid the basis for recovery as Russian exports became more competitive. Most importantly, Russia benefited from the sharp rise in energy prices. It is the energy sector that has provided the foundation for six successive years of growth. It has created wealth not only for a small number of oligarchs, but a growing middle class, reflected in the increased demand for consumer goods, and a building boom in Moscow. Yet, the economy remains highly dependent on oil and gas exports. There is still a lack of medium and smaller sized companies, especially as consumer goods are often imported using petro-dollars. Furthermore, the boom is focused especially on Moscow, to a lesser extent St. Petersburg, and some boom oil/gas towns in the East. Conditions in the provinces are still bleak for very many people.

Revenue from energy exports has given the government record budget surpluses in recent years, allowing it to tackle the depleted infrastructure and housing crisis. Government revenue has increased because the state has acquired significant shares in major oil and gas companies. Nevertheless, there has been no wholesale reversal of the privatizations of the 1990s. Putin has not systematically tackled the economic position of the oligarchs; but he has acted against those who opposed him politically, the most high profile being Mikhail Khordokovsky, who was arrested and convicted for tax fraud. Part of his company, Yukos, was auctioned off in 2004, and the remainder handed a massive back tax bill. It has recently been declared bankrupt, paving the way for the state-controlled oil company Rosneft or national gas monopoly Gazprom to acquire its assets. Other oligarchs opposed to Putin have gone into exile (Boris Berezovsky and Vladimir Gusinsky).

DOMESTIC POLITICS

Russia is ostensibly a constitutional democracy. The Constitution was adopted by referendum in December 1993, putting an end to a period of conflict between President Yeltsin and the Supreme Soviet (parliament) which had culminated in Yeltsin ordering troops to shell the Supreme Soviet. It is a strong presidential system. The president is directly elected for a term of four years, limited to a maximum of two consecutive terms. According to the Constitution, "The President of the Russian Federation shall define the basic domestic and foreign policy guidelines of the state in accordance with the Constitution of the Russian Federation and federal laws." He is head of state, guarantor of the Constitution, and commander in chief of the armed forces. The president appoints the prime minister (subject to ratification by the Duma—the lower house) and ministers on the advice of the prime minister. He can dissolve the Duma if it rejects his choice of prime minister three times or if there is a vote of no confidence in the government. The president enjoys the right to initiate legislation and to issue binding decrees.

While these are very strong powers on paper, they depend on political position in order to be transferred into real authority for the president. For much of his presidency, Yeltsin did not enjoy such authority. At times he was dependent on oligarchs or "the family"; for example, he needed the financial and media backing of

leading oligarchs to win the presidential election in 1996. He disappeared from public view for long periods of ill health; and his credibility fell further after the August 1998 crash. In contrast, President Putin has enjoyed high levels of authority from the start of his presidency. He was a relatively youthful and healthy leader who was not closely associated with the troubles of the Yeltsin years. A former officer of the KGB, Putin was involved in the St. Petersburg city council in the early 1990s, until being called to Moscow in 1996 to serve in Yeltsin's second administration. In July 1998 he was appointed head of the FSB (the successor agency to the KGB), and was appointed also secretary of the Russian Security Council in March 1999.

In August 1999, President Yeltsin appointed Putin prime minister, grooming him as his successor. From being largely unknown, Putin established his political credentials by launching the second campaign in Chechnya, portraying it as a battle against terrorism and a necessary restoration of security and stability. Yeltsin resigned three months before the end of his term, which gave Putin the added advantage of being acting president in the run-up to the presidential election in March 2000. He won that election in the first round by getting over 50 percent of the vote. In the election in March 2004, his main political rival, Gennady Zyuganov, who had come second in the previous two elections, did not even bother to stand, so clear was it that Putin would win by a landslide (71 percent of the vote, as it turned out).

Putin's position has been stronger than Yeltsin's also because he has had the support of a docile parliament. The Federal Assembly is composed of two chambers: the State Duma (lower house) and the Council of the Federation (upper house). The Duma is made up of 450 deputies, elected every four years. Previously, half were elected by proportional representation on a party list, the other half by single-member constituencies; however, a new law initiated by Putin came into effect in May 2005, abolishing the single-member constituencies, making all seats elected from a federation-wide single constituency by party list, with parties needing to obtain 7 percent to gain seats (previously, the threshold was 5 percent). The next elections (December 2007) will be held in this format. The Council of the Federation is made up of two representatives from each subject of the Federation (one chosen by the regional executive, the other by the regional legislature).

Russia is an asymmetric federation: it consists of 32 ethnically based regions (21 national republics, 10 autonomous *okrugs*—districts, one autonomous *oblast*—region) and 57 territorially defined federal subjects (six *krais*—territories, 49 *oblasts*—regions, and two cites—Moscow and St. Petersburg). Of these 89 subjects, the 21 national republics enjoy the most autonomy. Among them, there are variations in line with bilateral treaties signed with Moscow in the early 1990s, and the Federal Treaty of March 1992. These agreements satisfied those republics which might otherwise have leaned towards independence, with the exception of Chechnya, which had declared independence in October 1991.

Under President Dzhokar Dudayev, the ''Chechen Republic of Ichkeria'' descended into political disputes and civil war. In order to reassert Russian control, the Russian Security Council sent Russian forces into Chechnya in December 1994. The campaign was a disaster. Russian troops suffered huge casualties, and

it became a public liability for Yeltsin. In May 1997, an interim peace agreement was signed—the Khasavyurt accords—which led to the withdrawal of Russian forces from Chechnya and *de facto* independence for the republic. But in the subsequent years, Chechnya descended further into anarchy and came under the control of extremists and warlords. In August 1999, Russia invaded again. In March 2003, a referendum was held which endorsed a new Constitution giving Chechnya considerable autonomy within the Russian Federation. Nevertheless, the problem of Chechnya remains a major security problem for Russia, as discussed below.

Putin has asserted the primacy of the 1993 Constitution in defining relations between the center and the regions, thus limiting the autonomy of republics such as Tatarstan. Furthermore, after the Beslan massacre in 2004, he announced that all regional governors would be appointed by the center, subject to ratification by local legislatures; this law came into effect in December 2004.

In an effort to tackle the perennial problem of Russian rule—control over the regions—Putin has also established seven federal districts and appointed presidential representatives for them. This is one element in what he calls strengthening the "power vertical": creating a unified system of executive power throughout the country (Lynch 2005). It has been achieved also by the emergence of a dominant "party of power" supporting Putin: United Russia. In the last Duma election (December 2003), United Russia gained nearly half of the seats (222). Putin is supported also by the Liberal Democratic Party (in fact, an extreme nationalist party, led by Vladimir Zhirinovsky, which has joined the Putin bandwagon) and *Rodina* ("Motherland," led by the nationalist parliamentarian, Dmitry Rogozin), which together hold 65 seats, and also by several smaller parties and independents. The main opposition parties are the Communist Party (52 seats), led by Gennady Zyuganov, and the neoliberal Union of Right Forces (four seats), and the social democratic Yabloko (three seats). Neither of the latter passed the 5 percent threshold necessary to gain seats on the list section of the vote; with the next election being conducted only by party list with a 7 percent threshold, they are likely to be eliminated from the Duma. While these parties represent the communist left, the neoliberal right, and the liberal left, it is unclear what United Russia represents, except for strong executive power in general, and support for Putin in particular. Their main aim is to create a stronger Russia, stable at home, and able to act assertively abroad. This is something that Putin has promised and delivered to a far greater degree than his predecessor, which goes some way to explaining why he and his party have gained considerable popular support.

As a consequence of domination of the political scene by Putin and United Russia, popular involvement in politics has declined. Turnout at elections has also declined, although not dramatically. Turnout for the March 2004 presidential election, at 64.3 percent, was the lowest for a post-Soviet presidential election, and the figure for the December 2003 Duma vote was only 55.6 percent. Yet, this was higher than the election ten years previously. Under Yeltsin, low turnout can be explained by cynicism at the power of the oligarchs and the standoff between parliament and president. Under Putin, it is explicable by the lack of space afforded to opponents and realization that Putin/United Russia will win anyway.

There can be no doubt that Russia has become more centralized and authoritarian under Putin. State control over the media has increased to the point where

there are no longer independent television channels, and there are only a few independent newspapers. At the same time, the blatant corruption of the Yeltsin years and the power of the oligarchs has been significantly reduced. There is no longer a small coterie of vested interests shaping policy behind the scenes. Instead, many of those close to Putin are from a security background (from the FSB, or the armed forces), which has been labelled by some commentators the "securitization" of the Russian state. The majority of the presidential representatives for the federal districts, for example, have served in the armed services or the FSB. The growth in the presidential bureaucracy—the Presidential Executive Office, situated in the Kremlin—illustrates both the strengthening of the president's role and the widening of his circle of advisors.

In these circumstances, there is speculation over what will happen when Putin is constitutionally required to resign at the end of his term of office in 2008. One possibility is that the Federal Assembly will amend the constitution to allow him to stand for a third time. More likely is that he will support a like-minded successor (perhaps Sergey Ivanov).

LAW AND ORDER

The Soviet regime had a severe policy regarding crime. Nevertheless, a criminal underworld existed, a continuation of the prerevolutionary *Vorovskoi mir*, the "thieves world" of professional criminals (Galeotti 2000). The black market increased in the late Soviet period as shortages of goods worsened. Under Gorbachev, crime escalated as the legitimacy of the system plummeted, openness to the outside world helped criminals to establish links with groups abroad to open up smuggling routes, and law enforcement agencies suffered lack of money and motivation. It was this rising organized crime that formed the basis for the Russian *mafiya* in the 1990s. Rather than being a single structured entity, the mafiya were disparate groups which ran protection rackets, dominated the black market in all kinds of goods, smuggled drugs and weapons, and kidnapped women, forcing them into prostitution in Russia or abroad. They used force to eliminate rivals and intimidate the authorities. Often, they developed links with politicians, or indeed became Duma deputies themselves (thereby gaining immunity from prosecution), or local governors. There were a number of assassinations of politicians with links to mafiya groupings or those seeking to clamp down on them, and also of investigative journalists.

In an era when corruption was evident at the very top and the country's riches had been robbed by the few, there was little incentive for law enforcement agencies to act as neutral enforcers of the law. The police (*militsiya*) lacked resources and

personnel, and many moonlighted as private security personnel or left the police force in order to join the growing industry of private security services. Bribery of militsiya, security forces, and judges was prevalent. In some cases, the results have been shocking; for example, it is suspected that the terrorists who seized the Dubrovka theatre in October 2002, and also the school at Beslan, had managed to get a bus load of weapons through a number of checkpoints by bribing officials.

Under Putin, organized crime has become less noticeable. This is partly because those who made money in questionable circumstances in the 1990s have often now tried to become legitimate business people. The economic recovery has meant that fewer people are forced into crime, and wages are paid, so that the militsiya no longer rely on bribes to live. Putin has put significant resources into fighting organized crime, and Russian security forces, border guards, and police work with international agencies and the forces of other countries to attempt to tackle drugs, arms, and people smuggling, particularly in hot spots such as the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Kaliningrad. Nevertheless, crime and corruption remain a part of everyday life, and the general population has little faith in the police or the justice system as a whole, where pretrial detention can last for months, and torture is used to get confessions. On a more banal level, it is a fact of life in Moscow that traffic police invent infringements to get bribes.

Putin's struggle against crime has strengthened the internal security services, often with negative effects for the population as a whole, and certain groups in particular. For example, the OMON (Special Purpose Detachment of Militsiya) under the Ministry of Internal Affairs often appear beyond the law, using force indiscriminately, and particularly in Chechnya.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Both Yeltsin and Putin have devoted considerable attention to foreign affairs, not merely setting the general guidelines, but making key decisions, representing Russia at meetings abroad, and coordinating policy across a range of areas. The presidential apparatus under Putin has also become the president's own think-tank for foreign policy. The Security Council, created by Yeltsin in 1992, also comes under the presidential apparatus and has the function of coordinating security policy, broadly defined. It is convened and chaired by the president and brings together the key ministers and the heads of the military and security services. The secretary of the Council plays an important role as the president's deputy in coordination of policy. Putin himself was secretary of the Council before becoming prime minister in 1999. The current secretary is Igor Ivanov, who was the previous minister of Foreign Affairs.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Ministerstvo Inostrannykh Del—MID) plays a key role in implementing foreign policy and runs the diplomatic service. It is divided into territorial departments dealing with regions and functional departments dealing with matters such as international institutions, security, and disarmament. As part of Putin's attempts to strengthen the center, the ministry has made efforts to ensure policy is conducted centrally, rather than individually by subjects of the federation, as was often occurring under Yeltsin. The Department of Information and the press play a prominent role in "selling" policy at home and abroad.

The other main ministry dealing with foreign affairs is the Ministry of Defense, which controls the armed forces. In the last decade, the foreign policy goals of these institutions have become more closely coordinated and clearly laid out. In the immediate post-Soviet period, there was much confusion in the policy-making process: it was not clear which institution had responsibility for which area, and there was sometimes competition for control. This competition reflected divergent views over what kind of foreign policy approach post-Soviet Russia should have and what should be its priorities. The foreign minister, Andrei Kozyrev, believed that as a liberal democratic state, Russia shared interests with other liberal democratic states, and sought to develop strong relations with the West (the United States and western Europe). He also saw these as the main sources of economic and financial support in the transition period. Nationalists and centrists, and the Supreme Soviet, argued that those states continued to compete with Russia and were seeking to drive it out of areas of traditional interest. Russia should stand up for its interests and focus more on the area of the former Soviet Union. They called it Russia's "near abroad," and argued that it was the most important area, economically, strategically, and culturally (over 25 million ethnic Russians, and 30 million Russian speakers, lived outside the Russian Federation in the other newly independent states).

In 1993, under Yeltsin's orders, the MID began to shift its focus towards the "near abroad," and stand up more assertively for Russian interests in international relations. However, it was only after Yevgeny Primakov replaced Kozyrev as foreign minister in January 1996 that the MID really began to assert its primacy in foreign policy making. Primakov repeatedly emphasized the need for Russia to work towards a "multi-polar world" in which Russia would be one of the centers of power. The consensus around the idea that Russia should seek to reestablish its great power position has been demonstrated by the continuity in leadership of the MID. Primakov was replaced by his deputy, Igor Ivanov, when he became prime minister in 1998; Ivanov was succeeded by Sergey Lavrov, who had been Ambassador to the United Nations, a role in which he pursued the assertive policy approach.

Russia's current approach to foreign affairs is laid out in three policy documents drafted by the Security Council and signed by Putin in 1999/2000: the Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation, the Military Doctrine, and the National Security Concept. Although they deal at the level of generalities, they do give an indication of the main priorities and the conceptual outlook which guides foreign and security policy. The priority areas are identified as the former Soviet space (promoting integration within the CIS), Europe, Asia, and the Pacific. The aim is to establish good relations with all states in these regions, and to prevent the formation of alliances which threaten or exclude Russia, or any developments that diminish the influence of Russia within Eurasia. Throughout the documents there is an emphasis on establishing a multi-polar world, and preventing American unilateralism.

Nevertheless, Putin has tended to play down the rhetoric of multi-polarity. He realized that a weak Russia was not in a position to challenge the United States, and that attempts to do so in the 1990s had backfired, creating tensions but with

no real benefits to Russia. Instead, he has followed a more cautious, pragmatic approach, seeking good relations with all states on the basis of shared interests. With the United States, this means working together to tackle proliferation of nuclear weapons and to curb international terrorism. But Russia also seeks to use historical ties with other states to develop further Russian interests. This approach has been labeled a "multi-vector" policy (Lo 2003): there is no longer a special emphasis on the West, either as a natural ally (Kozyrev) or a geopolitical rival (Primakov).

Russia also seeks to use its membership of international organizations to pursue its interests and establish its great power credentials. Russia struggled hard to become a member of the G8, and in 2006 hosted the summit. It is a member of the Contact Group on the former Yugoslavia, and of the Group of Four on the Middle East, and participates in the Six-Party Talks with North Korea. Most importantly Russia inherited the Soviet Union's seat on the UN Security Council. It is opposed to reforms that would limit the power of the veto and opposes actions (the NATO war on Serbia in 1999, the U.S.-led war on Iraq) that bypass the Security Council.

During the Cold War, Soviet defense was focused on the Warsaw Pact, a military alliance of most of the communist states in Europe in opposition to NATO. The Warsaw Pact was officially dissolved in July 1991 after the collapse of communism in central/eastern Europe. Since then, Russia has sought to develop a defensive alliance with interested parties within the Commonwealth of Independent States. The Treaty on Collective Security was signed in May 1992, and in 2003, the member states—Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic, Russia, and Tajikistan—agreed to transform it into the Collective Security Treaty Organization, an international regional organization designed to coordinate and deepen military and political cooperation between its members and a mutual defense pact in cases of aggression. In addition, Russia has bilateral military and political links with the more pro-Russian of the CIS members. Military coordination with Belarus through the Russia-Belarus Union is especially strong.

In the East, Russia is a founding member of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) which brings together Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan and aims to develop stability, peace, and security in central Asia, as well as economic, political, and cultural cooperation. Although it now has a secretariat in Beijing, and a "Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure" in Tashkent, in practice it mainly serves to bring together heads of state and security ministers to counter the threat of terrorism, religious extremism, and separatism. Consequently it gives support for other states in propping up authoritarian leaders. For Russia, it serves as a way to work with China on issues of common concern, and to counteract U.S. influence in the region.

In the West, the role of NATO in the European security structure was the subject of considerable tension between Russia and the West during the 1990s. Russia argued that NATO was an anti-Russian alliance which had no purpose in the post-Cold War world. Russia opposed the enlargement of NATO, which occurred in 1999 when three former Warsaw Pact countries—Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic—joined. It also opposed the development of NATO's new Strategic Doctrine which gave NATO a role in ensuring security in the Euro-Atlantic

region, even "out of area" (beyond the borders of its member states). Russia objected that it was being pushed aside in matters of concern and areas of special interest. It opposed NATO air strikes in Bosnia in 1995 and Operation Allied force against Serbia over Kosovo in 1999. The latter marked a low point in East-West relations since the end of the Cold War. Despite these tensions, Russia cooperated with NATO in the NATO-led peacekeeping operations in Bosnia and Kosovo, and relations were formalized by the Founding Act in 1997 which created the Russia-NATO Permanent Joint Council.

Putin's pragmatic approach in foreign policy is shown in the development of relations with NATO since 1999. Under Putin, policy makers have declared that NATO is not necessarily a threat to Russia, but that its continued enlargement is a mistake if it remains simply a military bloc. Instead, they have called for it to be transformed into a political organization for security within Europe. Putin also called for it to work with Russia in tackling new security threats, especially terrorism. After September 11 and Russia's support of the U.S.-led operation in Afghanistan, improved relations were formalized in the Russia-NATO Council in which Russia meets equally with NATO members to discuss matters of mutual concern. Russian objections to the second round of NATO enlargement in 2004 were muted, despite the fact that the former Soviet republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania became members.

Russia is also looking for ways to increase military cooperation with the European Union, as an alternative to NATO as it develops its own defense and foreign policies. More significantly, the European Union is Russia's largest trading partner. Russian gas accounts for 40 percent of all gas imports in the European Union. Relations are formalized in the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement. Issues over EU enlargement in 2004, such as transit between the Russian enclave of Kaliningrad and the rest of Russia, have largely been resolved. Recently, an agreement has been signaled on improved visa access for those traveling from Russia to the EU and vice versa.

As Russia's economic recovery continues, it becomes more assertive on the world stage. It uses its energy resources as a tool in foreign policy. In 2006, for example, it cut off gas supplies to Ukraine and threatened to raise prices to market rates, when it seemed that Ukraine was moving into the U.S. sphere. Nor is Russia adverse to using its relative military strength to maintain its influence in the former Soviet Union, not by direct intervention, but through peacekeeping operations in places such as South Ossetia and Abkhazia (Georgia) and the Transdniestr region (Moldova). It undermines the unity and sovereignty of those states which it perceives to be moving out of the Russian orbit. For example, it directly sought to influence election results in Ukraine in 2004; and although Putin is not close to President Lukashenko of Belarus, Russia is suspicious of the "democratic opposition" there.

SECURITY

During the Cold War, the USSR relied on its military might to uphold its superpower status, to put down rebellions in its satellite states, and to deter invasion. Since 1991, the size, capability, and morale of the armed services has plummeted.

While Russia's economy relies on arms exports, there has been a lack of investment in the Russian military itself. The poor state of the military was demonstrated starkly in the first Chechen campaign (1994–1996) which ended in humiliating defeat, attributable partly to poor equipment, the fact that conscripts were put into combat with little training, and endemic alcoholism and corruption. Many of the same problems were experienced in the second campaign, although more specialized forces were used where possible.

The president is the commander in chief of the armed forces. They are under the political control of the Defense Ministry, and the operational control of the General Staff. The country is divided into six military districts, each headed by a commander subordinate to the minister of defense. When the Soviet Union broke up, Russia inherited the majority of the navy and air force. The air force and the navy both declined through the 1990s, but there has been increased investment in the last few years. There are four fleets in the navy: the Northern, Pacific, Baltic, and Black Sea fleets (the latter is based in Sevastopol in Crimea and was the subject of a dispute between Russia and Ukraine until an agreement in 1997 to divide it between the two states and allow Russia to lease the base), as well as a flotilla in the Caspian Sea. The secrecy of the navy and its inability to respond to crises was demonstrated when the Kursk submarine sunk in August 2000, killing everyone on board.

In addition to the ground force (SV), the navy (VMF), and the air force (VVS), there are three independent "combat arms": the Airborne Troops (VDV), the Strategic Missile Command (RVSN), and the Space Force (KV). The Strategic Rocket forces control the nuclear missiles. Russia maintains a force of over 500 Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) with nearly 2000 warheads, the largest in the world, though substantially reduced from the peak of the Soviet period. There has been a political struggle since 1991 over whether the nuclear weapons should be under the control of the air force, and more generally, over the importance of the strategic deterrence. Putin favors creating a modern, mobile military able to deal with insurgencies such as that in Chechnya; yet he also wants a military able to defend the country in the case of conventional war, and to retain the nuclear deterrent. He dedicated a major part of his address to the Federal Assembly in 2006 to modernization of the armed forces. He declared his intention to make them fit for a modern, great power, by procurement of equipment, providing adequate housing, and better training to ensure the combat readiness of troops.

There are currently around a million active personnel in the Russian military. The majority (70 percent in 2005) are male conscripts who often suffer extreme bullying in their first year (the notorious *dedovshchina* system). Plans to move towards a professional army have been hampered by the expense. However, in 2007 the service time for conscripts will be reduced from two years to 18 months, and in 2008 to one year. By 2010, 70 percent of the forces should be volunteers. In addition to the regular forces, there are also troops under the control of the Ministry of the Interior. Their role is to respond to security threats—including separatism and terrorism—within Russia itself. The troops serving in Chechnya are now all from the Interior Ministry force, and Putin announced in his 2006 address that from January 2007, all these troops will be contract servicemen.

After the attempted coup of August 1991, the Soviet security and intelligence service, the KGB (*Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti*—Committee for State Security) was disbanded. Its functions were taken over by two organizations: the FSK (*Federalnaya Sluzhba Kontrrazvedki*—Federal Counterintelligence Service), and the CSR (*Centralnaya Sluzhbza Razvedki*—Central Intelligence Service). The latter was renamed the Foreign Intelligence Service (*Sluzhba Vneshney Razvedki*—SVR) in December 1991, and the former chief of the KGB First Chief Directorate, Yevgeny Primakov, was appointed director. It is responsible for intelligence gathering abroad and cooperates with foreign intelligence services, particularly in anti-terrorist activities. The FSK was made more powerful, and renamed the Federal Security Service (*Federalnaya Sluzhba Bezopasnosti*, the FSB), in April 1995. It is responsible for intelligence gathering and security operations within Russia itself. It has played a major role in Chechnya, as well as fighting organized crime, drug trafficking, and terrorism.

Before Gorbachev, the Soviet regime had a narrow perspective on security: it was presumed that security threats were those posed to the state and to the regime, internally by political dissidents, externally by the capitalist states (primarily the United States) and their military alliances, as well as rival communist countries (primarily China). The devastation wreaked in the first World War, the civil war, and the second World War shaped this outlook: external threats were considered in military terms, and the Soviet Union aimed to be able to fight a defensive war against any aggressor. It used its nuclear weapons to deter aggression and to balance the U.S. nuclear arsenal. It also sought to gain an advantage over the United States, thus contributing to the nuclear arms race.

Gorbachev's New Political Thinking in foreign policy brought about a dramatic change. Gorbachev explicitly acknowledged that security was about more than military threats to the state. He spoke of the "all-human value of peace," and adopted a multi-sum approach. Acknowledging that actions by the Soviet Union were seen as threatening by the West, he realized that both sides could benefit from trust-building measures. Allowing inspections of nuclear weapons sites was a major breakthrough that paved the way for massive mutual arms reductions in both nuclear and conventional weaponry. Furthermore, Gorbachev used a wider and less state-centric concept of security. He saw threats to human security as emanating from poverty, disease, and environmental degradation. Indeed, particularly after the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, he saw environmental catastrophes as one of the greatest threats to mankind, a threat that transcended state borders and required international cooperation to address. He came to acknowledge also that the regime/state itself could be a threat to the security of individuals as well as vice versa.

The legacy of Gorbachev's approach remains today in areas of Russian policy, having been continued under Yeltsin and Putin. For example, Putin's focus on poverty and declining birth rates are centered on the human effects of the socioeconomic crisis. Although Russia retains its nuclear deterrence, it signed a strategic arms reductions treaty with the United States in 2002. In 2004, Russia ratified the Kyoto protocol, which gave a major boost to the process.

At the same time, it is clear that Putin also sticks to elements of the traditional approach. In seeking to modernize Russia's armed forces, he aims to restore Russia's great power status and make it capable of defending against threats from other states. Nevertheless, there is no obvious such threat to Russia at present. There may be tensions with the United States at times, but nothing to compare with the general level of hostility and the periodic crises of the Cold War. Relations with China have improved greatly since Gorbachev came to power. Although some Russians worry at the rate of immigration by Chinese into the Russian Far East and the growing strength of China, disputes over the border between the two states have largely been resolved, and trade between the two states continues to grow (arms and energy exports to China are especially significant). The main territorial dispute is with Japan, which lays claim to Kurile Islands (called the Northern Territories by the Japanese). They were seized by the Soviet Union when it entered the Pacific war in 1945. But while this dispute has hampered the development of economic ties between Japan and Russia, it is unlikely to escalate into conflict.

Again in the traditional mould, Putin sees separatism as a threat to state sovereignty, and upholds the rights of states to use force to counter that threat. This is of course one justification for the Chechen campaign. However, he also interprets the Chechen problem as part of a wider phenomenon: the threat posed by non-state, transnational actors. The conflict in Chechnya, he argues, should be considered part of the fight against "international terrorism." From the time that he became prime minister, Putin has called on countries to cooperate in the fight against international terrorism. Furthermore, in 2000, he spoke of an "arc of instability" spreading from the Philippines to Kosovo, with its center in Afghanistan. Russia is concerned about the spread of instability, crime, and religious extremism from central Asia and the Caucasus. In response to these new threats, Putin tends to take a traditional state-centric view. Governments should cooperate where possible, and use force if necessary. Hence, after September 11, 2001, he gave his support to the American-led campaign in Afghanistan. Although Russia did not supply troops, Russian air space was used for transporting American supplies, and Russia did not object to the United States using former Soviet military bases in central Asia.

The degree to which Chechnya should be interpreted as part of a network of international terrorism and Islamic extremism is controversial. The conflict began as a nationalist struggle for self-determination through secession. But the first war radicalized many Chechens, and fighters looked to Islamic countries for support. Attacks during the war were mainly conducted by guerrilla fighters on Russian forces and Russian or pro-Russian administrators within Chechnya.

One reason for Russia's second campaign was a wave of bombings across Russia which occurred in August-September 1999. They were blamed on Chechen militants, although no group claimed responsibility, and many commentators suspect the FSB of organizing them in order to provide a pretext for the second Chechen campaign. The other trigger was an incursion by fighters from Chechnya into Dagestan—a neighboring part of Russia. This operation was apparently led by the radical Chechen "field commander" Shamil Basayev, and was linked to the goal of establishing a wider Islamic state across the North Caucasus. Russian troops,

supported by Dagestani villagers, drove them back, and then continued into Chechnya, thus initiating the second campaign,

Renewed war in Chechnya again had catastrophic effects on the security of the population. Grozny was destroyed by shelling, many civilians were killed in the fighting, and many "disappeared" at the hands of the Russian forces (see next section). There were also numerous suicide bombings and other attacks within Chechnya on Russian forces, administrators, and those working with the authorities. But it also led to more and more vicious terrorist attacks within the rest of Russia: an increasing number of suicide bombers targeting the metro, planes, buses, trains, and pop concerts. Two horrific events stand out. In October 2002, terrorists seized around 800 hostages in the Dubrovka theatre in Moscow; attempts by Russian security forces to incapacitate them with gas left all the terrorists and 129 hostages dead. On September 1, 2004, terrorists seized a school in Beslan, North Ossetia, taking hostage more than 1,200 adults and children. When shooting broke out on the third day, security forces stormed the school. Over 300 people died, including 186 children. Shamil Basayev claimed responsibility for both of these massacres. Basayev was killed in July 2006, although the circumstances of his death are unclear.

The human toll of the Chechen conflict has been enormous, and neighboring regions of the North Caucasus have suffered terribly from terrorist attacks, insurgencies, and the huge refugee crisis. Now, the Russian state claims that normality is returning to Chechnya. After Beslan, Putin promised major funding for reconstruction in Chechnya and poverty alleviation in the North Caucasus. Noticeable improvements do seem to be occurring: the capital, Grozny, for example, is being rebuilt. It is probably true to say the majority of the population accept that Chechnya will remain part of Russia, and welcome a return to peace. However, terrorist attacks are likely to continue. Some are conducted by those who have lost family in the wars, including the so-called "Black Widows." There are also radical Islamic groups who undoubtedly have links to Al Qaeda.

Aside from the Chechen conflict, there have been other cases of violence threatening the security of the population. There were numerous deaths in the 1990s associated with organized crime. Domestic violence against women is extensive. Racist thugs and neo-Nazi groups target non-whites. Some political extremist groups have threatened violence. But other less dramatic threats to human security affect the general population on a more daily basis: the threat to health posed by poor living conditions, alcohol and drug addiction, and environmental pollution. On this last note, Russia faces a massive crisis in dealing with nuclear waste, and there are serious safety concerns and reports of corruption in the atomic industry. Yet, as part of Putin's national energy strategy of December 2005, there are plans to build another 40 reactors over the next 15 years. There are also concerns about the safety of Russia's nuclear arsenal, and decommissioning of nuclear submarines. It is feared that terrorists might already have acquired sufficient nuclear material to make a bomb.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

In the Soviet period, the ruling Communist Party paid little respect to fundamental human rights. The degree of repression varied, and was worst under Stalin

in the 1930s and 1940s, but generally there was persecution of political dissidents, of religious groups, and of many ethnic groups. Emigration was restricted, and internal movement was also controlled. The Party was critical of "bourgeois" human rights, and claimed that economic and social rights were fundamental (for example, the right to employment, to housing), and these were incorporated in its Constitution. There was also no independent justice system: law was enforced in the interests of the regime; the judiciary were appointed by the Communist Party; there was no trial by jury; and there were no court procedures to determine sentence. It was only under Gorbachev that real attention was paid to human rights, as he led the regime away from a class-based approach to acknowledging the universality of fundamental rights.

When Russia became an independent state, President Yeltsin was committed to transforming Russia into a liberal democracy which respected human rights on the Western model, and introducing the rule of law. Chapter 2 of the 1993 Constitution enshrines the "Rights and Freedoms of Man and Citizen," incorporating both fundamental freedoms (*habeas corpus*, presumption of innocence, freedom of speech, conscience, and private property) and also guaranteed economic and social rights (medical treatment, housing, and social security). However, the record of the Yeltsin administrations in this area is mixed. It is certainly true that progress was made towards a more liberal approach, yet, old practices lived on.

There were important moves towards the creation of a law-based system. The 1993 Constitution (Articles 22–25) transferred the power to approve detention, surveillance, and searches from the prosecutor to the courts. Chapter 7 of the Constitution introduced independent judges who can only be dismissed in accordance with the law. There have been efforts to train independent judiciary, but many remain in place from the Soviet period, and they have not always adjusted to an independent system. Judges are often open to bribes and are influenced by politicians and the security services. Similarly, the jury system has been introduced, but there are problems of finance, bribery, and intimidation.

The procurator general is the chief prosecutor and is appointed and dismissed by the Council of the Federation upon the proposal of the president. The three highest courts are the Supreme Court (23 members), the Superior Court of Arbitration (five members), and the Constitutional Court (19 members). Judges on these courts are appointed by the Council of the Federation on the nomination of the president, and serve for life. The Supreme Court is the highest court of origination and deals with appeals for consideration of criminal, civil, and administrative cases. The Arbitration Court is the highest court for the resolution of economic disputes. The Constitutional Court judges whether federal laws; presidential and federal decrees and directives; as well as local constitutions, charters, and laws comply with the federal constitution. It also resolves jurisdictional disputes between federal or local organs of power, and it may be asked to interpret the federal constitution. During the crisis in 1993, the Constitutional Court judged that Yeltsin had acted unconstitutionally in disbanding the Supreme Soviet. When Yeltsin won the standoff, the chairman of the court, Valery Zorkin, was dismissed, and imprisoned, and the court was disbanded. It resumed operation in 1995 after the appointment of its judges by the Council of the Federation, which included Zorkin. In February 2003, Zorkin was again elected chairman.

Public confidence in the judicial system was undermined in the 1990s by the high crime rate and general corruption. There has been criticism from human rights groups of the lengthy pretrial detention periods and backlog of cases, and the terrible conditions in Russian gaols and detention centers. There is also the impression that the authorities tend to see human rights as provisional rather than absolute, and are willing to infringe them in the name of fighting crime or terrorism. Given Putin's security services background and his vow to fight terrorism, "banditry," and organized crime, it is not surprising that there is international concern that human rights have been neglected during his presidency. This concern is not necessarily reflected in the population as a whole, many of whom are willing to see some repression of those that they see as criminals in the name of restoring stability and also economic and social revival. A new Criminal Procedure Code came into effect in July 2002, strengthening the rights for detainees, and speeding up the legal process. The introduction of the new code led to significant reductions in time spent in detention for new detainees, and the number of suspects placed in pretrial detention declined by 30 percent (http://jurist.law.pitt.edu/worldlaw/russia.php). But there are real concerns that there is limited space for political opposition, that NGOs have been restricted, and that the development of civil society is in reverse.

The most serious human rights abuses under both Yeltsin and Putin have been in Chechnya. International human rights NGOs, domestic human rights organizations, international institutions, and Western states have documented vast numbers of abuses by Russian forces in Chechnya. Recently, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe passed a resolution condemning the excessively harsh behavior of the Russian security forces, numerous human rights violations, and the climate of impunity in which the security forces operate ("Russia: Council Of Europe Condemns Human Rights Violations In Chechnya," Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty, January 25, 2006). There continue to be forced "disappearances" of civilians, arbitrary detention, torture, and hostage-taking by Russian forces and also the *Kadyrovtsy*, the security forces under the control of Ramzan Kadyrov, formerly deputy first prime minister, then prime minister from March 2006, and now Putin's appointment as president of Chechnya.

The Russian human rights organization, Memorial, estimates that between 3,000 and 5,000 people have disappeared since 1999. Human Rights Watch argues that these systematic disappearances constitute crimes against humanity. In July 2006, in a landmark case, the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg ruled that Russia had violated the European Convention on Human Rights in the case of Khadzhi-Murat Yandiyev, who "disappeared" and is presumed dead.

Aside from Chechnya, there have been several high-profile cases which raise concern over human rights in Russia. One such is the Yukos case discussed above; another is the Nikitin case. Alexander Nikitin is a former submarine officer who contributed to a report by the Norwegian environmental group the Bellona Foundation on the state of Russia's nuclear submarines in the Northern fleet. He was arrested by the FSB in February 1996 and charged with treason and divulging state secrets through espionage. He spent months in pretrial detention, was released, and then tried and acquitted in October 1998 by the St. Petersburg city court, but the FSB continued to investigate, and he was charged again in July 1999. He

was again acquitted, but it was only when the prosecution's appeal was rejected by the Supreme Court in 2000 that the case was finally dropped.

Russia's commitment to human rights abroad has also declined since the early 1990s. Whereas Kozyrev made human rights a consideration in dealing with other states—and was prepared to accept action against states that abused human rights, such as by voting for sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro in May 1992—the principle of sovereignty has come to be emphasized instead. Increasingly, Russian policymakers have accused the West of double standards on human rights. In his speech to the Federal Assembly in May 2006, Putin said: "How quickly all the pathos of the need to fight for human rights and democracy is laid aside the moment the need to realize one's own interests comes to the fore." The same might be said of Russia, however. The human rights of ethnic Russians in the former Soviet space have certainly been challenged over the last 15 years; however, the Russian government has tended to stand up for them only insofar as it serves Russia's political purposes at a specific time.

CONCLUSION

In the last six years, Russia has experienced a significant domestic revival after the chaos of the previous 15 years. This has begun to translate into renewed influence on the world stage, especially in energy geopolitics. Some analysts and policymakers regard Russia's growing influence as a potential threat to the West. They speak of potential threats to energy security as a result of Russia's increasing influence. However, Russia's recovery does not necessarily constitute a threat. A more stable, prosperous Russia might be more predictable than a weak one which might disintegrate or suffer further internal conflicts with potential knock-on effects. There is no longer ideological competition with the West. In many respects, Russian and Western interests coincide—in nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, in dealing with threats to the environment, and in tackling terrorism. Russia generally has good working relations with the United States, NATO, and the European Union.

Nevertheless, there is still a tendency among Russian policymakers to assume that Russia has interests which conflict with those of the West. This is especially true within the former Soviet space, where Russia's desire for hegemony clashes with U.S. interests. Russian policymakers are suspicious of U.S. rhetoric of democracy promotion in the region, which they see as creating anti-Russian sentiment and serving U.S. interests. Furthermore, although Russia supported the American-led campaign in Afghanistan to oust the Taliban, policymakers are skeptical of the continued U.S. presence in central Asia, believing that the United States is pursuing geopolitical interests unrelated to the so-called War on Terror. This view is shared by Russian allies in the region: the SCO has called for the United States to give a date for the closing of its bases in the central Asian states.

Russia opposed the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq. It did not accept that the war was part of the fight against international terrorism, nor that resolutions passed by the UN Security Council legitimized the use of force. Policymakers were also concerned that Russian economic interests would be pushed aside by the American presence. Russia stands up for its right to sell arms and to have economic links with

regimes that the United States regards as "rogue states." At the same time, it is opposed to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and is willing to use its connections with states such as Iran and North Korea to act as a negotiator. It has offered to supply processed uranium to Iran as a way out of the impasse.

The main internal security issues in Russia are the impact of war in the North Caucasus, terrorism, and threats to "human security": ill-health, poverty, environmental damage, and so on. The situation in Chechnya has stabilized somewhat, but the threat of terrorism remains high despite the killing of a number of rebel leaders. In terms of human security, there has been some improvement under Putin, as a result of increased stability and economic recovery. As evidence, life expectancy is rising again, the birth rate is rising, and emigration is falling. These positive developments are in a sense balanced against a decline in human rights and democracy. At the moment, most Russians are more concerned with finding jobs and adequate housing, and seeing a return of law and order, than with the loss of these rights. At the same time, the degree of social and economic inequality remains enormous. There is vast wealth in a small number of hands, while many suffer in extreme poverty. This is in a country which has vast natural resources and potential wealth, and a society which, during the Soviet era, was one of the most egalitarian in the world. These facts are a source of discontent and potential conflict.

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Rwanda

David E. Cunningham

BACKGROUND

Rwanda, a small country in the heart of central Africa, was thrust onto the international radar screen in April 1994 with the outbreak of violence on an unprecedented scale. The Rwandan genocide, in which between 500,000 and 800,000 people were killed in 100 days, brought substantial international attention to a country that had been largely out of the public eye prior to that point. More than a decade after the worst example of mass slaughter since World War II, the security situation in Rwanda has greatly improved and the country is remarkably stable. However, despite the current stability, Rwanda still faces substantial challenges. Understanding Rwanda's security is important, not only because of the continuing potential for widespread violence and the extreme costs it inflicts on the local population, but because the stability of much of East and central Africa is affected by events within Rwanda.

Located in the "Great Lakes" region of Africa, Rwanda borders four countries—Uganda to the north, Tanzania to the east, Burundi to the south, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to the west. Rwanda has historically been called "le pays des milles collines," or, "the country of a thousand hills" because most of the terrain of the country is rolling hills. Hills have historically been the administrative unit, and locations are still primarily denoted by the hill they are on. In the northwest, these hills rise to become the Virunga mountains, a mountain range which is famous because it contains half of the world's population of mountain gorillas which still live in the wild. On the western border of Rwanda is Lake Kivu, one of the "Great Lakes," which runs along a large part of the border with the DRC.

The climate is temperate and conducive to agriculture. The high elevation of much of the country means that temperatures are generally mild, and Rwanda has two rainy seasons and receives a good level of rainfall. Despite this climate, dense population and overgrazing mean that food security is a problem for the population.

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Rwanda

Formal name of country: Republic of Rwanda
Size of country: 26,338 sq km
Natural resources: Tea and coffee
Population: 8.6 million
Life expectancy at birth: 47.3 years
Key ethnic groups:

- Hutu (85%)
- Tutsi (14%)
- Twa (1%)

Key religions: Christianity, Islam, traditional religions
Political system: Presidential democracy, little freedom of political opposition
Key political groups/parties: Government controlled primarily by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), also includes Liberal Party and Social Democratic Party
Legal system: Based on Belgian and French systems, nominally independent but largely controlled by RPF inner circle.
Real GDP growth: 5.2% (2005 est.)
Population below poverty line: 60%
Size of military: Approximately 50,000
Relationship with the United States: Rwanda has a positive relationship with the United States and receives a good amount of official development assistance from both the U.S. government and non-governmental organizations based in the United States.
Important human security issues: Ethnic tension, refugees and internally displaced persons, overpopulation, rampant poverty, repression of political opposition
Future important security issues: Reconciling ethnic tension will continue to be the major security issue in Rwanda. Other important issues will be food security and other issues arising due to Rwanda's underdeveloped economy and high dependence on foreign aid.

Source: The main source for many of these figures is the CIA *World Factbook*.

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Rwanda is one of the poorest countries in the world. The United Nations Development Program ranks Rwanda 159 out of 177 countries on its Human Development Index, putting it in the bottom 20 percent of countries. The country has few natural resources, but has historically been a large exporter of tea and coffee.

Piecing together the history of Rwanda is difficult because there is little written record prior to the appearance of Europeans in the region.[1] Additionally, the history of settlement in Rwanda is quite contested as competing explanations have been used to fuel ethnic tension. It appears that the original inhabitants of the country were the pygmoid Twa, the descendants of whom remain, albeit in small numbers, in Rwanda today. Sometime around 1000 AD, a Bantu migration from southern Africa led to a much larger settlement in Rwanda. Historians have traditionally believed that these Bantu were the ancestors of the modern-day Hutu, who make up the vast majority of the Rwandan population. There may have been

a latter migration of Tutsi from northern Africa in the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. However, many scholars now believe that the Tutsi and Hutu were not historically separate ethnicities, but that both came into Rwanda as part of the Bantu migration.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a Tutsi-led monarchy established control over much of modern-day Rwanda. In 1890, Rwanda was given to Germany as a colony, although the colonial power did not exercise any control in Rwanda until 1897. After World War I, Germany was stripped of its colonies in East Africa, and Rwanda was given to Belgium, who retained control of the colony until independence in 1962.

In the late 1950s, Rwanda underwent a major social and political transformation. Both the German and Belgian colonizers had established a system of indirect rule, in which they ruled through Tutsi chiefs. In addition, Tutsi were given preferential treatment in education and the economy during colonialism. In the late 1950s, the "Hutu Revolution" overthrew the Tutsi hold on power and led to the independence of the colony. An independent government was established led by Gregoire Kayibanda and dominated by Hutu. In 1973, a military coup overthrew Kayibanda and brought Major General Juvenal Habyarimana, also a Hutu, to power. Habyarimana created a one-party state, again almost exclusively controlled by Hutu, and would rule Rwanda until 1994.

In October 1990, Rwanda saw the outbreak of civil war as a group of Tutsi refugees attacked from camps in Uganda. The war ended in 1994 when the Hutu-led government conducted a campaign of genocide against the Tutsi population. Between 500,000 and one million Tutsi and moderate Hutu were killed in a period of 100 days between April and July 1994, and the genocide ended when the Tutsi-led Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) took Kigali and established control over all of the country. The lingering effects of the genocide are still very present in Rwanda today.

SOCIETY

Although the population of Rwanda is small in absolute terms—between eight and nine million—the country has the densest population in Africa. Additionally, Rwanda has a very high population growth rate, above 2 percent a year, suggesting that population density will continue to present a problem in the future.

The population of Rwanda is divided among three ethnic groups. Obtaining exact population data is difficult given how politicized ethnicity is in the country —but the most common figures hold that the population is 85 percent Hutu, 14 percent Tutsi, and 1 percent Twa. These statistics predate the Rwandan genocide, so the proportion of the population that is Tutsi now is probably smaller than the 14 percent commonly identified. In addition to these groups, Rwanda also has a small number of German and Belgian ex-patriots who settled in Rwanda during colonialism, as well as a few traders and migrants from other African countries.

Ethnicity has been an issue of social tension in Rwanda for at least 100 years; however, despite this tension there has historically been a significant degree of intermarriage between Hutu and Tutsi. Additionally, physical differences between

Rwanda

Rwandan Hutu and Tutsi are not immediately apparent. From 1962–1994, Rwandans were required to have identity cards that indicated their ethnicity, and these cards were instrumental in the 1994 genocide. Since the genocide, the government has tried to place a focus on national identity above ethnic identity, although ethnic divisions certainly remain quite important.

Religion is very important in Rwandan society and the population is overwhelmingly Christian, with over half of Rwandans belonging to the Roman Catholic Church. Many protestant denominations are represented as well, with the Anglican and Adventist denominations being among the most prominent. Historically, only a small percentage of Rwandans have practiced Islam; however, in the decade after the genocide an increasing number of Rwandans have become Muslims. Finally, a significant number of Rwandans practice traditional religions, either exclusively or in combination with other faiths.

The population of Rwanda remains primarily concentrated in rural areas, with some 90 percent of Rwandans engaged in rural agriculture. Rwanda's largest city is the capital, Kigali, which has about 800,000 people. There are several other significant cities, such as Ruhengiri in the North, Gitarama in central Rwanda, and Butare in the South; however, none of these other cities has a population of 100,000.

Since the genocide, the Rwandan government has placed a large emphasis on infrastructural development. The road network in the country is quite good, and given how small Rwanda is it is generally possible to travel between all major population centers in a matter of a few hours. The country is landlocked, however, and transport to other countries and to the main port in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, is quite limited, representing a major barrier to economic activity.

Despite the favorable climate and the good transportation networks within the country, the economy continues to be greatly underdeveloped in Rwanda. One of the main pressures is population density, making it hard for families to control enough land to feed themselves. This problem has been compounded by the return of millions of refugees over the last 12 years. The first major influx was made up of Tutsi who had fled the Hutu revolution of 1959–1962 and subsequent ethnic conflicts and returned after the genocide ended in 1994. At the end of the genocide, however, approximately two million Hutu refugees fled the country, and many of them have returned in waves over the last ten years. The return of refugees and the density of the population have led to major tensions over land use in Rwanda and represent a significant economic strain on the population.

Rwanda's economic development is also limited by an underdeveloped export sector and a general lack of foreign direct investment. Rwanda primarily exports three products—tea, coffee, and pyrethrum—and its economy is very dependent on international prices of those products. Foreign money has flowed into Rwanda in the aftermath of the genocide, but it has been primarily in the form of aid rather than investment. Much of this aid has been used for infrastructural development, but the economy is still in need of large amounts of foreign investment to achieve any level of sustained economic growth.

The structural problems in Rwanda's economy mean that, despite more than a decade of rapid economic growth following the genocide, the population remains very poor. The effect of poverty on the quality of life of Rwandans is compounded

by a very high infection rate of HIV/AIDS among the population. It is estimated that 5 percent of adult Rwandans are infected with HIV or AIDS. The combination of poverty and the high rate of AIDS and other disease means that indicators of well-being for Rwandans are very low. The life expectancy at birth for Rwandans is 47.3 years, and the infant mortality rate is almost 90 out of every 1,000 births.

Unlike many of its neighbors, Rwanda is affected little by refugees from other countries. The one main source of refugees into Rwanda in the last decade has been the civil war in the DRC, where much of the worst fighting was concentrated in the Kivu region along the border with Rwanda. The CIA *World Factbook* estimates that there are about 45,000 Congolese refugees in Rwanda. Additionally, there has for a long time been a small population of Burundian refugees in southern Rwanda. Historically speaking, however, Rwanda has been a much greater producer of refugees than a host for them.

There is still a small set of the Rwandan population that is counted as Internally Displaced Persons (IDP). The current Rwandan government is generally able to enforce law and order within its borders; however, there are still a number of Hutu fighters based in the jungles of eastern Congo. These fighters make occasional incursions into northwest Rwanda and these attacks have led to the creation of a small number of IDPs. The CIA *World Factbook*, estimates that in 2005 there were 4,500 IDPs in Rwanda.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

In the aftermath of the 1994 genocide, the Rwandan Patriotic Front-led government was faced with the task of rebuilding the country politically and economically. In late 1994, the government established a multiparty transitional unity government, led by the RPF. The composition of the multiparty government was based on two things—a previous multiparty government that had been formed by Habyarimana during the 1990–1994 civil war and provisions of the Arusha Peace Accord that had been signed by the RPF, Habyarimana's party, and several unarmed parties in July 1993.[2]

The transitional government was in place until 2003 when a constitutional referendum and presidential and legislative elections were held. The new constitution created a presidential government with a bicameral legislature. The president would be elected by direct election based on universal suffrage and would serve a seven-year term. The parliament was made up of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The Senate was not elected in 2003, and its 26 members included 12 elected by provincial councils, eight appointed by the president, and six appointed by other political organizations. Senatorial elections are scheduled to be held in 2011. The Chamber of Deputies included 80 members—53 of which were elected by popular vote, 24 of which were women elected by local political organizations, and three of which represented youth and disability organizations. Members of the National Assembly serve five-year terms.

The president is the most significant political figure in Rwanda. In the presidential election of 2003, the leader of the RPF, Paul Kagame, received 95 percent of the vote. Kagame, a Tutsi who was born in Rwanda but grew up in the refugee camps in Uganda, was the military leader of the RPF for much of the 1990–1994

civil war. In the aftermath of that war, he became vice president from 1994–2000, although most people believe that he was the main power-holder during that time. In 2000, he became president. Kagame is without question the most powerful individual in Rwanda today.

In the parliamentary elections, an RPF-led coalition won 40 of the 53 seats, with the Social Democratic Party taking seven seats and the Liberal Party winning six. The 2003 votes were peaceful, had a high voter turnout, and election day generally went smoothly. However, the lead-up to the elections saw a high degree of repression by the RPF and severely hurt the ability of opposition parties to campaign.

In the years leading up to the constitutional referendum and the general elections, the RPF placed severe limits on the ability of opposition political parties and candidates to organize. This included placing opposition politicians in jail, including Pasteur Bizimungu, a Hutu who was a member of the RPF from 1990 and served as president from the RPF victory in 1994 through 2000. In that year, Bizimungu stepped down as president after growing clashes with Kagame. Bizimungu attempted to form an opposition party, but it was immediately banned and he was jailed on charges of embezzlement and inciting violence.

In the lead-up to the 2003 election, the RPF banned the Democratic Republican Movement (MDR), a primarily Hutu party that had been an opposition party during Habyarimana's rule. The MDR was likely the only party that could have presented a real challenge to the RPF's hold on power, and one of its members, Faustin Twagiramungu, was one of the few candidates to challenge Kagame in the presidential elections. Twagiramungu's ability to mount a credible campaign was severely restricted, and many leading MDR figures faced violent repression before the election.

The RPF's repression of political organization by the opposition was justified as part of a policy of overcoming the ethnic division in the country that led to the genocide. The RPF argued that political parties could not use ethnic identity as an organization tool and sought to limit any activity that was divisive. In practice, however, this repression served to virtually guarantee the RPF's victory in the 2003 elections and continual hold on power. Human rights groups such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch were particularly critical of the Rwandan government's activities as it repressed dissent in the lead-up to the elections.

In addition to the pressure on opposition parties, the RPF has placed heavy restrictions on the independent media. Preceding the genocide, the Rwandan media played a significant role in preparing the population for a campaign of mass extermination. The radio station Radio Television Liberation des Milles Collines is notorious not only for its role in promoting Hutu power ideology in the months prior to the genocide, but also because it was used as a tool to coordinate the activities of the militias spread throughout the country during the genocide. The state-controlled radio station Radio Rwanda and the newspaper *Kangura* also played a significant role in drumming up anti-Tutsi sentiment prior to 1994.

The RPF has used this history of the Rwandan media to justify a substantial effort to limit the emergence of an independent media. Most of the major newspapers are state or RPF controlled, and the television and radio stations are largely mouthpieces of the government. Journalists who have attempted to present an

independent voice have had to flee the country or have faced violent retribution, and opposition publications that have published accounts of government corruption have been banned. This campaign has placed a major limit on the presentation of opposition viewpoints to the government.

Despite the elections of 2003, then, and the presence of some opposition parties in the government, the RPF has been able to establish an almost complete monopoly of political power in Rwanda. This monopoly extends outside of the official government, as members of the RPF control almost all of the local governments, educational institutions, banks, and media outlets in Rwanda. On a broad level, then, Rwanda is a "democracy," in that its executive and legislative branches are elected, but on a deeper level the government should still be seen as autocratic and controlled by a narrow group of politicians.

Despite the autocratic nature of the government, the RPF remains generally popular. One of the ironies of the activities prior to the 2003 elections is that, in a process free of political repression and with open media representation, Kagame and the RPF probably still would have won. The RPF's popularity is the product of several different factors, but the primary ones are that the government has been efficient at promoting security and economic development for most of the last 12 years. Crime rates in Rwanda are low (see below) and, with the exception of rare incursions by Hutu extremists operating in eastern DRC, the government can provide security from violent conflict within the borders. As discussed above, while Rwanda remains poor in relative terms, the economy has experienced robust economic growth for over a decade. These factors can explain why the RPF remains generally popular despite the lack of freedom for political opposition and the fact that the party is still perceived as Tutsi-dominated.

Despite this popularity and the government's general success, the Rwandan government still faces fundamental problems of ethnic divisions, rampant poverty, aid dependence, corruption, a huge prison population, and the fundamental problem of how to build a democratic system in a society with a large ethnic majority and a history of discrimination. The last 10 years show several successes, but the long-term future of politics in Rwanda remains unclear.

LAW AND ORDER

When the RPF took power in July 1994, restoring law and order to Rwanda represented a huge challenge to the government. The legal system in the country was almost completely destroyed by the civil war and the genocide, and Rwandan territory continued to be under direct attack from refugee camps based in eastern DRC. Additionally, the government had a large population of prisoners accused of genocide, and very few judges and attorneys who could preside over their prosecution.

In the 12 years since taking power, the government has been able to restore a substantial level of security in the country. It has done so both through securing the borders to prevent attacks into Rwanda from neighboring countries (see "Security" below) and also by building security services that could enforce law and order within the country.

In 2000, the government combined three separate internal security forces—the gendarmerie, the communal police which had been controlled by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the judicial police which had been controlled by the Ministry of Justice—into one unified police force. This force is under the Ministry of Internal Affairs and has exclusive jurisdiction over policing throughout Rwanda. The combination of three forces into one has allowed for greater coordination.

In the aftermath of the genocide, the crime rate in Rwanda has declined. Rwanda's level of violent crime is relatively low when compared to other countries in East/central Africa. Additionally, the country is generally free of organized crime and drug trafficking. However, the murder rate is quite high in Rwanda and sex offenses, such as rape, are especially prominent. The new police force has appeared to make inroads into lowering the murder and rape rates, but progress is slow.

A continuing barrier to enforcing law and order within Rwanda has been the slow emergence of an effective judiciary. After taking power, the RPF focused on building a judiciary, particularly so that they could try the tens of thousands of prisoners accused of genocide held in Rwandan prisons. By 2001, the government had added a significant number of judges and prosecutors. However, there was a general sentiment that these judges were not properly qualified or independent from governmental influence. In July of that year, a Rwanda Law Reform Commission was established to work to improve the capability and independence of the judiciary. That commission was able to make some progress, but there are still concerns about the independence of the judiciary and the impunity of some of the security forces (see "Justice and Human Rights" below).

In the more than a decade since the genocide, the government has made significant progress toward establishing law and order within Rwanda. Despite this progress, however, murder and rape remain significant problems in the country, and the judicial system is underqualified to fully address those problems. This lack of qualification undermines the confidence that the civilian population has in the government's ability to enforce law and order.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The RPF-led Rwandan government places a significant emphasis on foreign relations and has done so since taking power in 1994. Because of the importance the government places on international affairs, governmental decisions on foreign policy are made almost entirely by President Kagame and his inner circle.

When the RPF first came to power in 1994, its foreign policy was driven primarily by the desire to track down the planners of the genocide and to disarm the Hutu militias based in eastern Zaire/DRC. This desire led the government to start two wars in the DRC. The first war, which began in 1996, resulted in the overthrow of Zairean president Mobutu Seso Seke, who had ruled the country since 1965. The second war began in 1998 and lasted until 2002 (for more details, see below). Although the 1998–2002 war ended in a negotiated settlement and not outright victory, these conflicts were generally effective at preventing Hutu militants from being able to effectively launch attacks into Rwanda.

At the same time, however, the two Congolese wars had negative effects for Rwanda's relations with its neighbors and other states. From 1994–1999, Rwanda's

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UGANDA AND RWANDA: WAR BETWEEN ALLIES

From 1994 to 1999, Rwandan Vice President (and principal powerholder) Paul Kagame and Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni were close allies. Kagame had participated in Museveni's insurgency in the 1980s and had been an influential figure in his inner circle from Museveni's taking power in 1986 to the RPF invasion of Rwanda in 1990. Throughout the Rwandan civil war, Uganda remained the RPF's closest ally.

In 1996–1997, Kagame and Museveni helped to mastermind the overthrow of Zairean President Mobutu, and in 1998, when the new Congolese leader Kabila fell out of favor, they helped to organize a second war. By 1999, however, relations between the two leaders had soured.

The main issue of contention between the former allies was the conduct of the Congolese war, with the two states supporting separate Congolese insurgent groups and having different opinions about the correct strategy to pursue. Additionally, both Uganda and Rwanda extracted Congolese resources during the war and they clashed over these resources. These disagreements manifested in three separate battles in the Congolese city of Kisangani in August 1999, March 2000, and May 2000—battles which resulted in the deaths of at least 600 Congolese civilians.[3]

In 2001, relations between the two countries deteriorated further and there were concerns that the conflict could move out of the DRC. Museveni accused Rwanda of supporting his main opponent in Ugandan presidential elections and declared Rwanda "a hostile state." Peace talks in London in November 2001 seemed to make some headway, and the tension has never reached the level of full-scale war as many feared, but relations remain sour. In the spring of 2006, relations again reached a low point when the Rwandan first secretary at the embassy in Kampala was arrested and charged with adultery, a crime in Uganda.

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closest ally was Uganda. The RPF was made up almost exclusively of Tutsi who had lived in Rwandan refugee camps, and many of the RPF leaders had fought alongside Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni when he took power in 1986. Uganda provided support for the RPF during its war against the Habyarimana-led government, and Kagame and Museveni were very close. In the second Congolese war, however, disagreements manifested between Uganda and Rwanda over the strategy the allies wanted to pursue and over the control of Congolese resources. These disagreements led to several violent clashes between the Ugandan and Rwandan armies around the Congolese mining town of Kisangani. Since the war ended in 2002, there have been attempts to repair the relationship between Kagame and Museveni, but it has remained tense (see sidebar, "Uganda and Rwanda").

The Rwandan Army's actions in the DRC also prompted criticism from the international community. Although it was generally recognized that Rwanda did face a security threat from the presence of Hutu militants in the jungles of the eastern Congo, there was heavy international criticism of the army's activities in the two wars. There were many reports of massacres against Hutu refugees and other civilians in the DRC, and it was clear that the RPA was exploiting Congolese resources. This international criticism hurt Rwanda's reputation in the world.

In the aftermath of the Congolese war, Rwanda has worked to improve its relations with the international community. One reason the Rwandan government has continued to focus so heavily on foreign relations is that it is heavily dependent

on foreign assistance to keep its economy afloat. Rwanda receives significant inflows of foreign aid from multilateral lending agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund as well as from bilateral donors. This aid amounts to somewhere around $400 million dollars a year flowing into the Rwandan economy, when the country's entire gross domestic product is less than two billion dollars.

In addition to the significant amount of aid that Rwanda receives from Official Development Assistance, there are a large number of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) that work in and provide aid to Rwandans. NGOs play a variety of roles, from providing humanitarian assistance to Rwandans, to working on reconciliation and conflict resolution training, to environmental projects. The government's relationship with these NGOs is generally positive.

In recent years, Rwanda has tried to move beyond its position as a country entirely dependent on foreign assistance and has become more active in continental affairs. This has been most evident in its participation in an African Union (AU)-led peacekeeping mission in the Darfur region of Western Sudan. In August 2004, the first AU mission was deployed to Darfur which consisted of 150 Rwandan troops. In 2005–2006, the size of Rwanda's contingent in Darfur increased to 2,000 as the AU mission grew to 7,000. The African Union's intervention in the conflict-torn region has been criticized because of lack of funding and a general low level of qualification for the troops involved. However, Rwanda's willingness to deploy troops indicates an interest in becoming increasingly involved in continental affairs.

SECURITY

The Rwandan Defense Forces (RDF) are one of the most efficient national armies in all of East/central Africa. The RDF, made up primarily of the Rwandan army but also including a small air force, is disciplined, organized, well trained, and relatively well equipped. Additionally, most of the members of the RDF have extensive combat experience. Many of the current officers are former members of the RPF and are veterans of the Ugandan civil war, the RPF-led insurgency against Habyarimana's government, and the two wars in the DRC. The RDF also includes some officers who served in the Rwandan Armed Forces under Habyarimana. This combat experience contributes to making the RDF a very effective fighting force.

The best estimates are that the RDF has approximately 50,000 troops. From 1994 until the end of the DRC war in 2002, the Rwandan army was involved in nearly continuous fighting, and the government devoted a large share of state expenditure to the military. In 1999, for example, the government spent 4.3 percent of the total gross domestic product on the military. Since the end of the Congolese war, the government has gradually been reducing both the size of the military and the degree of funding, so that by 2004 it was devoting 2.2 percent of GDP to the military.[4]

After the RPF took power, the leadership split the organization into two. The political wing, led by Kagame, became a political party which oversaw the transitional government and then competed in elections in 2003. The military wing of the RPF, meanwhile, became the new national army. While these two branches

are independent in theory, in practice both the RDF and the RPF are controlled by a small, close-knit group around Kagame. Critics of the Rwandan regime argue that the RDF serves mainly to promote the RPF agenda, not the security of the Rwandan population.

Security has been a primary goal of the RPF government since it came to power in 1994. Although July 1994 did bring about the end of the genocide and a political transition, it by no means resolved entirely the underlying issues of the conflict. Many members of the government and the Rwandan Armed Forces (FAR) fled into Zaire in the aftermath of the genocide, as well as members of the Interahamwe militias that had been the main groups at the local level carrying out the killing. These groups used refugee camps in eastern DRC to reorganize and to launch attacks back into Rwanda. From 1994–1996, northwestern Rwanda was very unstable as the ex-FAR/Interahamwe forces waged war aimed at returning to power in Rwanda.

In the summer of 1996, Kagame's government took direct action against ex-FAR/Interahamwe. The Rwandan army, supported by a small Zairean insurgent group, attacked the refugee camps, driving more than a million refugees back into Rwanda and thousands more into Zaire. The Rwandan thrust into Zaire, supported by Uganda and later Angola, achieved remarkable success and eventually led to the overthrow of Zairean President Mobutu in late 1997. This brought to power a government led by Laurent Kabila, one of Rwanda's main allies in the 1996–1997 war. Relations between Kabila and Kigali soured quickly, however, as ex-FAR/Interahamwe continued to base in the eastern part of the now-renamed Democratic Republic of the Congo. Rwandan frustration with the inability of Kabila to disarm these militias led them to launch a second attack, again accompanied by Uganda, into Congolese territory in August 1998. This time, however, Zimbabwe, Angola, and Namibia came to the aid of Kabila's government, and a military stalemate quickly ensued between the two sides.

The second Congolese war lasted until 2002 when the external states reached agreement and began to pull their armies out of Congolese territory. While no one won the second war, Rwanda did achieve its main objective in that it was finally able to stop attacks into its territory. In the aftermath of the 1998–2002 war, the security situation along the Rwanda/DRC border has continued to improve, and thousands of Hutu based in the DRC have repatriated into Rwanda. Still, however, in 2006 it was estimated that there remain 10,000 Hutu in eastern DRC who are opposed to the RPF-led government and unwilling to return to the country.

The presence of these Hutu militants remains the greatest security threat to the Rwandan government. As indicated above, the strength and efficiency of the Rwandan army has meant that the government has been able to secure its borders and, with very rare exceptions, prevent incursions into its territory. Continued conflict in eastern DRC, however, represents a long-term security threat to which the government is very attentive.

One of the greatest successes the RPF has had in its 12-year reign is to improve the internal security in Rwanda. The country was in terrible shape in the aftermath of the 1990–1994 civil war and the genocide, and it took the government several years and two wars in neighboring Zaire/DRC to strengthen that security. In the

aftermath of these conflicts, the population is much more secure now than it has been since 1990.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

As described above, the RPF-led government has made significant gains in promoting domestic law and order and international security for Rwanda in the years since the genocide. Some of this progress has come, however, at the expense of justice and human rights. These have been major areas of concern for everyday Rwandans and the international community since the genocide of 1994. Nongovernmental organizations focused on human rights and international agencies such as the United Nations have paid considerable attention to justice and human rights in Rwanda. International attention has generally focused on three main areas of concern.

The first area of concern has been the treatment of individuals accused of genocide. When the RPF came to power, it was faced with the prospect of trying tens of thousands of alleged *genocidaires* and the Rwandan legal infrastructure had been almost completely destroyed. In 1995, the United Nations set up a special International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) based in Arusha, Tanzania, to try the "architects" of the genocide. Even so, this tribunal issued indictments in less than 200 cases, and was focused exclusively on the planners and high-ranking officials. The ICTR, while important, did little to address the problem of trying the individuals accused of committing the genocide (see sidebar, "ICTR").

The large number of alleged genocidaires led to a major issue of human rights in the country. Tens of thousands of individuals were held for years in overcrowded prisons without facing trial.[5] In 2002, the government attempted to address this problem by establishing a new court system to try many of these individuals. These *gacaca* courts were based on a combination of traditional communal justice with a Western court system. Community members came and testified about the allegations against the accused, and judges determined guilt and sentencing. The gacaca system has addressed some concerns about the treatment of those accused of genocide as it has reduced the prison population. However, international human rights organizations are still concerned about the gacaca process because defendants lack some legal protection, such as access to an attorney, considered fundamental to a justice system.

A second, related, area of concern has been the lack of prosecution of members of the RPF for human rights violations committed during the genocide. The most systematic report on the genocide remains *Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda* published by Human Rights Watch (Des Forges 1999). Of this 1,000-page book, the vast majority is devoted to the human rights violations committed by the Rwandan government, the military, and militias during the genocide. However, the book also reports of human rights violations committed by the RPF. Des Forges (1999, 13) writes, "In defeating the interim government and its army, the RPF ended the genocide. At the same time, its troops committed grave violations of international humanitarian law by attacking and killing unarmed civilians."

Despite the emergence of strong evidence of atrocities committed by members of the RPF, little to no prosecution of the alleged perpetrators has been conducted.

THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR RWANDA

The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda was established by the UN Security Council in a resolution (955) on November 8, 1994. The ICTR is located in Arusha, Tanzania, and was given a mandate to prosecute offenses of genocide, crimes against humanity, and violations of Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions committed by individuals in Rwanda, or by Rwandans in other states, between January 1 and December 31, 1994.

The ICTR, when it was established, was a unique judicial institution established to prosecute individuals for violations of international law. Although the late 1990s saw the creation of several institutions, including the International Criminal Court, designed to rule on issues of international law, in the beginning, the ICTR was forging new territory. The practicalities of creating a tribunal with an unprecedented mandate, of gaining international cooperation to extradite suspects accused by the tribunal, and of obtaining the information necessary to carry out trials meant that the work of the ICTR began very slowly.

The first suspect accused of genocide arrived in Arusha in May 1996, and the first trial was underway in January 1997. By May 1999, six judgments had been handed down, involving seven accused (some of the trials at the ICTR are joint trials with multiple accused). Since then, the tribunal has worked somewhat faster, although trials still carry on for years. As of June 2006, verdicts had been rendered for 28 suspects, of which 25 have been found guilty and three have been acquitted.

Relations between the Rwandan government and the ICTR have been generally positive, although there have been periods of major contention. In 2000, disagreements between the government and the chief prosecutor of the ICTR led Rwanda to temporarily block witnesses from traveling to Arusha, but the rift was repaired. In September 2006, the Rwandan government protested the employment of individuals it said had participated in the genocide, leading to major tension between the government and the tribunal. Although these disagreements have generally been resolved, periodic tensions have remained.

For more information on the ICTR, see its Web site: www.ictr.org.

The ICTR has focused its prosecution exclusively on those accused of committing genocide against the Tutsi and have not issued any indictments against RPF members. The international human rights community remains concerned about the lack of prosecution of these violations of human rights.

A third area where issues of human rights and justice have been raised is in the Rwandan army's involvement in the war in the Congo. As described above, the Rwandan military had a heavy presence in Zaire/DRC from 1996–2002 where it battled against militias led by the Hutu who had been organizers of the genocide. During its involvement in the Congo, the international community was very concerned about the Rwandan army's treatment of Rwandan Hutu refugees as well as Congolese civilians. It is difficult to determine the extent of human rights abuses committed, but the war was devastating for the Congolese population.

In addition to these three main areas of focus, international agencies and Rwandans have been concerned about the government's crackdown on political dissent and the independent media. Former President Pasteur Bizimungu remains in jail for what many believe are trumped-up charges, and journalists that have published material critical of the government have been banned and have even faced physical abuse.

These issues of dictatorial rule erode the population's confidence in the government's commitment to justice. This lack of confidence is compounded by a judicial

system that is not independent of governmental control and is generally considered underqualified. Since 2002, the government has focused on reforming the judiciary to make it a more efficient and independent body, and this reform has made some progress. However, there is still a long way to go.

As is true of so many things in Rwanda, the current human rights situation seems vastly improved when compared to the genocide of 1994. Despite this improvement, however, there are still substantial areas of concern. Tens of thousands of Rwandans face prosecution for crimes associated with genocide in courts that do not completely meet accepted norms of legal practice, members of the government have seeming impunity from prosecution, political dissent is not tolerated, and the judicial system is not completely independent.

CONCLUSION

Rwanda is in a region of the world, central Africa, that currently has little strategic importance to the United States. Despite this lack of strategic significance, Rwanda and the United States have had good relations for several years. These good relations are the product of two main factors.

Part of the reason for the strong relations between Rwanda and the United States is that the United States has expressed remorse for failing to intervene to stop the killing. In the aftermath of the genocide, there was much condemnation of the failure of the international community to respond to the crisis. In 1998, President Bill Clinton, on his trip to Africa, flew to Kigali and officially apologized to the Rwandan people. Clinton and the leadership of Rwanda had good relations, and these ties have continued through President George W. Bush's administration. President Kagame has had several official visits with President Bush, including one in May 2006.

A second reason that Rwanda has had close ties to the United States is that the RPF government has distanced itself from one of its more traditional allies, France. The RPF blames France for allowing the genocidaires to escape in July 1994 and to use the refugee camps in eastern Zaire as a base to regroup. Additionally, because the RPF is made up primarily of Tutsi who grew up in Uganda, the group is seen as Anglophone and this has led to tensions with France and Belgium. The strained relations between Rwanda and its more traditional allies has led to closer ties with the United States.

These ties have paid some dividends for both parties. The main benefit for Rwanda is that it receives significant levels of aid from the United States and from development agencies like the World Bank and IMF in which the United States has a significant voice. A second potential benefit for the government, although not necessarily for the population, is that the close relations have meant that U.S. pressure on the RPF to open up the political process and tolerate political dissent has been muted. The main advantage for the United States is that Rwanda has been a strong ally, at least rhetorically, of U.S. foreign policy. In addition, Rwanda has been willing to commit troops to Darfur, a conflict that has received much attention in the United States but to which the United States has been unwilling to deploy soldiers.

The close ties between the United States and Rwanda notwithstanding, Rwanda still faces major threats to its long-term security. In the short-term, the RPF control of the country appears to be stable. Economic growth has been quite robust for more than a decade, and this growth, combined with a declining crime rate, has meant that ordinary Rwandans are generally better off and has decreased domestic pressure on the regime. At the same time, Rwanda's lengthy intervention in Zaire/DRC and a subsequent focus on disarmament and repatriation of Rwandan militias based there has meant that there are now only about 10,000 antigovernment forces in eastern DRC, the lowest number since 1994. Finally, there has been little real international pressure on Rwanda to open greater political space for opposition and to increase the independence of the judiciary and the respect for human rights.

The longer-term prospects for the country's security are harder to gauge. Rwanda still faces the fundamental dilemma of trying to govern a society that has a large ethnic majority and a history of substantial ethnic tension. In the more than 40 years since independence, one ethnic group has dominated political power in the country, and the other has been excluded. Since the genocide, the RPF-led government has tried to minimize the importance of ethnicity and there is some indication that this policy has had some success. However, the lack of tolerance for political opposition makes it difficult to tell if the push toward emphasizing national identity over an ethnic identity has been successful, as opposing political and journalistic voices are muted.

The long-term stability of Rwanda has major implications for the security of the Central African region as a whole. For decades, the Great Lakes region has been the most conflict-torn part of the world, with major civil wars and humanitarian crises in Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, and Zaire/DRC. The effects of these crises are felt not only within the borders of the countries in question, but also they have major ramifications for the neighboring states. Stability in Rwanda is a key element of moving the Great Lakes region out of the conflict trap that it has been in since at least 1990.

NOTES

1. The most detailed discussion of precolonial history in central Africa, including Rwanda, is Chrétien (2003).

2. The best discussion of the Arusha process and subsequent peace agreement is Jones (2001).

3. For a good discussion of these clashes, see the International Crisis Group (2001) report "Rwanda/Uganda: A Dangerous War of Nerves."

4. These estimates on military expenditure are from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.

5. On December 7, 2002, Amnesty International described the situation thusly: "There are currently approximately 112,000 Rwandese in the country's overcrowded detention facilities, in conditions that constitute cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment. Most of these detainees have not been tried in a court of law. There has been little or no judicial investigation of the accusations made against many of them. There is little likelihood that most of them will have their cases heard by the country's existing, over-burdened ordinary

jurisdictions, which hear on average 1,500 genocide cases a year, in the foreseeable future.'' Accessed via the World Wide Web at http://web.amnesty.org/library/index/engafr470072002.

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Saudi Arabia

John Wilson

BACKGROUND

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is known as "the land of the two holy mosques" (*al-Mamlakah al-'Arabiyah al-su'udiyah*), referring to the two holiest places in Islam, Mecca, and Medina. It is the largest country on the Arabian Peninsula demarcated by the Red Sea to the west and the Persian Gulf to the northeast. The country's northern borders are with Jordan (northwest) and Iraq (north and northeast), while Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, and the United Arab Emirates are on its eastern borders. Oman lies to the southeast and Yemen to the south. Some borders have only recently been finalized, while others, such as with the United Arab Emirates and Oman, have not.

Although most of the country is desert, or semi-desert, the geography varies from low sandy terrain on the coasts to high mountain ranges and plateaus. In the southwest Asir region are 10,000-foot-high mountains, whose cooler climate attracts many Saudis to the region's resorts in the summer months. To the south, in the so-called "Empty Quarter," is the mostly uninhabited Rub' al-Khali desert. The population, apart from the traditional bedouin population, is concentrated along the eastern and western coasts and in the interior oases such as Hofuf and Buraydah. Less than 2 percent of the kingdom's total area is suitable for cultivation, with much of the semi-desert vegetation comprising weeds, herbs, and shrubs. There are no permanent rivers or lakes, although heavy rainfall can create flash floods in *wadis.*

The climate is dry for most of the year, with little annual precipitation—about four inches (100 millimeters) in most regions—which falls mostly between November and May. Summer temperatures can rise to above 120°F (50°C), but 81° to 109°F (27° to 43°C) in Riyadh and 80° to 100°F (27° to 38°C) in Jeddah are more common. The average winter temperature range is 47° to 68°F (8° to 20°C) in January. Lower temperatures, and even frost or snow, occur in the interior and the higher mountains. Temperatures in the desert at night, even in summer, can be cold.

Saudi Arabia

Formal name of country: Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

Size of country: 829,995 sq mi (2,149,690 sq km)

Natural resources: Hydrocarbons (oil, gas), gold, uranium, bauxite, coal, iron, phosphate, tungsten, zinc, silver, and copper

Population: 25.2 million (2006)

Life expectancy at birth: 74 years (female); 70 years (male)

Key ethnic groups: Arab (90 percent) and Afro-Asian (10 percent)

Key religions: Sunni Muslim

Political system: Absolute monarchy

Key political groups/parties: N/A

Legal system: Basic law of government based on Islamic law

Real GDP growth: 6.2 percent (2005)

Population below poverty line: No data

Size of military: 199,500 (2006)

Relationship with the United States: The relationship between the United States and Saudi Arabia is friendly and strong.

Human security issues: The most important issue affecting human security in Saudi Arabia is the lack of human rights.

Important future security issues: Two important security issues that Saudi Arabia must address in the future are the supply of water and population growth.

Sources: World Bank 2005; IISS 2006; Economist Intelligence Unit 2005; United Nations 2006; UNDP 2005.

Saudi Arabia has a number of native animals such as the ibex, wildcats, baboons, wolves, and hyenas (found in the mountainous highlands). Bird life is limited to the oases, and there is varied marine fauna to be found around the coral reefs of the Red Sea.

Saudi Arabia's natural resources are dominated by hydrocarbons (oil and gas), although there are reserves of gold, uranium, bauxite, coal, iron, phosphate, tungsten, zinc, silver, and copper. With 264.2 billion barrels of oil, Saudi Arabia has 22 percent of the world's total oil reserves (BP 2006, 6). Discovered in 1938, oil was first exported in 1944 and was rapidly developed as a result of very low production costs and joint ventures with American oil companies. Most of the oil fields are found in the East of the country, including the world's largest, Ghawar. This oil field, together with those of Abqaiq, Safanyah, and Berri, represent 90 percent of Saudi production. While some exploration is still occurring, most development centers on improving production from the existing and aging fields and expanding refinery facilities.

Saudi Arabia's proven natural gas reserves of 243.6 trillion cu ft are the fourth largest in the world after Russia, Iran, and Qatar, and represent 3.8 percent of world reserves (BP 2006, 22). Saudi Arabia uses natural gas for a variety of domestic uses including electricity generation, the petrochemicals and oil industries, and desalination. Its mineral production is limited, despite substantial reserves, and may require foreign investment for them to be developed.

Because of limited arable land and water, agriculture contributes less than 5 percent to the Saudi gross domestic product. The main crop grown is wheat while other significant crops include potatoes, tomatoes, sorghum, and dates. The country is mostly self-sufficient in dairy products (United States Library of Congress 2006, 10).

The major environmental issues facing Saudi Arabia are desertification, depletion of underground aquifers, coastal pollution from oil spills, and increasing demand for electricity. Despite extensive seawater desalination facilities, water resources are a concern due to rising demand from agricultural production and population growth. About 90 percent of total water consumption is used by the agriculture sector and cannot be met from desalination plants due to its salt content. At current rates of consumption, the natural water supply can only be sustained for the next 15 to 25 years. Electricity generation is also failing to keep pace with around 4 percent annual growth in demand from consumers and industrial users.

The country is a party to conventions on Climate Change, Desertification, Endangered Species, Hazardous Wastes, Law of the Sea and Ozone Layer Protection. It is a Non-Annex I country under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, but it is not a signatory to the Kyoto Protocol. It generated about 1.6 percent of world carbon dioxide emissions in 2000, but 15.0 metric tons on a per capita basis in 2002, below the 20.1 metric tons per capita for the United States, but one-third higher than the OECD average (UNDP, 2005)

Although the modern history of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia dates to its foundation in 1932, the Arabian Peninsula has been inhabited by people of various cultures for over 5,000 years. The Gulf Coast, for example, was home to the Dilmun culture in the time of Sumerians and ancient Egyptians. Most of the empires of the ancient world traded with the states of the peninsula via the trade routes that spanned the region.

This period before the birth of the Prophet Muhammad in AD 570 in Mecca is now referred to by many Arabs as "the time of ignorance." Muhammad and the subsequent spreading of Islam helped to unify Arabia, as did his successor, Abu Bakr, who used force and demanded the conversion to Islam of all Arab tribes. The Islamic empire expanded for the next 1,000 years, spreading throughout the Middle East and into Spain and Pakistan.

The present-day rulers of the kingdom, the Al Saud family, can be traced to Muhammad ibn Saud, who together with the Muslim scholar, Muhammad ibn Abd al Wahhab (1703–1787), established a state ruled according to Islamic principles in 1744. However, over the next 150 years, Wahhabism and the Al Saud family had to contend with internal factions and external influences for political control over the peninsula. In 1902, King Abdul Aziz Al-Saud recaptured Riyadh, the Al-Saud dynasty's ancestral capital, from the rival Al-Rashid family, and unified the other regions as the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1932.

King Abdul Aziz died in 1953 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Saud, who reigned until 1964, when he abdicated in favor of his half-brother, Faisal. Faisal was proclaimed king in 1964 and also served as prime minister, which has been

the practice followed by subsequent kings. In 1962 Faisal initiated a program of reform and economic development. But it was not until a dramatic increase in the price of oil as a consequence of the formation of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in 1971, and the Arab-Israeli war in 1973, that Saudi Arabia's wealth and political influence gained momentum.

In 1975 Faisal was assassinated and succeeded by his half-brother Khalid as king and prime minister. Following his death in 1982, Khalid's half-brother Prince Fahd became king and Prince Abdullah, commander of the Saudi National Guard, was named crown prince and first deputy prime minister. The 1980s saw sharply lower oil prices, which negatively impacted the Saudi economy. King Fahd was instrumental in achieving the cease-fire that ended the Iraq-Iran war in 1988, and helped ensure that it was a multilateral effort that confronted Iraq following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990. He also helped to strengthen the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC)—a regional grouping of six Gulf states aimed at economic cooperation and peaceful development. After suffering a stroke in 1995, King Fahd died in 2005. He was succeeded on August 1, 2005, as king and prime minister by King Abdullah bin Abd al-Aziz Al Saud. Prince Sultan, minister of defense and aviation, became crown prince and first deputy prime minister.

SOCIETY

Saudi Arabia's estimated 2006 population was 25.2 million, of which several million are resident foreign nationals (United Nations 2006). With about 40 percent of the population under the age of 15 and an annual population growth rate approaching 3 percent, Saudi Arabia's population is expected to reach 31 million by 2015 (World Bank 2005). Although most of the population was nomadic or semi-nomadic until the 1960s, 90 percent are now settled in urban areas due to rapid economic growth. The major cities include the capital, Riyadh (3.7 million), Jeddah (2.7 million), Makkah, (1.6 million), and Dammam/Khobar/Dhahran, (1.6 million). The major ethnic groups are Arab (90 percent) and Afro-Asian (10 percent). The significant numbers of foreign nationals in the country are mostly Asian expatriates from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Indonesia, and the Philippines. Arabic is the official language.

Islam is the official religion of Saudi Arabia, and all citizens must be Muslim. Islam is at the heart of Saudi Arabian society, which is deeply conservative. Islam defines the country's legal and ethical standards. Although there have been calls to limit religious extremism and tolerate other religions, there is no legal protection for religious freedom. Conversion by a Muslim to another religion (apostasy) is a crime under *Shari'a* law, and can be punishable by death. There is a Shia Muslim minority of around 700,000 who live mostly in the Eastern Province, and whose members are subject to officially sanctioned discrimination of various forms.

There is severe discrimination against women both in public and private sectors of society. Women are not permitted to vote or drive, are restricted in their use of public facilities when men are present, and must enter city buses by separate entrances and sit in specially designated sections. They cannot work, study, travel or be admitted to a hospital for medical treatment without the consent of a male relative.

EXPLAINING POPULATION GROWTH IN SAUDI ARABIA

Between 1980 and 2000, Saudi Arabia's population more than doubled, growing from 9.4 million to over 20 million, a population growth rate of 4 percent per year—the second highest in the world over this period (World Bank 2001). Such growth is forecast to continue with the population again expected to double between 1990 and 2020, implying a population of 34 million by 2020. Since there are a number of negative human security implications associated with such a high growth rate, what is causing it?

Among the causes for this tremendous population growth are much higher living standards in Saudi Arabia as a result of rapid urbanization and vast improvements in housing, sanitation, and access to health care. As a consequence, life expectancy has increased while mortality rates have declined rapidly (Raphaeli 2003).

State expenditure in health care, of around $348 per capita, is one of the highest in the Middle East and has helped infant mortality, for example, decline 40 percent in just 15 years—from 35 deaths per 1,000 live births in 1990 to 21 per 1,000 by 2004. At the same time, life expectancy in the kingdom has risen from 61 years in 1980 to 72 in 1999 (World Bank 2006, 2001).

State subsidies in housing and education have also encouraged larger families with fertility rates declining only slowly from very high levels—from 5.9 births per woman in 1990 to 4.0 births per woman in 2004 (World Bank 2006). Other causes contributing to a high fertility rate are state policies that discriminate against family planning and birth control. Polygamy, the banning of contraceptives in 1975, and the legal and societal discrimination against women have served to lower the status of women in Saudi Arabia, reduce their employment opportunities, and encourage them to restrict their role in society to the domestic sphere.

Public dress codes—strictly enforced by the religious police—stipulate that women must cover their head and hair, and wear the *abaya* (a black garment that covers the entire body). In court, a woman's testimony is worth only half that of a man's, and they must demonstrate legally specified grounds for divorce, while men may divorce without giving cause. Once divorced (or widowed), a Muslim woman is only able to keep her children until they are seven (for boys) and nine (for girls), after which custody is given to the divorced husband or the deceased husband's family (United States Department of State 2006).

The main social indicators are generally positive. Youth literacy rates are above 90 percent for both male and female, although adult literacy rates are more unbalanced—84 percent male and 69 percent female (World Bank 2005). Public health expenditure in 2002 was 3.3 percent of GDP, half that of the United States. In 2003, the infant mortality rate was 22 per 1,000 live births, and the under-five mortality rate 26 per 1,000—about one third of the world average. Life expectancy at birth is around 74 years for women and 70 years for men (World Bank 2005).

Primary, secondary, and tertiary education is provided free of charge by the state which accounts for about 25 percent of the total budget or 8.3 percent of the GDP. There are over 4.1 million primary and secondary students attending about 24,000 schools, and over 200,000 students attending the country's 108 tertiary institutions (Maher 2006, 3774). Children begin school at six and are segregated by sex up to and including university level. While women make up about 60 percent of all university students, they are prevented from studying certain subjects such as journalism, architecture, and engineering. The fundamental base of the Saudi educational

system is the study of Islam. The Saudi religious studies curriculum forbids favorable discussion of other religions and is also taught in religious schools in a number of other countries.

Saudi Arabia is not a signatory to the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, but the government, since 1998, allows the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to carry out refugee status determinations for asylum seekers. In 2005 there were an estimated 240,000 refugees in Saudi Arabia (mostly from the Palestinian territories), as well as 212 asylum seekers, and about 70,000 stateless persons (UNHCR 2006, 12)

The economy of Saudi Arabia is primarily based on its oil reserves, the state-owned petroleum sector, and strong government controls over most major aspects of the economy. Industry (production of petroleum, petrochemicals, cement, and fertilizer) accounts for about three-quarters of GDP, services 22 percent, and agriculture 3 percent.

Moderate steps toward economic liberalization, privatization, and reform have been prompted by economic problems including budget and trade deficits, high unemployment, and high population growth. These problems are slowly being addressed as a consequence of recent surges in oil revenues which have had a dramatic impact on the country's main economic indicators. For 2005, real GDP growth was estimated at above 6 percent, GDP at over $300 billion, and inflation at less than 1 percent (Economist Intelligence Unit 2005).

The economy of Saudi Arabia is dominated by its revenues from oil production. Its reserves of oil—264 billion barrels—are the single largest in the world and about one-quarter of the world's total (BP 2006, 6). Not surprisingly, Saudi Arabia is the world's top oil producer and 90 percent of the country's exports are oil products. Oil accounts for about three-quarters of government revenues and about 45 percent of the country's GDP. Despite attempts at diversification, Saudi Arabia's economy is still heavily dependent on its revenues from oil and hence the international oil price.

Although oil was discovered in Saudi Arabia in the 1930s, it was only after World War II that large-scale production began. Oil revenues rose sharply in the wake of the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, creating substantial trade surpluses, and providing the funds for economic development, infrastructure projects, defense spending, and aid to other Arab and Islamic countries. Over the 1980s and 1990s, however, a number of factors saw Saudi oil production and oil revenues drop dramatically. Increased oil production in non-OPEC countries, the 1997 East Asian economic crisis, and improved energy efficiency in industrialized nations resulted in much reduced global consumption and saw prices retreat to around $10 a barrel by 1998.

Consequently, Saudi Arabia's five-year development plan for the period 1996–2000 focused on responding to its budgetary deficits by cutting the cost of government services, expanding educational programs, and diversifying its economy through an emphasis on industry and agriculture. At the same time, the country remained intent on preserving its oil revenues by maintaining its market share and by coordinating OPEC action to support oil prices. In 2005, Saudi Arabia gained admission to the World Trade Organization after years of negotiations—principally over the extent to which Saudi Arabia was willing to increase market access to foreign goods and services.

Recent attempts have been made to provide a larger role for the private sector in the Saudi economy by encouraging foreign direct investment in the power generation and telecom sectors. Nevertheless, oil production in Saudi Arabia remains largely state-owned through Saudi Aramco, the national oil company that dominates oil exploration, oil production, oil refining, and oil distribution. Indeed, Saudi Aramco is the world's largest fully integrated oil company, employs over 50,000 people, and controls 98 percent of Saudi Arabia's oil reserves.

To an extent, the need for faster economic liberalization and reform has been lessened by recent high oil prices, which have vastly improved the country's economic situation. Net oil export revenues are forecast to be over $150 billion for 2005, contributing to a current account balance of $83 billion and enabling real GDP growth of around 5-6 percent (Economist Intelligence Unit 2005).

This strong economic position enables Saudi Arabia to begin to address the challenge of economic security for its citizens. Saudi Arabia is recovering from years of high budget and trade deficits that resulted in total public debt of around $175 billion. With high unemployment, high population growth, and 40 percent of its population under the age of 15, there will be a need for continued state subsidies for housing, education, and health care, and increased expenditure for job training.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

Saudi Arabia is an absolute monarchy whose king acts as chief of state and head of government. The royal family controls most aspects and levels of government and politics in Saudi Arabia, although recent years have seen some reforms providing for limited popular participation in response to public discontent.

The country became unified on September 23, 1932, although it was not until the adoption of the Basic Law in 1992 that Saudi Arabia was formally declared a monarchy ruled by the male descendants of King Abdul Aziz Al-Saud. The Basic Law defines the system of government, the rights of Saudi citizens, and the powers and the responsibilities of the state. Although there is no formal written constitution, the Qur'an (Koran), Islamic (*Shari'a*) law, and the Traditions (Sunna) of the Prophet Muhammad form the effective constitutional basis of the country.

The king is both chief of state and prime minister, although his executive powers are constrained by the constitution, religious leaders, Saudi traditions, and by the need to retain the consensus of the Saudi royal family. The procedures for succession were codified in 1992, with the king chosen by and from the leading members of the royal family.

Legislative power is exercised by the Council of Ministers. The Council of Ministers was established in 1953 and comprises the prime minister (the king), the first and second deputy prime ministers, 23 ministers, and five ministers of state. The Council of Ministers votes by majority rule—nevertheless, legislation must be in accordance with Islamic law and be officially decreed by the king.

Although Saudi Arabia has no parliament, a Consultative Council, or Shura Council (*Majlis as-Shura*), was created in 1993. Its 150 male members and a chairman are appointed by the monarch for a four-year term and they are able to hold debates and investigative hearings, advise on policy and public interest issues, as well as supervise the activities of the bureaucracy. Administratively, there are 13

provincial councils, which are governed by princes of the royal family, and who are appointed by the king.

Because Saudi Arabia is an absolute monarchy, there are no democratic elections at the national level. However, elections were held at the municipal level in 2005, with voters able to elect half of the members of municipal councils by popular vote. Women, and male members of the military, were not allowed to vote. While voter turnout was low in the provincial elections, nearly 1,800 candidates competed for the 592 seats on the 178 municipal councils (United States Library of Congress 2006, 20.)

Political assembly, unions, and parties are illegal, although the Green Party of Saudi Arabia exists as an underground organization and is aimed at promoting environmental values. In recent years there has been some attempt at pluralizing society by allowing the registration of formal interest groups and associations. For example, the Saudi Journalists' Association was allowed to form in 2004, and teachers, doctors, and publishers have, or are about to be, formally recognized as professional groups. Saudi professionals and technocrats are also having some limited informal influence on the government as aspects of the economy are privatized. Nevertheless, the most powerful interest group remains the *Ulema*—the 10,000 or so religious leaders whose opinions the king must respect and who ensure that all aspects of politics and society conform to Islamic law.

There is no free press since Saudi newspapers are largely owned by members of the royal family. The Ministry of Information has full power of censorship and controls the appointment and dismissal of newspaper editors. The government also monitors Internet sites for material deemed pornographic, politically offensive, or anti-Islamic, but this is more difficult to censor than are the newspapers. Satellite television has also allowed Saudis to receive foreign television broadcasts. This has helped a limited public debate to emerge on a number of national political issues including the religious foundations of society, censorship, corruption, and the desirability and form of elections. Public criticism of the royal family is still illegal.

LAW AND ORDER

The Saudi Arabian justice system, based on Islamic, or *Shari'a* law, is composed of the Supreme Judicial Council, the Ministry of Justice, about 300 *Shari'a* or religious courts, and several law and order bodies. While the independence of the judiciary is stipulated in the Basic Law, royal family members do not have to appear before the courts.

The Supreme Judicial Council, formed in 1970, is a body of 12 members—11 are appointed from the leading members of the *Ulema* (Council of Senior Religious Scholars), while the Minister of Justice is appointed as its chief justice. The Council oversees the work of the courts, reviews legal decisions, provides legal opinions on judicial questions, and approves all sentences involving death, amputation, or stoning.

Established in 1970, the Ministry of Justice is responsible for administering Saudi Arabia's system of courts. There are about 700 judges who are appointed by the king on the recommendation of the Supreme Judicial Council.

The General Courts hear cases first and are also referred to as the Courts of First Instance. While the Basic Law allows for a public trial, most trials are closed to the public. Appeals may be made to the Supreme Judicial Council, then to the Council of Ministers, with the king as the final court of appeal.

Despite provision in the basic law that all should be treated equally under the law, discriminatory practices occur against women, noncitizens, and non-Sunnis. For example, *Shari'a* courts give the testimony of a woman half the weight of a man, women have to deputize male relatives to speak on their behalf in divorce and family law cases, and in cases involving compensation for accidental death or injury, women receive 50 percent of the compensation that male Muslims would receive. Judges may discount or reject the testimony of non-Muslims, and testimony from Shia Muslims may have less weight than that given by Sunni Muslims.

Saudi courts impose capital punishment and corporal punishment, as well as terms of imprisonment and fines. The death penalty is imposed for murder, apostasy from Islam, adultery, drug smuggling, sabotage, and under certain conditions, rape and armed robbery. Most executions are carried out by beheading, although firing squad and the stoning of the convicted person in a drugged state are other methods. In 2005, there were a reported 86 executions for murder, narcotics-related offenses, rape, and armed robbery (United States Department of State 2006).

Amputations of hands and feet are imposed for crimes of serious robbery, while less serious crimes such as homosexuality and drunkenness are punished by floggings. For example, United States citizens who have been found guilty of alcohol-related offenses have been known to receive from 30 to 120 strokes.

The Ministry of Interior is responsible for all law and order and internal security functions. The police security forces comprise day-to-day police forces and special investigative forces of the General Directorate of Investigation (GDI), also known as the *mubahith* or secret police. The GDI conducts criminal investigations as well as domestic security and counterintelligence services.

Border and customs policing functions are carried out by the 10,500 strong Frontier Force and the 4,500 members of the Coast Guard, the latter equipped with a variety of onshore and offshore patrol craft (IISS 2006).

A further internal security force is the 20,000 religious police, or *mutawwiin*, an ultraconservative force employed by the Committee for the Propagation of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice. The religious police are primarily responsible for enforcing the public observance of *Shari'a* law such as praying five times daily, fasting during Ramadan, the modesty of women's dress, and the prohibition of the use of alcohol.

Crime in Saudi Arabia is relatively low when compared to some developed nations, but may be increasing due to higher levels of foreign workers and higher levels of unemployment among Saudi residents.

In 2002 there were a total of 84,599 crimes or 387 crimes for every 100,000 people. There were 202 recorded homicides, a rate of 0.92 homicides per 100,000 people. This compares with the rates in the United States of 4,119 total crimes per 100,000 people and 5.62 homicides per 100,000 in 2002. The most common crime in 2002 was theft, representing 47 percent of total crime in Saudi Arabia, followed

by automobile theft (22 percent) and assault (16 percent). A total of 1,256 people were prosecuted for drug offenses in 2002. In 2002, the country's prison population totaled 28,612. Of these, 6 percent were female and 47 percent were citizens of other countries (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2005).

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Saudi Arabia gained full membership into the World Trade Organization in December 2005. Saudi Arabia also maintains membership in the United Nations, most UN specialized agencies, and numerous other international organizations (see Table 4). Regionally, Saudi Arabia has fostered close ties to other Arab and Islamic states through memberships in the Arab Bureau of Education for the Gulf States, Arab Monetary Fund, Arab Sports Federation, Gulf Cooperation Council, Islamic Corporation for the Development of the Private Sector, League of Arab States, Muslim World League, Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries, Organization of the Islamic Conference, and Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries.

Saudi Arabia is also a signatory to many of the most significant international treaties, including agreements on Biodiversity, Biological Weapons, Chemical Weapons, Climate Change, Conservation, Desertification, Endangered Species, Gas Warfare, Genocide, Hazardous Wastes, Law of the Sea, Nuclear Non-Proliferation, Ozone Layer Protection, and Torture. However, Saudi Arabia has

Table 4   Saudi Arabian Membership of International Organizations

Food and Agriculture Organization	International Telecommunication Union
Group of 19	Islamic Development Bank
Group of 77	Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons
Gulf Cooperation Council	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
International Atomic Energy Agency	United Nations
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development	United Nations Committee on Trade and Development
International Civil Aviation Organization	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
International Criminal Police Organization (Interpol)	Universal Postal Union
International Development Association	World Federation of Trade Unions
International Development Bank	World Health Organization
International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies	World Meteorological Organization
International Labor Organization	World Trade Organization
International Monetary Fund	

not ratified the Kyoto Protocol or the conventions on Traffic in Women and Children or Terrorism. Treaties in Saudi Arabia are confirmed by a royal decree.

Because it is an absolute monarchy, the primary foreign policy-making body in Saudi Arabia is concentrated on the king himself, the foreign minister, and those senior members of the Al Saud royal family. To a large extent, therefore, relations with specific countries depends more on the personalities, personal relationships, and intrafamily politics of Al Saud family members than on the lines of responsibility found in most other foreign policy bureaucracies (Gause 2002, 204).

Nevertheless, the religious establishment and the Consultative Council have important advisory roles in foreign policy making. Religious leaders, as in other state matters, are consulted on legitimate foreign policy decisions but are unlikely to exercise any form of veto. The same could perhaps be said of the Consultative Council which has a foreign affairs committee. The latter is consulted on the general direction of Saudi Arabian foreign policy, rather than acting as a formal source of influence.

Saudi Arabian foreign policy is directed at a number of goals. First, and perhaps foremost, it is aimed at defending both the country's national security from external threats to its sovereignty as well as the regime of the Al Saud family itself from internal threats (see section below). Second, it aims to play a balancing role at the regional level, where it must contend with other countries with larger populations and larger military forces. Third, Saudi Arabia aims to play a mediating role at the international level between the oil consuming nations in the West and the oil producing nations in the Middle East, seeking to take a cooperative approach to oil-production with the latter. Finally, as the guardian of Islam's holy places, and as host to the annual Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca, Saudi Arabia aims to take a leadership role among other Islamic nations.

Saudi Arabia's balancing role in the region relies on its position as a dominant economic power, rather than on its military strength. It perceives that its own autonomy is best preserved by preventing the emergence of regional hegemons, such as Egypt and Iran. To this end it has sought to engage with the Sunni Muslim-led monarchies of the Gulf Cooperation Council (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and United Arab Emirates).

At the international level, Saudi Arabia has been able to play a mediating role between Middle Eastern oil producers and Western oil consuming nations because of its status as the world's leading exporter of petroleum. It is a member of both the Organization for Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC). OPEC attempts to provide a degree of consensus on the desirable level of oil production among a number of oil-exporting nations, while OAPEC is concerned with the effective use of oil production infrastructure in the development of the petroleum industry among its members.

Given the importance of oil to the international economy, as well as the significant value of Saudi financial assets invested in Western nations, Saudi Arabia has a vested interest in ensuring the stability and sustainability of a market for its vast oil resources. Until recently it has been able to moderate the volatility in world oil prices by acting as a ''swing producer'' because of its massive surplus production

capacity—unilaterally increasing or decreasing its own oil production regardless of official OPEC production quotas. However, as world demand for oil has begun to reach the total available oil production capacity from all sources, Saudi Arabia's role as a swing producer appears to be over. This has serious implications—for the future volatility of world oil prices, for the status of Saudi Arabia as the pre-eminent oil power, and for its ability to achieve its foreign policy objectives.

Saudi Arabia has also tried to take a lead in promoting the interests of the Arab and Islamic worlds, although its economic and military alliances with the west have sometimes worked against this foreign policy objective. For example, when Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990, Saudi Arabia called for military assistance to support the coalition forces. This request was not only refused by Jordan and the Palestine Liberation Organization, but they also broke off diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia for five years in protest at Saudi Arabian involvement in the conflict.

Nevertheless, the country was instrumental in the formation of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the international organization of Islamic countries worldwide. The headquarters of the Muslim World League and the World League of Muslim Youth—Islamic nongovernmental organizations—are also located in, and largely financed by, Saudi Arabia.

Saudi Arabia also takes a lead in providing foreign aid to less developed Arab and Muslim states and provides grants and loans through the Saudi Fund for Development. Aid packages have included: $100 million pledged to Lebanon in 1993; $307 million in assisting the Palestinians since 2000; $230 million pledged for development in Afghanistan; $1 billion in loans and export guarantees to Iraq; and $153 million in export credits for earthquake relief to Pakistan (CIA 2006).

Other issues on which Saudi Arabia has tried to take a lead include seeking a peaceful resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. As a charter member of the Arab League, it supports United Nations Resolution 242 that Israel must withdraw from the territories which it occupied in June 1967. In 2002 Saudi Arabia proposed an ''Arab Peace Plan,'' although this was sidelined by the 2003 ''roadmap'' for peace initiative of the United States. Nevertheless, Saudi Arabia did influence the withdrawal of Syrian forces from Lebanon and has urged the Hamas government to honor previous Palestinian agreements on Israel.

SECURITY

The size of Saudi Arabia's armed forces is modest compared to other regional powers, but its defense spending is large and increasing, ensuring its arsenal is modern and technologically advanced.

Saudi Arabia's active military forces total 199,500 personnel comprised of the army (75,000), navy (15,500), air force (18,000), air defense (16,000), and National Guard (75,000). There is also a paramilitary force of 15,500 (divided into a Frontier Force of 10,500, and a Coast Guard of 4,500), as well as a Special Security Force of 500 personnel and a general civil defense administration unit (IISS 2006).

The army has three armored and five mechanized brigades, an airborne brigade, a Royal guard brigade, and eight artillery battalions. The army's arsenal includes about 900 main battle tanks (including 300 M-1A2 Abrams); almost 1,000 armored infantry fighting vehicles (including 400 M-2 Bradleys); 300 reconnaissance

vehicles; about 3,000 armored personnel carriers; about 900 artillery pieces (including 60 multiple rocket launchers); 1,950 antitank guided weapons; about 200 rocket launchers; 12 attack helicopters; and over 1,000 surface-to-air missiles (IISS 2006).

Naval forces comprise an Eastern Fleet and a Western Fleet whose main surface ships include seven frigates and four corvettes as well as 65 patrol vessels. There are several mine warfare vessels, amphibious craft, and support craft. The navy also has 19 assault and 25 support helicopters. The 3,000 Saudi marine forces serve as part of the navy and comprise one infantry regiment with two battalions.

The Saudi Arabian air force, based at 15 military airfields, comprises six fighter squadrons and seven fighter/ground-attack squadrons. There is also one early airborne warning squadron, three transport squadrons, three training squadrons, and two helicopter squadrons. There are almost 300 combat aircraft, about half of which are F15s. The remaining aircraft are outdated models such as the F-5 freedom fighter and the 100 or so Tornados. Saudi Arabia plans, however, to purchase 72 Eurofighter Typhoon fighter planes from Britain.

Saudi Arabia's defense budget averaged close to $20 billion between 2002 and 2004, the highest in the Middle East region and among the top 10 in the world. The kingdom's defense expenditure is double that of Israel, the nation with the second highest defense expenditure in the region (IISS 2006). In 2005, Saudi defense spending jumped a further 21 percent to $25.4 billion, although as a share of the GDP this remained close to the 2002–2004 average of 9.1 percent due to significant increases in oil revenue.

Military service in the kingdom is not compulsory, and females do not serve. It has been suggested that the low numbers in the armed forces is a deliberate strategy to ensure regime survival by limiting the potential for armed coups (Gause 2002, 202).

Other internal security threats arise from the Islamic and terrorist groups operating within Saudi Arabia, as well as a more general potential for conflict arising from a rapidly growing population of unemployed or disaffected youth. While terrorist attacks have been directed primarily at foreign workers in the past, oil installations are increasingly being targeted because they are identified as the visible, vital, and vulnerable expressions of the Saudi ruling regime which is seen as corrupt by terrorist organizations. Not surprisingly, the security of the oil industry is of paramount importance to the regime. Elements of the National Guard and other Saudi military forces are deployed to protect oil-producing facilities and pipelines, while the state oil company, Aramco, employs nearly 5,000 security personnel to guard its oil facilities. Overall, internal security spending is over $5 billion per year.

External security threats arise from Saudi Arabia's position as the country with the world's largest reserves of oil defended by a numerically weak military in a highly volatile region of the world. The country's geographic expanse, lengthy coastlines, and dispersed population are in stark contrast to its regional neighbors, who are more heavily populated and armed.

Actual incursions or attacks on Saudi Arabia have been rare, however. Egyptian air and naval units clashed with Saudi forces in 1963, Yemeni forces attacked Saudi

border posts in 1969 and 1973, and Iran attacked shipping in the Persian Gulf in the 1980s. Iraq emerged as the greatest military threat to Saudi Arabia in the 1990s, with the kingdom calling for Iraqis to topple Saddam Hussein following the 1991 Gulf War in which Iraq deployed its forces on Saudi Arabia's northeastern border. Border disputes with Yemen have also occurred with uncontrolled border crossings by tribesmen posing a security threat, especially in terms of terrorist activities. The border agreement that was reached with Yemen in 2000 has decreased security tensions somewhat.

Saudi Arabia, along with other Arab countries in the Middle East, regards Israel as an ever present external security threat, although the threat may be somewhat less for Saudi Arabia due to its ties to the United States.

Perhaps the biggest current external security threat is Iran. Iran is far superior to Saudi Arabia in military strength, is ambiguous about its nuclear weapons ambitions, supports terrorist organizations such as Hezbollah and other radical Shia Islamists (and who appear to be active in fomenting armed civil conflict in Iraq), and has ambitions to be the preeminent power in the region. More worrisome, Saudi Arabia's inability to continue to act as a swing producer in oil production will see Iran's oil wealth becoming once again a source of potential influence in the world economy. Indeed, this is what happened in 1979 following the Iranian revolution that produced a radical Shia-dominated regime which had no qualms about taking oil off the international market. Any repeat of the 1970s double digit inflation, high interest rates, and worldwide economic recession would seriously affect both demand for Saudi oil production and the value of Saudi Arabia's huge investments in Western assets. By implication, such a scenario would threaten the sustainability of the current system of free public social services and government employment that currently ensures the survival of the Saudi regime.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Saudi Arabia's human rights record is generally poor and of concern despite some indications of progress. The government regards Islamic law as the only guide necessary to protect human rights. The main human rights problems include no political freedom or right to change the government; the rule of law is not universally applied; the lack of civil rights (privacy, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly; and freedom of religion); legal and societal discrimination against women, religious and other minorities; limited workers rights; and abuse of prisoners.

Perhaps as a result of a more apparent willingness to discuss human rights issues in the media, a National Society for Human Rights (NSHR) and a Human Rights Commission (HRC) have been established. The NSHR was created in 2004, ostensibly as a nongovernmental organization although it is funded by government and chaired by a government-appointed member of the Consultative Council. Since its inception, it has handled several thousand complaints regarding political injustices, corruption, and worker abuse. The HRC was established in September 2005. This governmental agency is charged with protecting and implementing human rights and achieving greater public awareness about human rights issues.

Saudi Arabia does not have a specific law against trafficking in persons, but it is a criminal offense to engage in most trafficking activities and slavery was made illegal in 1962. Nevertheless, Saudi Arabia is a destination country for trafficked persons. People are trafficked primarily from the Philippines, Bangladesh, the Sudan, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, and Sri Lanka and coerced to work as domestic servants and laborers—usually by withholding their passports and salaries. While prostitution is illegal, there are reports of foreign women being trafficked into Saudi Arabia for commercial sexual exploitation. The annual report on human trafficking by the United States Department of State lists Saudi Arabia among those countries that do not comply with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking and are not making significant efforts to do so (United States Department of State 2006a).

CONCLUSION

The relationship between the United States and Saudi Arabia is long-standing, friendly, and strategic. Because of Saudi Arabia's possession of the world's largest oil reserves, common concerns about regional security, and its role in Arab and Islamic issues, the country is seen as an important strategic partner for the United States (Gause 2002). Diplomatic relations were first established in 1933 and were followed by the opening of the U.S. embassy in Jeddah in 1944, which was subsequently relocated to Riyadh in 1984.

The economic relationship between Saudi Arabia and the United States also dates to 1933 when the California Standard Oil Company (Chevron) was granted a concession to explore for and produce oil. Other U.S oil companies to follow were the Texas oil Company (Texaco), Standard Oil of New Jersey (Exxon), and Socony-Vacuum (Mobil). Through the revenues provided by their joint venture, the Arabian American Oil Company (ARAMCO), Saudi Arabia was able to develop its transport infrastructure and establish its armed forces.

Although ARAMCO is now state-owned, Saudi Arabia continues to be an important source of reliable and relatively cheap-to-produce oil for the United States. In 2005, Saudi Arabia provided 11.2 percent of total U.S crude imports, the third highest single source after Canada and Mexico (EIA 2006). Saudi Arabia is also the largest U.S. export market in the Middle East, while the United States is the single largest market both for Saudi exports (16.4 percent) and imports (13 percent) (CIA 2006).

This economic relationship has paved the way for the long-standing security relationship that remains an important element in U.S.-Saudi relations. Vast oil revenues enabled Saudi Arabia to pay for the high-technology weaponry supplied by the United States. This includes military aircraft (F-15s, AWACS, and UH-60 Blackhawks), air defense weaponry (Patriot and Hawk missiles), and armored vehicles (M1A2 Abrams tanks and M-2 Bradley infantry fighting vehicles). While there is no formal defense treaty between the two countries, the United States is an unofficial guarantor of Saudi Arabia's security.

In return, Saudi Arabia has usually aligned itself with the United States in military matters since the end of the Cold War. Along with the United States, it

supported Iraq in the Iran-Iraq war, asked the United States to take military action when Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1991, and provided logistical support for U.S.-led coalition forces in the ensuing 1991 Gulf War. Until 2003, U.S. forces were stationed in the kingdom.

However, while the U.S.-Saudi Arabia relationship remains strong, tensions have emerged in recent years. Saudi Arabia had recognized the Taliban administration in Afghanistan before it was toppled by U.S.-led coalition forces, had seen 15 of its citizens involved in the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on New York, and condemned the 2003 U.S. war with Iraq, refusing to send Saudi troops.

As the War on Terror has proceeded, further tensions have arisen. There have been reports of Saudi financial links to terrorist organizations; Saudi militants engaged in the Iraq conflict; Saudi-based mosques and radical Saudi clerics inciting violence against U.S. citizens and Western targets in Saudi Arabia; and evidence of Al Qaeda elements operating in the country. Terrorist attacks that killed U.S. citizens on Saudi Arabian soil occurred in 1996 (19 dead and 372 wounded), 2003, (nine dead), and 2004 (six dead).

Strains in the U.S.-Saudi Arabia security relationship have been eased somewhat by improved counterterrorism cooperation between Saudi Arabia and the United States. In 2005, a Counter-Terrorism International Conference sponsored by the Saudi government was held in Riyadh. The government has also begun a domestic campaign to discourage religious extremism and combat terrorism. The economic relationship has improved as Saudi Arabia has attempted to take mea-

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BORN IN THE KSA—OSAMA BIN LADEN

Osama bin Muhammad bin Awad bin Laden (also known as Osama bin Laden or Usama bin Laden) is one of the most infamous people to be born in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA). A Saudi Arabian militant Islamist, he is one of the founders of the Al Qaeda terrorist organization and has been indicted in the United States federal court for his alleged involvement in the 1998 U.S. embassy bombings in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and Nairobi, Kenya. In addition, his involvement is suspected in other terrorist attacks throughout the world, including the October 2000 attack on the USS *Cole* in Yemen, and the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the Pentagon and World Trade Center which killed over 3,000 people. He is on the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation's Ten Most Wanted Fugitives list and a reward of up to $50 million for information leading directly to his apprehension or conviction is being offered by the U.S. Department of State.

Bin Laden was born in Riyadh in March 1957, the 17th of 52 children of Muhammad bin Laden—a Saudi Arabian construction magnate with close ties to the Saudi royal family. Following the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, bin Laden joined the resistance (*mujahedeen*) fighters in Afghanistan. In 1988 he established Al Qaeda—initially an organization to help Afghanistan *mujahedeen*, but one which by 1996 had declared its aims to be to drive U.S. forces from the Arabian Peninsula; overthrow the government of Saudi Arabia; liberate Muslim holy sites; and support Islamic revolutionary groups around the world.

In 1994 the Saudi government revoked bin Laden's citizenship and moved to freeze his assets in Saudi Arabia because of his support for Muslim fundamentalist movements. His current whereabouts are unknown.

sures to reduce crude oil prices, liberalize its markets, and allow increased foreign investment.

The most important issue affecting human security in Saudi Arabia is the lack of human rights. These include the absence of democratic control over the government; a lack of political freedom where political parties, political expression, and trade unions are illegal; the lack of civil rights such as privacy, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, and freedom of religion; the lack of the universal application of the rule of law; and legal and societal discrimination against women and religious and other minorities.

Two important security issues that Saudi Arabia must address in the future are the supply of water and population growth. Water security will become a problem due to ongoing depletion of the country's underground aquifers. At current rates of consumption, the natural water supply can only be sustained for the next 15 to 25 years.

With 40 percent of the population aged under 15 years and a population growth rate around 3 percent, Saudi Arabia's expected population of 31 million in 2015 may also create a number of problems. Most at risk is whether the current system of economic security (state subsidies for housing, education, and health care) can be sustained. Substantial disaffection with the political system, increased religious extremism, and terrorism could eventuate if oil production and oil revenues—the economic basis of the current societal order—cannot be maintained.

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Somalia

Judith Fretter

BACKGROUND

Somalia is located on the eastern coast of Africa, bordered on its coastline by the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean and sharing its western territorial border with Kenya, Ethiopia, and Djibouti. Comprising 18 administrative regions, Somalia is internationally recognized as one territory but has been effectively "stateless" since 1991. After incessant factional and clan-based fighting, the country has become "divided" into various secession regions and has no effective national government. This state of internal political chaos led the United Nations to declare that Somalia was a country "without a government" over the period from July 1992 to August 2000 (Worldstatesmen 2006). First, Northern clans declared a secession in May 1991 creating the independent region, the *Republic of Somaliland*. It comprises five administrative regions (Awdal, Woqooyi Galbeed, Togdheer, Sanaag, and Sool) and is relatively stable, primarily because of its political foundations in a dominant ruling clan and the remnants of an economic infrastructure, a legacy of British, Russian, and American military aid programs. Somaliland is not officially recognized by any government.

A second secessionist territory, under the control of the Daro clans, was declared an autonomous state in 1998. Puntland, comprising the northeastern regions of Bari and Nugaal and northern Mudug, has been self-governing since 1998, but has a more complicated political landscape due to competing rival factions and civil strife. It has made some progress towards establishing a legitimate, representative government, but it does not yet appear willing to secure its own independence and form a new central Somali government. A recurring source of tension, Puntland contests border territory with Somaliland, also laying claim to parts of eastern Sool and Sanaag.

A third state was declared in September 1998: Jubaland (Oltro Giuba or Trans-Juba). This territory was initially ruled by Zanzibar and came under British rule as part of its Kenya colony. It was then ceded to Italy in 1924, became a separate administration, and was later annexed to Italian Somalia in 1926. It remained with

Somalia

Formal name of country: Somalia (former: Somali Republic, Somali Democratic Republic)

Size of country/territory: Total 637,657 sq km (land 627,337 sq km, water: 10,320 sq km)

Natural resources: Agriculture accounts for about 40% of gross domestic product and about 65% of export earnings. Livestock, hides, fish, charcoal, and bananas are Somalia's principal exports, while sugar, sorghum, corn, qat, and machined goods are the principal imports. Somalia's small industrial sector, based on the processing of agricultural products, has largely been looted and sold as scrap metal.

Population: 8,863,338 (2006 estimate derived from official 1975 census) (Worldstatesmen 2006)

Life expectancy at birth: Total population 48.09 years; male 46.36 years, female 49.87 years (2005 est.)

Key ethnic groups: Somali 85%, Bantu and other non-Somali 15% (including Arabs 30,000)

Key religions: Sunni Muslim 99.9%, and other 0.1% (1995) (Worldstatesmen 2006)

Political system: Unicameral National Assembly though no permanent national government; transitional, parliamentary federal government, Somalia has a fledgling parliament; a 275-member Transitional Federal Assembly; the new parliament consists of 61 seats assigned to each of the four large clan groups (Darod, Digil-Mirifle, Dir, and Hawiye) with the remaining 31 seats divided between minority clans.

Key political groups/parties: No identifiable political parties and leaders: there are numerous clan and subclan factions currently vying for power.

Legal system: No national system; *Shari'a* and secular courts are in some localities.

Real GDP growth: 2.4% (2005 est.)

Population below poverty line: NA; accurate population counts are complicated by the large number of nomads and by refugee movements in response to famine and clan warfare.

Size of military: Total Transitional National Government (TNG) Armed Forces: 5,000 (2002) factions and clans maintain independent militias; Merchant marine: None (2005); A Somali National Army was attempted under the interim government; numerous factions and clans maintain independent militias, and the Somaliland and Puntland regional governments maintain their own security and police forces. In 2003, Somalia was ranked 149th in the world in military expenditure with an estimated military budget of $18,900,000 (CIA 2006). Current expenditures as percentage of GDP: 0.9% (2003) with the most recent total expenditure at approximately $22.3 million (2005).

Relationship with the United States: The United States does not have an embassy in Somalia; U.S. interests are represented by the U.S. Embassy in Nairobi, Kenya, at the United Nations outpost.

Important human security issues: Refugees and internally displaced persons continue to exacerbate problems in Somalia with 375,000 displaced persons since the civil war in 1988 and ongoing clan-based competition for resources displacing still more Somalis (2004).

Future important security issues:

1. Somalia, with its Sunni Muslim population, could potentially become an international "breeding ground" for Islamic terrorists. However, at present the threat from Islamic militants is restricted to the immediate regional area and is limited by the technological capability of the Islamists' weaponry and their ability to be internationally mobile.

2. "Somaliland" secessionists provide port facilities to landlocked Ethiopia and establish commercial ties with regional states; "Puntland" and Somaliland "governments" seek support from neighboring states in their secessionist aspirations and in conflicts with each other; Ethiopia has only an administrative line with the Oromo region of southern Somalia and maintains alliances with local Somali clans opposed to the unrecognized Somali Interim Government, which plans eventual relocation from Kenya to Mogadishu; rival militia and clan fighting in southern Somalia periodically spills over into Kenya; most of the remaining 23,000 Somali refuges in Ethiopia are expected to be repatriated in 2005.

3. Ongoing issues around managing a very large refugee/displaced person population, both in terms of relocating them and the ability to provide resources to ensure their survival, present a continual challenge.

4. Principally a desert land, with only 1.67% arable, Somalia has increasing problems in meeting the population's demand for food and water. It has been plagued by drought and famine.

5. Sharing contiguous borders with Ethiopia, Kenya, and Djibouti, Somalia has been affected by its neighbors' conflicts, namely those in Ethiopia and Djibouti.

this status until the Somali Patriotic Movement and the elders of the Digil and Rahanwein clans set up the State of Jubaland in 1998. In June 1999 Allied Somali Forces (later called Juba Valley Alliance) ousted Muhammed Said Hersi "Morgan," from the regional capital Kismayo, and Ahmed Warsame became the new Jubaland leader. Later, the Juba Valley Alliance installed a new administration that began supporting the central Mogadishu government in June 2001. It appears that the territory of Jubaland has been subsumed into the fourth secession region, the *State of Southwestern Somalia*, established in 2002 by the Rahanwein Resistance Army. The current status of Jubaland is unclear.

For Somalia, the initial transition to independence in 1960 opened the lid on long-standing clan-based divisions—divisions that had been suppressed by decades of colonization. Somalia began as a region within the Ottoman Empire (1548), and then came under Egyptian rule (1875–1884) followed by several interchanges of British and Italian rule over the period from 1884–1960. In June 1960 British Somaliland was declared the independent State of Somaliland. A month later brought the unification of Somaliland with Italian Somalia, creating one Somali Republic. It was recognized as the Somali Democratic Republic in October 1969 and lasted until the central government eventually collapsed in 1991. So, to clarify, in the pre-independence era, Somalia as we know it today was divided into three colonial domains on the map: French Somaliland in the far North; British Somaliland on the "horn" of Africa; and Italian Somaliland in the mid-to-south portion of the country.

Parts of Somalia are of great geostrategic importance to neighboring states. The northern region, known as Somaliland, provides the only port facilities available to landlocked Ethiopia. Somalia's main problems stem from within its borders and spill over its borders to affect its neighbors. Puntland and Somaliland secessionists clash as they seek "to establish territorial limits and clan loyalties, each seeking support from neighboring states; Ethiopia maintains only an administrative line with the Oromo region of southern Somalia and maintains alliances with local Somali clans opposed to the unrecognized Transitional National Government in Mogadishu; rival militia and clan fighting in southern Somalia periodically spills over into Kenya" (Worldstatesmen 2006). Somalia's position is also important as it lies on the Horn of Africa and has access to international trading routes, via the southern approach to Bab el Mandeb and, more strategically, the route through the Red Sea and Suez Canal.

Somalia is largely a flat, desert land with very little in the way of exploited natural resources. It has untapped mineral deposits of uranium, gypsum, iron ore, tin, bauxite, copper, and salt. It also possesses known caches of natural gas and potential oil reserves. However, in this underdeveloped nation, the environment and climate can dictate the terms of development. Monsoons hit the country during the monsoon season (December to February in the Northeast and May to October for the Southwest). This type of rain is no relief to an agriculture-reliant population and economy. Only 1.67 percent of Somalia's 627,337 square kilometers of territory is arable and problems with drought, flooding, deforestation, erosion, desertification, and poor water all contribute to recurring states of severe famine. The harshness of this environment coupled with Somalia's ongoing instability and political turmoil combine to complicate any international efforts to relieve Somalia from famine. In 1993 a large-scale UN humanitarian mission focused on alleviating famine conditions in the southern region. Two years later, after suffering many casualties, the UN mission withdrew. "The mandate of the Transitional National Government (TNG), created in August 2000 in Arta, Djibouti, expired in August 2003. New Somali President Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed has formed a new Transitional Federal Government (TFG) consisting of a 275-member parliament. Discussions regarding moving the new government from Jowhar to Mogadishu are ongoing" (CIA 2006). What remains is a situation in which clan-based violence, regional warlords, and political factions fight for control of the capital, Mogadishu, dividing Somalia into a country without order.

SOCIETY

Somalia is home to approximately 8.6 million people, though this estimate is probably unreliable as it is based on the 1975 census results, the last official census to be taken (CIA 2006). It does not take into account the nomadic nature of a portion of the population, the large number of people affected by the severe famines that have hit the region since 1975, or the ongoing ebb and flow of refugees that result from clan-based conflict and famine-based resource scarcity. Life expectancy for Somalis, compounded by war and famine, is short—at best only about 48–50 years of age. Though in comparison to other African nations, very few Somalis are infected with HIV/AIDS—estimated at 1 percent of the population in 2001 (CIA 2006). Overall, access to health care is minimal; the last measure of health care spending as a percentage of GDP in 1997 estimated it was less than 2 percent of the GDP (ISSAfrica.org 2006). Poverty continues to be a significant factor in poor health, life expectancy, and mortality rates, and there is a high incidence of malnutrition and other preventable diseases such as pulmonary tuberculosis, malaria, tetanus, leprosy, parasitic infections, and venereal disease. There are few medical services beyond the urban areas and a very poor national medical infrastructure (Library of Congress 2006).

Population growth is estimated at approximately 3.38 percent per annum (2005) with an average of 6.84 children born to each woman. This high birth rate is sadly tempered by the fact that 10 percent of newborns die at birth and only 75 percent make it past the age of five. The median age in Somalia is 17.59 years (2005 estimate). In terms of ethnicity and religion, Somalis are relatively homogenous:

85 percent are Somali and 15 percent are Bantu and non-Somali (including 30,000 Arabs) with Sunni Muslim being the predominant religion. Due to its colonial past, Arabic, English, and Italian are also spoken along with the official language, Somali, though only 37.8 percent of the population over 15 years of age is literate.

Rising from its Third World status will be difficult for Somalia because of its internal divisions and because its economy is in a constant state of financial fragmentation. Somalia's desperate economic position is driven by its disparate political situation. In 2004, the country imported $335 million more produce than it exported; it had accumulated foreign debt amounting to $3 billion (2001 estimate) and was the recipient of approximately $60 million (1999 estimate) in foreign aid. (CIA 2006). Somalia still ranks as one of the poorest countries in the world. Several other factors aggravate Somalia's economic status. First, the secessionist regions, the "Republic of Somaliland" and "Puntland," print their own currency, as do many of the businesses across greater Somalia so there is little centralized control over monetary inflation. And while a recent estimate puts Somalia's GDP growth rate at around 2.4 percent (2005), this and other standard economic forecasting tools are extremely unreliable measures for evaluating Somalia's current economic status. The only accurate figures available indicating Somalia's strained financial position are the levels of overseas debt and overdue payments to the International Monetary Fund.

Add to this mix the fact that Somalia boasts no lucrative industries; is heavily reliant on nomadic agriculture (approximately 71 percent of production concentrates on the farming of cattle, sheep, goats, the cultivation of sugarcane, rice, sorghum, beans, mangoes, corn, coconuts, and fishing); has only very light industry and services (equating to about 29 percent of production), and is totally dependent on fossil fuels, thus the speed of future national economic development will be glacial at best. Even this amount of agriculture production is not enough to address what the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) calls an "acute food and livelihood crisis and humanitarian emergency" facing an estimated 1.7 million people in the northern, central, and southern regions of Somalia (FAO 2006). The one sector to have shaken off this lethargy towards development is the telecommunications sector. Somalia has wireless capabilities in most major cities and is developing banking exchange systems throughout the country. The level of clan-based rivalry and ongoing civil unrest, however, has seriously hindered rebuilding and infrastructure development.

Somalia has 15 operating airlines and is now internationally accessible via six entry destinations—this is in stark contrast to the airline situation after the 1989 government collapse, when Somalia's national airline only had one operating airplane. Couple this with burgeoning private sector growth and Somalia's infrastructure may well be on the road to recovery, though its road and transportation systems still need considerable investment to meet these growing requirements. Most of the fast developing industries are privately owned such as telecommunications and electricity supply. Neither of these industries looks set to impact as much on the nomadic population (approximately 60 percent of the population) as they will do on the urban centers. These sectors are not state organized and are loosely managed by entrepreneurs who own the means of power generation and wireless

connection. Obviously, one of the main problems with infrastructure development is the lack of stability and confidence in government—corruption is rife. While the perception of a powerless government can sometimes be advantageous for business operations, the presence of a government can improve levels of security and trade reliability, both domestically and internationally. Without these, businesses have little faith in their ability to consistently meet market demand and international traders inevitably look to more stable suppliers.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

Somalia has tried to establish a central government but with little success: it is a "stateless" nation. The interim government established in 2004 continues to exist but is virtually powerless. It commands no army and has not been able to do anything to control other regions of the country, in particular those regions that have declared themselves secessionist "states" and those that are firmly controlled by traditional clans or factions. These same divisions have scuttled attempts by the interim government to establish a national army. The traditional clans and factions maintain their own militias and the secessionist regions of Somaliland and Puntland maintain their own police and security forces. The key, active non-state armed groups and their respective militia strengths are listed in Table 5.

In 2000 a three-year interim government was established: the Transitional National Government (TNG) and a Transitional National Assembly (TNA). The TNG was formed as a result of a pan-Somali conference, the Somali National Peace Conference held in Arta and initiated by Djibouti in May 2000. This body comprised a 245-member Transitional National Assembly based on clan representation (ISSAfrica.org 2006). It was unsuccessful in forming a nationally recognized government within its time frame (until August 2003). So, Somalia was without a national government and central authority until further plans to establish a new unicameral parliament (the Transitional Federal Government—TFG) and a 275-member Transitional Federal Assembly were agreed upon in 2004. The proposed new parliament was to comprise 61 seats assigned to each of the four main clan groups (Darod, Digil-Mirifle, Dir, and Hawiye) with the other 31 seats divided across other minority clans (CIA 2006). On October 14, 2004, the transitional parliament elected Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed (the founder of the Somali Salvation Democratic Front [SSDF], the Somali Reconciliation and Restoration Council [SRRC], "strongman" and president of the Puntland) as interim president, pending democratic elections (ISSAfrica, 2006). Interim President Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed then appointed Ali Mohammed Ghedi as prime minister on November 4, 2004.

As is evidenced by recent events, the TFG is still struggling to assert control, gain recognition for its political legitimacy, and provide effective governance. With two high-profile shootings and continuing riots outside its government buildings, Somalia is far from achieving a stable and effective government. Mohammed Ibrahim Mohammed, Somalia's chairman of the parliamentary committee for constitutional affairs, was shot on July 26, 2006, and the minister for constitutional and federal affairs, Abdallah Isaaq Deerow, was shot on July 29, 2006. The government

Table 5 Somalia's Active Non-State Armed Groups*

Organization	Established	Estimated strength	Operating locale	Aims
Al-lttihad al-Islami (AIAI)	1992	2,000	Somali Republic, Ethiopia, Kenya	Established an Islamic regime in Somalia
Somali National Alliance (SNA)/United Somali Congress (USC)	1989	Not known	Somali Republic, especially South Mogadishu	Militia of Hawiye clan, led by Aidid family, overthrew Siad Barre, struggle for political power
Somali National Front (SNF)	1991	2,000–3,000	Somali Republic	Marehans fighting for control of south Gedo region bordering Kenya, pro-Siad Barre
Somali National Movement (SNM)	1982	5,000+	North Somali Republic	Independence of Somaliland
Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM)	1989	2,000–3,000	Somali Republic	Ogaden tribal militia that helped overthrow Siad Barre's government
Rahanweyn Resistance Army (RRA)	1996	Not known	South Somali Republic	Local autonomy (allied to SDM)
Somali Democratic Movement (SDM)	1992	Not known	South Somali Republic	Local autonomy (allied to RRA)
Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF)	1978	3,000	Northeast Somali Republic	Independence of Puntland
United Somali Congress—ali Mahdi Faction	1990's	10,000	North Somali Republic	Anti-Aidid, Abgal clan militia

*Table information extracted from "Table 41: Selected Non-State Armed Groups," in *The Military Balance* (Routledge, London, UK: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2005–2006), 434.

is virtually powerless without an army and could only watch as Islamists took over much of the country. In the same week, 18 ministers resigned from office, admitting that the government's peace efforts had failed and protesting the fact that Ethiopian troops were currently stationed in Baidoa to help protect the government against the Islamists. Though "Ethiopia is Somalia's traditional enemy, the Somali President Abdullahi Yusuf [Ahmed] had asked for its support —a decision that enraged many Somalis" (Hassan 2006). By August 2006, 40 government officials had quit the government, citing Prime Minister Ali Mohammed Ghedi's unwillingness to engage with Somalia's Islamists who control most of Mogadishu and south Somalia. The Islamists, led by cleric Sheikh Hassan

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PRIME MINISTER ALI MOHAMMED GHEDI

A trained veterinarian, Ali Mohammed Ghedi (also: Mohammed Ali Gedi, Muhammad Ali Ghedi, Ali Mohamed Gedi, Ali Mohamed Ghedi, and in Somali: Maxamed Cali Geeddi) became prime minister of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) of Somalia on November 3, 2004. Born in 1951, Ghedi was son to a Colonel in the Somali National Security Service (NSS) established by Siad Barre. Ghedi's father assisted the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front, an Ethiopian resistance group, in the 1980s.

As an undergraduate, Ghedi attended the University of Mogadishu from 1974–1978 and then went on to study at the veterinary school at the University of Pisa, Italy. He then became a lecturer and head of the Veterinary Department at the University of Mogadishu from 1982–1991. The Somali Civil War saw the university close and Ghedi moved on to become an agricultural consultant for various aid agencies, including the Red Sea Livestock Trade Commission, a United States Agency for International Development (USAID) project. During his student days, Ghedi allegedly spied on his fellow students for the NSS and aided in providing the reports to substantiate subsequent arrests and torture (*Somaliland Times* 2006).

Ghedi "cut his political teeth" working with the United Somali Congress and its leader, Ali Mahdi Mohammed, during the civil war. He was later appointed to the position of assistant defense secretary. He established the Somalia NGO Consortium that worked towards national reconciliation. He has been a representative on the African Union as well as a member of the Somali Salvation Democratic Front. He was offered a seat on the Transitional Federal Parliament at the insistence of Mohammed Dheere, who vacated his position for Ghedi, allowing Ghedi to be appointed prime minister.

In the course of his political career, Ghedi went into exile in Nairobi after a failed assassination attempt and stayed there until June 18, 2005. He served in the temporary locations for the Somali interim government in Jowhar from February 26, 2006, and then in Baidoa, from December 29, 2006, and is currently in Mogadishu, the capital (Worldstatesmen 2006). Ghedi is affiliated with the Hawiye clan of Mogadishu, one of the biggest and strongest clans in Somalia (Koronto 2006). This is a popular affiliation for Ghedi and is advantageous in his new political career. By comparison, President Yusuf's affiliation with the other large clan, the Darod clan, is less popular in Mogadishu, and this is evident in his choice to base his interim government in Baidoa.

On January 1, 2007, after a major Ethiopian-backed offensive that defeated the Islamist militias and Mogadishu-based warlords, Ghedi's TFG imposed martial law for three months and called for universal disarmament and the appointment of a new judiciary. Ghedi narrowly survived a suicide attack on his home in June 2007.

Dahir Aweys, have announced that they will not negotiate unless Ethiopia withdraws its troops from Somali territory (Reuters 2006).

LAW AND ORDER

In 1961, the Somali constitution established the foundations for a unified judiciary, one that would be independent of the government's executive and legislature branches. A later law consolidated the legal systems of north and south Somalia into a four-tier system with a Supreme Court, courts of appeal, regional courts, and district courts. *Shari'a* courts were supposed to be discontinued but *Shari'a* principles of justice were still to be taken into consideration by judges. Currently, Somalia appears to have no effective national judicial or criminal system but still operates *Shari'a* and secular courts still operate in some localities.

Post-independence the Somali government set about developing its own laws and procedures, basing them on those in the British and Italian judicial system. The resulting criminal justice system was not tailored to account for its Somali context or legal history but still allowed a customary system of reparations to continue, where the offending party and his group would pay *diya* to the injured party and his clan. This situation allowing *diya* was only revised in 1969 by the military junta in power. In 1970, the military seized control of the Higher Judicial Council, installing military officers into all of its seats, thereby making the Council directly accountable to the executive. It sought to abolish the notion of collective responsibility for crimes, reinforcing the foundations of the British and Italian-introduced laws. This had the effect of increasing the government's control over previously customary aspects of Somali life but its effectiveness and implementation on a national basis is undermined, not in the least, by the existence of separatist, secessionist regions (Library of Congress 2006). After the fall of Barre's regime, the provisional government aimed to restore judicial independence to the legal system.

During Barre's time in power, three different police and state security intelligence agencies were responsible for everyday policing tasks: the Somali Police Force (SPF), the People's Militia, and the National Security Service, Somalia's primary intelligence service. Members of Barre's family commanded most of these forces. A people's militia, known as the Victory Pioneers (Guulwadayaal), was established in 1975. It was a separate branch of the army and operated under the control of the Political Bureau of the Presidency. "After the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party's (SRSP) formation in 1976, the militia became part of the party apparatus. Largely because of the need for military reserves, militia membership increased from 2,500 in 1977 to about 10,000 in 1979, and to approximately 20,000 by 1990. After the collapse of Siad Barre's regime, the People's Militia, like other military elements, disintegrated" (Library of Congress 2006). The militia was more akin to a cultural police aiding "revolutionary progress," upholding Somali culture, fighting against the misuse of public property, unsocial behavior, and reactionary or revolutionary ideas. It had powers of arrest and operated independently of the police force. When Barre fled in January 1991, many of the militia joined local clan militias (Library of Congress 2006).

The Somali Police Force was established by the British and Italians to keep peace and order during the colonial period. Somali police officers were armed and patrolled rural areas. Siad Barre led the SPF and the army after independence. Each of the country's 18 administrative regions had a police commandant and some degree of regional autonomy and control over their forces. The role of the SPF had evolved to include general patrolling and criminal investigation, frontier patrols in rural areas, traffic management, intelligence gathering, aerial reconnaissance, and counterinsurgency by the late 1970s (Library of Congress 2006).

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Somalia is a member of several international and regional organizations including the African Union; the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United

Nations (FAO); the Group of 77 (G77); the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD); Inter-Governmental Authority on Development; the International Labor Organization (ILO); the International Monetary Fund (IMF); Interpol; United Nations; the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD); the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR); the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO); and the World Health Organization (WHO). Of regional importance, Somalia was one of the original 32 members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). After rapid decolonization had taken its toll in Africa during the late 1950s and early 1960s, many of the newly independent states saw the need for some regional integration and looked to the creation of a pan-African organization. The newly independent states held common concerns, such as the effects of decolonization, and a desire for increased regional cooperation. The unwillingness to intervene within the internal affairs of African states and the desire to protect state sovereignty were weaknesses in the organization and limited the OAU's ability to be an effective mediator; this changed with the end of the Cold War. The OAU was devolved in 2002, reestablishing itself as the African Union, and it played a prominent role in mediation efforts in Rwanda. The organization now boasts a membership comprising 53 out of the 54 countries in Africa, including Somalia.

Subregional economic organizations are the main structures involved in Africa's conflict resolution. These include the Economic Community of Western States, the Southern African Development Community, and the intergovernmental Authority on Development in East Africa because countries in the region cannot afford to establish organizations with the sole purpose of conflict resolution. Conflicts in the region are interlinked; therefore, neighbors have an interest in peace and stability in each other's countries. The conflict in Somalia is relatively old in comparison to the newer conflicts that erupted in other parts of the African continent, following a pattern in the early 1990s of democracy movements linked to the demands of civil society. These developments pitted ruling elites against democratic movements and resulted in violent civil conflict and seriously destabilized the region.

Somalia has been dogged by many of the same security and conflict concerns afflicting other African nations including clan-based political division, resource scarcity, influxes of refugees; the spread of disease, malnutrition, famine, crop failure, and starvation; and the decline of the economy and social institutions. Often these factors are at the root of the intrastate conflicts in the region and go on to ignite, spillover, or exacerbate any interstate conflict with equally shaky neighboring countries. The presence of refugees heightens ethnic tensions by creating new minority groups within the host country. Africa's refugees make up more than half of the world's refugee population. In 2006, it was estimated that the internally displaced population in Somalia was close to 400,000 with the total number of people requiring urgent assistance estimated at 2.1 million people (FAO 2006). Most of the 23,000 Somali refugees who fled to Ethiopia were expected to return by 2006 (CIA 2006).

Religion has also been an intrinsic element in military alliances and foreign support. Somalia is closely aligned with the Muslim world and strengthened its

relationships with other Islamic nations by receiving military assistance over the years. Egypt (1982), Iran, Iraq (1980s), Jordan (1980s), Kuwait (1982), Libya (1988–1989), the United Arab Emirates (1980s), Oman (1980s), and Saudi Arabia (1974–1977) have all provided military assistance over the years though military cooperation was not solely determined on the basis of religion: post-independence the Soviet Union and the U.S. military assistance programs have sequentially provided significant military support to Somalia. It should be noted that Italy (1978–1990), the Federal Republic of Germany (Western Germany; 1985–1987), China (1981–1989), and South Africa (mid-1980s–1984) have also supplied or assisted Somalia with arms, weapons, military equipment, and security and intelligence training at various times. Over the period from 1961–1979, Somalia imported almost $660 million in weapons and military equipment with a military expenditure of about $44.5 million per annum over the decade from 1980–1990 (Library of Congress 2006).

SECURITY

Post-independence, Somalia has a history of interstate and intrastate conflict. The causes of conflict in the region can be traced back to colonial rule, acute underdevelopment, land shortages, resource scarcity, ethnic rivalry, and the colonial legacy of artificial borders, which do not reflect demographic and ethnic realities. The country has engaged in six conflicts with its neighbors, namely, the Separatist Insurgency and Somali expansionism into Kenya and Ethiopia (November 1962–September 1967); the First Ogaden War with Ethiopia (January–March 1964); Somali expansionism, territorial dispute, and Second Ogaden War with Ethiopia (mid-1972–1985); and the Third Ogaden War with Ethiopia (February 1987–April 1988). Somalia has also been influential in the cross-border ethnic-based conflict in Djibouti (November 1991–July 1993) and in the Djibouti Civil War (early 1998–December 2000). The North African state of Djibouti, was acknowledged earlier as French Somaliland in pre-independent Somalia. While clan-based violence often still spills over into neighboring territories, Somalia's own clan-based civil war has taken the greatest human toll (May 1988–present).

Clearly, Somalia's most enduring regional rivalries are with its territorial neighbor, Ethiopia, beginning with the First Ogaden War, January–March 1964, and ending, at least for the time being, with the Third Ogaden War in 1988. When Somalia became independent from Britain in 1960, the new government began to claim the existence of a ''Greater Somalia'' owing to the presence of some 350,000 Somali tribes people in surrounding states. Its intention was to unite all the Somali tribes under a single state. Such an aim involved making territorial claims on Ethiopia and Kenya, both of which had significant numbers of Somalis living within their borders. This practice had already brought Somalia into armed conflict with Kenya from 1962 to 1967. Somalia's strongest claim, however, was to the Ogaden region of Ethiopia, which was inhabited primarily by Somali tribes people. Somalia asserted that the region should be united with Somalia or allowed to pursue self-determination. Ethiopia was totally opposed to this notion, and relations between the two states became strained.

With some Somali agitation, an insurrection by the Somali tribes in Ogaden in 1960 and 1961 led to serious fighting with the Ethiopian army. When Somali soldiers began supporting Ogaden tribes in their guerrilla activities in November 1963, both states moved major units to the border. Ethiopia launched air attacks against Somalia in mid-January 1964, followed by an invasion of Somali territory in February. Fighting ended in March, following Sudanese mediation, but guerrilla attacks continued until April. As many as 700 people were killed in the fighting, which foreshadowed more serious conflict between the two nations in the 1970s and 1980s. This conflict was the beginning of a stream of post-independence border conflicts.

In 1962 Somali tribes living in northern Kenya declared their wish to join the new Somali republic and initiated guerrilla attacks on Kenyan government targets to reinforce their claims. A few border incidents occurred between Kenyan and Somali troops. The violence was halted in March 1964, when the Somali tribes declared their acceptance of Kenyan rule. Somali tribes in the Ogaden region of Ethiopia also began a campaign during this period, and Kenya and Ethiopia allied themselves against Somalia. In the autumn of 1965 relations between Kenya and Somalia degenerated once again when serious fighting resumed in the border areas. The OAU made several unsuccessful attempts to settle the conflict peacefully. The conflict deescalated in late 1967 when Somalia began to adopt a policy of disengagement in favor of negotiations over its territorial claims. Negotiations from 1967 led to an understanding in 1969, and relations between Somalia and Kenya were normalized. The issues were never fully resolved, however, and a number of similar conflicts reemerged in later years. The fighting cost at least 4,200 lives.

The Second Ogaden War began in mid-1972, when Somali tribesmen in the region resumed their revolt. At the same time, Somali regulars again began to fight alongside the rebels and a low-intensity conflict began. The war escalated in June 1972, when Somalia launched combat operations, a precursor to invasion the following month. The fighting was fierce, but Somalia began to make headway. Five years later, by October 1977, it had occupied the entire Ogaden area. With the aid of Soviet military hardware and troop support from Cuba and South Yemen, Ethiopia launched a massive counterattack and by March 1978 had retaken the region. Intermittent border clashes occurred in the ensuing years, but the conflict did not escalate again to the level seen in 1977 and 1978. Upwards of 30,000 people died in the conflict and, when fighting died down in 1985, the territorial dispute still had not been fully addressed.

Significantly, in 1977 the Socialist Somali state broke its ties with the USSR over the issue of Soviet aid to Ethiopia and expelled more than 6,000 Soviet advisers. Following the Soviet withdrawal, the loose alliance that constituted the government began to unravel. Somalia continued to foment separatist ambitions among Ogaden tribesmen, arming and supplying them to attack Ethiopian targets. Despite ongoing negotiations over the issue, tensions remained high, and the situation deteriorated in early 1987, culminating in the Third Ogaden War. On February 12 Ethiopian troops launched an air and ground attack on Somali positions. Intense fighting resulted in heavy casualties, and there were reports of earthen ramparts being erected on either side of the border, apparently in preparation for further offensives. Somali National Movement (SNM) rebels, who were

opposed to the Somali government, operated jointly with the Ethiopian forces. The conflict lost some of its intensity, and only minor incidents occurred from this time until April 1988 when, as a result of numerous negotiations between President Mengistu Haile Mariam of Ethiopia and President Mohammed Siad Barre of Somalia (who had attained the presidency in 1976), a settlement was reached, and both sides withdrew. More than 300 people are thought to have been killed during the fighting.

In May 1988 the SNM, based in the northern, Issa-dominated region, launched a rebellion against the despotic regime of President Mohammed Siad Barre, a former major general who became president in 1976. The attack came after an Ethiopian-Somali agreement isolated the SNM, previously supported by Ethiopia. The SNM quickly took control of several important towns. A counterattack by the army took back the towns, but the rebels continued to control most of the countryside, engaging in guerrilla activities throughout 1988 and the first part of 1989. The initial fighting was intense, killing approximately 50,000 people—many of these in army reprisals. This was the bloody start to the Somali Civil War.

Throughout 1989 the Somali army was beset with mutinies, and in July antigovernment disturbances in the capital, Mogadishu, led to 400 deaths. The SNM made significant gains in December 1989, although the army continued its violent repression. In August 1990 the SNM joined a number of other guerrilla groups, and by the end of 1990 they controlled most of the countryside, while the government controlled only Mogadishu and its immediate surroundings. In December 1990 the United Somali Congress (USC), which was based in central Somalia and dominated by the Hawiye clan, also launched an assault on the Barre regime. By the end of January 1991 Barre had fled, Mogadishu had fallen, and the USC had installed an interim government. In the North, the SNM had taken the regional capital.

The USC immediately began fighting other southern, clan-based groups as well as Barre supporters, while the SNM in the North set up a rival administration in April 1991; the North seceded in May. Calling itself Somaliland, the new entity essentially partitioned the country but received no international recognition. In Mogadishu thousands were killed in September and November 1991 because of clan-based fighting within the USC between President Ali Mohammed and General Mohammed Farah Aidid. The fighting continued through 1992 and, combined with the general state of anarchy, led to the threat of mass starvation. Armed gangs looted supplies of food and other aid, and by August 1992, 2,000 people were reported dying each day of starvation, while hundreds were being killed in factional fighting.

The state of the country and the failure of numerous peace initiatives to resolve the conflict led to the UN's first foray into the conflict: a group of 50 unarmed observers (UNOSOM I). The United States blocked Security Council proposals to send a stronger contingent at this stage. There was some criticism, even from the UN Special Representative Mohammed Sahnoun, that this UN initiative was too late to address the deteriorating situation in Somalia. The Unified Task Force began in July 1992 (UNITAF) after General Aidid disagreed with the proposal to engage an enlarged UNOSOM I to 3,000 troops, threatening to send the observers

home in body bags. The US-led UNITAF "Operation Restore Hope" swung into action after a sudden change of U.S. policy towards the worsening humanitarian situation in Somalia; its mission, to restore law and order and protect aid convoys and food distribution. Humanitarian aid was desperately needed now, with approximately 3,000 Somalis dying daily and two million facing imminent starvation. UNITAF eventually grew to a military presence of 37,000, including 28,000 U.S. troops, and was deployed over approximately 40 percent of Somalia (Ramsbotham and Woodhouse 1996, 205–8). But unclear U.S. objectives, the reluctance of Somali clan leaders to negotiate, and intractable clan-based fighting meant that, after nearly two years, anarchy still reigned in Somalia with no end to the fighting in sight. This was despite initial indications that the United States did not want to be drawn into a prolonged presence to implement disarmament and political settlement. By now it was clear that U.S. President Bill Clinton wanted to hand over management of the conflict to the United Nations as soon as possible.

On March 26, 1993, the follow-up UN operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) assumed UNITAF's role but focused on completing the task of fostering reconciliation, restoring peace, stability, law, and order, and rebuilding economic, social, and political structures. At a cost of approximately $942.4 million and 134 fatalities, UNOSOM II ended in March 1995 and was dubbed a UN failure—it had not succeeded in resolving the conflict. The mission was perhaps "doomed to failure": the intervention occurred some five years after the civil war had begun and it lacked the capacity to fulfil its broad mandate, to use all means necessary to provide humanitarian assistance. In comparison to UNITAF's 28,000 well-equipped, U.S. trained troops, UNOSOM II was an operation manned by poorly equipped Pakistani peacekeepers and never exceeded 16,000 troops on the ground. After UNOSOM II's withdrawal in March 1995 the country returned to full-scale clan-based fighting led by General Mohammed Said Hersi (a son-in-law of the former dictator, Barre) and Mohammed Haji Aden. Aidid was killed in 1996. Deaths from the civil war and resulting famine were in the hundreds of thousands.

In December 1997, an agreement was signed by several of the rival factions, including Mohammed Farah Aidid's United Somali Congress/Somali National Alliance (USC-SNA) and Cali Mahdi Mohammed's Somali National Salvation Council. Called the Cairo Declaration, the agreement called for a cease-fire and the establishment of an interim government for a three-year transition period that could be extended an additional two years with the approval of the 189-member Constituent Assembly. It also set down provisions for national elections to be held, for a cessation of military operations, and for the immediate reopening of Mogadishu's airport and seaport.

In January 1998 it was announced that a national reconciliation conference would be held in Baidoa in February, but the conference was postponed several times. In July the three most powerful faction leaders, Hussein Mohammed Farah Aidid (taking over the USC-SNA faction after his father's death), Cali Mahdi Mohammed, and Osman Hassan Ali (dubbed "Atto") of the Rahanwein Resistance Army (RRA), signed a peace agreement to form a joint administration in Mogadishu to start in August. Atto immediately boycotted it. In December 1999, five of the main factions reached a five-point agreement under which an administration was to be set up for southern Somalia. However, Muse Sidi Yalahow, who

controlled territory in the area, refused to participate. In February 1999 the RRA, Atto's faction, announced that Hussein Aidid's USC-SNA faction had killed 60 civilians in Baidoa and Daynunay that week.

In December 1999 the Oromo Liberation Front, an Ethiopian rebel group, began to withdraw after an October agreement between Aidid and the Ethiopian government. In exchange, Ethiopian troops were to be withdrawn. The agreement also called for joint cooperation in fighting Al Itihad, previously called the Western Somali Liberation Front, a group wanting the unification of the Ogaden region in Ethiopia with Somalia.

At the end of 2000, the conflict remained unresolved. The south and central regions of Somalia continued to be torn by factional fighting among rival clans and warlords, despite 16 peace initiatives. No central government has operated effectively in Somalia since the collapse of the Barre regime in 1991. A new parliament was formed in September 2000, as a result of negotiations among Somali clan and political leaders held in neighboring Djibouti. Some clans have vowed to resist the reestablishment of central governance. Ethiopia remains entangled in the future of Somalia. It maintains an "administrative line with the Oromo region" in southern Somalia and keeps a strong alliance with the Oromo clans who reject the Somali Interim Government and its plans to relocate the government from Kenya to Mogadishu (CIA 2006). Relationships with other neighbors come under continual pressure from the spillover of clan-based violence.

The possibility of further regional violence with religious overtones is increasingly imminent. Still unstable, Somalia's Islamist connection, strengthened by its sizeable Sunni Muslim population and Arabic influences, now poses the most serious challenge to lasting peace in Somalia. The rise of Islamist power in Somalia continues to make its regional neighbors uneasy, particularly Christian-based Ethiopia. The Islamists have established a power base via the *Shari'a* courts and their authority challenges the authority and position of the president, Abdullahi Yusuf. In February 2006, serious fighting erupted once again in a battle fought between the Alliance for the Restoration of Peace and Counterterrorism and the Islamist militia. By June, 350 people had died as a result of the fighting and, in July, the Islamist militia attacked forces loyal to the interior minister in the interim government, Hussein Aidid, and fellow warlord Abdi Awale Qaybdiid in Mogadishu, killing about 20 people. The Islamist militias pose a serious challenge to the viability of the Western-backed interim government. This recent fighting has marred a relative lull in violence.

Ethiopia is still supporting Somalia's interim government in Mogadishu and, in spite of cautionary advice from U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Jendayl Frazer, has announced that it will not hesitate to send troops in to deal with the radical Islamist militia. Advances by the Muslim militia towards Mogadishu has seen some 3,000 Somali government troops and 2,000 Ethiopian support troops and tanks consolidate their presence around Baidoa, the provincial base of the interim government (Mohamed and Bile 2006). The situation was tenuous at best with the United States providing military arms to the clan-based warlords to assist their defense against "Islamist terrorists," and many Somalis were concerned about the growing presence of Ethiopian troops.

The potential for the conflict to reignite escalated on December 8, 2006, with the Union of Islamic Courts (UIC) claiming that they had fought with Ethiopian troops to the southwest of Baidoa. On December 12, the UIC issued an ultimatum to the Ethiopian troops to leave Somalia in one week (by December 19) or face a "major attack." Then, in a sequence of military actions and assisted by Ethiopia, the interim government reasserted its control over Mogadishu and other areas previously controlled by Islamist forces. On December 24, Ethiopia admitted for the first time that it had engaged its troops and aircraft in Somalia in what it referred to as a "self-defensive" operation against the Islamist forces. First, the Ethiopian-backed interim government troops took control of Jowhar on December 27 and, the next day, in another major offensive, they "captured" Mogadishu, forcing Islamist fighters to flee the city. Other areas loyal to the UIC also fell to the transitional government forces with retreating Islamist militias coming under air attack from Ethiopian jets (*BBC News* 2007).

By January 1, 2007, Somali government troops, supported by Ethiopian troops, had seized the southern port of Kismayo, reportedly a stronghold of the UIC. Now, there finally appears to be some hope of peace in Somalia. In June 2007 Ethiopian Premier Meles Zenawi visited Mogadishu and pledged to withdraw his troops once peace took hold, and the following month a national reconciliation conference opened in Mogadishu.

Maritime security is also a concern in the region, so much so that in 1999 the International Maritime Bureau classified Somalia's maritime zone as the sixth most dangerous country for shipping as piracy was common (ISSAfrica.org 2006). More recently, maritime risks in the area have been natural: Somalia was one of the countries affected by the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami that resulted in about 300 fatalities.

After independence and harboring irredentist intentions towards its neighbors, Somalia initially sought backing from the United States to develop a 20,000-strong army. When the United States argued that a smaller force would be adequate to secure Mogadishu, the Somali leadership looked to the USSR for support. "In 1962 the Soviet Union agreed to grant a US$32 million loan to modernize the Somali army and expand it to 14,000 personnel. Moscow later increased the amount to US$55 million. The Soviet Union, seeking to counter United States influence in the Horn of Africa, made an unconditional loan and fixed a generous twenty-year repayment schedule" (Library of Congress 2006). For about eight years, the Soviet Union became the benefactor of the Somali military forces, providing a vast amount of technology including T-34 tanks, armored personnel carriers, MiG-15 and MiG-17 aircraft, small arms, and ammunition. A Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation was entered into with Moscow in 1974, and the subsequent flow of weapons, military advice, and intelligence training was comprehensive. Over the three-year period, when Siad Barre ended the treaty in 1977, 2,400 Somali troops had received military training in the Soviet Union.

The turning point for Somalia's military came with a decision in Washington in July 1977. The United States announced a military assistance program whereby it and its allies Britain and France, would supply Somalia with arms. This arrangement was to last through to 1988 and amounted to approximately $340 million in arms, equipment, training, and other military-related deliverables for the period

from 1981–1988 (Library of Congress 2006). Foreign military support all but dried up with the fall of Siad Barre's regime in 1988. Somalia no longer has a national armed force. What existed in Barre's time has devolved to various regional and clan-based factions. Similarly, Somalia's paramilitary forces, small navy, and 60-plane strong air force no longer exist. It is reported that the TNG have amassed armed forces of approximately 5,000 troops but still they do not command any control over the area north of Mogadishu (IISS 2005, 397). Clan-based militias and factions control most of the remaining conventional weapons. Current defense budget estimates are around $40 million from a GDP of $900 million (ISSAfrica.org 2006).

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The record of human rights in Somalia is extremely poor and continues to exacerbate the political instability within the country. Without a central government or centralized law enforcement agencies, maintaining law and order in Somalia remains difficult. Corruption, civil unrest, assassinations, and piracy are still hampering humanitarian aid efforts; humanitarian aid now regularly employs some counter-corruption conditions. Some progress was made to ensure the observation of basic civil rights at the 2000 Djibouti Conference. When the transitional government was established, a Transitional Federal Charter was also drawn up. This was passed in 2004 and was to guarantee civil rights. Unfortunately, the written authority of the TFG did not come with the "actual" power to enforce observation of civil rights. The systems of law enforcement, the judiciary, and criminal punishment are harsh and corrupt—again a consequence of the fragmentation and defacto nature of power in Somalia. Enforcement in this judicial system is shared between police forces and factional militia. Arrests for ransoms are not uncommon, as are human rights abuses. Once arrested, the prison environment is also dangerous with overcrowding, poor conditions, health problems and reportedly, torture (U.S. Department of State 2004).

A new judicial system and organized national police force are priorities for the TFG. Slowly, militias are disbanding and some are being absorbed into a new police force. A new judiciary is also taking shape, with the first members sworn in for Banadir in January 2007. There is one confounding factor in their development though: at present, the military have imposed martial law and so have very few limitations on their exercise of power. This situation basically limits freedom of speech, association, movement and religion, and freedom of the press. With the restrictions on these human rights come increased levels of harassment and detention to enforce the conditions of martial law. Political demonstrations have been banned in Somaliland, as has the political opposition in Puntland. Militia checkpoints have popped up throughout Somalia and have been rumored to be involved in the extortion, kidnapping, and killing of civilians. Heightened concerns around ensuring one's personal safety has resulted in an increase in the ownership of weapons at a time when the UIC and the TFG have both imposed strict gun control measures.

Human trafficking, in particular children for child labor, is still reported. Somalia is known to the United Nations as a country in which children are recruited as

soldiers by the various factions and warlords. Women too are abused by uncontrolled militias. Rape is reportedly commonplace, as is violence and discrimination. Cultural practices such as female genital mutilation are still performed.

To improve the situation, the United Nations announced on December 15, 2006, an international humanitarian appeal of $174 million focusing on protection, education, and improvement of access to safe water supplies (*IRIN News* 2006).

CONCLUSION

Somalia's relationship with the United States has been mostly based on military assistance, US-led UN interventions, and support for the Somalia government and warlords against Islamic elements. Somalia has not reestablished its diplomatic presence in the United States since its embassy was closed in 1993. The United States continues relations with Somalia but from its embassy in Nairobi, Kenya. This said, the TFG and other factions are represented in Washington and at the United Nations (CIA 2006). In January 2007, the United States undertook air strikes in southern Somalia which it said targeted Al Qaeda figures, and which reportedly killed an unknown number of civilians. This was the first known direct U.S. military intervention in Somalia since 1993. The strikes were followed in June 2007 with a U.S. warship shelling suspected Al Qaeda targets in Puntland (*BBC* 2007).

"In terms of state collapse, Somalia appears to be the most complete experience in the Horn" (Woodward 2003, 81). Internal and regional instability are central issues that need to be addressed to aid Somalia's political independence and economic development. During the Cold War, like many other African nations, Somalia was a client state and depended heavily on superpower patronage. With the end of the Cold War, and the consequent decline in geostrategic significance of Africa in the eyes of the Western countries, these countries deteriorated rapidly. The breakdown of the bipolar Cold War mind-set and alliances unleashed ethnic, religious, and political conflicts that had previously been hidden behind super-power rivalries and strong nationalist governments. After the Cold War, the major powers adopted a policy of "benign neglect" toward Africa, and in the 1990s the number of conflicts and their intensity increased. Africa became the most conflict-affected region in the world. What is of particular concern in a world now focused on counterterrorism is the potential for terrorist links to be established with disaffected Somalis, an alignment that is quite possible given Somalia's Sunni Muslim majority.

Somalia has yet to fill the political vacuum left by the fall of Siad Barre's government in 1991. This event marks Somalia's shift from nation state to stateless nation. From this moment, Somalia ceased to have a government; a legislature; a national military force (many militia members aligned with one of the clans or an insurgent group); a police force (the forces of Darawishta and Birmadka had effectively dissolved); and coordinated national infrastructures for health and education. Since 1991, Somalia could accurately be described as stateless. Despite efforts by the interim TFG, no federal state has yet been established though some efforts have been made to try to prepare Somalia for an election (ISSAfrica.org 2006). Somalia has had no recognized national government for the last 15 years, though

it is formally supported by the African Union, the United Nations, and the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development. The success of the interim government may, in the end, be determined by the support it gets from its regional neighbors, particularly Ethiopia, which does not favor an Islamic state on its borders (*BBC News* 2006–2007).

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South Africa

Kai Michael Kenkel

BACKGROUND

Geography

The The Republic of South Africa is located at the southern end of the African continent. Its territory comprises 1,290,090 square kilometers. The Atlantic Ocean lies to the west and southwest, and the Indian Ocean to the southeast. Namibia lies across the Orange River to the Northwest. The country's northern borders are with Botswana and Zimbabwe; Mozambique and Swaziland are situated to the northeast. The Kingdom of Lesotho is an enclave in southeastern South Africa. South Africa is divided into nine provinces: Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, Free State, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, and North West (GCIS 2005, 9).

The country possesses nearly 3,000 kilometers of coastline; the coastal lowlands extend between 80 to 240 kilometers inland. Beyond this rises the Great Escarpment, which leads into interior highlands that comprise the southern end of the African Plateau. The Drakensberg mountains in the southeast rise over 3,300 meters above sea level. The Namib Desert Basin extends into the northwest corner of the country (Byrnes 1997, xxxvi)

South Africa is extraordinarily rich in mineral resources. As of 2004, it held the world's largest reserves of eight major minerals, in addition to major reserves of most others (GCIS 2005, 459). In that year the country accounted for 14 percent of global gold production, amounting to foreign revenue earnings of $4.5 billion (GCIS 2005, 457–58); this was exceeded only by platinum production ($4.6 billion). The highly developed mining sector contributed 87.1 million rand (ca. U.S. $13.6 million[1]) to the South African economy in 2004 (GCIS 2005, 457; CIA 2007). Half of the gold ever mined worldwide originated beneath South Africa's Witwatersrand region (GCIS 2005, 480).

The Republic also possesses very rich flora and fauna. Its game parks harbor large populations of threatened species, and its flora is unique in the world. South

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South Africa

Formal name of country: Republic of South Africa
Size of country: 1,290,090 sq km
Natural resources: Huge mineral reserves, long coastline, biodiversity
Population: 46,900,000
Life expectancy at birth: 50.7 years
Key ethnic groups:

- African 79%
- White 9%
- Coloured 9%
- Indian/Asian 2%

Key religions: Christianity (79%), ca. 1% each Hindu and Muslim
Political system: Parliamentary democracy
Key political groups/parties: African National Congress
Legal system: Independent and well developed; Roman-Dutch and English
Real GDP growth: 3.8% (2001–2005)
Population below poverty line: 50% (2000)
Size of military: 55,700
Relationship with the United States: Friendly; opposes Iraq War; ANC once classified as terrorist by the United States
Important human security issues: HIV/AIDS; high violent crime rate; economic inequality
Future important security issues: HIV/AIDS; land reform; spillover from Zimbabwe; crime

</div>

Africa has "the world's third-highest level of biodiversity" (UNEP 1999). The Cape Floral Kingdom is the smallest of the world's six distinct floral kingdoms; 70 percent of its 9,000 plant species are unique to the region, which has been declared a world biodiversity hot spot (Conservation International).

South Africa currently faces significant environmental problems, both natural and man-made. The steep landscape leads to high runoff in the area's rivers; combined with thin topsoil, this has led to soil erosion and poor land quality (Byrnes 1997, 101). Water resources are limited, with annual average rainfall (450 mm) about half the global average (GCIS 2005, 634). There is widespread pollution of streams and aquifers by the mining and agricultural industries (Byrnes 1997, 101), and air pollution plagues areas of high population density such as Soweto. Particulate exposure rates in these areas have reached up to seven times the maximum acceptable value set by the World Health Organization (GCIS 2005, 477).

History

Present-day South Africa was first settled over 100,000 years ago. The San people arrived 20,000 years ago; a pastoralist subgroup, the Khoi, emerged around 2,500 years ago. Bantu-speakers—the ancestors of the large majority of present-

day South Africans—arrived 1,500 years ago. Nguni groups—the forebears of today's Zulu and Xhosa—had settled the eastern coasts by the sixteenth century. The European presence began in the late sixteenth century with Portuguese explorers en route to India; the first colonial settlement, however, was established at the site of present-day Cape Town by the Dutch East India Company in 1652. European influence spread steadily inward; of note here is the Great Trek of 1836–1840. Present-day South Africa is a fusion of colonies of Great Britain and territories held by Afrikaners, descendants of the Dutch and Huguenot settlers of the original Cape Colony. The latter were defeated in the Boer Wars at the end of the nineteenth century, and the Union of South Africa, a Commonwealth member, was established in 1910.

The British and Afrikaners continued to contest control of the state; the Afrikaners scored a decisive victory in the elections of 1948. The ensuing National Party government instituted a system of increasingly brutal racial repression and discrimination dubbed *apartheid*, which continues to affect many aspects of South African life today. White rule led to conflict with South Africa's neighbors, particularly after the independence of these states from Portugal and the United Kingdom in the 1970s. In the face of mounting internal and external resistance, the apartheid government agreed to negotiate a transition to democracy for all South Africans culminating in full-franchise elections and a new Constitution in 1994 (GCIS 2005, 30–42; Byrnes 1997, 5–85 passim; Department of State 2006).

SOCIETY

Demographics

South Africa's population in 2005 was 46,900,000; 37,200,000 (79 percent) were African; 4,400,000 white; 4,100,000 colored (of mixed race); and 1,100,000 Indian/Asian (GCIS 2005, 2). There are approximately 4,500 remaining San and Khoikhoi living in South Africa (WIMSA). Population growth rates vary according to the extent to which HIV infection rates are taken into account; estimates range from 1.8 percent (UNICEF 2005) to 1.1 percent (Berié and Kobert 2005, 434) to –0.46 percent (CIA 2007). The major cities are Johannesburg (3.2 million), Durban (3.1 million), Cape Town (2.9 million), and Pretoria (2 million). Estimates regarding the average life expectancy range widely depending on the extent to which HIV/AIDS is factored into the equation, ranging from 42.7 years (CIA 2007) to 50.7 years (EPL 2004).

The major ethnic groups among the African population in South Africa are Nguni (Zulu, Xhosa, Ndebele, Swazi), Sotho-Tswana, Tsonga, and Venda. The European population is largely of British, Dutch, German, and French extraction. 23.8 percent of the population lists Zulu as a first language, 17.6 percent Xhosa, 9.4 percent Sesotho, and 8.2 percent Setswana. Many of these groups overlap with majority populations in neighboring countries.

Seventy-nine percent of South Africans follow Christianity: 32 percent are members of African independent churches such as the syncretist Zion Christian Church; 7.6 percent are Pentecostals; 7.4 percent Methodists; 7.1 percent Roman Catholics; 3.8 percent Anglicans; 2.5 percent Lutherans; and 1.9 percent Presbyterians. Two-

thirds of the Indian population are Hindu, comprising 1.2 percent of the total; 1.5 percent (largely from the Cape Malay ethnic group) are Muslim; the mostly Orthodox Jewish community numbers approximately 100,000. 16.5 percent of the population profess no religion at all (Berié and Kobert 2005, 434; GCIS 2005, 5–7).

In 2004 South Africa was home to 27,683 registered refugees and 115,224 asylum seekers (UNHCR 2005, 8). The major countries of origin were Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia, and recently, Zimbabwe (UNHCR 2005, 26, 28, 31; Redden 2006). These official statistics hide substantial shadow figures of both refugees from past regional civil wars and economic migrants. South Africa remains a pole of attraction for millions of the latter: currently 55 percent of the workforce in the pivotal mining industry is foreign (Crush 2003). South Africa did not recognize refugees until 1993, and their status was not legalized until 2001. The apartheid era Aliens Control Act was not replaced until 1998. The situation of these migrants in South Africa remains both a concern for human rights advocates and a source of potential violence.

Development

Many, though not all, of the social problems facing South Africans are deeply entrenched effects of the racial discrimination upon which the country's economy, politics, and society were based during the apartheid era. Nevertheless, the HIV/AIDS epidemic remains the country's most pressing social problem, together with a violent crime rate that is among the world's highest. In addition, South Africa's infant mortality rate remains very high at 59.44 deaths per 1,000 live births (CIA 2007). South Africa's Human Development Index ranked it 120th in the world in 2005 (see Table 6).

Overall statistics paint a picture of middle-rung economic development; broadly writ, however, the white population continues to enjoy a standard of living roughly commensurate to that of southern Europe, while the black population's living conditions are more reminiscent of those of neighboring states. Accordingly, South Africa's economy combines elements of the first and third worlds. The financial sector is particularly strong, with the Johannesburg Stock Exchange consistently among the 20 largest in the world; its market capitalization in September 2005 was approximately $528 billion (IMC 2005a; SARS 2006, 8). In 2005, total GDP at market exchange rates was $237,731.2 billion; at purchasing power parity this rises to $547,519 billion (about 25 percent of the total GDP of the African continent); respectively, these figures result in a GDP per capita of $5,587 and $12,867 (*Economist* 2006). Gross national income per capita in 2003 was approximately $2,750.

Real GDP grew by 3.8 percent from 2001–2005, while domestic demand grew by 5.4 percent; inflation over the same period was 6.2 percent. In 2003, agriculture

Table 6 Historical Human Development Indices for South Africa

Year	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
HDI	0.648	0.661	0.681	0.712	0.722	0.697	0.702	0.696	0.684	0.666	0.658

Source: UNDP 2001, 146; UNDP 2003, 239; UNDP 2004, 141; UNDP 2005, 219.

accounted for 4 percent of GDP and 10.3 percent of employment; industry produced 31 percent of GDP while employing 24.5 percent, and the 64.9 percent of the work force employed in the service sector produced 65 percent of the GDP (Berié and Kobert 2005, 434). Unemployment continues to be a major concern in the South African economy, hovering at around 25–30 percent (Berié and Kobert 2005, 434; CIA 2007; Arora and Ricci passim).

There remains a huge income gap along the racial divide in South Africa, with whites' earnings at levels almost six times those of their black compatriots. The country's Gini coefficient, a commonly used measure of income distribution, remains among the world's worst; it was 0.578 in 2005 and 0.593 in 2001 (UNDP 2005, 272; UNDP 2001, 183). Immediately following the end of apartheid, the new majority government began implementing its overarching Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), intended to address both the iniquities and the structural problems (stagnant growth, increasing debt, declining income) left behind by the apartheid regime. The RDP contained both neoliberal and socialist elements, seeking to shore up fundamental macroeconomic indicators while providing basic services and economic opportunities to those disadvantaged by apartheid (RDP).

The RDP was replaced in 1996 by the more neoliberal Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) Programme. The government has embarked on comprehensive privatization programs of state and parastatal enterprises, including basic services while simultaneously making active efforts to increase state involvement in resource ownership. These efforts have been incorporated into the recently announced Accelerated Shared Growth Initiative of South Africa (Table 7).

South Africa's transportation infrastructure is well developed, particularly in the African context; the country is a regional and continental transportation hub. There are 754,600 kilometers of roadways in the country, of which 1,927 kilometers are expressways and 9,600 kilometers are national roads. There is a regular network of buses providing both frequent connections between larger cities and regular service to rural areas.

The country has 20,872 kilometers of railways; 95 percent of rail transportation is for freight, including the key rail link to Zimbabwe. Five major cities have modern commuter rail networks. Rail activity in South Africa accounts for 42 percent of Africa's railway mileage, 92 percent of the continent's electric locomotives, and 71 percent of rail freight tons shipped in Africa.

Table 7   Median Annual Income in South Africa, by Race and Gender (U.S. $)

	Black	White	Ratio (black:white)
Average	1,803	9,769	1:5.41
Men	2,115	12,203	1:5.77
Women	1,330	7,826	1:5.88
Ratio (women : men)	1:1.59	1:1.56	
Unemployment	28.1%	4.1%	

Source: Distilled from information provided by Statistics South Africa.

Civil aviation and shipping in South Africa are particularly well developed, with three major international airports and eight seaports, including Africa's busiest airport by far (Johannesburg International) and its busiest seaport (Durban). Total goods transport amounted to 745 million tons in 2003 (GCIS 2005, 615–28; see also CIA 2007).

South Africa's telecommunications and information technology sectors operate at an advanced level. Two of five telephone main lines in Africa, or about 4.8 million, are in South Africa (IMC 2003; EPL, 3944). In 2005 the cellular telephone phone market was the world's twentieth largest, and its fourth fastest growing, at a rate of 50 percent per year; there were estimated to be 19 million subscribers in 2006 (IMC 2003; GCIS 2005, 138). According to the World Economic Forum, the telecommunications sector ranks ahead of China, India, Italy, and Greece (GCIS 2005, 139). The postal system is well developed, and the print media landscape is sophisticated and diverse, with 21 daily newspapers achieving a readership of 6.3 million (GCIS 2005, 151–52). In 2006, Internet access was available to 3.6 million users (7 percent), half the worldwide average but three times the African. Twenty-five percent of Internet users in sub-Saharan Africa are in South Africa (MMG 2006).

South Africa's energy sector is similarly advanced, accounting for 14 percent of GDP and employing 250,000 people. Historically, South Africa has a substantial energy overcapacity and is a major energy exporter and consumer. The state utility Eskom is the world's seventh largest producer of electricity, and accounts for two-thirds of the electricity produced in all of Africa. As a result of overcapacity, South Africa's energy production is neither efficient nor clean: 77 percent of primary energy (and 90 percent of electricity) needs are met using coal, and the rate of value production to carbon usage is very low. Despite this abundance, access is far from universal: over half of all households use fuel wood and paraffin to meet their energy needs. Major policy initiatives underway at this time are the provision of basic electricity to rural and impoverished areas and the search for renewable energy sources (GCIS 2005, 461–73).

Access to basic services such as water, electricity, and a telephone connection show clearly the disparity between the first-world standard of South Africa's white population and the third-world levels endured by the African population. The South African government has since 1994 undertaken considerable efforts to alleviate these problems, and has focused in particular on what it terms Black Economic Empowerment, which consists of a network of programs aimed at promoting black ownership of private sector industries, job creation, and land ownership. Government programs have combined the provision of basic infrastructure with privatization. While this has generally increased access for the rural and impoverished, it has occasionally had disastrous results, as when up to 10 million households had their water shut off due to nonpayment, resulting in a cholera epidemic (Bond 2004). Electricity as well, while available, is often too costly for rural households (Table 8).

According to the South African Department of Health, the prevalence of HIV among pregnant women (a group in which HIV is possibly overrepresented) in South Africa in 2005 was 29.5 percent, having climbed steadily from 24.5 percent

Table 8 **Access to Basic Services in South Africa, by Race (%)**

	Electricity			Telephone		Water		
	cooking	heating	lighting	in house	nearby	in house	on property	nearby
Black	39.3	37.2	62.0	31.1	57.2	17.9	51.7	80.2
White	96.6	93.2	99.2	95.4	4.4	87.2	95.6	99.4

Source: Distilled from information provided by Statistics South Africa.

in 2000, ranging up to 40 percent in KwaZulu-Natal (AVERT 2006a).[2] The infection rate among blacks is estimated to be four to five times higher than among whites. UNAIDS (Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS) estimated that 5.3 million South Africans were living with HIV in 2004 (representing approximately one in seven HIV positive persons worldwide), and that AIDS had caused 360,000 deaths in the country during the year 2000 (UNAIDS 2004, passim; Mba; UNAIDS 2006, 455). The Medical Research Council of South Africa estimated in 2001 that by 2010 AIDS would cause five to seven million deaths (Dorrington et al. 2001, 6; Mba).

According to another source, in 2000 AIDS was responsible for 25 percent of all deaths in South Africa (PRC 2001). As a result of the spread of HIV, South Africa's life expectancy has declined by over ten years in the space of a decade (GVU; compiled from UN Common Database). The results of one study indicate that "in the eight African countries with HIV infection rates over 15 percent, it is estimated that a third of today's 15-year-olds will die from AIDS" (PRC 2001). The HIV epidemic has had a devastating effect on the South African economy, with female survivors bearing the brunt of the social burden. AIDS has significantly reduced the size of the labor force, increased absenteeism, reduced agricultural efficiency and output, and placed enormous strain on the country's public health system (see also Bollinger and Stover 1999).

DOMESTIC POLITICS

Since the end of white minority rule in 1994, the Republic of South Africa is an accountable and representative parliamentary democracy, in which the constitutional powers of governance are split between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. The administration is divided into the national, provincial, district, and municipal levels. There are regular, free, and universal elections at all levels. Parliamentary elections are held every five years, with the latest having taken place on April 14, 2004. South Africa's transition to democracy stands out as a unique example of a multiparty negotiated

AIDS: NUMBER ONE KILLER

Violent crime is not even the most devastating threat faced by South Africa. Nothing threatens South Africa's human security, indeed its very long-term survival, like the AIDS pandemic. 5.3 million South Africans—roughly the population of metropolitan Toronto—live with the AIDS virus; in some regions the infection rate among pregnant women reaches 40 percent. This is one-eighth of the country's people, and 1 in 7 seropositive persons worldwide. It is estimated that HIV/AIDS killed 300,000 South Africans in 2000, and that one-third of the country's 15-year-olds will eventually die of the virus, which has cut 10 years off South Africans' life expectancy over the past decade (AVERT 2006a; UNAIDS 2004, 2006; Mba; GVU; PRC 2001).

process, in which all sectors of society were represented in the bodies shaping the country's political future.

The parliament consists of two houses: the 400-member National Assembly and the 90-member National Council of Provinces. In the former, parties are assigned seats based on the proportion of votes received. Seats are then assigned to candidates by the parties based on a rank-ordered list. The National Council of Provinces is made up of 10 delegates each (six permanent and four rotating) from the country's nine provinces. These are nominated by the provincial legislatures and must reflect the party-political balance therein. The president is elected by the National Assembly by simple majority and selects the Cabinet from within that body; two ministers may come from outside.

South Africa's current ruling party is the African National Congress (ANC), which was the leading movement fighting apartheid during minority rule and as such enjoys considerable popular support and moral capital. The ANC and its leaders have parlayed that capital into substantial electoral successes. Nelson Mandela, co-founder and leader of the ANC's armed wing UmKhonto we Sizwe ("Spear of the Nation"—MK), was freed in 1990 after 27 years of incarceration and elected democratic South Africa's first president in 1994. He was succeeded by Thabo Mbeki in 1999. Public support for the ANC has been shaken over the course of the last decade by a series of scandals. Among these are Mbeki's questioning of HIV as the cause of AIDS and what is viewed by many AIDS activists as the government's inadequate response to the epidemic, particularly with respect to government-funded access to antiretroviral medication.

The government and ANC are plagued by a widespread perception that their economic policies are not egalitarian and have been racked by several corruption scandals. The ANC's dominant position and the fractured nature of the opposition have in fact in some cases worked against the ANC, as opponents, particularly among black opposition parties, and have decried its monolithic position; the parliamentary majority it possesses surpasses the total needed to effect changes to the Constitution. In late 2005 President Mbeki's approval ratings were around 65 percent, having risen from an all-time low of 27 percent in February 2002. Mbeki's support is relatively higher in rural areas of the country and twice as high among blacks as whites (Research Surveys 2005). The ANC is currently in the throes of a battle for succession between different factions of the Party, backed by varying elements of its supporting organizations (Table 9).

Until the democratic elections of 1994, South African politics, with the franchise effectively limited to whites, was dominated by the conservative Afrikaner-led National Party. Black political organizations, including almost all of the parties now represented in the National Assembly, were banned until 1990. As an after-effect of apartheid conservatism, today's South African government and electorate—particularly the black majority—lean to the left. During the transitional period of the early 1990s, the African National Congress was recognized as the main organization representing the interests of non-whites during the struggle against white rule; this has carried over into very strong backing among voters today that has increased in every subsequent election.

Table 9   The Political Landscape

Party	Ideology	% 2004	Seats 2004	Seats 1999
African National Congress	center-left, social-democratic	69.69	279	266
Democratic Alliance	liberal (free enterprise); official opposition	12.37	50	38
Inkatha Freedom Party	Zulu nationalism; free enterprise; Federalism; allied to DA	6.97	28	34
United Democratic Movement	anti-separatist; individualism	2.28	9	14
Independent Democrats	populist; anticorruption	1.7	7	0
New National Party	conservative; former apartheid party; dissolved into ANC 2005	1.65	7	28
African Christian Democratic Party	Christian conservative	1.6	6	6
Freedom Front Plus	Afrikaner conservative	0.89	4	3
United Christian Democratic Party	Christian Democratic; non-racial; Former Bophutatswana faction	0.75	3	3
Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania	Africanist; some Maoist	0.73	3	3
Minority Front	strong Indian support	0.35	2	1
Azanian People's Organization	Black Consciousness	0.25	2	1

Source: Berié and Kobert 2005, 434; *Note:* seat totals for 2004 are original election results dating from before September 15, 2005, floor-crossings. See also IMC 2005b.

The ANC has a centrist moderate wing, as well as a more strongly ideological Marxist-Communist wing, which has recently lost support. The ANC rules on the basis of a "Tripartite Alliance" with the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions. The divisions between the traditional socialist elements in the ruling coalition and those more supportive of neoliberal economic policies appear to be deepening. The ANC leadership is composed of Mbeki (president), Jacob Zuma (deputy president), and Mosiuoa Lekota (national chairperson). Zuma was recently cleared of rape charges in a highly politicized trial which highlighted divisions within the ANC and between it and its supporting organizations.

The aforementioned backlash notwithstanding, the ANC's dominant position in South African politics is strengthened by a fractured and largely ineffective opposition. The National Party formed part of the Government of National Unity installed in 1994, but rapidly lost influence thereafter. The apartheid era opposition party, the liberal Democratic Party, which briefly allied with the reincarnated New National Party to form the Democratic Alliance (a name the Democratic Party then retained), now forms the official opposition, though with

only 50 of 400 seats in the National Assembly. The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), founded by Zulu former ANC activist Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was originally close to the ANC but emerged as its main rival during the transition period; violence between the two parties, centered in KwaZulu-Natal, gripped the nation in 1990–1991. The IFP formed a coalition in that province with the DA, and joined the ANC at the national level.

In a move highlighting the controversial nature of South Africa's "floor-crossing" legislation, the NNP's parliamentary delegates joined the ANC in 2005. Amendments to the South African Constitution allow for parliamentarians to switch parties (or form new parties) during designated "window periods" while retaining their mandate. During such a period in September 2005, the ANC gained 14 additional seats, including seven from the NNP and four from the DA. Opposition parties decry the floor-crossing legislation as benefitting the ANC, due to its ability to dispense patronage.

Voter turnout in South Africa is traditionally quite high, with the country ranked tenth in the world in electoral participation since 1945 (IDEA 2005).[3] As in developed countries, voter turnout tends to be higher for national elections than for municipal elections; the turnout for the national elections in South Africa was 85.8 percent (1994); 87.9 percent (1999); 76.7 percent (2004), and approximately 48 percent for municipal elections during the same period (Kivilu 2005, 3) Active party membership in 1994 was 14 percent among blacks and 17 percent among whites; these figures declined to 12 percent and 4 percent, respectively, in 1998. Political activism remains high. Politicians' images have suffered somewhat in recent years due to corruption scandals, the government response to the AIDS crisis, and the preponderant position of the ANC, which has led to charges of cronyism.

The key political issues facing South Africa today derive from the social difficulties facing the country. Poverty eradication, AIDS, and the high crime rate remain the most pressing economic and social issues. Land reform has recently come to the fore as a source of potential social tension. Currently 80 percent of the country's titled land is in the hands of whites; the government intends to appropriate 33 percent of this land and place it under black ownership, a process it considers restitution, by 2014; the total stands at 4 percent as of May 2006 (BBC 2006). It appears that potential female landowners are not receiving equal treatment during the course of this process (see Kariuki and van der Walt 2000; Walker 1998). The first forced sale of a white farm took place in September 2005 (BBC 2005a).

The government's handling of the AIDS epidemic is one of the major issues in South African politics. The government has faced strong criticism of its AIDS policies. President Mbeki has publicly refuted the link between HIV and AIDS, and Health Minister Manto Tshabalala has controversially emphasized appropriate nutrition as more effective in treating the syndrome than antiretroviral medications (Boseley 2005). The ANC leadership has been derided for its decision not to make antiretroviral drugs available until 2004 (AVERT 2006b); other countries in the region had made these medications available two years earlier.

The government has similarly had to deal with resistance to its program of Black Economic Empowerment; critics, including the prominent anti-apartheid

activist Archbishop Desmond Tutu, have claimed that these policies favor a small, preestablished black elite rather than the broader, particularly the impoverished, population.

LAW AND ORDER

The South African Constitution contains strong provisions for civilian oversight and adherence to principles of democracy and transparency. Under the apartheid system, the nationwide South African Police (SAP) operated with wide-ranging impunity from government control as an instrument of racial repression. As a result, under the democracy the renamed South African Police Service (SAPS) now operates under much stricter guidelines (Arts. 205–8 SA Constitution) and has become an ethnically representative force. The force increased from 90,000 members in 1991 to 140,000 in 1995. Units associated with apartheid and racial policies have been consolidated or disbanded.

Though levels of corruption within the South African institutions of law and order are quite high, human rights violations were very rare and there were no extrajudicial killings. In its 2006 Report, Amnesty International notes several violations, but these are of a standard comparable with established northern democracies. Wealthy communities use private security companies; South Africa has the highest density of these companies in the world; most are run by former members of the SAP.

There are no paramilitary forces in South Africa, save for small white supremacist groups of little consequence. Emergency services in urban areas of South Africa, including fire brigades and emergency medical services, are effective and well organized. The standard of service drops off drastically in rural and impoverished areas, however, and in general reflects the affluence of the surrounding community, a factor still intimately connected to race in post-apartheid South Africa.

According to Interpol statistics, in 1998 South Africa's rates of murder and violent theft were the world's highest, and among the highest in most other major categories of violent crime (Masuku). The country saw 18,793 murders in 2004–2005, a rate of 40.3 per 100,000; this actually represents a drop from around 21,000 murders and rates of around 48 per 100,000 in previous years. Rape rates are even higher, ranging between 52,000 and 55,000 a year, a ratio of 115–121 per 100,000 total population. South Africa experienced between 249,000 and 266,000 armed assaults a year between 2001–2005; this represents a rate of 535–589 per 100,000 (SAPS 2005).

Violent crime rates in South Africa, including other forms such as carjacking, kidnapping, and robbery, remain astronomical and constitute one of the most serious problems facing the country today. The high rates of

THE WORLD'S MOST DANGEROUS NONCONFLICT ZONE

South Africa is one of the clearest examples of nontraditional security threats endangering the welfare of a nation and its people. Although the country's military problems are largely solved, it remains one of the most perilous places on earth. In 2004–2005, the country saw 18,793 murders, 55,000 rapes, and 266,000 armed assaults—among the very highest rates in the world for each and a significant strain on South Africans' human security. These numbers are the result of societal problems, including both the economic inequality that is one of apartheid's legacies, and the easy availability of small arms (SAPS 2005).

crime are a function of economic disparities and can to some extent be attributed to the massive influx of small arms into the country from surrounding conflict zones in the early 1990s, and theft and corruption-related sale from police and defense force arsenals since then.

While overall crime indicators have declined slightly over the last year (GCIS 2005, 488), drug-related offenses have risen sharply in recent years (SAPS 2005). According to the United States Department of State, "South Africa is a source, transit, and destination country for men, women, and children trafficked for the purposes of forced labor and sexual exploitation." Mozambique is a particularly common country of origin for women who are eventually moved onward to Europe. According to the State Department, "The Government of South Africa does not fully comply with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking; however, it is making significant efforts to do so" (2005a).

The confidence of South Africans in their police force is a very different matter now than it was under white rule. While the majority no longer fear indiscriminate persecution at the hands of a more representative police, the SAPS is faced with a very difficult task in combating the country's extremely high rates of violent crime—one it struggles to complete.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Foreign Policy

Responsibility for South African foreign policy rests with the Department of Foreign Affairs. South Africa has rapidly improved its foreign relationships after the isolation of the apartheid years; the country now has established diplomatic relations with more than 180 countries, up from 39 in 1990 (Byrnes 1997, 305). In the first years of democracy, South Africa's foreign policy goals were still very much under the sign of normalizing relations after the confrontational stance of the white regime. Relations with the Front-Line States (Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe) were normalized and a definitive end was put to the destabilization campaigns in the region.

Under the new government, South Africa rejoined regional and subregional organizations such as the Organization of African Unity (now the African Union) and the Southern African Development Community within months. Commensurate with its economic influence, South Africa is—together with Nigeria—the diplomatic leader on the African continent, and has acquired a reputation for excellence, particularly in the areas of disarmament and human rights promotion.

South Africa is a member of the South African Development Community (SADC), the Southern African Customs Union, and the African Union. It has been a major player on the continent, having launched such initiatives as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), an AU program for the economic development of the continent. NEPAD has come under fire from local NGOs as it is perceived as a means for the industrialized world to expand its control over Africa and to remove African resources from their rightful African owners. Pretoria has also signed the ACP agreement.

South Africa was a founding member of the League of Nations and of the United Nations, and participates very actively in the General Assembly. Though it has never been elected to the Security Council, South Africa is seen as an apt candidate for a permanent seat in a reformed Council. The country is an active member of many of the UN's specialized agencies, including the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA); the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO); the International Labour Organization (ILO); the International Organization for Migration (IOM); the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD); the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR); the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO); the World Health Organization (WHO); the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO); and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO). It is further a member of the Bretton Woods institutions, including the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the African Development Bank, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). South Africa is a leading force in the Non-Aligned Movement and the G-77.

At this time, South Africa's government lists its goals as promoting

- human rights and democracy,
- justice and international law,
- international peace and internationally agreed mechanisms for resolving conflicts,
- Africa in world affairs, and
- economic development through regional and international cooperation.

The Department of Foreign Affairs has prioritized a focus on Africa and South-South cooperation, as well as multilateralism and global governance. South Africa is a major voice for the global South in multilateral bodies, often acting as a vital bridge between the industrialized states and its African neighbors. South Africa is not party to any explicit military alliances, though it maintains close relationships with neighboring countries, as well as an ongoing close association with Great Britain. Cooperation, particularly among navies, is especially close with France, Brazil, and India. South Africa regularly holds joint exercises with Great Britain and has in the past held humanitarian exercises with the United States.

South Africa has a very strong tradition of involvement by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in politics and public life. NGOs contributed heavily to assisting the incoming government during the transition to democracy in formulating policy. Local NGOs continue to be eminently active on the national scene, particularly on the issues of HIV/AIDS and small arms control. The government also cooperates with national aid agencies from European states and the United States, as well as with local and international NGOs providing humanitarian aid through the African continent.

During the apartheid era, South Africa actively pursued the acquisition of a nuclear weapons capacity, acquiring six acknowledged nuclear warheads; the country possesses two nuclear reactors. Nuclear testing was prevented by intense diplomatic pressure from both superpowers in 1977. After tensions in the region had

subsided somewhat, South Africa signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in July 1991, fully implementing all of its provisions. It signed a Comprehensive Safeguards Agreement with the IAEA shortly thereafter and a nuclear safety information exchange agreement with the United States in September 1994. As a possessor of vast uranium reserves and advanced nuclear technology of both types, South Africa's current policy is to demonstrate that it is a responsible exporter of nuclear know-how and primary materials (FAS 2000).

Foreign Aid

South Africa is a recipient of official development assistance (ODA) from numerous sources. Since 1994, South Africa has received ZAR36,986,919,260 (ca. USD 5,474,064,050 at 2005 exchange rates) in ODA. The main donors have been the European Union (ZAR 16 billion); Germany (ZAR 3.7 billion); and Great Britain and the United States (ZAR 3 billion each). The total aid received for 2005 was ZAR1,305,003,996 (USD193,140,591) (DCIS 2006). The country regularly provides humanitarian assistance in the Southern African region; most notable in this regard was the assistance to victims of the flooding that ravaged Mozambique in 2000. Though this is less frequently the case, South Africa's aid also extends to areas such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, where in addition a 128-member team provided assistance to that nation's electoral process in the summer of 2006.

Peacekeeping

As of August 2006, South Africa is the tenth-largest contributor of troops to United Nations peacekeeping operations, having dispatched 1,213 troops to the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC) and 872 to Burundi (ONUB), where the Force Commander is a SANDF Major-General (UNDPKO 2006a; UNDPKO 2006b; IISS 2004, 245). Seven hundred SANDF members were sent to the Comoros Islands in support of elections held within the framework of that country's national reconciliation process (MoD 2006). Seven hundred South African troops led an SADC intervention in Lesotho in September 1998. South Africa's peacekeeping troops are concentrated on the African continent.

SECURITY

The South African National Defence Force (SANDF) is one of the largest in sub-Saharan Africa, and easily the continent's best-equipped. The SANDF has 55,700 men and women under arms; of these, 36,000 are in the army, 4,500 in the navy, 9,250 in the air force, and 6,000 in the South African Military Health Service. All branches possess major combat systems, and technological competence within the Force is high (IISS 2004, 245).

Due to their important role in maintaining white rule by force and surveillance, civilian control of military and intelligence organizations was a major issue during the transition to democracy. The influence of these bodies during the latter years of apartheid has been described as "militarization by invitation" (Williams 1991). Both the SANDF and the intelligence community are now subordinated to civilian

ministries and are subject to strict transparency requirements and limits on their field of action. One of the hallmarks of the South African transition to a democratic dispensation was the successful integration of MK, the other liberation armies, and the "homeland armies" into the new SANDF. This is a unique example of the integration under one command of forces that had fought each other in combat for 30 years.

South Africa's intelligence services are represented in the National Intelligence Coordinating Committee (NICOC); they are

- the National Intelligence Agency; responsible for nonmilitary domestic intelligence and counterintelligence;
- the South African Secret Service (SASS), responsible for nonmilitary foreign intelligence;
- the SANDF Intelligence Division, which deals with military intelligence; and
- the Crime Intelligence Division of the SAPS.

The South African intelligence services, SASS in particular, have been primarily occupied with tracking the activities of Al Qaeda and of South Africans active in mercenary groups on the African continent.

In the space of 15 years, South Africa's security concerns have passed from being conceived of in the strictest of realist terms to providing a classic example of threats falling under the "new security agenda." The National Party regime adopted a rigid traditional view of its security situation tinged with cultural and ideological elements related to apartheid. South Africa saw itself as a bastion of white Christian democratic capitalism, surrounded by racially and ideologically inferior black Marxist regimes.

Until the late 1980s, under the rubric of an atavistic "Total Strategy" designed to combat a perceived "Total Onslaught" on South Africa by international Marxist forces, South Africa waged political destabilization campaigns—including funding rebel armies and supporting them with covert operations by the South African armed forces—against its neighbors in the region. The then-SADF fought open wars in Namibia and Angola. Similarly, the police force and intelligence services were confronted with strong domestic opposition from the ANC and other black liberation movements, which did not shy away from the use of violence, including bombings. Traditional overtly military security concerns have now subsided in relation to more urgent societal threats.

South Africa's security threats now derive from the situations outlined above. The AIDS epidemic presents a significant long-term threat to the country's economic and societal structures; in a more traditional sense, the spread of the disease could potentially have serious consequences for the effectiveness of the SANDF, among whose ranks the infection rate is particularly high. Serious steps must be taken to stop the spread of HIV before it literally decimates South Africa's population and further lowers the country's life expectancy to demographically untenable levels like those found in some surrounding states.

South Africa's two next major security issues are interrelated. The country's income distribution remains highly unequal, resulting in both disconcerting

poverty among certain sectors of the population and the attendant high crime rate. Public security remains for the large part utterly inadequate and crime rates make the country the world's most dangerous non-conflict zone. The dual causes of uneven income distribution (South Africa is not by nature a poor country) and the ongoing easy availability of small arms and light weapons (despite restrictive new legislation) must be dealt with forthwith.

Tied to the issue of poverty is the continuing need for improvement to the provision of basic infrastructure to rural and impoverished populations, as rates of access to water and electricity continue to fluctuate strongly in accordance with race and the urban/rural divide. The unbalanced economic legacy of apartheid, particularly in its racial component, may harbor the potential to shackle South Africa to the question of race long beyond the advent of representative democracy.

If U.S. definitions are applied, the question of terrorism in South Africa is a delicate one, as during the anti-apartheid struggle the ANC committed acts defined by the U.S. State Department as terrorism and was classed as a foreign terrorist organization. This designation was of course repealed during the ANC's transition to power, but this history does color the South African government's view of the War on Terror. As noted, the country's intelligence services are primarily concerned with Al Qaeda, yet the government remains wary of full participation in U.S. efforts to combat what Washington defines as terrorism.

Non-Al Qaeda terrorism in South Africa is a rarity; the most recent attacks dubbed terrorist by local authorities, including bombings and the drive-by shooting of a magistrate, were carried out by People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD), a Cape Town-based Muslim vigilante grouping founded to fight crime in poor areas of the city. These attacks took place between 1998 and 2002 and have not recurred since.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

South Africa is committed to adherence to international law and has elevated the promotion of human rights to a major pillar of its foreign policy. This is both an outward projection of the national reconciliation process, and a conscious counter-reaction to the human rights record of the apartheid-era South African government. Pretoria is a party to the Statute of the International Criminal Court, to whose Appeals Division South African Judge Navanethem Pillay is assigned. A Parliamentary Act calling for the implementation of the Rome Statute was issued in 2002. South Africa has accepted cuts in aid from the United States as a result of its support for the International Criminal Court. This commitment to human rights is especially strong in the African ambit; Pretoria has recently signed the Protocol on the African Court of Human and People's Rights.

The South African Constitution contains a Bill of Rights, which applies to all law and binds all institutions of state. Basic rights include equality, dignity, life, and the freedoms of expression, movement, association, religion, and—a progressive novelty often touted as unique—sexual orientation. The government is strongly and publicly committed to fostering a culture of human rights and has sought to meld international legal influences with local traditions in achieving this

goal. With limited exceptions related to direct instances of abuse, the South African public has strong confidence in the government's respect for the Bill of Rights.

The protection of human rights within the country is the responsibility of the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC). All relevant organs of state are required by the Constitution to report to the SAHRC on their efforts to implement the provisions of the Bill of Rights. The SAHRC has investigative powers and is empowered to "take steps" to ensure the redress of violations of the Bill of Rights' provisions. It has the stated mission of

- addressing human rights violations and seeking effective redress for such violations;
- monitoring and assessing the observance of human rights;
- raising awareness of human rights issues; and
- educating and training on human rights (SAHRC Web site).

With regard to reparations for apartheid era crimes, South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)—a pioneering body and a model for similar commissions in states such as East Timor—presented its final report in March 2003. It recommended reparations for apartheid-era crimes amounting to approximately U.S.$420 million. Claims against multinational corporations for complicity with the white regime were denied in November 2004 after the TRC had suggested this course of action.

South Africa has fully acceded to all major instruments of international and human rights law and has signed most optional protocols to these documents. The country ratified, in the first nine years after democracy was instituted, the following treaties:

- the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights;
- the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR);
- both optional protocols to the ICCPR;
- the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination;
- the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women;
- the Convention against Torture; and
- the Convention on the Rights of the Child and both of its optional protocols.

South Africa possesses an independent judiciary whose decisions are binding on all organs of state and legal and private persons. The country's highest court is the South African Constitutional Court, whose role is to interpret the provisions of the Constitution. The highest non-Constitutional court in the land is the Supreme Court of Appeal, which is in many ways subordinate in its functions to the Constitutional Court and hears all appeals from high courts.

South Africa's high courts are split into 10 regionally organized divisions. Below the high courts sit magistrate's courts and other courts created in accordance with the Constitution. These include notably chiefs' courts, in which tribal leaders are

empowered to settle disputes between two African parties. Appeals to their decisions are heard by magistrates' courts. The South African judicial system possesses a full array of specialized offices for legal specializations such as labor law, juvenile and children's issues, and public protection. Among the specialized offices are a Commission for Gender Equality and a Legal Aid Board. The legal system is well developed in keeping with South Africa's Commonwealth tradition. Despite the legal situation in their home country prior to 1994, several South African jurists have profiled themselves internationally as legal experts with high standing.

While the human rights record of South African law enforcement requires improvement, levels of police brutality resemble—or are an improvement over—those of states at a comparable level of democratization. Abuse is not systematic and law enforcement officials are not themselves above the law. The SAP Independent Complaints Directorate registered 528 deaths in custody or from police action in the year ending March 2003; it also received notice of 353 assaults by police officers, 23 instances of torture, and 16 rapes by law enforcement officials (Amnesty International 2004).

CONCLUSION

Relationship with the United States

The formal relationship between South Africa and the United States is solid and reflects South Africa's importance, as a regional hegemon, to the global power's African foreign policy priorities. There are frictions, as in most diplomatic relationships; over the course of the last 10 years, these have surrounded issues such as South Africa's plans to circumvent patents on key HIV medications and the use of South African passports by the Central Intelligence Agency during a number of sting operations in 1997. The two countries have concluded numerous treaties both before and after 1994. These notably cover atomic energy, defense, public health, and science and technology (Department of State 2005b).

One potential source of strain on the relationship with the United States is Washington's decisive support of the apartheid regime, particularly during the 1980s, and its characterization of the ANC as a terrorist organization. Members of the current U.S. administration, including Vice President Dick Cheney, voted against bills to demand the release of Nelson Mandela and refused opportunities to meet with him after 1994 on the grounds of this characterization. Given the ANC's political leanings, its history of support from the Eastern Bloc, and the relative identity of its platform with the interests pursued by South Africa in the era of majority rule, South Africa has strong progressive tendencies in its foreign policy relationships. As a result, its relationship with the United States has tended to be closer when the Democratic Clinton administration was in power than it has been since 2001.

Future Considerations

Since 1994 and the normalization of its relationships with its neighbors, South Africa's security threats are no longer territorial or military in nature, but rather

emanate from societal conditions and other factors within the country itself. The most serious problem facing the country today is the HIV/AIDS epidemic, which today already accounts for one in three deaths in the country (BBC 2005b). The country's economic disparities present a particular risk to a broadly conceived view of the country's security situation and have already contributed to crime rates that are among the world's highest and themselves a major threat to individual security. Though overt racial tensions have subsided, the legacy of apartheid remains reflected in the economy, and tensions threaten to come to the forefront again if the issue of land reform is not settled in a mutually satisfactory way.

Poverty, crime, and AIDS will continue to be the most pressing issues facing South Africa for some time to come. South Africa will likely continue to serve as a minor base for Al Qaeda operatives, though it itself does not appear to be a target due both to its opposition to the American invasion of Iraq and to divergences with the United States' overall policy in the Middle East. The worsening situation in Zimbabwe has already led to a substantial increase in economic migrants to South Africa's industrial core in Gauteng Province; if the situation in Harare deteriorates further there is serious potential that spillover will exacerbate the structural problems South Africa already faces. It is probable, however, that South Africa will remain Africa's economic and military powerhouse for the middle term, and that its prominent role in conflict resolution and economic leadership on the continent will continue. As its traditionally defined security situation gets ever better, the "new security agenda" would suggest that South Africa's real problems have remained as dramatic as ever. Although the situation with regard to crime, poverty, and HIV/AIDS has remained extremely worrisome, there are signs that where the government has taken appropriate action, improvement is on the way.

NOTES

1. NB all exchange rates taken from https://commerce.sars.gov.za/roe/SingleDates.asp.
2. On variations in methodology and results in evaluating HIV/AIDS statistics, see http://www.avert.org/statistics.htm.
3. This figure includes the whites-only system in effect between 1948 and 1994.

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Sri Lanka

Sheryl Boxall

BACKGROUND

The Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka comprises one large and several smaller islands situated in the Indian Ocean, 80 kilometers south of India. The official or administrative capital is Sri Jayewardenepura-Kotte and home of the Sri Lankan Parliament. The commercial capital is Colombo, which is situated on the western coast in the Gulf of Mannar.

The mountains in the central-southern region rise to more than 2,100 meters. The rest of the main island is low rolling plains with a coastline of over 1,300 kilometers. Sri Lanka's main river, the Mahaweli, originates in the central highlands and flows northeast over 330 kilometers into the Bay of Bengal.

With a tropical climate, there is little seasonal variation and the average temperature is 27° Celsius, but during the monsoon season the average rainfall is 2,424 mm. In December 2004, a tsunami caused by an underwater earthquake off the coast of Indonesia flooded the southern and eastern coast regions of Sri Lanka. Over 31,000 people were killed and 443,000 displaced with damages worth more than $1 billion (U.S. Department of State). Monsoon flooding and occasional tornados and cyclones also cause destruction. Man-made hazards include soil erosion, deforestation, and pollution. Poaching and urban encroachment threaten wild life and endangered species.

An important port and trading post, Ceylon became independent in 1946 after centuries of colonization by the Dutch, Portuguese, and finally the British, and was renamed Sri Lanka in 1972. During colonization, Ceylon developed a coffee and then tea plantation-based economy. The commercial and prosperous city of Colombo was established and Western influences were evident in the schools, churches, and culture. As an Allied base during World War II, tens of thousands of British and American troops were deployed from the main island against Japan. After decolonization the brewing communal unrest between the Sinhalese and the Tamils increased, and this protracted dispute still defies resolution.

Sri Lanka

Formal name of country: Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, *Shri Lamka Prajatantrika Samajaya di Janarajaya/Ilankai Jananayaka Choshalichak Kutiyarachu*

Size of country: 65,610 sq km

Natural resources: Gemstones, limestone, graphite, mineral sands, phosphates, clay, hydropower, and mahogany

Population: 20,222,240 (July 2006 est.)

Life expectancy at birth: 73.41 years (July 2006)

Key ethnic groups:

- Sinhalese 74%
- Tamils 18%
- Muslims 7%
- others 1%

Key religions: Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity

Political system: Presidential republic with proportional legislative representation

Key political groups/parties:

- United National Party (UNP)
- United Peoples Freedom Alliance (UPFA)
- Communist Party of Sri Lanka
- Democratic United National Front
- Lanka Sama Samaja Party
- Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP)
- Sri Lanka Mahajana (People's) Party
- Tamil National Alliance (TNA)
- Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front
- Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization
- Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF)
- Jathika Hela Urumaya
- Sri Lanka Muslim Congress

Tamil separatist groups:

- Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)
- TamilEela Makkal Viduthalai Pulikal (Karuna Faction)

Legal System: Supreme Court, Court of Appeals, High Court, and subordinate courts

Real GDP growth: 7.4% (2006)

Population below the poverty line: 22% (2002)
Size of military (2006): Active 150,900 (army 117,900; navy 15,000; and air force 18,000); Paramilitary 58,200; Reserve 5,500
Relationship with the United States: Sri Lanka follows a nonaligned foreign policy. It has a cordial relationship with the United States. U.S. assistance since 1948 has totaled $1.63 billion. The United States supports Sinhalese-Tamil reconciliation.
Human security issues: Protracted civil conflict
Important future security issues: Reengagement in the peace process.
Sources: U.S. Department of State 2007, CIA 2007, International Institute for Strategic Studies 2007.

The conflict in Sri Lanka is complex and historic. The death toll since hostilities began is estimated at over 67,000 (United Nations, 2007b). Under British rule, the Sinhalese believed the Tamils enjoyed a well-educated and privileged position resulting in high societal status. Tamils were influential in the economy and had a major role in the bureaucracy. Since independence, the Tamils as a minority have perceived their position to be threatened by the Sinhalese, who are the majority. Competition for posts in the public service and status has resulted in violent conflict.

Additionally, Tamils believe that the Sinhalese created discriminatory policies. These include the 1956 Sinhala Only Act which gave Sinhala sole official language status and the 1970s policy changes in university admission resulting in Tamils losing their intellectual dominance. In 1978 the Constitution gave the Tamil language national status and in an amendment in 1987 raised its status to an official language.

The balance of political power has created the most anxiety. The Sinhalese are suspicious about devolving power to the provinces while the Tamils demand power to be transferred from the political center to form a federal-type arrangement. This issue has become the most intractable problem and when combined with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) demand for autonomy and/or a separate state, the problem is further obscured.

Finding solutions in the ongoing peace process has been hindered by the government's resolute "war for peace" policy and the LTTE's hardened resistance. The 2002 Ceasefire Agreement, assisted by Norwegian mediators and the establishment of the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission (currently composed of a committee of experts from Iceland and Norway), has been frequently violated by both parties. For example, from July through September 2006 government forces embarked on military offensive operations causing major confrontations with LTTE's forces. These resulted in over 200 civilian deaths with several thousand persons displaced. Many human rights groups and UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon have become greatly "disturbed" by the increase of violent hostilities resulting in increases in casualties, especially civilians (UN News Service 2007). Commentators are becoming less optimistic as "a solution to this most intractable of disputes looks as far away as ever" (*BBC News* 2006).

SOCIETY

The population of Sri Lanka is over 20 million with a density of over 300 people per square kilometer, with the greatest concentrations in the southwest and northern regions. Approximately 79 percent of Sri Lankans live in rural areas. Colombo is the largest city with 1.5 million people. Jaffna in the North (LTTE-controlled area) was the second largest city until the civil conflict led many to flee the violence.

The 2004 Boxing Day tsunami displaced over 500,000 people, and this was in addition to over a million people displaced during Sri Lanka's civil conflict (UNHCR 2006). While repatriation has taken place, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimates that currently there are over 500,000 displaced persons in Sri Lanka (United Nations 2007b). The UNHCR is focusing on refugee protection by monitoring and documenting human rights abuses, and coordinating food, health care, and other services to more than 56 emergency sites for the displaced (UNHCR 2006). After the February 2007 confrontations between the government and LTTE forces in the West Batticaloa district where more than 90,000 people were displaced, many returned home in May 2007 with the UNHCR assisting in reintegration and rehabilitation. However, the conflict burden for refugees or displaced persons in Sri Lanka is unrelenting as negotiations between the conflict parties repeatedly break down and violence resumes.

Sri Lanka comprises 74 percent of Sinhalese that descended from northern India in 500 BC and are concentrated mainly in the southwest and central area of the main island. Most Sinhalese follow the Buddhist religion. Sri Lankan Tamils make up 18 percent of the population and many profess Hinduism with a few Roman Catholics. Originating in southern India, they speak Tamil and many trace ancestors back to ancient migrations. Indian Tamils (Tamil Nadu) were brought by the British to labor in the tea and coffee plantations in the nineteenth century. They live mainly in the central hill regions and while speaking Tamil, they consider themselves culturally distinct from Sri Lankan Tamils.

Muslims comprise 7 percent of the population and live in commercial centers on the eastern coast. They are descendants of the Moors that migrated in the 700s to 1400s. There is also a small proportion of Malay Muslims, whose ancestors came from Indonesia in the 1600s. They speak a fusion of Tamil and Arabic. Burghers are European and Dutch nationals living in Sri Lanka. During colonialism, they kept themselves culturally and religiously distinct from Sri Lankans and dominated the best educational and administrative positions. The indigenous people of Sri Lanka are the Veddas and predate the arrival of the Sinhalese. The Veddah are poor and rural who live mainly in the eastern highlands. They have not preserved their own language and have become similar to a subservient caste of the Sinhalese.

Sri Lanka's infrastructure is neglected. The transport sector requires maintenance and resourcing. The road network consists of more than 100,000 kilometers of roads; 78,000 kilometers are paved with 11,500 kilometers of national highway. However they are heavily congested and many are in poor condition. The poor enforcement of traffic regulations hampers the development of commerce and tourism. There are 1,449 kilometers of railways in Sri Lanka. However, it is estimated that more than 300 kilometers in the North have been destroyed due to

the civil conflict. Additionally, signalling and communication systems are outdated with tracks and bridges in poor condition. Thus, dangerous derailments occur. Threats from the civil conflict also disrupt services and cause delays. In an effort to reduce road congestion and improve rail services, the government approved the purchase of 100 new train carriages from China in February 2007.

There are three deep water ports in Sri Lanka with Colombo being the prime commercial port, which additionally has been acknowledged as the most economical in the region. There is an upgrade expected of the Bandaranaike International Airport. This is in Kataunayake, 35 kilometers from Colombo. The upgrade includes resurfacing the runway, a superhighway, and rail link, for easier connection to Colombo, and a second runaway that will service Airbus flights. Hydroelectric power supplied from the Mahaweli River makes a significant contribution to Sri Lanka's energy requirements.

While there is a range of development projects with various project partners such as the World Bank, European Union, and the Asian Development Bank, assistance is impeded by Sri Lanka's civil conflict due to difficulties in sourcing contractors, the displacement of people, and the increased construction costs. The government nevertheless has expressed interest in public-private partnerships to promote investment.

Sri Lanka has moved away from economic socialist policies towards a more open economy encouraging foreign investment. The Mahinda Chintana (Mahinda's thoughts)—the president's election manifesto's economic strategy—focuses on poverty alleviation, development of small and medium enterprise, promotion of agriculture, and expanding the public service. It rejects the privatization of state enterprises but seeks public-private partnerships in some sectors. Economic growth, despite the civil conflict, has continued to grow and was 7.4 percent in 2006 (U.S. Department of State 2007a). The government depends heavily on foreign assistance including remittances from expatriates.

Plantation crops such as tea, rubber, and coconut are the major exports for Sri Lanka as are precious stones, jewelry, and a large variety of spices. Manufactured goods, especially garments, are also a major export. In 2006 the United States took 60 percent of Sri Lanka's total garment exports (U.S. Department of State 2007a).

Sri Lanka's social indicators are better than other developing countries in the South Asian region. The population growth rate is 0.78 percent and life expectancy is more than 73 years (CIA 2007). The adult literacy rate is over 90 percent with females equaling males. One percent of the population live on less than $1 per day and 22 percent are below the national poverty line. The unemployment rate is under 7 percent, with youth employment at 30 percent (Asian Development Bank 2007). Sri Lanka does have income assistance and housing programs for the poor; nevertheless, income inequality is great and the differences between rural and urban centers are striking.

Sri Lanka has free basic health care and mortality rates have been declining since independence, and due to a Universal Child Immunization program, smallpox has been eradicated and polio is well on the way to being so. Nutrition rates for children have not improved, however, and other preventable diseases, such as tuberculosis, diarrhea, and Malaria, are still prevalent. Additionally, diabetes and cancer

along with tobacco and substance and alcohol abuse have increased in the last two decades (World Health Organization 2004).

Education is free, including text books, and compulsory for all Sri Lankans over the age of five. Sinhala and Tamil are taught in school with English being taught as a second language. There are over 9,500 government schools for those up to 14 years of age and 13 public universities, as well as a number of medical, technical, engineering, and schools of law.

In the northern and eastern regions of Sri Lanka that are dominated by LTTE forces, Tamils suffer the most from the civil conflict. Prices for essentials have increased enormously; petrol is five times more expensive than in the South and of the 350,000 people estimated by the United Nations to be living in the region, more than 70 percent live on less than $1 per day (Gardner 2007). Many people depend on aid agencies daily for food and the basics needed to survive. However, development projects are often abandoned because supplies are unavailable due to the government's embargo on construction materials such as cement, steel, and fuel. Fishing is dangerous and many are killed in the confrontations between the Sri Lankan and LTTE navies. The roads are often closed due to fighting, resulting in poor or no profits for local businesses and markets. Fear of persecution from the Sinhalese, and LTTE restrictions on movement, though have prevented many Tamils from leaving and they fear that family members left behind will be forced to join the LTTE. Most Tamils are war weary.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

Sri Lanka is a multiparty, democratically elected country where the transfer of power has been peaceful. It has universal suffrage for presidential and parliamentary elections for people over the age of 18 years. Sri Lanka has a unicameral parliament with 225 seats for proportional representatives in the legislature for a six-year term.

Sri Lanka's president, currently Mahinda Rajapakse, is elected by popular vote and holds a term for six years. The president is the chief of state, head of government, and commander-in-chief of the armed forces including the police. The prime minister is the leader of the ruling party in parliament. Currently it is Ratnasiri Wickremanayake, leader of the UNFA socialist alliance.

Since independence, two major political parties have ruled Sri Lanka: the right-wing United National Party (UNP) and the socialist Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP). UNP supported Tamils' rights and advocated for both Sinhalese and Tamil as official languages. Its current leader is Ranil Wickremasinghe.

The SLFP was formed in 1951 and it supported Sinhala as the official language and Buddhism as the predominant religion. The SLFP currently leads the United People's Freedom Alliance (UPFA), which comprises the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, Democratic United National Front, Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP), Lanka Sama Samaja Party, and the Sri Lanka Mahajana (People's) Party. The UPFA currently holds a majority in parliament and its leader Ratnasiri Wickremanayake is the prime minister.

In 1971, while Sri Lanka was governed under the SLFP, a state of emergency was declared when the left-wing Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna—the People's

Liberation Front (JVP)—led an insurrection. After the government suppressed the uprising, JVP were banned. After gaining legal status in 1977, however, they were further banned in 1983. They regained legal status again in 1994 and the current leader is Somawansa Amarasinghe. In January 2004, the JVP joined the SLFP-led alliance, UPFA.

The main Tamil party, the Federal Party, united the other Tamil groups in 1976 under the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF). They sought an independent Tamil state-*Eelam*-for the northern and eastern parts of Sri Lanka. In 2001, prior to the general election, the TULF united with the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization, Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front, and the All Ceylon Tamils Congress to form the Tamil National Alliance (TNA). The TNA received 3.9 percent of the vote and secured 15 seats in parliament. The nationalist Jathika Hela Urumaya Party won nine seats and the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress took five seats.

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) was established in 1976 and began its armed conflict against the government in 1983. It is currently estimated to have a force of more than 12,000 personnel based in Kilinochchi, the Northern Jaffna region, with an additional 4,000 navy personnel, known as the Sea Tigers. Funding of the LTTE is believed to come from a worldwide chain of business interests that include travel agencies, shipping lines, money changers, weapons, and drugs smuggling. Remittances from expatriates are estimated to make up nearly half of their annual income.

In March 2004, Colonel Karuna Amman, a prominent leader within the LTTE, established the breakaway group the TamilEela Makkal Viduthalai Pulikal, also known as the Karuna Faction. It maintains a stronghold in the southeast of Sri Lanka and with a force numbering a few hundred, regularly attacks LTTE forces. The Sri Lankan government has been accused by the LTTE of supporting and sheltering the group.

Sri Lanka's 1978 constitution provided for a unicameral parliament and an executive presidency and introduced proportional representation. It guaranteed fundamental rights and an independent judiciary including a supreme court to hear cases should those rights be violated. It established the Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration (Ombudsman). The 13th amendment (1987) made Tamil an official language and established the provincial councils. The 16th amendment (1988) saw Sinhala and Tamil become languages of administration and legislation.

The constitution has proven controversial and easily manipulated. Its design has been the cause of "cohabitation strains" when the president's political allegiances have differed from those of the prime minister's party (U.S. Department of State 2007a). Additionally, it has been used in political manoeuvring that has contributed to collapses in cease-fire negotiations. This was especially evident in the lead-up to and after the 2001 parliamentary elections. President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga's tough stance against the LTTE and negotiations differ markedly from that of Prime Minister Ranil Wickremasinghe's more conciliatory approach. Despite some of the efforts made towards the peace process, albeit contentious at times, the stalemate persisted throughout his time in office until the president seized a political advantage while the prime minister was out of the country. She

2005 ELECTIONS AND SRI LANKAN LEADERS

In the 2005 presidential elections more than 13 million were eligible to vote. Turnout was approximately 75 percent. However, with the Tamil election boycott less than 1 percent turned out in the Tamil dominated region of Jaffna. Sri Lankan President Mahinda Rajapakse won the 2005 elections by a narrow margin defeating Ranil Wickremesinghe by only 180,000 votes.

Mahinda Rajapakse was born in 1945 and comes from the Sinhalese-dominated rural southern region of Sri Lanka. Well educated and from a politically minded family, Rajapakse trained as a lawyer. At the age of 24 years and as a member of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) he won the parliamentary seat of Beliatta in 1970. The seat was lost in the 1977 election but in 1989 through proportional representation Rajapakse again became a member of parliament. In 2002 he became leader of the opposition and in 2004, President Chandrika Kumaratunga appointed him prime minister. During the 2005 presidential elections, Rajapakse submitted the *Mahinda Chintana* (or Mahinda Vision), a lengthy and philosophical document that detailed his leftist policies for Sri Lanka. While he declared that he would seek "an undivided country, a national consensus, an honorable peace," Rajapakse has taken a hard line with the LTTE and has recently celebrated their defeat in the Eastern Province.

Ranil Wickremesinghe was born in 1949 and is the current leader of the opposition. Also well educated and from a diplomatically minded family, Wickremesinghe also trained as a lawyer. In 1993, Wickremesinghe became prime minister after the assassination of President Ranasinghe Premadasa. In 2001 the UNP won the parliamentary elections which saw Wickremesinghe the prime minister for a second term. He took a more diplomatic role with the LTTE and engaged in peace talks and signed the 2002 Ceasefire Agreement. However, many accused him of being too lenient with the LTTE and this caused much conflict with the then SLFP President Kumaratunga. Wickremesinghe has asserted that the hard line of the SLFP leaders has "polarized society now, into three groups…those who voted for the peace process, those who voted for Mahinda Rajapakse and those who [were] unable to vote" (*BBC News* 2005). The boycott of the Tamils of the 2005 presidential election obviously cost Wickremesinghe the presidency and contributed to the failed peace talks.

suspended the legislature, dismissed a range of ministers, took the security portfolios herself, declared and rescinded a state of emergency, and dissolved parliament four years ahead of schedule and called for new elections. Kumaratunga stated she did this because Wickremasinghe had made too many concessions to the LTTE during peace negotiations (Europa 2006, 4064). Consequently, UNP failed to secure enough seats and its leader Wickremasinghe is currently the opposition leader.

LAW AND ORDER

After the 2005 presidential election, the responsibility for enforcing law and order was placed under the Ministry of Defense, Public Security, Law and Order. The ministry is divided into divisions that have a mix of security related functions. The Police Division looks after complaints, recruitment and personnel issues, overseas police deployments, land and buildings, and in 2006 was assigned to deal with all matters relating to the Special Task Force.

The Police Force was transformed into the Police Service after independence when its role was narrowed to the maintenance of law and order and prevention and detection of crime. The Police Service has 401 police stations with the strength

BLACK TIGER—SRI LANKA'S SUICIDE ATTACKERS

While infamous for their terrorist tactics, Captain Miller in 1987, the first LTTE suicide attacker known as a "Black Tiger," killed more than 40 soldiers by driving a truck laden with explosives into the wall of a Sri Lankan army camp. Since then 322 Black Tigers have died while committing suicide attacks and on Captain Miller's anniversary, the LTTE celebrate Black Tiger week. Black Tigers have killed two world leaders, former Prime Minister of India Rajiv Gandi and the president of Sri Lanka Ranainghe Premadasa. More than 30 percent of LTTE's suicide operations have been performed by women. Indeed, President Chandrika Bandaraniake Kumaratunge was partially blinded in a foiled attack by a female suicide bomber in December 1999 (Jane's Security News 2000)

of over 65,000 officers (Sri Lanka Police Service 2007). However, 20,000 are regular trained officers and 45,000 are reservists and many have not received proper training. Regardless of a lack of training capacity, the security forces are increasing their presence. The capture of Thoppigala in the East in early 2007 is an example as it was announced that a number of police stations in the region are to be established and it is intended that they collaborate with other security forces to maintain law and order. It was reported that a special recruitment drive will supply the personnel required to man the stations (Government News Portal of Sri Lanka 2007). The Special Task Force was established in 1983. With approximately 6,000 personnel, they have a range of tasks including counterterrorist and counterinsurgency operations and VIP protection (U.S. Department of State 2007b).

Terrorist acts, suicide bombings, and political rallies can quickly become violent with the potential to catch civilians in the crossfire. Crime in Sri Lanka is high with theft and robbery being major concerns. Cases of abduction and kidnapping, especially in the North and East, are also high. However, many Sri Lankans have little faith in the police service resulting from their poor investigative skills and high incidence of police abuse.

The human rights history of the police and Special Task Force is marred by many incidents. Most recent of these include torture, arbitrary arrest, and abuse leading to death. Additionally, human rights observers have reported police are involved in summary executions (Alston 2006). Despite the establishment of the Police Human Rights Division and the National Police Commission, many cases are not fully investigated and perpetrators left unpunished. Overall, there is little political will, a lack of properly trained people with appropriate resources, and a culture of worsening police brutality that undermines trust and confidence in the Sri Lankan Police Service and the Special Task Force.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

India is Sri Lanka's closest neighbor with a historical but sometimes complicated relationship. Their geo-strategic configuration has played a large role in the bilateral relations. India sees Sri Lanka's strategic position and foreign interests as a major security consideration. Sri Lanka has at times used this to buttress India's regional hegemony aspirations. For instance, it has courted relationships with other foreign militaries. India is naturally interested in the Tamil-Sinhalese conflict and has become involved in various roles including sending 8,000 peacekeeping troops in 1987 and dropping food parcels into Jaffna. The Indian

peacekeeping forces were hated by both the Tamils and Sinhalese and became embroiled in human rights abuses and were subsequently withdrawn.

More recently, the bilateral relationship has improved with numerous presidential and official visits. India supports the Norwegian mediation in the peace process, and Sri Lanka supported India's candidature for permanent membership to the UN Security Council. Additionally, Sri Lankan military personnel train with Indian forces and in 2006–2007 there were 870 allotted slots for Sri Lankans. In 2007–2008, the Sri Lankan military has requested 2,579 course slots (Indian Government 2007).

Sri Lanka maintains its traditional relationships with China, Japan, and South Korea and since September 11, Sri Lanka has sought closer ties with the United States despite being a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement. Additionally, Sri Lanka was also a founding member of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and places great importance on fostering cooperation through SAARC. It is a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Asian Development Bank, and the Colombo Plan. Sri Lanka became a member of the United Nations in 1955 and promotes sovereignty and independence in developing countries.

The Sri Lankan government seeks to protect its international reputation and works hard to counter negative perceptions and LTTE propaganda. Conversely the LTTE also use popular media to spread its version of the conflict. Nevertheless, the security situation in Sri Lanka has damaged its reputation. For example, its entry into ASEAN was blocked in 1967 by a former Singaporean foreign minister. The reason given was that its "domestic situation was unstable and that would adversely affect the newly formed organization" (Jayawardhana 2007b).

The United States, Japan, and the European Union have consistently called for the Sri Lankan government to resume peace talks. Most notably, Norway has consistently attempted to mediate in Sri Lanka's conflict since 2002. After six sessions with the last in March 2003, and with the establishment of the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission, and despite the numerous cease-fire violations by both conflict parties, the Norwegian government reiterated its commitment to the peace process and warned,

> Norway strongly believes that any efforts to bring about lasting peace in Sri Lanka must be supported by all ethnic communities. Norway has made repeated efforts to encourage multi-ethnic support, but cannot generate it alone. It is the people of Sri Lanka and their leaders, not Norway or any other party, who are ultimately responsible for deciding the future of this country and finding a peaceful, negotiated settlement to the present conflict. Norway is ready to lend its firm support.
>
> (Brattskar 2007)

SECURITY

The main focus of Sri Lanka's security forces is the civil conflict. The security and military forces of Sri Lanka have a strength of over 150,900 active personnel, reservists of 5,500, and paramilitary forces (both active and reservists) of 88,600

personnel (IISS 2007). The army consists of 117,900 and its active reservists have been recalled into service. The navy has 15,000 active personnel including 2,400 recalled reservists and the air force has 18,000 personnel. The paramilitary is comprised of a Home Guard of 13,000 and a National Guard of 15,000 personnel, which also includes the Police Service and Special Task Force.

There are army bases in all 22 districts of the island, with its core fighting elements being the Reserve Strike Force and its Independent Commando Brigade (Jane's Sentinel 2005). The air force has four main air bases, Colombo-Katunayake, Colombo-Ratmalana, Minneriya-Hingarukgoda, and Vavuniya. The air force has more than 10 fixed wing air defense/attack elements and more than 20 rotary wing combat elements, though not all are airworthy (Jane's Sentinel 2005). Sri Lanka has four naval headquarters, Colombo, Boossa, Trincomalee, and Karanagar, with more than 10 bases around the island. The navy with more than 30 crafts has frequently clashed with the LTTE's Sea Tigers. Sri Lanka currently has troops deployed in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Haiti, the Sudan, and the Western Sahara.

A new military agreement with a Chinese military supplier worth more than $37.6 million has been forged by the Sri Lankan government. Most of the provisions include $23 million worth of ammunitions for the army with the rest of the order including naval armaments. The government did not renew their contract with the previous military supply company who are owed over $200 million (Karniol 2006).

There are many enduring security problems for Sri Lanka. The government security groups and LTTE have both been implicated in serious violations of the 2002 Ceasefire Agreement. Apart from combat operations against each other, both groups have made indiscriminate attacks killing many civilians. All conflict parties, including the Karuna Faction, have committed serious breaches of human rights, such as extrajudicial killings and abductions, and have interfered with humanitarian assistance including during the 2004 tsunami. Impunity for perpetrators of abuse has increased since December 2005 despite the government announcing the creation of a presidential commission of inquiry into the cases of serious human rights violations.

Another serious security concern is the recruitment of children into the conflict. Government security groups have been complicit while the LTTE and the Karuna Faction abduct and compel children into their forces. The Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict reported that between November 1, 2006, and September 30, 2006, more than 513 children were recruited by the LTTE (United Nations 2007a). In March 2007, the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) reported that there had been 6,241 child abductions and blamed the LTTE for recruiting 6,006, while 235 were recruited by the Karuna Faction (*South Asia Intelligence Review* 2007). There have been reports that local police and military forces watched and/or participated in the abduction by the Karuna Faction of several hundred boys and young men in the government-controlled districts of Batticaloa, Trinomalee, and Ampara (Human Rights Watch 2007). In some areas, this has resulted in decreased school attendance due to the fear that children will be taken.

Fighting continues and is increasing. LTTE entered Sri Lankan airspace for the first time when it bombed Katunayake air base in March 2007 and completed a second air attack on the northern military camp of Palaly in April 2007. The Sri Lankan government has closed the international airport at Colombo during night time hours until the Sri Lankan air defense capabilities are enhanced. In May 2007 the government announced the acquisition of an unknown number of Russian MiG-29 fighter aircraft (Iqbal 2007). Moreover, with a heightened security alert, the Sri Lanka police sealed off all entry points into Colombo and searched all vehicles entering when the Sri Lankans played Australia at cricket in Barbados in April 2007. The Sri Lankan Prime Minister Ratnasiri Wickramanayaka announced in August 2007 that armed forces will "wipe out terrorists from Sri Lanka's Northern Province in the same manner they wiped them out of the Eastern Province of the Country" (Jayawardhana 2007a). President Mahinda Rajapakse celebrated the defeat of the LTTE in the Eastern Province with a half-hour-long parade which included mounted military police in formal uniform, rolling tanks, and jets and helicopters flying overhead. The parade was considered inappropriate by the opposition party, the United National Party, which boycotted the ceremony. LTTE forces have threatened retaliation.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Sri Lanka has a Supreme Court, Court of Appeals, High Court, and subordinate courts. The legal system reflects Sri Lanka's colonial past and its diverse cultural mix. Criminal law has British influences while civil law reflects Roman/Dutch systems. Islamic and Sinhalese and customary laws are also accepted. Confidence in the legal and judicial system is declining. The independence of the judiciary has recently come under scrutiny as the president is alleged to have bypassed the Constitutional Council and ignored certain constitutional requirements for the appointment of judges. Delays and manipulation of due process and the postponement of cases have undermined respect for the law and resulted in the public taking the law into their own hands through violence or bribery as the backlog of cases increases. Police corruption and the failure to investigate properly have been noted above. Furthermore, the politicization of the police has weakened the judicial system.

The government generally respects freedom and rights of the media. The security forces and the LTTE have been implicated in the deaths of many journalists. Self censorship of the civil conflict is common as intimidation tactics are used by both forces. The civil conflict, however, has had a polarizing effect as journalists from all sides, including external media, are accused of bias, which makes it difficult to determine legitimate reporting. The Sri Lankan government does not restrict Internet access. The government allows for freedom of assembly. However, the LTTE have reportedly coerced Tamils to attend rallies (U.S. Department of State 2006).

Respect for human rights is lacking from both the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE. Several aid donors have voiced concern that the Sri Lankan forces have been responsible for violence against civilians in government-controlled areas (Human Rights Features 2007). To show that the Sri Lankan government must

rein in its security forces and that it must punish violators, the United Kingdom and Germany suspended their assistance. It is alleged that the Sri Lankan government though perceives that LTTE propaganda has been the reason. This is an unlikely cause because in May 2007 the British Parliament approved licenses for seven million pounds worth of weapons and equipment for the Sri Lankan government.

One major security concern for not only the government but also the international community is the safety of humanitarian workers in Sri Lanka. In August 2006, 17 aid workers from the Action Contre la Faim in the town of Muttur in Trincomalee District were trapped and killed when LTTE and security forces clashed. The UN Emergency Relief Coordinator called it "the single worse crime committed against humanitarian workers in recent history" (Holmes 2007). However, investigations into the incident have been slow, and to date no one has been apprehended or charged, and the truth of what happened is still unknown. UN officials have demanded that the "Sri Lankan government investigate this murder with the full weight and force of the justice system" (Holmes 2007).

CONCLUSION

The United States has provided more than $1.7 billion in assistance since 1948 (Kronstadt 2006). In 1997, the U.S. designated the LTTE a foreign terrorist organization. The United States does not support the LTTE's demands for an independent state but seeks reform of Sri Lanka's democratic process to provide full participation for all communities (Kronstadt 2006). In 2002 a new Trade and Investment Framework Agreement was signed. However, the conflict escalation and stalled peace process has given cause for the United States to suspend negotiations for a Free Trade Deal. The United States and Sri Lanka maintain military relations but human rights violations by both the security forces and the LTTE have recently dampened bilateral relations.

The civil conflict distracts from the other security needs of the country. Sri Lanka has great potential for tourism, growth, and prosperity for its people. However, while the Sinhalese are the majority and the aggrieved Tamils remain the minority and are prevented from achieving democratic strength, Sri Lanka is likely to be marred by its civil conflict for some time to come.

The government's current "war for peace" strategy combined with the LTTE's retaliatory tactics indicates that the past is unlikely to be resolved through dialogue. And while the government may believe it has gained some physical ground by defeating the LTTE in the Eastern Province, this may only serve to strengthen the resolve of the Tigers elsewhere. This may also include convincing otherwise unlikely Tamil recruits to enlist. With such a protracted and violent conflict that feeds on historical and discriminatory grievances, it is likely that only war weariness will encourage the parties back to the peace process.

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Sudan

Nigel Parsons

BACKGROUND

Bilad al-Sudan was the title coined by Islamic cartographers looking south from Egypt to the "land of the blacks." In addition to its influential northern neighbor, the modern Republic of the Sudan is bordered to the east by the Red Sea, Eritrea, and Ethiopia; to the south by Kenya, Uganda, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and the Central African Republic; and to the west by Chad and Libya. Encompassing over 2.5 million square kilometers, the largest state in Africa might almost be conceived of as a subcontinent in its own right: elements in the West lean towards Chad and Libya, in the East towards Eritrea and Ethiopia, in the North towards Egypt and the wider Arab world, and in the South towards central Africa. North and south are connected somewhat tenuously by the Nile.

From the North the Libyan and Nubian deserts give way through rising steppe and low hills to the swamps of the *Sudd* and eventually to rain forest. Flowing from Ethiopia and Uganda, respectively, the waters of the Blue and White Niles meet at Omdurman to press northwards through the cataracts and across the Egyptian border into Lake Nasir. Additional waterways cross south and east. Plains are broken by mountains to the northeast, northwest, by the central Nuba range, the southern Immatong range on the border with Uganda (which includes the Sudan's highest peak, Jabal Kinyeti), and Jabal Marra to the west in Darfur.

The Sudan has minor territorial disputes with neighbors to the north and south. The Halayb Triangle was annexed by the Sudan's northern neighbor in 1992 and may yield oil reserves. The border town and dromedary market of Shalatin is also in dispute. To the south, the Ilemi Triangle is claimed by Kenya. None of these disputes are a matter of pressing military concern.

The Sudan is amongst the least developed states in the world, with some 40 percent of its citizens struggling below the poverty line. But substantial oil and gas deposits hold the promise of rapid development, and with the waters of the Nile, a substantial capacity for agriculture including foodstuffs and cotton, mineral wealth including gold, silver, copper chromium, manganese, iron, lead, zinc,

Sudan

Formal name of country: Republic of the Sudan
Size of country: 2,505,810 sq km
Natural resources: Oil, natural gas, hydropower, modest ore deposits, and arable land
Population: 41.2 million
Life expectancy at birth: 58.9 years
Key ethnic groups:

- Arab-identifying (40%)
- non-Arab identifying predominantly Muslim northerners (26%)
- non-Arab identifying, and non-Muslim black African (34%)

Arab-identifying peoples include: Ja'aliyin, Juhayna, Jazira, Zibaidiya, Hawawir, mixed Arab-Nubians, and Christian Arabs. Juhayna include Rizayqat of Darfur, the northern Abbala branch of which constitute the heart of the NCP-sponsored Janjawid militia, and the Misiriyya of South Kurdufan.
Non-Arab Northerners include: Eastern Beja and Ingessana; Western Fur, Masalit and Zaghawa; Central Nuba; Northern Nubians; and diverse West African migrants or fallata.
Black African Southerners include: Nilotic Dinka, Nuer, Shilluk, Azande, and Muru
Key religions: Sunni Muslim (70%); Animist (25%); Christian (5%)
Political system: the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) provides for an appointed parliament, with directly elected presidency, to form a national unity government in lieu of elections, due in 2009
Key political groups/parties:

- National Congress Party (NCP)
- Sudan Peoples' Liberation Movement (SPLM)
- Coalition of the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) includes the Umma Party and the Democratic Union Party
- Popular National Congress Party (PNCP)
- Beja Congress
- National Redemption Front
- SLA-Minni Minawi

Legal system: Islamic law in the North, plus British common law; British common law and customary law in the South
Real GDP growth: 7.7%
Population below poverty line: 40%
Size of military: Sudanese People's Armed Forces estimated at 104,800 all branches, of which the army accounts for approximately 100,000, including 20,000 conscripts
Relationship with the United States: Improved since Osama bin Laden's departure and cease-fire in the South; strained over Darfur
Important human security issues: Internal displacement affects some six million people; religious, ethnic and tribal divisions; state-affiliated and independent militia; poverty; climate change; disease
Future important security issues: CPA implementation; Darfur, including relations with Chad

nickel, and tin, plus hundreds of kilometers of Red Sea coastline, the country is certainly not without resources.

In common with its sub-Saharan neighbors, key environmental concerns are desertification, loss of topsoil, and drought. Seasonal rains threaten locusts to the east and west. The Nile waters are pressured by rising demand, and potable water is in short supply. Internal displacement sees wildlife threatened by human predation.

Human activity in the Nile Valley is evident from the Palaeolithic era and sedentarization during the Neolithic era. Iron technology probably traveled down from Egypt, while stone tools and pottery in the southeast are of a type found at Lake Turkana across the border in Kenya (Overy 1999, 42–43, 56–57; Chapin Metz 1991; Phillipson 1985, 113).

Pharaonic Egypt knew the lands below the first cataract as Kush. Early-Kushite Kerma culture peaked in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries BC. A millennium later the "black pharoahs" of a Napata-based Kushite dynasty conquered and held Egypt from 728 BC. Meroe arose from the third century BC and prospered through trade with Rome until undone by the rise of Axum. Nubian Christianity flourished from the sixth century and endured for six centuries. Islam penetrated slowly from the Arab north through trade, migration, and marriage, until in 1315, "a Muslim prince of Nubian royal blood ascended the throne of Dunqalah as king" (Chapin Metz 1991). Islam spread southwards across north and east and later came eastwards from West Africa. The western Islamic Fur sultanate, established in the mid-seventeenth century, gave its last-gasp as late as 1916, abolished by the British after siding with the Ottomans in the first World War.

The Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1517 had first brought the new if rather nominal Turkish rulers to the Sudan. However, late Ottoman rule tightened considerably: in 1821 the autonomous Ottoman vassal in Cairo, Muhammad Ali, declared himself sovereign over the Sudan; his son Ismail extended the conquest to the South. They oversaw a period of harsh, joint Ottoman-Egyptian administration in which the southern provinces were annexed in pursuit of the slave trade. Rebellion under Muhammad Ahmad ibn Abdullah, the "Expected One" or Mahdi, established the independent Mahdiyya state from 1885 until a joint Anglo-Egyptian expedition reimposed Cairo's writ under the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium from 1899 to 1953.

The British then quarantined the South with enduring consequences: Arabic, Islam,

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THE CATARACTS OF THE NILE

The six cataracts of the Nile were impassable barriers to navigation identified in antiquity. The first in present day Egypt to the south of Aswan is marked by the Old Cataract Hotel; overlooking Elephantine Island, it celebrates Agatha Christie and her novel, *Death on the Nile*. The remaining cataracts were located in the Sudan north of Khartoum. The second, south of Wadi Halfa, was submerged with much of Nubia by flooding due to construction of the Aswan Dam. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) intervention in Egypt redeemed the massive carvings of Ramsis II from the waters and relocated them to Abu Simbel. The third cataract is north of Dunqalah. The fourth cataract is the site of the controversial Meroe dam, under construction with Chinese and Arab backing. Environmental concerns are offset by the project's capacity to generate a massive 1,250 megawatts of hydroelectric power. The Jabal Barkal site between the third and fourth cataracts is one of five in the Napatan region designated UNESCO World Heritage Sites in 2003. The fifth cataract is north of Atbara, downstream from the confluence of the Atbara River and the Nile. The sixth cataract is south of Shendi, to the north of Omdurman and Khartoum.

and trade with the North were discouraged; English, Christianity, and dependence on the British imperial civil service were promoted. The Condominium ended as the 1952 Egyptian Free Officers coup d'etat brought Muhammad Najjib to power in Cairo. Himself half-Sudanese, Najjib granted the Sudan the right to self-determination in the clear expectation that union with Egypt would follow. Independence was declared on January 1, 1956.

The era of Sudanese independence has been punctuated by numerous coups and civil war for all but a decade. General Ibrahim Abbud first brought the military to power in 1958 until he himself was brought down by insurrection six years later. Free Officers under Muhammad Jafar al-Nimayri seized power in 1969, establishing a regime that was itself toppled in 1985. From 1986 the elected government of Sadiq al-Mahdi sought to restore order but it too was ousted in 1989 by a faction of the military under Umar al-Bashir.

Civil war first broke out in 1955, prompted by the British withdrawal and southern fears of northern dominion. Nimayri negotiated peace in 1972, the Addis Ababa accords granting autonomy to three southern provinces and reintegrating southern rebels into the army. But high-handed administrative reforms prompted by the discovery of oil in the South and compounded by the promise of *Shari'a* law for the entire country led to a second civil war from 1983. Influenced by National Islamic Front (NIF) ideologue Hasan al-Turabi, Bashir persisted with *Shari'a* for all areas under central government control. The course of the war swung between rebels and government until a military stalemate and international pressure led to meaningful diplomatic engagement and eventual political breakthrough.

The Machakos Protocol of July 2002 established a framework for a series of agreements concluded over the following two and half years addressing wealth sharing, power sharing, three disputed border areas of South Kurdufan/Nuba Mountains, Blue Nile, and Abyei, and a declaration on the final phase of peace. Implementation agreements were reached in December 2004, and the process culminated with the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), signed by the government of Sudan (GoS) under the NIF's successor, the National Congress Party (NCP), and the rebel Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) in January 2005. The CPA incorporates earlier agreements. Key points include *Shari'a* for Muslims in the North, autonomy for 10 southern states in the government of Southern Sudan (GoSS) for a transitional period of six years,[1] free and fair nationwide elections scheduled for 2009, and a referendum on southern self-determination scheduled for 2011.

Alas, the prospect of peace between the North and the South stoked the case for rebellion in the East and the West as the opportunity for renegotiating access to economic and political goods with Khartoum appeared to close. A cease-fire in the West stipulated by the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) in May 2006 has been mostly evident in the breach. A cease-fire agreement in the East reached later in the year has fared rather better.

SOCIETY

The Sudanese population of 42 million has a distinctly wide-based demographic pyramid: some 43 percent below 15 years of age, 55 percent aged between 15 and

64, and less than 3 percent 65 or above (CIA 2006). Population distribution is very uneven. The arid North is thinly populated other than along the banks of the Nile. Concentrations occur in Omdurman and Khartoum as well as in the Jazira state to the immediate south. The population of Darfur to the west is focused on three state capitals of Geneina, al-Fashir, and Nyala. To the east, the Red Sea state includes the second city of Port Sudan, while populous Kassala borders Eritrea. The central Nuba Mountains are densely populated by Sudanese standards, while oil-rich Abyei and Bentiu have attracted attention on account of their resources. The autonomous South is altogether less urbanized. Rumbek in Buhayrat constitutes the interim administrative capital. In southerly Central Equatoria, the constitutional capital of Juba continues to expand, as do Yei, Waw in Western Bahr al-Ghazal, and Yambio in Western Equatoria. Prolonged civil war has depressed population growth to around 2.5 percent per annum overall, while accelerating urbanization to over 30 percent nationwide (CIA 2006; U.S. Department of State 2006).

Sudanese society is characterized by extreme ethnic and religious diversity, within which three broadly defined population groups can be discerned. First, Arab-identifying, predominantly Muslim, populations of the North and center account for the dominant 40 percent of society. Second, non-Arab but predominantly Muslim northerners account for some 26 percent. Third, southern non-Arab and non-Muslim black African peoples, both Christian and followers of traditional religions, account for around 34 percent of the people of the Sudan.

This tripartite division can be usefully disaggregated for the sake of sociopolitical clarity. First, Arab-identifying peoples include the Muslim Ja'aliyin, Juhayna, Jazira, Zibaidiya, and Hawawir (of Berber origin), plus mixed Arab-Nubians in the North and Christian Arabs of Coptic and Syrian Orthodox confession. The Juhayna include Rizayqat of Darfur, the northern Abbala branch of which constitute the heart of the NCP-sponsored Janjawid militia, and the Misiriyya of South Kurdufan. Second, non-Arab northerners include the eastern Beja (6 percent of the total population of the Sudan) and Ingessana; the western Fur (2 percent), Masalit and Zaghawa; the central Nuba (5 percent); northern Nubians (3 percent); and diverse West African migrants or fallata (6 percent). Black African southerners include the Nilotic Dinka (10 percent), Nuer (5 percent), Shilluk (1 percent), plus an array of Nilo-Hamatic and Sudanic linguistic groups, the latter including the Azande (2 percent) and Muru (1 percent) (Lesch 1998, 17).

The enduring economic, social, and political dominance of Arab-identifying northern Muslims is at the root of conflict in the Sudan. Since the 1989 coup the situation within Arab-identifying society has changed, but not relative to that of the other two groups. The NIF regime created what has been described as an "Islamist bourgeois elite"; it displaced but did not destroy the "traditional Arab bourgeoisie" of the grand ruling families such as al-Mahdi (Prunier and Gisselquist, 121). The Islamist bourgeoisie is overwhelmingly if not entirely Arab-identifying. It is in many respects narrower than that. In a watershed moment in May 2000, disillusioned former NIF members, some from Darfur, anonymously and independently published *The Black Book: Imbalance of Power and Wealth in Sudan.* This well researched, politically explosive study revealed the extent to which the entire state apparatus was held captive by three riverine tribes constituting little more than 5 percent of the entire population. The NIF, for all of its

rhetoric, had not altered that (Flint and De Waal 2005, 17–18). Outside of the largely riverine-Islamist bourgeoisie are the mass of Arab-identifying Muslims, petit bourgeois traders, workers, and peasants (Prunier and Gisselquist 2003, 121). Further excluded are the bulk of non-Arabized Muslim northerners such as the Beja, Fur, Zaghawa, and Masalit, as are most black African southerners. It is the exclusivity of a small portion of the Arab-identifying riverine elite, plus the close correlation of vertical ethnic and religious identity with horizontal class status, that has rendered the Sudanese polity so fractious.

The fighting of the second civil war claimed up to two million lives and the Darfur conflict tens or even hundreds of thousands more. Unprecedented in geographical scope and intensity, these wars have generated massive internal displacement. Indeed, with a total of some 5.5 million internally displaced people (IDPs), the Sudan has the largest IDP population in the world. Two principal IDP locations are Khartoum and greater Darfur. The national capital alone is host to some two million IDPs. The majority were propelled northwards by extensive and prolonged fighting exacerbated by drought in the southern states, including Equatoria. The three western states of North, West, and South Darfur are collectively home to around 1.8 million IDPs fleeing the conflict between Darfuri rebels and government forces in alliance with state-sponsored Arab-identifying militia. To the east, the Red Sea has over a quarter of a million IDPs, Blue Nile some 235,000. Further south, Northern Bahr al-Ghazal has over 200,000. The thinly populated Northern State has acquired a similar number. West Kurdufan and White Nile states each host over 100,000 IDPs. The remaining states of the Sudan host tens of thousands of IDPs each (Global IDP Database 2005, 46–47).

The majority of IDPs are of non-Arab identifying northern or southern extraction. Of the estimated two million in Khartoum, the majority of southerners are drawn from the states of Equatoria, Kurdufan, Wahda, and Bahr al-Ghazal, with minorities from Junqali, Upper Nile, and the disputed Blue Nile area. Some 270,000 live in four official camps on the edge of the city, where Dinka and Nuba predominate. The remainder live as squatters. Non-Arab identifying IDPs from greater Darfur, currently around 10 percent of the capital's total, are increasing (Global IDP Database 2005, 48).

A clear 70 percent majority in the Sudan adhere to Sunni Islam. The remainder hold either Christian or traditional indigenous beliefs. Estimates of relative weight vary, but the trend is for Christianity to increase in light of missionary activity. Sunnis are predominantly Maliki, some Shafi. Sudanese Islam is subject to very considerable heterogeneity. Led by Arab-identifying northerners, the Sudanese Muslim Brotherhood formed the NIF, now at the heart of the ruling NCP, and sought to promote its austere version of Islam as orthodoxy. NIF-NCP Islamism formed at least in part as a response to urbanization and perceptions of a sociocultural threat. In this reading, Islamism served as an Arab-identifying cultural-political defense mechanism, with *Shari'a* law symbolically at its heart (Prunier and Gisselquist 2003, 119; Lesch 1998, 213). NCP rule has been marked by a pronounced suspicion of popular Islam, particularly traditional Sufi *tariqas* such as the Khatmiyya, the well-organized Ansar movement associated with the Mahdi family,

and the syncretic practices of non-Arab identifying northerners. Forcible conversion was undertaken amongst followers of certain traditional African religions.

Christian communities are mainly located in Khartoum and the South. Christians in the North include Orthodox Copts, Ethiopians, and Armenians. To the south, British rule under the Condominium facilitated missionary work and Anglicanism is second only to Catholicism. Indigenous religions continue amongst the Nilotic peoples of the South, notably the Dinka, Nuer, and Shilluk.

Transport, communications, and energy infrastructure is limited but rapidly expanding due to oil. Of 12,000 kilometers of roads, one-third is paved. There are some 6,000 kilometers of railways, just over 4,000 kilometers of waterways, and of 86 runways, 14 are paved. The northern railway town of Atbara is the major communications hub, linking the capital with Port Sudan, Suakin, and Bashair on the Red Sea coast. The oil industry has developed some 2,500 kilometers of pipeline, of which the greater part links the Heglig oil field, via a major refinery at al-Jayli north of Khartoum, to export facilities at Bashair. Telephone communications are of a reasonable standard, with cellular close to matching landline provision. Internet use reaches some 5 percent of the population (CIA 2006).

Battered by war, drought, pariah status, and bad policies, the mainly agricultural Sudanese economy labored under a burden of debt second to none. Voting rights at the International Monetary Fund (IMF) were suspended for a decade from 1990, and structural adjustment reforms were initiated in 1997. Total external debt remains at somewhere around $18 billion. Industrial farming in Jazira and elsewhere continued to generate profit for clients of the state, but the majority of small-scale farmers and nomadic herders remained highly vulnerable to military, political, economic, and climactic change. IMF policies prompted cutbacks in services and development on the periphery that actually exacerbated latent political tensions. The country's economic prospects took a quantum leap forwards in 1999 as traditional export commodities such as cotton, sorghum, wheat, peanuts, and gum arabic were supplemented by oil. Not coincidentally, 1999 saw the Sudan record its first trade surplus. GDP growth now averages 6 to 9 percent per annum, and inflation has been brought under control.

In combination, peace and petrochemical export revenues hold out the tantalizing prospect of development, but thus far, outside of the central states such as River Nile, Khartoum, and Jazira, social indicators remain poor even by sub-Saharan standards. Worse still, disparities continue to correlate with identity with implications for political stability: Arab-identifying northerners enjoy privilege while peripheral non-Arab northerners and the South suffer continued marginalization. Nationwide, some 40 percent live below the poverty line; infant mortality stands at over 60 per 1,000; life expectancy at birth is less than 60 years; and literacy levels favor men (near 70 percent) over women (near 50 percent) but vary wildly from state to state (CIA 2006). Health care provision deteriorates to nil in peripheral areas. Government policy has actively undermined prospects for non-Arabs in contested areas such as the oil fields, the South and Darfur. Instances of state-induced hunger combine with inadequate services to leave millions vulnerable to diarrhoea, hepatitis, typhoid, malaria, and dengue fever.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

The CPA stipulates a government of national unity (GNU) built on an alliance of the ruling NCP and the former rebel SPLM/A. An interim constitution formalizes substantial political restructuring to cement this in practice. The executive is subject to two main innovations: the creation of the presidency and the distribution of seats amongst the parties within a revised cabinet, the National Council of Ministers. The presidency consists of a president (to be elected following the interim) and two vice presidents; if the president hails from the North, the first vice president must be the head of the GoSS. Bashir, now field-marshal, retains the post he first held officially in 1993, and so founding SPLM/A-chairman John Garang assumed the vice presidency in July 2005. Empowered to grant or withhold consent on key presidential decisions and appointments, Garang suffered an untimely death in a helicopter accident just three weeks later, whereupon SPLM/A deputy and fellow Dinka Salva Kiir assumed his place. The second vice president is Ali Uthman Taha, a leading cadre from the NCP, the body where real decision-making power continues to inhere. In the GoSS, Kiir's vice president is a former SPLM/A defector from the Nuer, Riek Machar.

On the legislative level, two major changes were made. First, a new 450-seat lower house was appointed, with 52 percent of seats going to the NCP, 28 percent to the SPLM, 14 percent to northern forces outside the NCP, and 6 percent to non-SPLM forces from the South. Second, a new upper house was created, the Council of States, with two representatives drawn from each of 25 states in the republic plus two observers from the disputed oil-rich province of Abyei.[2] On a regional level, the 10 southern states of the new GoSS acquired a 170-seat Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly, of which 70 percent are held by the SPLM/A, 15 percent by the NCP, and 15 percent by the remainder of southern forces.

Public support is an issue for both parties. Flawed elections in 2000 saw Bashir returned with over 86 percent of the vote and the NCP win 355/360 legislative seats. On the other hand, reasonably free and fair elections to professional syndicates suggest that the NCP does retain a real following. Nevertheless, the party cannot take majority support for granted in the Arab-identifying heartlands, let alone outside of them. Nationwide elections scheduled for 2009 would almost certainly sweep it from power. The SPLM/A has genuine if not uniform support in the south as well as allies to the east, west, and north. But its standing has been damaged by the loss of Garang, NCP reluctance to fully implement the CPA, and a failure to expedite a smooth transition from liberation movement to government.

The contending visions of the two major protagonists have long framed the political debate. The NCP carries the inheritance of the NIF, the Muslim Brotherhood-inspired torch-bearers for an Islamic Sudan governed by *Shari'a* law from Khartoum. Bashir remains party chairman, Ibrahim Ahmad Umar is secretary general. The SPLM/A emerged in response to the abrogation of the 1972 Addis Ababa Agreement and the Regional Self-Government Act for the Southern Provinces, specifically the redrawing of state boundaries to shift oil deposits from south to north, followed by the prospect of *Shari'a* law. The Arab-Islamist chauvinism of

the NIF greatly sharpened the conflict's ideological dimension from 1989. The SPLM/A's response was to articulate a vision of a "New Sudan…built on a free, just, democratic and secular system of governance based on free will and popular participation" (SPLM 1998). Garang consistently favored national unity within the "New Sudan." In contrast, Kiir inclines towards secession and independence for the South. It is a prospect that alarms some of the SPLM/A's allies from the opposition umbrella movement, the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), fearful of losing their principal counterweight to the NCP. Leading NDA allies now in the GNU include factions of the *Khatmiyya*-affiliated Democratic Union Party under the patriarchal Muhammad Uthman al-Mirghani. In the West, the Darfuri rebel Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A)-Minni Minawi faction, primarily Zaghawa, agreed to a contentious cease-fire with the government in May 2006. Minawi was co-opted into the NCP-regime and appointed special advisor to Bashir. The Eastern Front rebel coalition under Musa Muhammad Ahmad, the most substantial component of which is the Beja Congress, signed up to a similar deal in October 2006.

The Ansar-related Umma Party of former prime minister Sadiq al-Mahdi chose to remain outside of the GNU. Also in opposition is the Popular National Congress Party (PNCP) of former NIF-ideologue Hassan al-Turabi. Foregoing the South to better focus on the North, Turabi signed a memorandum of understanding with the SPLM/A back in February 2001 but was arrested upon his return from negotiations. Further charged with plotting a coup, he was subject to periodic detention and house arrest until released, with fellow leaders of the PNCP, upon the promulgation of the Interim Constitution in June 2005. To the west, the Darfuri rebel National Redemption Front includes remnants of the SLM/A-Abd al-Wahid faction, so-called after former leader Abd al-Wahid Muhammad al-Nur and representative mainly of Fur; SLM-United or SLM-G19, a splinter led by 19 former commanders from the Abd al-Wahid faction including Khamis Abdullah; and the Islamist-oriented Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), a Darfuri splinter from the NIF chaired by Dr. Ibrahim Khalil of the Zaghawa-Kobe, a branch of Zaghawa primarily resident in Chad (Reeves 2006; Flint and De Waal 2005; ICG, October 12, 2006).[3]

Popular participation in politics has been both forcible and voluntary. The voting age is 17 years of age. Elections in December 2000 returned Bashir and the NCP through fraud, assisted by an opposition boycott. But the NCP can still draw on real if limited support amongst the Arab-identifying urban middle-class in the North, as well as clients on the periphery. Indeed, the CPA stipulates a 15 percent NCP presence in the GoSS and its legislature. The NIF-NCP also has a long record of recruitment, conscription, and mobilization through the party's militia, the Popular Defense Forces (PDF), a vehicle for socialization, competition with older forces such as the Khatmiyya and Ansar, and military defense of the regime. Low opportunity costs arising from insecurity that is both chronic and acute has further drawn many into the political and military fray. The SPLA has a long history of mobilization, but mostly based on seasonal military service. It is estimated to command up to 30,000 troops (IISS 2004, 433). Now in transition, the need for a clear distinction between army and movement, and the lack of functioning political structures to facilitate that, is one of the more pressing post-CPA

HASAN AL-TURABI

Hasan al-Turabi was born in Kassala in 1932 to a family of long standing in the Jazira region. Intelligent and charismatic, educated in London and Paris with a Ph.D. from the Sorbonne, he took control of Sudan's Muslim Brotherhood during the 1960s. Turabi rebranded and reorganized the movement, recruiting bright young men and women with a tertiary education and a professional future. Brotherhood members were supported with a range of services that encouraged loyalty to the movement.

Persuading Jafar al-Nimayri to impose *Shari'a* law, Turabi helped exacerbate the crisis at the onset of the second civil war. His influence was decisive again in motivating Islamist elements in the military to launch the 1989 coup that prevented the government of Sadiq al-Mahdi from making concessions on autonomy and the *Shari'a*. For Turabi, this was a necessary step to securing the rule of the Muslim Brotherhood's political front, the NIF, and the creation of a radical Islamist Sudan. Elected speaker of parliament in 1996, Turabi oversaw the creation of the NCP as a legislative vehicle for the NIF and its allies. Sensing a legislative threat to executive power, Bashir dissolved parliament, removed Turabi from his post as NCP secretary general, and placed him under arrest. He was released along with other political prisoners in 2005 following conclusion of the Interim Constitution.

Now in opposition, Turabi established the PNCP as a platform from which to articulate a radical and sometimes surprisingly progressive position on political participation and the place of women in society. Always an innovative and controversial theoretician, he drew charges of apostasy in April 2006 for suggesting "that women were equal to men, had the right to marry a Christian or a Jew and could even lead prayers" (Saeed 2006).

problems. The NCP's Arab-identifying supremacist policies in the West drove many able Fur, Zaghawa, and Masalit men into the Darfuri rebel camp. To the east, the same is true of the Beja youth and their allies in the Eastern Front. SLA and JEM fighters number in the thousands, the Beja Congress perhaps 500, supported by some 2,000 troops of the New Sudan Brigade of the SPLA in the East (IISS 2004, 433).

The CPA addresses the key political tensions in the Sudan derived from the Arab-identifying Muslim attempt to secure a monopoly on official identity, government structures, and resources. With regard to North-South grievances, this means representation for the South, wealth-sharing (specifically oil revenues), and cease-fire arrangements. Representation is secured in the new presidency and cabinet, the reformed legislature and new upper house, with autonomy in the form of the GoSS and the ultimate option of secession. Wealth-sharing remains problematic. The CPA stipulates that the GNU and GoSS share equally all revenue, including oil revenue, derived from the South. This is complicated in practice by unresolved procedural and boundary disputes. Two key GNU ministries, Finance and Energy, remain under the NCP control, lending the NCP ultimate authority for the allocation of oil revenue in lieu of the formation of the effective National Petroleum Commission stipulated by the CPA. The CPA also provides the Border Commission with a remit to draw definitive North/South boundaries (taking independence in 1956 as a reference). Agreement can be expected to emerge slowly, if at all. In consequence, both the location of oil fields and the proper allocation of revenues remain in dispute. Not surprisingly, CPA provisions for cease-fire

arrangements, specifically the disengagement, relocation, and integration of forces, also fell behind schedule.

LAW AND ORDER

Befitting its mixed heritage, the Sudanese legal system draws on a combination of English common law and Islamic *Shari'a*. The Interim Constitution takes the existing foundations and then stipulates some major modifications with the clear intention of building popular confidence in the system. *Shari'a* law is secured for Muslims in the 15 northern states, with religious minorities allowed recourse to confessional community courts within this framework. The GoSS is exempt from *Shari'a* altogether, and the regional legislature entitled to amend legislation passed down from Khartoum, subject to approval by the Council of States.

There is to be a free judiciary under the National Judicial Service Commission (NJSC) led by the chief justice. Indicative of the restructuring prompted by the CPA, the chief justice is appointed by the president, but subject to the approval of first and second vice presidents. Similarly, the president nominates judges at all other levels, but appointments are subject to approval by the wider institution of the presidency and the advice of the NJSC. Judicial appointments in the GoSS are the exclusive prerogative of the GoSS president (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP]).

Policing in Sudan has been politicized and uneven. Individual Sudan Police Force (SPF) officers may be impartial and professional, with many even choosing to side with the rebels against the government, but at the national level the force has been led by NCP appointees. In addition, and in line with a long tradition born of necessity, SPF capacity has been bolstered by a systematic reliance on local tribal leaders. From 1989, this overlapped with the introduction of the paramilitary PDF. Civil war further drew both intelligence and military services into a political policing role. IDPs are at risk of gender-based violence, often at the hands of police officers sent to protect them. Not surprisingly, the dispatch of thousands of extra SPF officers to Darfur in order to restore security was greeted with little enthusiasm by non-Arab identifying IDPs and residents.

The outsourcing of security to the PDF and tribal militia meant that government agents have often been the principal source of insecurity for non-Arab identifying Sudanese citizens. The PDF has been known to loot property, destroy crops, poison water sources, and rape women, with a view to Arabizing the next generation. These crimes are common to the government-sponsored Janjawid militia in Darfur, much of whose men under arms have been duly incorporated into the PDF in that area (Lesch 1998; Flint and De Waal 2005; Amnesty 2005).

The insecurity associated with war has overseen a rise in less explicitly political crime, particularly banditry across the South and West, as well as ivory poaching. The legacy of North-South slavery has continued to inform both practice and mind-set in intercommunal relations, the anarchy induced by civil war reviving old intertribal practices. Conversely, the prospect of peace has led to some improvement. The Committee for the Eradication of Abduction of Women and Children has suffered from under-funding and a lack of capacity, but with modest

government resources and a link to the office of the first vice president, progress has been made with abductors amongst the Misiriyya and Rizayqat returning several thousand abductees to their Dinka families. Hundreds of child camel jockeys have been repatriated from the United Arab Emirates (UAE) with the help of the GNU's National Council on Child Welfare. The North Sudan Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) Interim Authority has worked with UNICEF and militia commanders to facilitate the release of child soldiers. There are similar provisions for a South Sudan DDR. The prospect of an end to Ugandan rebel Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) operations in Sudan further reduces the scope for abduction and abuse of women and children in the South (U.S. State Department Trafficking in Persons Report, June 2006).[4]

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The 1989 coup inaugurated a period of radical pan-Islamic and pan-Arab foreign policy. Turabi established the Popular Arab and Islamic Conference in 1991 as a radical alternative to both the Arab League and Organization of the Islamic Conference. Full-NIF support was lent to a transnational Islamist agenda that stretched from Senegal, Niger, and Gambia in the West, eastwards through Algeria, Palestine, Lebanon, and Egypt, and southwards to Eritrea, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia, Kenya, and Uganda (Connell 2003). The radical Sudanese state forged stronger military ties with the Islamic Republic of Iran, as it did with the People's Republic of China (PRC). Turabi hosted Osama bin Laden, then engaged in construction of the nascent Al Qaeda organization, and the country suffered the consequences: Turabi's Sudan found itself on the U.S. State Department's list of state sponsors of terrorism, had its letters of credit revoked in Washington, was implicated in an assassination attempt on Egyptian president Husni Mubarak, subjected to further punitive international sanctions, blamed for hosting the bombers of U.S. embassies in Nairobi and Dar al-Salam, and finally bombed in return by the United States, along with Afghanistan, in 1998.

The marginalization of Turabi from 2000 saw the ministry of foreign affairs reassert a pragmatic if prickly nationalism over foreign policy, a trend reinforced sharply from 2001 by the launch of the U.S.-led global War on Terror, where after Sudan began to shed its pariah status. Mubarak made his first visit to Khartoum in over a decade in 2003. Relations also improved with other neighbors, including members of the regional Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD); Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, and Djibouti, several of whom had been armed against the Sudan by the United States. Relations with Chad remained tense over Darfur, not least of all on account of Chadian President Idris Deby's Zaghawa ancestry. Both states could choose to extend or withhold support from rebels across the border.

The Interim Constitution makes clear that Sudanese foreign policy is now meant to "serve, first and foremost, the national interest" and is to be "conducted in an independent and transparent manner." Several foreign policy goals are adumbrated, amongst them the promotion of "international cooperation, especially within the UN family...African and Arab economic integration...[and] non-

interference in the affairs of other States.'' There is an explicit commitment to ''combating international and trans-boundary organized crime and terrorism'' (Interim Constitution). This stands in sharp contrast to that which preceded it. Foreign policy is subject to the guidance and supervision of the president. The GNU's foreign minister, Lam Akol, is a returnee to the SPLM/A fold. From the Shilluk community, Akol is not a regime insider and his influence is limited.

The foreign policy priorities of the GNU are complicated by the fact of its composition from two such uneasy allies. For NCP, the CPA was deemed a necessary evil to ameliorate international pressure on the regime. But the government-sponsored catastrophe in Darfur has more than offset these gains, with the NCP hard-pressed to reinstate order on another front altogether, preferably by admitting a UN peacekeeping force into the area. NCP figures have rejected this option with increasing ferocity, seemingly out of fear that an expanded UN presence might be used to deliver them for trial at the International Criminal Court (ICC).[5] For the SPLM/A, *the* priority, broadly conceived, has been to retain international engagement with CPA implementation.

The Sudan has held membership of the Arab League since independence. The League's 1950 Treaty for Joint Defense and Economic Cooperation provides for Arab collective security and the Joint Defense Council which Sudan's defense and foreign ministers are entitled to attend. In practice, the significance of these provisions has been very limited.

The Sudan acceded to the Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1973 and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in 2004. It has no known nuclear energy or weapons programs, although it has been implicated as a transfer point for nuclear technology.

Foreign alliances for economic development reach beyond the Arab League states. Iran and the PRC have both extended loans for imports and bought into basic infrastructure, agricultural development, and the oil industry in particular. China, first invited to invest by Nimayri in 1971, began buying into Sudanese oil production in 1988, broadened its interests in 1994, and helped build the modern al-Jayli refinery north of Khartoum from 1998. The China National Petroleum Company now holds a 40 percent stake in Sudan's primary oil consortium, the Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Company (GNOPC). Malaysian interests purchased the privatized telecommunications company Sudatel in 1994, and the state oil company Petronas has held a stake in Sudanese oil since 1996, holding a 30 percent share of GNOPC a decade later. India's ONGC-Videsh has 25 percent (ICG, October 12, 2006).

Besides the League of Arab States, the Sudan is a member of the African Union (AU), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the United Nations and its derivatives, the World Bank, the IMF, and has observer status at the World Trade Organization.

In common with much else, state interaction with nongovernmental organizations has been colored by the civil war and more recently by the prospect of peace in the South. Colossal short-term humanitarian and long-term development needs have drawn a corresponding level of activity from foreign aid providers managed by the state's Humanitarian Aid Commission. The political vulnerability of the NCP, buttressed by an anticolonial worldview, has rendered it highly sensitive to foreign interference. On the other hand, the SPLM and other opposition groups have been

highly receptive to international support. Relations between NGOs and the Sudanese state were tightened considerably with the Organization of Humanitarian and Voluntary Work Act 2006. The bill, passed by the lower house, greatly strengthens the powers of the state and contracts the political space afforded NGOs. The Humanitarian Aid Commission ordered the Darfur-based Sudan Social Development Organization to desist from its humanitarian relief work for unspecified violations of the law. The new legislation further strengthens the discretionary powers available to the state in the registration and regulation of the NGO sector (Amnesty, March 2006).

Foreign aid is critical to the rehabilitation of the Sudan's war-torn economy and society. The benchmark United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 1590 of 2005 states,

> *Requests* the Secretary-General, through his Special Representative for Sudan, to coordinate all the activities of the United Nations system in Sudan, to mobilize resources and support from the international community for both immediate assistance and the long-term economic development of Sudan, and to facilitate coordination with other international actors.

It further requires that the United Nations, the World Bank, both parties to the CPA and "other bilateral and multilateral donors [continue] their efforts to prepare for the rapid delivery of an assistance package for the reconstruction and economic development of Sudan, including official development assistance and trade access." If the GoSS remains well disposed towards external aid agencies, the same cannot be said of the NCP.

The NCP did accede to an AU monitoring mission first proposed in April 2004 in light of a premature peace accord with Darfuri rebels concluded in N'djamena. The African Mission in the Sudan (AMIS) was duly deployed, rising to some 7,700 peace monitors, including a substantial Rwandan contingent, but a combination of narrow remit, technical shortcomings, and logistical problems has greatly restricted its efficacy. The extent of the humanitarian crisis in Darfur has since been deemed to constitute genocide by the United States. In August 2006 proposals to strengthen and "re-hat" AMIS under UN auspices (ICG, *To Save Darfur*) culminated in UNSC Resolution 1706 and an explicit extension of the UN's mandate to Darfur. The resolution was significant not only in its implications for Darfur, but also for its reference to the "responsibility to protect;" as William G. O'Neill noted, this "is the first time that the Security Council has referred to the responsibility to protect in a specific country situation where armed UN peacekeepers are to be deployed under Chapter VII of the UN Charter" (O'Neill 2006). The GNU is invited to give its "consent." The NCP refused to oblige, regardless of support from Kiir and the SPLM/A. Further, NCP secretary general Ibrahim Umar threatened the abrogation of the CPA altogether if the SPLM/A welcomed a UN mission to Darfur (*Sudan Tribune*, October 8, 2006). In the meantime, AMIS pursued a renewed if circumscribed remit. Agreement was finally reached during 2007 on a hybrid UN-AU force under the command of Nigerian General Martin Luther Agwai.

SECURITY

The Sudanese military and intelligence services, in parallel with the state bureaucracy and judiciary, became highly politicized following the 1989 coup: an estimated 78,000 people were purged (Connell 2003), while pro-regime incumbents and new recruits were promoted; in the military, many were drawn from the educational and medical corps, branches where tertiary-educated NIF members had established a strong presence. The small air force, an elite institution, is predictably close to the NCP. The intelligence services, and particularly Military Intelligence, are considered the core of the regime. State institutions have been augmented by a plethora of NIF-NCP parastatals, including a notorious parallel prison system and a special unit devoted to Turbabi. The PDF militia was originally conceived of as a political replacement for the regular army (Lesch 1998; Flint and De Waal 2005).

The Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) has an estimated troop strength of 104,800, amongst them up to 20,000 conscript males between 18 and 30 liable for two years service. The army commands 100,000 soldiers including the conscripts. They are divided into one armored division, seven infantry divisions of which one is mechanized, five companies of special forces, plus one airborne, one engineering, and one border guards division. The navy, headquartered at Port Sudan, has an estimated 1,800 personnel and 20 patrol boats. The air force, with 3,000 personnel, commands 34 combat-capable aircraft, including 10 advanced MIG-29s. The helicopter fleet includes the distinctive Soviet-era MI-24 Hind which have been used extensively in combat in the South, the Nuba Mountains, the oil fields, and Darfur (IISS 2006, 399). Rising oil revenues have facilitated significant upgrades to Sudanese military capacity. Key suppliers include Russia and Libya, as well as the PRC and Iran.

The paramilitary PDF has an estimated 17,500 troops organized into 1,000-strong battalions with 85,000 reservists (IISS 2006, 399). It is a modern incarnation of a long tradition of "outsourcing" security to tribal chiefs necessitated by the logistical limitations of the state apparatus. But the PDF is a departure from previous norms in that it cohered, extended, Islamized, and militarized customary practice. The PDF has served as a formal vehicle for political socialization, its reach extending to the Arab-identifying heartlands as well as beyond. It has meted out terrible violence as it has sustained very high casualties, the majority amongst men from Darfur and Kurdufan (Flint and De Waal 2005, 18). The PDF recruited from Arab-identifying tribal militias, volunteers, students, public sector employees and anti-SPLM southern forces. Pay has been substituted by booty and violence legitimized as jihad (Lesch 1998, 135). Outside of the PDF, from 2001 other anti-SPLM/A southern forces and militia cohered under the umbrella of the South Sudan Defense Forces (SSDF).

Given the Sudan's transitional status, past and present security issues are inseparable. Both CPA and the Interim Constitution address critical identity and resource issues, and on a practical level provide for the reorganization of the armed forces and intelligence services. The Cease-fire Agreement allows the SAF and SPLA to assume the mantle of sole legitimate armed forces in their respective areas; the SAF in the 15 northern states, the SPLA in the 10 states of the GoSS. To this end, the SPLA is required to withdraw from the eastern town of

Hamashkoreb which it took as a participant in the Eastern Front rebel alliance. The SAF is to withdraw 91,000 troops from the South (*Jane's*, January 19, 2005). The two forces are, for the most part, to remain separate during the interim, but are afforded comparable status as components of Sudan's National Armed Forces pending the referendum in the South. The Juba Declaration of 2006 brought the pro-regime SSDF into the CPA, units of which can choose whether to integrate into either the SAF or the SPLA. Select SAF and SPLA forces are to merge and form Joint Integrated Units (JIUs) for deployment in Southern Sudan (24,000), the Nuba Mountains (6,000), Southern Blue Nile (6,000), and Khartoum (3,000). If the result of the referendum is for unity, JIUs are to serve as the "nucleus of a post Interim Period future army of the Sudan." In the meantime, SAF, SPLA, and JIU forces are subject to a common command, the Joint Defense Board, composed of chiefs of staff and officers from both sides. In the intelligence services, the SPLM/A is to be allocated 26 percent of the seats (Framework Agreement on Security Arrangements 2003; *Jane's*, January 14, 2005).

Implementation of this complex arrangement over a vast territory prompted the formation of a major peacekeeping force, the United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS). UNSC Resolution 1590 provisioned UNMIS with "up to 10,000 military personnel and an appropriate civilian component including up to 715 civilian police personnel." UNMIS is drawn from over 70 countries, with large contingents on the ground from Pakistan, Bangladesh, India, and Nepal. Several African states also have a substantial presence, amongst them Rwanda, Senegal, South Africa, The Gambia, and Zambia. UNMIS has an extensive mandate, including responsibility for monitoring implementation of the Cease-fire Agreement, verification and investigation of violations, cooperating with donors to facilitate formation of the JIUs, monitoring redeployment of combatants, and assisting with "the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme" stipulated in the CPA "with particular attention to the special needs of women and child combatants." The extension of UNMIS's remit to Darfur provides for heightening troop strength by "up to 17,300 military personnel and by an appropriate civilian component including up to 3,300 civilian police personnel."

The greatest dangers to the Sudan are a failure to implement the provisions of the CPA and insecurity spreading from Darfur. The NCP has a difficult calculation to make: swift implementation and good faith may encourage the south to vote for unity, but elections run the risk of falling from power unless it can hang onto the coat tails of the SPLM; alternatively, blocking implementation may encourage the south to vote for secession, leaving the NCP better placed to bunker down in the North. The NCP has shown little sign of being prepared to concede real power, and may decide to obstruct nationwide elections if threatened with defeat (ICG, March 2006, 198–99). Further difficult choices are inevitable if disputes are to be settled in South Kurdufan, Blue Nile, and Abyei. There is similarly no guarantee that a southern vote for secession will not lead to renewed war over borders and resources. In the meantime, the horror in Darfur has drawn widespread revulsion and alienated the NCP-led regime, again, from much of the international community. The roots of the crisis are deep, informed by decades of government neglect, environmental change, Libyan interference, and an Arab supremacist

agenda now manifest in the Janjawid militia under the Rizayqat chieftain Musa Hilal. The Janjawid have been encouraged by Military Intelligence, not entirely out of ideological sympathy, but primarily as an expedient mechanism for reimposing the writ of the state (Flint and De Waal 2005). The danger of escalating conflict and even war with Chad cannot be discounted. Refusal to accommodate a UN deployment to the area sets the NCP at odds with its SPLM/A partner and keeps the Sudan on poor terms with both the European Union and the United States.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

In 1993 UN General Assembly Resolution 47/142 condemned the NIF regime for "grave human rights violations in the Sudan, particularly summary executions, detentions without trial, forced displacement of persons and torture." Over a decade later these charges still apply. The CPA process provides for juridical and police restructuring, support for human rights, and the establishment of the law-based polity with the assistance of UNMIS. The Interim Constitution does improve the position of women and children, and Bashir did lift the state of emergency over the North and South on its conclusion. But not in Darfur, where the type of violations condemned over a decade earlier continue

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THE JANJAWID

The Janjawid are an Arab-identifying government-sponsored militia operating in Darfur. Based at Misteriha in North Darfur, the Janjawid are led by Musa Hilal, head of the Um Jalul clan of the Abbala camel-herding Rizayqat people.

The term "janjawid" is vernacular for "bandits." The name was not adopted by the militia but rather conferred upon them by their victims, principally found amongst non-Arab identifying African peoples such as the Fur, Masalit, and Zaghawa.

The Janjawid is estimated to have reached a troop strength of some 20,000 men under arms. Much of the force was gradually incorporated into the NCP's PDF militia. Janjawid are typically used to clear villages of non-Arab populations in the wake of government air strikes; SAF troops surrounding the area are then sent in to finish the job.

Janjawid origins have been traced by Alex De Waal to an Arab supremacist movement developed in Chad and Libya. Juhayna Arabs, including the Rizayqat, claim lineal descent from the Prophet Muhammad and his Quraysh tribe from the Arabian Peninsula. Elements amongst them assert that the descendents of the Prophet should rule the lands between Lake Chad and the Nile. This bedouin purism is quite distinct from the sedentarized Islamism of the NCP, but it has been exploited by the riverain elite in Khartoum as a means of reimposing the writ of the state. (De Waal, August 2005). Use of the regular SAF had to be measured as many soldiers themselves hailed from Darfur

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on a mass scale, with the addition of gender-based violence: men are killed and women raped, as government forces, in collaboration with local militia, put down the rebellion amongst non-Arab identifying peoples. Both SLA and JEM are culpable for human rights violations of their own, as are the SPLA. Amnesty International condemned the immunity afforded by the Interim Constitution to the president, first vice president, and members of the national legislature. For many in the Sudan, the rule of law, so chronically undermined by NIF rule, remains a goal rather than a reality (Amnesty, July 2005).

Of the seven major UN human rights treaties, the Sudan has acceded to the following: the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (in 1977); the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1986); the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1986); and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1986). The government of the Sudan signed the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1990. Ironically, the country acceded to the

Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in 2003, just as the catastrophe in Darfur gathered pace. It has not acceded to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, or the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families. The Sudan does accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, but has not acceded to the Rome Statute that governs the ICC.

The CPA provides for the rebuilding of the judicial system, necessary after the NIF had dissolved the Bar Association and dispensed highly politicized, brutal revolutionary justice (Lesch 1998, 135). UNSC1590 mandates UNMIS as follows:

> To assist…in promoting the rule of law, including an independent judiciary, and the protection of human rights of all people of Sudan through a comprehensive and coordinated strategy with the aim of combating impunity and contributing to long-term peace and stability and to assist the parties to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement to develop and consolidate the national legal framework;
>
> [And] to ensure an adequate human rights presence, capacity, and expertise within UNMIS to carry out human rights promotion, civilian protection, and monitoring activities

The rebuilt judicial system is to run on two tracks, civil and criminal, proceeding upwards from town bench through district to state court and then court of appeal in each state capital. The system is crowned by the Supreme Court, empowered to make final decisions on matters of appeal. The Interim Constitution makes provision for a Constitutional Court of nine members. Presidential nominations require a two-thirds majority in the Council of States in order to become appointments. The Constitutional Court is entitled to review legislation proposed by executive or legislature, including the GoSS, and may hear individual petitions pertaining to constitutional rights (UNDP).

Notable areas of human rights abuse in the Sudan include killing and displacement in Darfur, massive gender-based violence, extrajudicial execution, torture, and detention without trial with victims including prisoners of conscience. Darfuris are at particular risk outside of the main population centers. To the south, the GoSS has its own problems establishing a sound human rights culture amidst the difficult transition from war to peace: the rule of law can be tenuous, trials summary, and punishment cruel.

The general population's confidence in its ability to practice human rights in the Sudan is predictably low, an issue that is addressed, at least in principle, by the remit afforded UNMIS. Together with reform of the judiciary and support for human rights, UNMIS is mandated "To assist…in restructuring the police service in Sudan, consistent with democratic policing, to develop a police training and evaluation program, and to otherwise assist in the training of police officers." In the maelstrom of Darfur, the DPA sought to build confidence through creating demilitarized zones around IDP camps and allowing policing innovation within them. In the zones around camps, regular SPF officers would work under AMIS supervision; in areas under SLA/JEM control, rebels would provide police liaison officers to work with AMIS. Within camps, IDPs would establish a community

police force, drawn from amongst their ranks and trained and monitored by AMIS (De Waal 2006).

The Sudan is in little position to opine on human rights matters before the international community. Indeed, the country's elevation to the UN Commission on Human Rights in 2004 was considered by some as a moment of dark comedy.

CONCLUSION

Post 9/11, the Sudan has had a peculiar relationship with the United States: on the one hand an ally in the War on Terror; on the other a regime charged with genocide. Prior to the 1989 coup, the country constituted the major sub-Saharan recipient of U.S. aid. Thereafter, relations became strained. In 1993 it was added to the state sponsors of terrorism list; first closed in 1991, the U.S. embassy in Khartoum closed again in 1996 and sanctions were imposed a year later. Relations hit their nadir in 1998 with the U.S. bombing of the al-Shifa pharmaceutical factory, seemingly on the mistaken grounds that it was producing chemical weapons for bin Laden.

The subsequent George W. Bush administration sought an end to the civil war for diverse reasons, including pressure from African-Americans, evangelical Christians, and the oil industry (Connell 2003). In 2001 a Special Presidential Envoy for Peace in the Sudan was appointed and the United States did not object to the lifting of UN sanctions on the country the same year. The attacks of 9/11 lent U.S. foreign policy the added incentive of dealing with failed states as bases for terrorism. Moreover, Sudanese intelligence brought major assets to the struggle with Al Qaeda, and although it remained designated a state sponsor of terrorism, the Sudan was removed from the list of countries deemed ''noncooperative'' in the War on Terror in 2004. Issues of concern to the United States included the violence in Darfur, support for the LRA, Sudanese nationals joining the insurgency in Iraq, and the porous nature of the country's borders. The U.S. allocated $2.6 billion for humanitarian aid to the Sudan during 2005–2006 (U.S. Department of State 2005, October 2006).

In the broadest terms, the prospects for an improvement in human security across northern and southern Sudan are contingent on successful implementation of the CPA, the success of related provisions for the East, and resolution of the human catastrophe to the West in Darfur. Stability and cooperation between the partners of the GNU, together with a secure GoSS would do much to redress the Sudan's acute IDP and refugee issues. In the meantime, the prospect of peace holding in the East serves to highlight the unresolved tragedy to the West: Janjawid Arab supremacism, utilized by Khartoum, has created at least 1.8 million IDPs within Darfur alone and maybe 200,000 refugees straddle the border in Chad. The interstate tension is substantial.

The intricate process of state restructuring set in motion by the CPA could derail on any number of points. The NCP might further obstruct implementation: it has compelling reason to fear free and fair nationwide elections in 2009, because once out of power its leading cadres might well find themselves vulnerable to trial at the ICC. The scheduled poll cannot be taken for granted. GoSS secession might hold advantages, allowing the NCP to bunker down in the 15 states of the North.

CHRONOLOGY OF KEY POLITICAL EVENTS

June 30, 1989	Military coup brings Umar al-Bashir to power.
March 22, 1990	Full *Shari'a* law imposed on all areas under central government control.
June 25, 1995	Sudanese-sponsored assassination attempt on Egyptian president Husni Mubarak.
May 18, 1996	Resident in the Sudan since December 1991, Osama bin Laden is expelled and relocates to Jalalabad, Afghanistan.
July 1, 1998	Islamic constitution becomes law.
August 20, 1998	U.S. launches cruise missile attack on al-Shifa pharmaceutical plant.
August 30, 1999	First oil exports shipped to Singapore, to be refined by Shell.
July 20, 2002	GoS and SPLM/A sign the Machakos Protocol in Kenya under the auspices of IGAD, witnessed by key mediator Lt. Gen. Lazaro K. Suweiywo. The South secures a six-year interim period of autonomy to include national elections and a referendum on self-determination. The NCP secures application of *Shari'a* for the North. Bashir and Garang meet for the first time one week later.
October 21, 2002	U.S. President George W. Bush signs the Sudan Peace Act into law. The act provides for positive incentives in support of peace and allows for sanctions in the event of a lack of good faith.
February 26, 2003	Landmark attack on Sudanese government district HQ in Gulu, Jabal Marra, a watershed in the Darfur rebellion.
September 25, 2003	Agreement on Security Arrangements during the Interim Period concluded between GoS and SPLM/A.
January 7, 2004	Framework Agreement on Wealth Sharing during the Pre-Interim and Interim Period signed by GoS and SPLM/A.
May 18, 2004	The Sudan is removed from the U.S. State Department's list of countries deemed "noncooperative" in the war on terror.
May 26, 2004	Protocol on Power Sharing, Protocol on the Resolution of the Conflict in Southern Kordofan/Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile States, and Protocol on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Abyei Area signed by GoS and SPLM/A.
June 5, 2004	The Nairobi Declaration on the Final Phase of Peace in the Sudan signed by GoS and SPLM.

September 9, 2004	U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell announces to the U.S. senate that genocide is occurring in Darfur.
September 18, 2004	UNSC Resolution 1564 calls for a commission of inquiry into Darfur.
December 31, 2004	Agreement between the Government of Sudan (GOS) and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLM/SPLA) on Implementation Modalities of the Protocols and Agreements concluded at Lake Naivasha Simba Lodge, Kenya.
January 9, 2005	Negotiations culminate in the CPA, which incorporates earlier agreements. The CPA is signed by the GoS and SPLM/A in Nairobi.
January 25, 2005	International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur delivers findings to UN Secretary General. 51 people are identified in regard to human rights violations.
March 24, 2005	UNSC Resolution 1590 creates UNMIS to expedite and monitor implementation of the CPA. It also condemns "all violations of human rights and international humanitarian law in the Darfur region" and announces determination to see that "those responsible for all such violations are identified and brought to justice."
March 31, 2005	UNSC Resolution 1593 refers Darfur to the ICC.
June 18, 2005	NDA concludes partial and disputed agreement with the Sudanese government.
June 30, 2005	Interim Constitution completed, Bashir lifts state of emergency except for Darfur and the East, release of political prisoners, including Turabi.
July 9, 2005	SPLM/A chief John Garang sworn in as first vice president of the republic.
July 30, 2005	Garang killed in helicopter accident. Riots follow in Khartoum.
August 4, 2005	Kiir sworn in as first vice president.
November 1, 2005	U.S. president George W. Bush renews trade and economic sanctions for 12 months.
January 8, 2006	The Juba Declaration brings the SSDF into the CPA.
May 5, 2006	The Darfur Peace Agreement signed in Abuja by the SLM-Minni Minawi faction and the GoS.
August 31, 2006	UNSC 1706 expands UNMIS' remit to include deployment to Darfur.

September 4, 2006	Khartoum government agrees to allow AU peacekeepers to extend their remit.
October 14, 2006	GoS-Eastern Front cease-fire agreement signed in Asmara.
October 27, 2006	UN Secretary General's Special Representative in the Sudan Jan Pronk is confirmed in his post until the end of the year. Pronk had earlier been expelled for comments on his blog about the Sudanese military in Darfur.

It is not a scenario viewed with equanimity by many northern Sudanese opposition forces. In the event of secession, the NCP may decide not to honor the borders between North and South, particularly in light of oil reserves. The prospect of a post-referendum cross-border war is equally real. In Darfur, the Janjawid may have acquired sufficient strength to make the NCP think twice before reining it in, even if international pressure encouraged it to do so. The success of the SPLM/A's project in the GoSS is similarly far from certain. Bureaucratic capacity remains poor, with civil and military implications: failure to provide good governance and development will encourage disillusion and lawlessness, and failure to integrate former enemies such as the SSDF will lend armed strength to dissent.

NOTES

1. The 10 southern states of the GoSS are as follows: Central, East and West Equatoria; North and West Bahr al-Ghazal; Buhayrat (Lakes), Warab, Wahda (Unity), Junqali, and Upper Nile.

2. The 15 northern states are as follows: Northern, River Nile, Red Sea, Khartoum, Jazira, White and Blue Nile, Kassala, Qadarif, Sinnar; North and South Kurdufan; North, West, and South Darfur. The former state of West Kurdufan was merged into South Kurdufan by the CPA.

3. Khamis Abdullah was joined by Sharif Harir and Ahmad Deraige of the Sudan Federal Democratic Alliance. Abd al-Wahid was replaced by Ahmad Shafi during July 2006. The NRF was established in the Eritrean capital Asmara, June 30, 2006 (ICG).

4. LRA head Joseph Kony and his deputy Vincent Otti have been indicted by the ICC for war crimes.

5. During 2006 an International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur plus subsequent reports by experts named 51 people, including senior government officials, deemed responsible for "serious violations of human rights law, including crimes against humanity or war crimes" (ICG, *Getting the UN into Darfur*, 6).

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Syria

Daniel Corstange

BACKGROUND

Syria, located on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean sea, sits in a highly volatile geographic neighborhood, bordering with Turkey in the north, Iraq in the east, Jordan and Israel to the south, and Lebanon to the southwest. Although the omnipresent Arab-Israeli conflict has been a constant feature of political life in this area, jockeying for leadership of the Arab states has also been an important though declining sub-theme, while cross-border concerns over ethnic and religious minorities have at times led regional states to intervene in each other's affairs. Syria has been subject to all of these pressures, with the added difficulty of navigating superpower rivalry during the Cold War.

Eastern Syria is primarily a large semiarid and desert plateau, while the population clusters on the more fertile coastal plain and the mountains of the West, the former being an important population center for the minority Alawi community and the latter containing a key enclave of the minority Druze near the Golan Heights, occupied by Israel since the 1967 war. The major cities of Syria, Damascus in the South and Aleppo in the North, with the smaller cities of Homs and Hama in between, run along the spine of the country, with the important coastal town of Latakia located somewhat to the north of the Lebanese border. The country has some mineral resources, which include a small and declining cache of petroleum. Meanwhile, high population growth rates and limited water resources have put pressure on the available arable land, leading to problems of desertification and attempts at land reclamation. The problem is compounded by industrial and agricultural pollution, which has reduced water quality in a time when Syria's neighbors are claiming more water from shared sources.

Inhabitation of the eastern Mediterranean stretches back millenia, and Syria was the home to several ancient civilizations. Geographic Syria had for a time been a province of the Roman and later Byzantine Empires, although it became incorporated into the Arab polity after its conquest by the Prophet Muhammad and his successors—Damascus was, for a brief time, the seat of the Ummayad Caliphate.

Syria

Formal name of country: Syrian Arab Republic

Size of country: 185,180 sq km

Natural resources: Petroleum, phosphates, chrome and manganese ores, asphalt, iron ore, rock salt, marble, gypsum, and hydropower

Population: Approximately 20 million

Life expectancy at birth: 70 years

Key ethnic groups: Arabs, Armenians, Kurds (*Note:* religious sects function as ethnic groups)

Key religions: Sunni Islam and several heterodox Shia Islam sects (Alawi, Druze, Ismaili), several Christian denominations

Political system: Republic with a strong, authoritarian presidency

Key political groups:

- Ba'th Party (party of the state)
- National Progressive Front (a coalition comprising the Ba'th and several small leftist parties)
- Muslim Brotherhood

Legal system: Combination of French and Ottoman civil law, with religious law in the family courts

Real GDP growth: 4.5% (2005)

Population below poverty line: 20% (2004)

Size of military: More than 400,000 soldiers

Relationship with the United States: Tense relations (Syria recently declared part of the "axis of evil"): current salient disputes include Syrian support for Hizballah in Lebanon and alleged harboring of Iraqi insurgents.

Important human security issues: High population growth, deteriorating ability to provide basic educational services, inability to create sufficient employment, poor rule of law and observation of human rights

Future important security issues: Relations with neighbors (Israel, Lebanon, Iraq, Iran, and Turkey) and the United States; relations with insurgent and terrorist organizations

As the Arab polity became divided geographic Syria was eventually incorporated into the Mamluk Empire based in Cairo, and then later into the Turkish Ottoman Empire. After the latter was dismantled at the end of World War I, geographic Syria and Lebanon became French mandates, and the name "Syria" for the first time took on a political rather than simply a geographic meaning. After achieving independence from the French Mandate in 1946, Syria soon fell victim to a bewildering number of coups and counter-coups, vacillating tensions with its Arab peer states, and two wars and constant border skirmishes with Israel until a coup brought Hafiz Assad to power in 1970. Although Syria subsequently fought another war with Israel, became a direct participant in the Lebanese civil war, and joined the U.S.-led coalition against Iraq in the 1991 Gulf War, the political leadership of the country had become relatively stabilized, as Hafiz Assad continued in power until his death by natural causes in 2000, at which point his son, Bashar, succeeded him to the presidency.

THE ASSAD FAMILY: THE FATHER, THE SON, AND THE HOLY GHOST

Leaders of numerous Arab republics, among them Egypt, Libya, and Yemen, are reputedly grooming their own sons to take over the presidencies of their countries, which has resulted in the coining of new, sarcastic Arabic terms for government that translate roughly as "dynastic republic" or "presidential monarchy." Among the Arab republics, however, only Syria has so far actually gone through with the inheritance of the presidency. After Hafiz Assad's coup brought him to power in 1970, he began grooming his son, Basil, to succeed him, giving him key military positions and making him visible at state functions. After Basil died in a car accident in 1994, Assad's other son, Bashar, was put through a crash course in military training and rose in expedited fashion through the ranks of the military to a prominent position. After Hafiz Assad's death in 2000, the Ba'th Party amended the constitution's age requirements to allow Bashar to stand for the presidency, which he won with some 97 percent of the vote in a popular referendum. Given the cult of personality Hafiz Assad cultivated in Syria (reputedly inspired by a visit to North Korea), one may easily find large propaganda posters bearing the combined images of Hafiz, Bashar, and Basil, or, as a Syrian joke goes, "the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

SOCIETY

Syria today is a youthful society suffering from youthful society problems. Its population totals around 20 million, but of those some 40 percent are under the age of 15. For years, Syria had one of the highest population growth rates in the world, between 3.3 and 3.5 percent annually, and although current figures show a sharp drop in the growth rate by about a point (to approximately 2.6 percent annually), their credibility is somewhat uncertain (Zisser 2001, 191). This has led to a population bulge of young Syrians, a demographic phenomenon experienced by many of Syria's Arab peer states, many of whom also experienced rapid population growth over the past half-century. The problems Syria has experienced because of this bulge are similar to these other countries as well: heavy strains on the educational system, government inability to keep pace with population growth in terms of public services, and difficulties in job creation as new age cohorts enter the workforce. With large gulfs in the quality of services provided and opportunities available between rural and urban areas, Syria has also experienced considerable internal migration to the cities, which has compounded this difficulty and contributed to high unemployment rates, especially among first-time job seekers. In addition, a large number of Palestinian refugees live permanently in Syria, many of whom have been reasonably well integrated into Syrian society (estimates vary, but the U.S. State Department puts the figure at 400,000 as of 2005).

Syrian nationalism is a relatively new phenomenon: the modern state was carved out of the geographic area of Greater Syria (which included Lebanon, Syria, and parts of then Palestine and Transjordan) as a French mandate under the League of Nations, and to the degree that residents identified with any national movement at all, it was with pan-Arab nationalism rather than Syrian particularism. Instead, Syria is home to several sub-national loyalties, the importance of which have waxed and waned over the intervening years. Approximately 90 percent of the population is Arab, while the remaining 10 percent is primarily composed of Kurds and Armenians, a source of tension with Turkey and, indirectly, Iraq, due to substantial Kurdish populations in southeast Turkey and northern Iraq and the existence of Kurdish nationalist movements. Meanwhile, sectarian loyalties have often appeared to trump loyalty to the nation. The majority religion is Sunni Islam, practiced by approximately three-quarters of the population. Syria is home to several

important religious minorities, however. Christians of various sects compose approximately 10 percent of the population, although residence in a majority Muslim state has required political caution on their parts. Meanwhile, two key heterodox offshoots of Shia Islam, the Alawis and Druze, compose national minorities (around 15 percent of the population combined), but local majorities on the coastal areas near Latakia (approximately 60 percent Alawi) and the Druze mountains (around 90 percent Druze) in the southwest.

Both Alawis and Druze had long lived in rural and undeveloped regions of the country, especially compared to the Sunni community, whose members formed large majorities in the major cities. French colonial practice in Syria, as elsewhere, was to recruit members of rural, relatively backward minority communities into the armed forces and officer corps—a practice that continued beyond independence when a military career provided almost the only means of social advancement for non-Sunnis, and when established Alawi and Druze officers could recruit amongst their co-religionists. The officer corps was thus dominated by members of these minority sects, and when military coups began to occur in rapid succession in the 1950s and 1960s it was almost by default that they took on sectarian overtones. Eventually, Alawi officers were able to purge their Druze peers from key state positions, and after the coup of 1970 that brought Assad (himself an Alawi) to power, Alawis have held most of the key positions in the security services and armed forces. The Syrian regime has often been referred to as an ethnocracy due to this Alawi predominance, especially since both regime and state security depend in large part on this group of Alawi officers and the forces they control. Nonetheless, Sunnis trusted by Assad continued to hold key positions in formal state institutions and the informal ruling regime, and ruling Ba'th Party institutions and ideology have with greater or lesser success been used to attempt to redirect sub-national loyalties toward party and state, although these attempts had in theory been based on pan-Arab rather than specifically Syrian nationalism.

One of the main ideological tenets of the Ba'th Party has been socialism, and successive Syrian governments tried to forge a command economy with the state taking the leading role in ownership and production decisions, although Assad relaxed this somewhat after coming to power. Because of these decisions, Syria suffered from many of the same economic problems experienced by other command and state-centric economies, although these were partially compensated for by politically based rents accruing to the country from the oil-rich Gulf states as a frontline state against Israel and from the Soviet Union in its attempts to balance the United States in the Middle East, not to mention remittances from Syrians working in the Gulf states. Economic crises in the 1980s and 1990s compelled the regime to adopt some piecemeal reforms to enable more market-based activity and attract expatriate and foreign investment funds, although the state continues to play a large and central role in the economy. Agriculture and petroleum continue to account for approximately half of the country's gross domestic product, with the latter accounting for most of Syria's foreign currency earnings.

Although Syria has at various times tried to upgrade or overhauls its basic infrastructure, the government has had difficulty keeping up with its high population growth rates, leading to, for example, water shortages and electricity blackouts. Power generation in particular has been complicated by pressure on its raw

components: approximately 40 percent comes from hydroelectricity, but Turkish development projects have affected rivers flowing into Syria, while the remaining 60 percent comes from fossil fuels. Although high petroleum prices have augmented government revenues, Syria's own oil resources are dwindling. While Syria has at various times been able to acquire subsidized oil due to political agreements with other regional powers, power generation from this source will continue to grow more costly. Although energy deficits could cause Syria to look to nuclear energy generation in the future, a move in the direction of a civilian nuclear power program will inevitably be greeted with great suspicion, especially by Western countries.

The quality of life in Syria rose rapidly in the 1970s as high world oil prices and strategic political rents pumped sizable amounts of funds into the country, but this boom ended when oil prices plummeted and rents declined. Large cohorts of state employees on fixed salaries saw their living standards decline throughout the economic crises of the 1980s and 1990s, and today the formal salary in the extremely overstaffed Syrian bureaucracy is insufficient to support a family of even modest size, requiring state employees to take additional jobs or engage in petty corruption to support themselves and their families. Income disparities continue to grow as masses of state employees continue to subsist on fixed salaries while politically well-connected businessmen are able to undertake investments (sometimes legitimate, sometimes not) and win licenses and contracts to supply the state. Given high unemployment rates (officially hovering somewhat over 10 percent but unofficially much higher, perhaps upwards of 30 percent), especially among young Syrians just entering the workforce, it is often difficult for young people to marry and set up their own households given rent and cost-of-living expenses, especially in the cities.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

Despite frequent rhetorical flourishes by government officials lauding Syrian democracy and the formal existence of elected representative institutions, Syria is governed by a personal dictatorship backed by the military, occasionally referred to as a presidential monarchy or an absolute presidency. This, coupled with the fact that the president and most of the key security and military officials are Alawi, has meant that Syria is sometimes referred to rhetorically as an ethnocracy, although this overstates and oversimplifies the case.

After the Ba'thist revolution of 1963, Syria experienced a number of leadership changes. A coup in 1966 led to the ouster of civilian Ba'th officials by military members of the Ba'th, including Hafez Assad, who became minister of defense. After losing the Golan Heights in the 1967 war with Israel, this segment of the Ba'th leadership maintained its positions until shortly after Syria intervened on behalf of the Palestinians in the Jordanian civil war of 1970, which Assad as defense minister refused to support. Assad shortly thereafter staged a coup and completed the process of packing the party, military, and security services with his supporters, a process that had been ongoing for some time.

Ideologues of the Ba'th (literally "renaissance") Party conceived of it as a revolutionary party to achieve a rebirth of Arab society and help achieve Arab

unity. The party was able to attract support from the rural areas with its emphasis on socialism, which in Syria translated to greater opportunities for neglected communities and state capitalism rather than scientific socialism as advocated by Marxist theorists. This led to significant growth in the size of the bureaucracy and the public sector of the economy, resulting in a ready-made base of support for the regime. Further, the party was able to attract significant support from minority communities because it espoused Arab nationalism, which in theory set Alawi, Druze, and Christians on an equal level with Sunnis, the historically dominant community.

Under Assad, however, the Ba'th was slowly stripped of its ideological content. Although its slogans and symbols live on in government pronouncements, socialism as a means to organize the national economy was discredited by the collapse of the Soviet Union and its European allies. Even previous to this, the government had implemented a series of austerity measures to cope with the economic crisis of the 1980s which hit hardest those state employees who composed the theoretical bedrock of Ba'th Party support. Likewise, the language of Arab nationalism has become increasingly anachronistic, and although the Syrian government has attempted to portray the Palestinian cause as a pan-Arab cause, the government's willingness to enter into bilateral peace negotiations with Israel in the 1990s has made more credible the accusation that the Syrian government will attend to Syrian concerns (especially the return of the Golan Heights) at the expense of the Palestinians.

The Ba'th is the party of the state. Although it had only a few hundred members at the time of the 1963 revolution, that number expanded to 65,000 in 1971 and then ballooned to some 500,000 in the mid-1980s and over a million members by the 1990s (Perthes 1995, 154–155). This was part of Assad's drive to deideologize the party, and in part a response to the fact that the party was one of the main networks for extending patronage in the country. The Ba'th, meanwhile, became increasingly marginalized: after its 1985 congress no more were held until after Assad's death in 2000 when the party convened to select Bashar Assad to succeed his father as secretary-general of the party. Although the Ba'th is given pride of place by constitutional and other legal protections, the regime has maintained the fiction of party pluralism via the National Progressive Front (NPF), formed in 1972 to comprise the Ba'th and five other leftist parties, which include two factions of the communist party and a few Arab nationalist organizations, none of which have more than a few thousand members. All legal parties belong to the NPF, although some other semi-legal organizations are tolerated, and there have been at various times attempts to create a regime-friendly Islamic party to join the front.

Syria has formal institutions attached to both the state and the party of varying degrees of importance. The president (who is also the secretary-general of the Ba'th) is elected by popular referendum to a seven-year term with no term limits after first being nominated by the parliament. The referendum is largely a ceremonial procedure that in practice amounts to one of the "99 percent elections" that predominate in Arab republics; after Hafez Assad died in 2000, his son, Bashar, won the referendum with over 97 percent of the vote. The parliament is a unicameral body whose 250 members are popularly elected to four-year terms, although given the nature of the institution, voter turnout is quite low, usually under 20

percent (Perthes 1995, 167). The NPF by fiat takes approximately two-thirds of the seats (by constitutional mandate, the Ba'th is guaranteed half the seats in parliament), with the rest of the seats taken by independents. The president rather than the parliament appoints the prime minister and cabinet, and they are responsible to him.

Civil society is highly regulated and controlled. Unions and professional organizations are essentially extensions of the regime, maintaining some quasi-governmental prerogatives over their members and with their leaderships government appointed. Given this high degree of regulation, organizations that are truly autonomous of the regime have little opportunity to practice peaceful politics. The Muslim Brotherhood, for example, a Sunni political-religious movement with branches in most Arab states, has a history of violent conflict with the Syrian government. Since some Muslims do not consider Alawis to be part of Shia Islam, some Sunni leaders had long referred to the regime as sectarian and non-Muslim, and many were particularly angry when Assad intervened in the Lebanese civil war in 1976 initially on behalf of the Christian parties against Muslim groups. The regime responded with repression, and what became known as the Islamic Revolt continued, violently, until the government crushed the Muslim Brotherhood in the central city of Hama in 1982 with an unprecedented use of force in which up to 20,000 civilians died. The group still exists and functions out of exile in London, and the regime has made some attempts to reconcile with individual members of the movement.

Key domestic political issues include the stabilization of the presidency of Bashar Assad, opposition from old guard politicians, the need for economic restructuring, and the desire for the alleviation of police state abuses. When Bashar Assad became president in 2000, conventional wisdom (or wishful thinking) held that, being of the new generation and having spent time in the west, he would enact at least some political liberalization and curb the worst abuses of the police state. Although there appeared to be some progress initially with some prisoner releases and the like, little of substance has changed. Although the closed nature of the regime makes it difficult to move beyond conjecture, some have attributed this to the influence of old guard politicians who had held powerful positions under his father. As Bashar Assad was prepared for the presidency through the latter half of the 1990s, a large number of Bashar loyalists were placed in the security services and eclipsed long-standing regime figures, not all of whom have accepted this forced retirement. Abd al-Halim Khaddam, a former vice president, for example, has declared a people's revolution from exile in France.

LAW AND ORDER

It is necessary to distinguish between Syria's capacity for law and Syria's capacity for order: there is only a minimal amount of the former but a great deal of the latter. Since the regime is highly personalized and centered on the president, other formal institutions are both underdeveloped and underutilized, with little expectation that they exist as autonomous decision-making bodies independent of presidential influence. This characterizes the parliament, but also the court system. The supreme constitutional court is composed of justices appointed directly by the president.

The High Judicial Council, which appoints and dismisses judges, is chaired by the president. The state security courts, meanwhile, handle cases specifically related to national security. Although there is some incentive for the government to make court proceedings more transparent to attract investors concerned by the lack of rule of nonarbitrary law in the country, reserving the option of personal discretion in court cases is presumably a useful enough political tool for the president and high officials that they are willing to bear the cost of distrust of the court system.

Order, meanwhile, is provided by the police state. Numerous branches of the security services and secret police exist to keep track of the activities and movements of citizens, and these services have wide powers to detain and hold individuals suspected of threatening state or regime security. The existence of a security apparatus with seemingly limitless discretion has contributed to a state of pervasive fear and self-monitoring among residents, which is presumably intentional to increase the degree of social control over the populace. Meanwhile, numerous security branches exist which have overlapping and parallel duties, and the line is often blurred between the security apparatus, Ba'th Party institutions, the military, and the police. This structure is also no accident, but rather a deliberate effort to forestall coups by setting different elements of the coercive powers of the state to monitor one another.

Petty crime, as in many other Arab societies, is low in pervasiveness as compared to Western societies. More serious offenses, such as smuggling or drug trafficking, are often alleged to occur with the acquiescence or complicity of security or military officials, though due to the nature of the crime and regime it is difficult to substantiate with other than anecdotal evidence. While Syrian forces were stationed in Lebanon the smuggling of consumer goods from relatively open Lebanon to relatively closed Syria allegedly made considerable sums for key military officials. Likewise, military officials were often cited as controlling drug cultivation in Lebanon's Bekaa valley during and after the civil war, although government efforts to disrupt the practice, taken in part to avoid international pressure over drug smuggling, were relatively successful. Corruption, meanwhile, is a pervasive fact of life in Syria. Petty corruption exists in part because salaries for employees in the state bureaucracy are far too low to meet basic cost-of-living expenses for a family of moderate size. The more damaging grand corruption, however, in terms of preferential access to legal and illegal contracts, licenses, and goods are often determined by access to key political figures. The regime is often characterized in language commonly used to describe the mafia, and dispensation of these favors is part of the patronage system. The regime is able to buy support through these favors and also implicate others in the networks of corruption, and the frequent anticorruption drives arguably are not intended to wipe out corruption per se but rather to demonstrate to clients the dangers of falling out with the regime. Economic costs associated with inefficiencies in resource allocation are then bearable given the political benefits gained.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Foreign policy, like domestic policy, is conducted under the purview of the president, and although many of the more mundane aspects of domestic policy

may be left to the discretion of line ministries, foreign affairs have long been among the high affairs of the Syrian state. The president may of course delegate authority to trusted deputies if he wishes, which has occurred on numerous occasions, especially as concerns negotiations, secret or open, with Israel.

Current Syrian foreign policy goals are linked to both state and regime security, which sometimes overlap and sometimes diverge. Key challenges include the ever-present conflict with Israel and disputes with Western powers, while further challenges exist in the form of disputes with Lebanon, Iraq, and Turkey—given the waxing and waning tensions with Jordan over the years, Syria has significant problems with every one of its neighbors. While Syria is subject to frequent condemnation of its behavior with respect to neighboring countries, this behavior, especially after the deideologization of the Ba'th and state under Assad, should be viewed in light of Syrian security needs rather than simply trouble making for the sake of trouble making.

Syria's conflict with Israel has long been the top concern of the state, and has to a large degree spilled over into Syria's disputes with its other neighbors. Syria and Israel have fought wars formally in 1948, 1967, and 1973, and vied for supremacy in Lebanon throughout that country's 1975–1990 civil war. Syria's security concerns regarding Israel are very real. Although Syria boasts a much larger population and therefore manpower reserve, Israel's military has long enjoyed a qualitative, technological advantage due in part to its own research and design facilities and its long-standing alliance with the United States. This advantage was only partially offset by Syrian arms purchases from the Soviet Union during the Cold War, and the qualitative gap between the Israeli and Syrian armed forces have only widened since the Soviet collapse.

Geographical disadvantages have compounded this inferiority in armaments after Israel captured the Golan Heights in the 1967 war. The Golan is a high plateau which overlooks both northern Israel and southern Syria, and is approximately 60 miles from the city of Haifa in the former and 50 miles from Damascus in the latter. Both disputants view the Golan as being of vital military importance since, aside from commanding views of the surrounding territory (one can see into Damascus from the Golan), either side could launch a military strike against the other given the topographical advantages of the site. Complete recovery of the Golan has thus been a long-standing demand of the Syrian government, and successive peace negotiations with Israel in the 1990s hinged on the amount of territory to be returned, the placement of observation posts, and the like (Kessler 1987, 82–83; Rabil 2003, 33–37, 169–76).

This concern over security along Syria's border with Israel has spilled over into Lebanon's Bekaa Valley, which Syria has treated as an extension of the Golan front. Various interpretations exist for Syria's 1976 intervention in Lebanon's civil war, but from a security aspect at least part of the rationale was to prevent an Israeli intervention that could threaten Syria along the Bekaa. The Taif Accord which ended the civil war effectively granted Syria hegemony in Lebanon (and, incidentally, provided for Syrian military withdrawal to the Bekaa rather than out of the country), and Syria utilized the Hizballah militia in the South as a proxy to fight the South Lebanese Army, Israel's proxy militia, in Israel's buffer zone in the

South. Hizballah kept its weapons after the 2000 Israeli withdrawal, and Syria has maintained support for the militia at least in part to pressure Israel. Syrian power in Lebanon was dramatically curtailed, however, after the 2005 assassination of former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri (widely assumed to be the product of Syrian complicity) and the subsequent mass demonstrations that helped pushed the Syrian armed forces out of the country. Since then, Syria has faced strong international pressure from the commission of inquiry investigating the Hariri assassination as well as Syrian support for Hizballah, while relations with Lebanon's government have been tense over borders and diplomatic representation. Syria's goals, again related to security demands, have thus been to maintain influence in Lebanon while limiting the effects of international pressure over its alleged role in the Hariri assassination and its support for Hizballah.

The U.S. administration has polemically labeled Syria as part of the "axis of evil" that includes Iran, and Syria has indeed had a long-running alliance with the latter state dating back to the 1980s when Syria was the only Arab state to support Iran in its war with Iraq. For Syria this was in part a counterweight to Iraqi aspirations in the region dating back to the pre-Ba'th era but given extra impetus by the competition between the

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SYRIA'S ALLIANCE WITH IRAN

Syria's alliance with Iran, described in recent polemics as part of the "axis of evil," dates back to the late 1970s. The alliance is not the simple, natural relationship often implied by the rhetoric, however. In terms of formal ideology, the two countries are ill matched: Syria espousing the secular, pan-Arab nationalist ideology of the Ba'th Party, and Iran espousing a religious system with aims at an Islamic Empire. The two countries do, however, share a number of more practical political aims and enemies. The alliance took root initially in the context of Egyptian-Israeli peace negotiations when Syria sought another regional counterweight to compensate for the loss of Egypt in its struggle with Israel. The alliance further strengthened when Syria became the only Arab state to support Iran in its war against Iraq, with which Syria was a traditional rival and whose wing of the Ba'th Party had a strongly competitive and acrimonious relationship with Syria's Ba'th. The Syrian-Iranian front against Israel spilled over into Lebanon's civil war and postwar politics, with Syria the primary sponsor of the Amal Movement and Iran of Hizballah—with the competition between the two Shia movements in part reflecting competition between Syria and Iran. Although the relationship with Iran soured somewhat in the 1990s in the context of Syrian-Israeli negotiations, geopolitical considerations have once again come to the fore, with a large U.S. military presence in Iraq threatening military intervention against both Syria and Iran.

Syrian and Iraqi wings of the Ba'th. Syria also cultivated ties with Iran to aid in its dispute with Israel, especially since Syria could no longer count on Egypt's military power after the Camp David Accords and subsequent peace agreement with Israel. This alliance suffered in the 1990s as Syria pursued peace negotiations with Israel, but subsequently regained its importance as Western threats were directed against both Syria and Iran in the early 2000s.

Syria was, throughout the 1970s, a recipient of large sums of aid, primarily from the Gulf states. This aid was largely a political rent due to Syria's position as a frontline state in the struggle against Israel, but dropped off as revenues from the oil boom of the 1970s declined and after Syria moved to support Iran against Iraq. Gulf rents again increased dramatically, on the order of two to three billion dollars a year, in the early 1990s (mostly from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait) as a product of Syrian participation in the anti-Iraq alliance in the first Gulf War (Zisser 2001, 190–91). Aid thus accounted for approximately 4 to 5 percent of gross national

product in the 1990s: a large amount, but considerably reduced from around 10 percent in earlier periods (Perthes 1995, 35).

SECURITY

Due to the overlapping nature of Syria's military, security services, and police, it is somewhat difficult to estimate the size and strength of these organizations. While the armed forces comprised 80,000 men in 1970, this number ballooned to some 400,000 by the mid-1980s and 430,000 or more in the 1990s. While no data exist on the size of the police and the security services, these have been estimated at perhaps 100,000 men. Meanwhile, some 60,000 civilians work in three large Ministry of Defense companies, with the result that Syria's security apparatus employs almost half of all state employees, or about 15 percent of the entire workforce (Perthes 1995, 146–47).

Military expenditures are likewise difficult to gauge, given the secretive nature of the regime, and seem to depend on what one counts as an actual expenditure. Although some estimates of military spending put it at as much as half of the gross national product (for example, Zisser 2001, 39), this is probably an overstatement. Military expenditures amount to approximately 30 to 40 percent of the government budget, which translated to 10 percent of the GDP in the late 1970s, peaking at 16 percent in 1986, and then down to 12 percent thereafter. The defense budget does not, however, include arms purchases, and arms imports hovered at around three billion dollars annually in the early 1980s. Most of these purchases, however, were paid for by Arab allies or financed by the Soviet Union on a concessionary basis, and thus did not act as a burden on the government budget or the foreign exchange balance (Perthes 1995, 31–32).

Syria's position in one of the most turbulent regions in the world has meant that it has faced numerous security threats, some of which have been products of its own foreign policies. The conflict with Israel has been by far the most pervasive security threat and has had significant influence on Syria's interactions with its other neighbors, directly and indirectly. After the 1949 coup—the first military takeover in the Arab world—some Syrian leaders expressed a readiness to sign a peace treaty with Israel, but subsequent coups had Syria vacillating between possible acceptance and rejection of a peace deal. As pan-Arab nationalism waxed under the influence of Egypt's President Gamal Abd al-Nasser and the Ba'th Party which originated in Syria, Syria and Egypt engaged in a short-lived union as the United Arab Republic from 1958 to 1961 until conservative Syrian officers, discontent with Syria's status as the junior party to the accord, staged a coup and pulled Syria out of the union. The Ba'th Revolution of 1963 returned the Ba'th to power, but in 1966 younger Ba'thist leaders in the military purged the civilian leadership, and the radicalism of these new leaders contributed significantly to the outbreak of the 1967 war in which Israel captured the Golan Heights. Hafez Assad, then minister of defense, came to power in a coup in 1970, and subsequently plotted a more Syria-centric foreign policy.

The 1973 war with Israel, often described as a military defeat but political victory for Egypt and Syria, resulted in a series of disengagement agreements with

Israel, which Syria has honored scrupulously. Around this time, Assad also declared his readiness to accept UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, which have formed the accepted basis of Arab-Israeli settlements on the basis of land-for-peace, which had been rejected by previous Syrian governments. Since that time, no more armed conflicts between the two sides have taken place on Syrian or Israeli territory.

The conflict had, however, shifted to other venues, primarily Lebanon. Assad, at the invitation of the Christian-led Lebanese government, intervened in that country's civil war in 1976. Among the various interpretations for Assad's motives include an ideological drive to reincorporate Lebanon (and eventually Palestine and Jordan) into ''Greater Syria'' and an alternate ideological drive to pan-Arabism and Arab unity. Interpretations based on Syrian security needs are, however, as plausible as ideological motives, if not more so. There was, at the time, real concern that Lebanon's sectarian war could spread to Syria given the latter's diverse population and the fact that the government was dominated by the Alawi minority: such concerns were in part validated by the sometimes sectarian language of the Islamic Revolt led by the Muslim Brotherhood which lasted from 1976 to 1982. Likewise, Syrian officials had real reason to be concerned that a failure to stabilize Lebanon could lead to an Israeli intervention to prevent the collapse of the Lebanese governing system which granted disproportionate power to the Christian community. Given the wartime links developing between Israel and Maronite Christian militias, there was also plausible concern that Israel could help the Maronites establish a separate Christian state. Were Israel to enter Lebanon (which it did in 1978 and especially in 1982), Syria would face a direct threat via Lebanon's Bekaa Valley which borders Syria, which in practice was where Syria forces were concentrated during the civil war, and the point to which they were to withdraw as stipulated by the Taif Accord which ended the Lebanese civil war.

After decades of rivalry with Iraq, Syria joined the U.S.-led coalition against Iraq during the Gulf War. After the collapse of the Soviet Union left Syria without a superpower ally and patron, Syria attempted to improve relations with the United States. After agreeing to participate in the 1991 Madrid Conference between Israel and the Arab states, bilateral talks with Israel continued from 1992 to 1996. Although the two sides were allegedly close to agreement, the election of the Netanyahu government in Israel in 1996 brought talks to a standstill when Netanyahu refused to recognize prior understandings since none had been formal, signed agreements. Negotiations restarted in 1999 after the election of the Barak government, but no agreement was reached. In the meantime, Syria was forced to contend with a nascent alliance between Israel and Turkey. This led to several near-clashes on Syria's northern border in response to Syria's complaints of Turkey diverting the water of the Euphrates River, and Turkey's complaints that Syria was aiding and harboring members of Kurdish nationalist movements operating against Turkey.

After Hafez Assad died in 2000, his son, Bashar, succeeded him to the presidency. Since that time, Syria has faced considerable pressure following the September 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center and the subsequent American campaign against terrorism. U.S.-Syrian tensions have flared repeatedly over Syria's shared border with Iraq, with the United States at times claiming that Syria

was harboring former Iraqi regime officials, that Iraq had sent funds and weapons of mass destruction across the border to Syria to avoid detection by weapons inspectors, and that Syria has permitted insurgents and Al Qaeda operatives to cross into Iraq to fight U.S.-led coalition forces. International pressure reached much higher levels in 2005 after former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri was assassinated in February with what appeared to be Syrian complicity. International pressure to implement UN Security Council Resolution 1559 which called, in part, for the complete withdrawal of Syrian forces eventually led to the final pullout of Syrian troops in April 2005. The international commission of inquiry into the Hariri assassination has several times complained of Syrian noncooperation with the commission, further putting pressure on the Syrian government.

Major issues facing the Syrian regime in the upcoming years will continue to include security threats from its neighbors, particularly Israel, but will also include pressure from the international community, especially the United States. Syria has long been on the United States' list of state sponsors of terrorism, and its conduct in Lebanon and Iraq, not to mention its alliance with Iran, makes it a target for U.S. pressure and possibly military intervention. Not all upcoming challenges facing Syria are of a military nature, however. Disputes with Turkey over Euphrates water are indicative of growing water pressures in the country, and its rapid population growth has made it difficult for the government to keep up in terms of basic services, infrastructure, and job creation. Although foreign threats to state and regime security are real, these domestic problems will put further pressure on the embattled regime.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Syria's record on human rights is poor. Among the myriad problems cited by Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and the U.S. State Department include arbitrary arrests and detentions, poor prison conditions, the use of torture, and arbitrary killings. This is compounded by severely restricted civil liberties, which include restrictions on rights to free speech, free assembly, and freedom of association. The state has been subject to emergency rule since the 1963 Ba'th revolution, which has given the security services widespread discretion to detain and arrest. The atmosphere of pervasive fear created by the existence of a seemingly unchecked security apparatus is presumably not accidental, but rather a means of exerting further social control over the Syrian population. The rule of law is, in other words, essentially nonexistent. Although the constitution calls for an independent judiciary, judicial appointments and dismissals are made either directly or indirectly by the president. The legal system is subjected regularly to political influence and bribery, another aspect of the existing patronage system which trades off legal dispensations for political support.

CONCLUSION

Syrian relations with the United States have vacillated between highs and lows, but have deteriorated since the 2003 invasion of Iraq and especially after the 2005

assassination of former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri. The United States accuses Syria of permitting its border to be used as a transit point for foreign fighters entering Iraq to fight against U.S. and Iraqi forces, as well as harboring members of the former Iraqi regime purportedly supporting the insurgency in Iraq. Although Syrian-U.S. consultation led to the Taif Accords that ended the Lebanese civil war, and although the United States appeared to give tacit agreement to Syrian hegemony over Lebanon in return for Syrian participation in the anti-Iraq coalition in the first Gulf War, U.S. policy has shifted in recent years toward condemning Syrian activity in Lebanon. Congress passed the Syrian Accountability and Lebanese Sovereignty Restoration Act in 2004, which resulted in further sanctions being imposed on Syria; U.S. pressure increased noticeably after the Hariri assassination with apparent Syrian involvement. Given Syria's position on the U.S. list of state sponsors of terrorism every year since the inception of the list in 1979, its support for Hizballah in Lebanon, and its willingness to host various militant groups and Palestinian rejectionist leaders (including those of Hamas), Syria will remain under considerable suspicion and scrutiny for the foreseeable future.

Syria thus faces numerous ongoing challenges to its security, some of which apply to the state, and some of which apply specifically to the ruling regime. Military threats include the obvious one from Israel, as well as possibly from Turkey. If the 1991 Gulf War set an unsettling precedent of Western powers intervening militarily in regional affairs, the 2003 invasion of Iraq could only heighten the anxiety with which both Syria and Iran, long at odds with the United States, viewed the security of their borders and regimes. If either or both countries actually are aiding the insurgency against the new Iraqi government and U.S. forces, as is plausible, they are likely doing so to prevent the emergence of a stable Iraq with close ties to the United States.

More generally, however, Syria faces a number of security challenges that go beyond military threats. The economy is stagnant and heavily reliant on agriculture and petroleum, but potential water deficits could soon threaten the former, while Syrian oil could run out as early as 2010. This, combined with rapid population growth, has put considerable strain on state resources to meet basic needs in terms of services, infrastructure, and jobs. Syria also faces the potential hazard of renewed sectarian conflict, especially if the Muslim Brotherhood were able to reconstitute itself or a more radical organization came into being that could mobilize discontent with regime policies and outcomes by couching appeals to Sunnis as against their Alawi rulers. All of this is within the context of almost nonexistent political and human rights. Although the regime's control and use of the security apparatus has atomized its opposition, and although it has survived numerous crises since Hafez Assad's rise to power in 1970, the next major crisis to confront the ruling regime could result from any combination of these pressures.

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Taiwan

James Conner

BACKGROUND

The island of Taiwan is located in eastern Asia off the southeastern coast of China and north of the Philippines. It borders the East China Sea, Philippine Sea, South China Sea, and Taiwan Strait. The Republic of China (ROC) currently exercises sovereignty over the island group of Taiwan, the Pescadores, Kinmen, and Matsu. However, there is a complex dispute with China, Malaysia, the Philippines, Vietnam, and Brunei over the Spratly Islands, as well as disputes relating to the Paracel Islands, the islands of Sekaku-shoto (Diaoyu), and the exclusive economic zone in the East China Sea (CIA 2006, 2). In this chapter, the country titles of Taiwan and Republic of China are used interchangeably.

The total area of Taiwan—land and water—is 35,980 square kilometers, which makes it slightly smaller than the U.S. states of Maryland and Delaware combined (CIA 2006, 3). The eastern two-thirds of the island is mostly rugged mountains—the highest point being Yu Shan (3,952 meters). The western coastal region is generally flat to gently rolling plains. Taiwan's climate is oceanic and subtropical monsoon, with the rainy season occurring during the southwest monsoon (June to August). Approximately 24 percent of the land is arable, with 1 percent in permanent crops. The island is subject to earthquakes and typhoons. It is not richly endowed with natural resources, but it does have small deposits of coal, natural gas, limestone, marble, and asbestos.

Taiwan's current environmental issues include: air pollution; water pollution from industrial emissions and raw sewage; contamination of drinking water supplies; trade in endangered species; and radioactive waste disposal (CIA 2006, 3).

The island of Taiwan was named Ilha Formosa (meaning Beautiful Island) by Dutch/Portuguese navigators in the late sixteenth century and it retained this name for the next four centuries (www.taiwanc.org 2004). For political reasons in the international arena, the Republic of China is sometimes referred to as Chinese Taipai.

Taiwan

Formal name of country: Republic of China; also known as Taiwan, Chinese Taipai; previously known as Formosa (Beautiful Island)

Size of country: 35,980 sq km (land and water)

Natural resources: Small deposits of coal, natural gas, limestone, marble, and asbestos

Population: 23,036,087 (July 2006 est.)

Life expectancy at birth: Average 77.43 years; 80.47 females, 74.67 males

Key ethnic groups:

- Taiwanese (including Hakka) 84%
- Mainland Chinese 14%
- Indigenous 2%

Key religions: Mixture of Buddhist, Confucian and Taoist 93%, Christian 4.5%, and other 2.5%

Political system: Multiparty democracy Unicameral Parliament: Legislative Yuen (225 seats), president (four-year term)

Key political groups/parties: Major parties: Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), Kuomintang (KMT), People First Party (PFP), and Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU)

Legal system: Judicial Yuan is the highest judicial body; Supreme Court is highest court; adversarial legal system based on civil law system; no juries; judge makes final decision on sentencing death penalty in force

Real GDP growth rate: 3.8% (2005 est.)

Population below poverty line: 0.9% (2005 est.)

Size of military: Approximately 290,000 regular (army 200,000; navy 45,000; air force 45,000) and 26,500 paramilitary personnel

Relationship with the United States: No formal diplomatic relations with the United States, but unofficial commercial and cultural relations maintained through offices in Taiwan and the United States. U.S.-Taiwan Relations Act (TRA) 1979.

Important security issues: Arms procurement under auspices of TRA (1979); People's Republic of China (PRC) "One China Policy" and its refusal to renounce the use of nonpeaceful means to resolve issues. Territorial disputes, in particular the Spratly Islands.

Future important security issues: PRC military expansion; terrorism; Taiwan's independence program and PRC secessionist law; Change in U.S. policy towards Taiwan; political corruption and cronyism; illicit drug trade and domestic methamphetamine production; Taiwan's armed forces untested in the battlefield.

Taiwan's prehistory consisted of migration and settlement by indigenous peoples of Austronesia, Polynesia, and Chinese descent, initially inhabiting the low-lying coastal plains. Waves of settlers migrated from the Chinese mainland as early as 500 AD. Dutch traders and colonists occupied the island from 1624–1662. During that period the Spanish established some presence but were driven out by the Dutch.

Political and economic crises in China during the Dutch administration period resulted in waves of migrants from the Chinese mainland. The Dutch also brought

in laborers from China as migrants. Many of these migrants settled and married the indigenous population. Moreover, many of the indigenous population retreated to the high country and became mountain people (www.taiwandc.org; www.open-site.org).

The Dutch were defeated by the Chinese in 1662 and Taiwan, for the next 235 years, was ruled by the Chinese. This period was marked by uprisings and rebellions by the local population against officials and troops sent from the mainland.

In 1895, military defeat in the Sino-Japanese War forced China to cede Taiwan to Japan. The Japanese occupied Taiwan until the end of World War II. During this time they developed considerable infrastructure—trains, roads, and industry. They also developed an educational system based on the educational system in Japan.

At the end of World War II, the Allied powers agreed that the Chinese Nationalists under Chiang Kai Shek would occupy Taiwan on behalf of the Allied Forces (www.taiwanc.org 2004, 4). Although the transition from Japanese colonial rule back to the Chinese was generally welcomed by the Taiwanese, the Chinese Nationalists were considered with some mistrust and tensions soon developed. The February 28 Incident (massacre) in 1947, triggered by the beating to death of an old lady, suspected of smuggling cigarettes, by the Nationalist army, led to large-scale riots and subsequent repression and executions. The number of deaths was estimated at 18,000–20,000, with thousands of professionals, academics, and students imprisoned (www.taiwandc.org/hst-1624.htm) This incident led to considerable long-term animosity between the Taiwan locals and the Chinese Nationalists in Taiwan and, arguably, sowed the seed of the modern Taiwanese independence movement.

Following the Communist victory in mainland China in 1949, the defeated Nationalists retreated to Taiwan and the ROC President, Chiang Kai-Shek, continued single party rule within a hard authoritarian regime (Stockton 2005, 802). The Communist Party of China proclaimed a new state, the People's Republic of China (PRC), led by Mao Zedong. Since the founding of the PRC on October 1, 1949, the two governments have claimed jurisdiction over Taiwan, and indeed, the whole of China.

The Republic of China was a founding member of the United Nations and was recognized by the United Nations up until 1971 as the sole legitimate government of Taiwan and mainland China. However, in 1971, the PRC took over ROC's seat in the United Nations as sole representative of China. As of the end of 2003, Taiwan had formal diplomatic relations with 27 states—14 states in South America, eight states in Africa, and four Pacific Island states.

From 1949 to 2000 the ruling authorities gradually democratized: martial law was lifted in 1987; the first democratic legislative elections were held in 1992; the first presidential election occurred in 1996 (President Lee); and the second presidential election was held in 2000 (President Chen Shui-bian) (www.taiwan.org; Stockton 2005). In March 2004 President Chen Shui-bian was reelected.

SOCIETY

Taiwan's estimated population in July 2006 was 23,036,087, the majority of which are concentrated in the western coastal counties. Although the national

average population density is 640 people per square kilometer, some cities in the western counties (for example Taipei and Kao-hsiung City) reach a density as high as 5,000 people per square kilometer (Stockton 2005, 1).

Taiwan is divided into 18 counties (hsien), five municipalities (shih), and two special municipalities (chuan-shih)—Taipei City and Kao-hsiung City. Its transport infrastructure (road, rail, and airports) is well developed and the telephone system is modern and completely digitized. There were an estimated 25 million mobile cell phones in 2003, and nearly 14 million Internet users in 2005. There are also about 100 cable television stations (CIA 2006, 10; www.historycentral.com, 8).

Ethnic groups consist of Taiwanese (including Hakka) (84 percent), mainland Chinese (14 percent), and indigenous (2 percent). Taiwan's population growth dropped below 1 percent in the 1990s, and in July 2006 was estimated at 0.61 percent (CIA 2006, 3; International Institute for Strategic Studies 2005–2006).

The bulk of the population are in the 15–64 age group (70.8 percent), followed by the 0–14 years age group (19.4 percent) and those 65 years and over (9.8 percent). The national median age is 34.6 years. The national birth rate is 12.56 births per 1,000 population and the national death rate is 6.48 deaths per 1,000 population. The national average life expectancy at birth is 77.43 years—80.47 for females and 74.67 for males. The total fertility rate is 1.57 children born per woman (CIA 2006, 3).

Since 1979, Taiwan has had a nine-year compulsory public education system for all children—six years of elementary school and three years of junior high school. About 9.6 percent of the junior high grade continue their studies in either high school or vocational school.

Taiwan also has an extensive and well-developed higher education system with more than 150 institutions of higher learning. Each year over 100,000 students take the joint college entrance exam and about 67 percent of the candidates are admitted to college or university. Many students travel overseas for advanced education including around 13,000 who study in the United States annually (www.opensite.org, 1).

Article 13 of the ROC Constitution allows freedom of religion as a universal right in Taiwan. Worshipers of officially recognized religions can freely congregate and hold religious services, so long as they act within the bounds of the law. To be recognized, religious groups must apply and register with the government after meeting certain requirements. In 2002, there were 25 religions officially recognized by the government (www.taiwan.com.au, 1).

Religion in Taiwan is a mixture of Buddhist, Confucian, and Taoist (93 percent), Christian 4.5 percent, and other 2.5 percent (CIA 2006, 3). The primary languages are Mandarin Chinese (official), Taiwanese, and Hakka dialects. Many of the elderly Taiwanese can also speak Japanese as a result of the Japanese occupation between 1895 and 1945.

Indigenous minority groups still speak their native languages, although most also speak Mandarin and Taiwanese. English amongst the younger population is a common second language.

The subject of Taiwanese culture is a topic of much debate within Taiwan. Although Taiwanese culture has drawn heavily on Chinese culture, it also has a distinct culture due to its past colonization and political separateness from China. Taiwan culture is also influenced by Western culture and contemporary Japanese culture.

In a 2000 social change survey, nearly 88 percent of those polled considered themselves Taiwanese or Taiwanese and Chinese, up from 75 percent in 1995. Just 8 percent saw themselves as only Chinese, down from 19 percent in 1995 (Zweig 2002, 34).

Economically in the 1990s, Taiwan was regarded as one of the Asian Tigers. Although the government retained state control on strategic assets, such as transportation and communication, its economy has been dominated by small- and medium-sized businesses. This is in direct contrast to the conglomerates experienced by Japan and South Korea. Moreover, in Taiwan in the twenty-first century, some large government-owned banks and industrial activities are being privatized.

Real growth in the gross domestic product averaged 9.8 percent between 1965–1980, dropping to 7.9 percent in the 1980s, 6.6 percent in the 1990s (Stockton 2005, 803), and 3.8 percent in 2005. The trade surplus is substantial, and Taiwan's foreign reserves ($225.8 billion in 2005) are one of the largest in the world. Exports have been the primary drivers for industrialization. The major export commodities are computer products, electrical equipment, metals, textiles, plastic and rubber products, and chemicals. Taiwan's major export partners in 2005 were China (21.6 percent), the United States (15.1 percent), and Japan (7.7 percent) (CIA 2006, 7, 9).

In 1935, agriculture in Taiwan constituted 35 percent of the GDP; in 2004–2005 this accounted for only 2 percent of GDP. Traditional labor intensive industries are gradually being moved offshore and replaced with more capital and technology intensive industries. Taiwan has also become a major investor in mainland China and Southeast Asia. Leading countries of imports in 2001 were Japan (24.1 percent), the United States (17.1 percent), and ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) (14.9 percent) (Stockton 2005, 804).

Taiwan's GDP composition by sector in 2005 was services (69 percent), industry (29.3 percent), and agriculture (1.6 percent). It is estimated that in 2005 Taiwan's labor force was 10.6 million, with an unemployment rate of 4.2 percent and inflation running at 2.3 percent. Privatization, unemployment, the establishment of direct transportation links with mainland China, a slowing economy combined with a global economic downturn, and relocation of many manufacturing and labor intensive industries to mainland China were major political-economic issues in 2006 (CIA 2006, 13).

There are several key social issues in Taiwan. For example, in the area of sexual discrimination, the Constitution provides for equal rights for women, but their role in politics, business, and senior government positions, while increasing, remains low. Violence against women, especially domestic violence and rape, remains a serious problem. Prostitution including coerced prostitution is a problem (www.historycentral.com, 14).

DOMESTIC POLITICS

From 1949 to 1987, the Republic of China was ruled by an authoritarian regime under martial law. The transition from Chiang Kai-shek to his son, Chiang Ching-Kuo, in the 1970s was marked by a gradual shift from an autocratic regime to a more populist style of soft authoritarianism. This was the beginning of the liberalization process completed by Chiang Ching-Kuo's successor, Lee Teng-hui.

President Lee came to power in 1988 and initiated ROC's first democratic legislative elections in 1992. Lee won the first presidential election in 1996 (www.taiwande.org, 1; Stockton 2005, 802). The opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) was formed in 1986, and in 2000, Chen Shui-bian became ROC's first opposition party president. In 2004, President Chen was reelected.

The ROC is now a multiparty democracy. The major parties are the DPP, Kuomintang (KMT) or Nationalist Party, People First Party (PFP), the Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU), the New Party (NP) and other minor parties.

The president is elected by popular vote for a four-year term on the same ticket as the vice president. The president has authority over the five administrative branches (Yuan): Executive Yuan (Cabinet), Legislative Yuan, Control Yuan, Judicial Yuan, and Examination Yuan. The president appoints the Cabinet including a premier, who is officially the president of the executive.

ROC's parliament is the unicameral Legislative Yuan with 225 seats: 168 elected by popular vote; 41 elected on the basis of the proportion of island-wide votes received by participating political parties; eight elected from overseas Chinese constituencies on the same principle; and eight seats elected by popular vote among the aboriginal populations. Members of the Legislative Yuan serve three-year terms.

The National Assembly (300 delegates) was dissolved in June 2005. As a result of constitutional amendments approved by the National Assembly before its dissolution, the number of seats in the Legislative Yuan will be reduced from 225 to 113, beginning with elections in 2007.

The December 2004 Legislative Yuan election results were DPP (28 percent), KMT (35 percent), PFP (15 percent), TSU (8 percent), and other parties and independents (4 percent) (CIA 2006, 6).

In the past two decades Taiwan's party system has undergone significant changes in response to evolving democratization. The March 2004 election was very competitive and the incumbent DPP defeated the KMT and PFP by a difference of only 0.22 percent of the popular vote (Yu 2005, 106). Voter turnout in the last two presidential elections has been high—82 percent in 2000 and 80 percent in 2004 (Yu 2005, 110).

There are clear differences of social base between the major parties but there has also been both continuity and change within the popular base of each party. Less educated voters are more likely to support the KMT rather than the DPP. Younger voters and voters of Taiwanese origin are more likely to support the DPP than the KMT. On issues of ethnic identity and pro-independence, voters are more strongly supportive of the DPP rather than the KMT. There is considerable overlap

between the KMT and NP in terms of voters' occupations and ethnic identities (Yu 2005, 113–16).

The dominant political issue remains that of the relationship between the ROC and the PRC. This is accompanied by a growing Taiwanese independence movement. Increased political, economic, social, and academic liberalization have opened public debate on Taiwanese national identity.

Other major political issues include: the opening of direct transportation links with the mainland; financial sector and banking reform; stagnant economic growth; arms procurement and Taiwan's security; scandal and corruption allegations against President Chen and the DPP party; the long-standing issue of KMT assets; increased coalition party politics; the expansion of international participation that links Taiwan to the world; lack of efficiency and productivity in the Legislative Yuan; and the rise of China—both economically and militarily.

LAW AND ORDER

In Taiwan the period after World War II was marked by a corrupt KMT military administration leading to widespread island unrest, increased tension between Taiwanese and mainlanders, and armed rebellion—which was suppressed with severe military force. Anywhere from 10,000 to 30,000 people were killed during this period, mainly Taiwanese elites. Subsequently, between 1949 and 1989 Taiwan remained under martial law. Martial law was replaced by a less stringent National Security Law. During the transition period from 1986 to 1989, there was also increased political democratization and the formation of the opposition Democratic Progressive Party.

The Judicial Yuan is the ROC's highest judicial body. It interprets the Constitution and other laws and decrees. The Council of Grand Justices, consisting of the president, vice president, and 15 justices, are nominated and appointed by the president of the ROC with the consent of the Legislative Yuan. The Supreme Court is the highest court and consists of both a civil and criminal division, each of which is formed by a presiding judge and four associate judges—all

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PRESIDENT CHEN SHUI-BIAN

Chen Shui-bian, president of the Republic of China (ROC), was born to a poor farming-laboring family in Kuantin Township, Tainan county in late 1950. Chen's popular nickname is A-bian.

In 1974 Chen graduated from the National Taiwan University with a law degree and became a maritime lawyer. On the passing of his bar exams, he earned the distinction of being Taiwan's youngest lawyer. In 1975 he married Wu Shu-chen and they have a daughter and a son.

Chen became involved in politics in the early 1980s when he defended political dissidents jailed by Taiwan's martial law government. He also entered politics as a Taipai City Councillor in 1981. He served eight months in prison in 1986–1987 for writing an article critical of a government member. When he was appealing his sentence in 1985 and publicly thanking his supporters, his wife was hit by a truck and paralyzed from the waist down.

In 1989 and 1992 Chen was elected to the Legislative Yuan. In 1994, however, he resigned and won the position of Mayor of Taipai. In the 1998 mayoral race he was defeated and, once again, turned to central politics. As the leader of the Democratic Progressive Party, Chen won the presidential election on March 18, 2000. In March 2004 he narrowly won his second term as president. In the final days of the 2004 campaign, he was wounded in an assassination attempt.

Biography. Chen Shui-bian. www.answers.com/chen%20shui%20bian (accessed October 12, 2007).

Chen Shui-bian. www.factmonster.com/biography/var/chenshuibian.html (accessed September 9, 2006).

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appointed for life. Trial is not by jury, but the right to a fair public trial is protected by law.

Taiwan has a centralized police system spread throughout the various counties and municipalities. Apart from enforcing law and maintaining public order, the police also deal with immigration and visa matters, civil defense and disaster rescue, fire prevention and fire fighting, and order maintenance and riot control. In 1990 there were 75,517 police officers: 20,025 directly under the jurisdiction of the national police administration; 12,277 under the jurisdiction of Taipai and Kao-hsiung cities; and 43,215 under the jurisdiction of the Taiwan Province (www.fas.org).

The police clearance rates are high. A beat system of community policing, combined with effective community and informer networks contributes to police efficiency (wwww.ojp.usdoj.gov). Illicit drug importation and consumption—especially methamphetamine and heroin—is a major problem. Taiwan is targeted as a regional transit point for both types of drugs. The renewal of domestic methamphetamine production is also a problem.

Taiwan has stable civil-military relations. There has never been a military coup in the ROC. In the 2000 election there was speculation that the military would not accept the island's first non-KMT president, Chen Shui-bian. Moreover, with President Chen's independence platform in both the 2000 and 2004 elections, there was concern that the military may take action to prevent a possible move to secession.

In the event of conflict between the PRC and the ROC, the loyalty of elements within the armed forces could be problematic to the ROC. Furthermore, the maintenance of law and order may be difficult due to hostilities and subterfuge between the various population and political factions within the ROC (for example those loyal to mainland China).

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China is responsible for foreign policy and foreign affairs. In accordance with Article 141 of the Constitution, "The foreign policy of the Republic of China shall, in a spirit of independence and initiative and on the basis of the principles of equality and reciprocity, cultivate good-neighborliness with other nations, and respect treaties and the Charter of the United Nations, in order to protect the rights and interests of compatriots residing abroad, promote international cooperation, advance international justice and ensure world peace" (www.mofa.gov.tw). The National Police Administration in Taiwan also has a Foreign Affairs Division and a Foreign Affairs Police Brigade Office.

As stated previously, the Republic of China was a founding member of the United Nations and held China's seat on the Security Council until 1971, when it was expelled by General Assembly Resolution 2758.

The PRC has a policy of not having diplomatic relations with any nations which recognize the sovereignty of the ROC. However, although only 27 states have formed diplomatic relations with Taiwan, in practice many major nations maintain

unofficial diplomatic relations with the island. For example, in the United States, the ROC has representative offices (Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office) in Washington and 12 other U.S. cities which take on many of the functions of an official embassy. Likewise, some major nations have unofficial trade or economic or institute offices in Taiwan.

The PRC position on its "one China" policy, as expressed in successive white papers, creates considerable geopolitical tension in the east Asia region. Moreover, there has never been a peace treaty between Taiwan and China, thus technically the two entities are at war. Both the PRC and the ROC are currently dedicated to a peaceful resolution of the Taiwan issues. But this does not stop both entities from pushing their separate agendas: President Chen advocating Taiwan independence; and the PRC refusing to renounce the right to use force to resolve the "one China" policy and for other territorial claims.

Taiwan has sought over the years, with little success, to regain its seat in the UN General Assembly. As part of its campaign to win the support of the developing nations in the United Nations and to expand its participation in the international community, Taiwan is providing aid to nations in Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa, and the Pacific Islands. It has also sought free trade agreements with the United States, Japan, Singapore, Panama, and New Zealand (Halloran 2003, 29).

Taiwan maintains trade offices in more than 60 countries. It is a member of the World Trade Organization, Asian Development Bank, Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum, and other international bodies. The ROC also has observer status on the Trade Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and is currently seeking observer status in the World Health Organization (CIA 2006, 6).

The ROC has no multilateral or bilateral treaties. However, its relationship with the United States is pivotal from a security perspective regarding potential conflict between the ROC and the PRC, as well as broader geopolitical issues in the East Asia region.

Following the removal of Taiwan from the United Nations in 1971, U.S. President Richard Nixon in 1972 established quasi-diplomatic relations with the PRC. As a culmination of U.S.-China bilateral relations, former U.S. President Jimmy Carter formally established diplomatic relations with the PRC. However, the United States, as a counterbalance, enacted the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA) 1979, which remains in force today. The TRA specifies continued economic and social ties with the ROC as well as the provision of weapons of a defensive nature and the capacity to resist any force which threatens Taiwan's social, economic, or military security.

Generally, the United States has avoided favoring one side or the other, although there have been exceptions with various administrations. However, a unilateral move by the PRC or the ROC with regards to military invasion or formal independence, respectively, would be viewed with alarm by the United States. In the meantime, however, just what the U.S. response would be in the event of conflict between the PRC and the ROC remains strategically ambiguous (Stockton 2005, 814–15; www.britannica.com).

In his address to the National Day Rally, on October 10, 2005, President Chen emphasized some key foreign policy issues. These included the need to cultivate

TAIWAN: KEY POLITICAL AND SOCIAL EVENTS	
Pre-1500s	Migration and settlement by indigenous peoples of Austronesia, Polynesia, and Chinese descent. Taiwan island called Pakan.
Late 1500s	Dutch/Portugese navigators rename Pakan Ilha Formosa (meaning Beautiful Island).
1624–1662	Dutch traders and colonists occupy the island.
1662–1895	Dutch defeated by Chinese forces. The Manchu Dynasty for the next 230 years marked by periods of stability as well as uprisings and rebellions between the local population and mainland officials.
1895	Japanese defeat the Manchus in the Sino-Japanese War. Taiwan ceded to Japan in perpetuity.
1890s	The founding father of Taiwan, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, establishes a revolutionary organization in Hawaii. His Three Principles of the People—nationalism, democracy, and the people's well-being—are eventually adopted in the 1947 ROC Constitution.
1945	World War II ends with Japan's surrender to the allies. Allied powers agree that Chinese Nationalists would occupy Taiwan on behalf of the Allied Forces.
1949	Following communist victory in mainland China, the defeated nationalists under Chiang Kai-Shek retreat to Taiwan. Martial law declared.
1945–1971	The ROC becomes a founding member of the United Nations. In 1971 the People's Republic of China takes over the ROC's seat in the UN.
1972	Shangai Communique. United States acknowledges that there is but one China and that Taiwan is part of China.
1986	The Democratic Progressive Party is formed.
1987	Martial law is lifted.
December 1992	First democratic legislative elections.
1996	First presidential elections (President Lee).
2000	Chen Shui-bian elected as president.
2004	President Shui-bian reelected.

international participation that links Taiwan to the world; China's suppression of Taiwan in the global community; China's refusal to renounce the use of force to resolve issues in the Taiwan Strait; the need for cross-Straight peace and co-operation; and the necessity for the ROC not to rely on others for its own self

defense (www.gio.gov.tw). Chen has also proposed that democratic nations in Asia cooperate to promote democracy throughout the Asia region (Halloran 2003, 29).

SECURITY

The Republic of China maintains a large, well-equipped military establishment consisting of approximately 290,000 regular personnel (army 200,000, navy 45,000, and air force 45,000) and 26,500 paramilitary personnel (Coast Guard Administration, Customs Service, Maritime Police). It also has a Reserve Force (army, navy, and air force) of about 1,653,500 personnel (International Institute for Strategic Studies 2005, 298).

The Military Service Law requires all males between 18–45 to fulfil military service for a minimum two months of basic training followed by 22-month unit assignments (Ministry of National Defense 2006, 2). Certain groups within the conscript pool are exempt from service (for example, the disabled; those with poor health; and criminals who have served prison sentences longer than seven years). Students can defer their basic training or unit assignment but are still obligated to fulfil their military service at some stage. Some draftees due to personal circumstances may also apply to serve in the National Guard, giving them reserve status. In 2008, the service obligation is to be reduced to 12 months. Women in the air force are restricted to noncombat roles (CIA 2006, 11).

The ROC Constitution gives the president supreme command of the land, sea, and air forces. The Ministry of Defense is responsible for defense policy, strategy, and implementation through the various army, navy, air force, paramilitary, and reserve services. The Constitution also requires that the minister of defense be a civilian.

One of ROC's major defense policy goals is the defense of its territory and people through effective military preparation, deterrence, and immediate defense against a possible attack by the PRC. Thus, although national defense policy calls for a balanced fighting force, naval and air supremacy receive priority due to the possibility of a PRC naval blockade, airborne and amphibious assault, and/or missile bombardment. The procurement of defensive weapons under the auspices of the Taiwan Relations Act is crucial to the implementation and maintenance of the ROC's defensive strategy.

The Ministry of Defense is implementing a Ten-Year Troop Reduction Plan which involves gradually restructuring, streamlining, and downsizing the armed forces. The ROC military also share strong historical roots with the KMT. Thus the older generation cohort of senior officers tend to lean towards the mainstream nationalist position. However, with their retirement and an increase in the recruitment of non-mainlanders into the armed forces, the political leanings of the military is beginning to reflect the multiparty democracy that Taiwan has become.

The total defense budget in 2005, excluding special procurement funds, was $8.32 billion. However, since the 1990s, as a percentage of total government spending, there has been a downward trend in ROC military expenditure—4.72 percent of the gross national product (GNP) in 1993 to 2.16 percent in 2003 (Stockton 2005, 812).

Second generation weapon systems and platforms used by the three armed forces are also being actively updated. The ROC's defense procurement package, approved by the U.S. government in 2001, under the auspices of the Taiwan Relations Act 1979, has been repeatedly stalled by opposition parties in the Legislative Yuan. The package, once released, will free up in excess of $2 billion—with priority placed on modernizing air force and navy capabilities.

Internally, ROC is making use of the industrial sector to develop and manufacture weapons technology. A number of sophisticated weapons, missiles, and warfare systems have been designed, tested, and produced on a mass scale using leading science and technology institutions.

Terrorism is not a problem in the ROC. However, as the ROC becomes more integrated into the global economy and world institutions, the likelihood of terrorism will increase. Moreover, as previously discussed, if tensions between the ROC and the PRC escalate into hostilities, acts of terrorism within the ROC by Mainland sympathizers, insurgents, and spies would be very difficult to contain. Industrial espionage has increasingly become a problem—even more so with the growth of military research and development.

President Chen's administration has supported the U.S. campaign against terrorism as well as the UN Security Council resolutions adopted to combat various measures. The ROC government and various NGOs (nongovernmental organizations) have also made donations to the United States to assist in the aftermath of September 11. Humanitarian assistance has also been given to Afghanistan and Iran.

In his address to the National Day Rally, on October 10, 2005, President Chen emphasized the need for the ROC to maintain its own defense capabilities. While mindful of China's military expansion and One China position, Chen stated: "The severest worry in Taiwan's national security lies in the fact that Taiwan has yet to demonstrate confidence in our own defense capability" (www.gov.tw, 3). Herein lies one of the ROC's inherent security weaknesses: decades of international isolation have left its armed forces untested in the battlefield, with minimum bilateral, multilateral, or coalition military experience in which to test or benchmark itself.

According to Stockton (2005, 805–7) there have been three major crisis in Taiwan-mainland relations since the establishment of the nationalist regime in Taiwan in 1949. These have all occurred in the context of the Cold War period. The first Taiwan Straight crisis occurred between August 1954 and April 1955. The creation of the Southeast Asia Security Organization prompted the PRC to reaffirm its jurisdiction over Taiwan. China bombarded the islands of Quemoy and Matsu, and Taiwan retaliated with air strikes. In response to these hostilities, the United States dispatched its Seventh Fleet to the Straights area. A settlement was negotiated between the United States and the PRC without the participation of the ROC.

The second Taiwan Straight crisis occurred between July and October 1958 when China initiated an arms buildup close to the Taiwan Straights and, once again, bombarded Quemoy and Matsu islands. China also established new maritime boundaries, effectively blocking the two islands. The U.S. Seventh Fleet

ignored the new boundaries and provided the two islands with supplies. The United States also threatened the possible use of nuclear weapons if the islands were invaded. The Soviet Union was drawn into the dispute and threatened to become involved if the PRC was directly attacked by the United States. Negotiations between the United States and the PRC and the United States and the ROC deescalated the crisis.

The third Taiwan Straight crisis occurred from April to June 1962. Perceived threats from the ROC as a result of political rhetoric and domestic policy changes prompted the PCR to respond with an arms buildup in the Fujian Province. The United States effectively defused the crisis (Stockton 2005, 805–7).

More recent Taiwan Straight tensions have also occurred. Political statements by President Lee in 1995–1996 and 1999 hinting at independence precipitated the mobilization of PRC armed forces, but on both occasions the PRC demobilized the situation. Since the election of President Chen in 2000 there has been tense rhetoric between the ROC and PRC in relation to Chen's independence platform. However, to date these have not resulted in military mobilization by either side. The assassination attempt on President Chen in 2004 had the potential to heighten hostilities, but both ROC and PRC administrations kept a cool head during the event and its aftermath. Cross-Straight relationships have been further strained by the reemergence of diplomatic competition between the ROC and the PRC. For example, in 2004 Taiwan announced diplomatic relations with Vanuatu, only for Vanuatu to switch recognition back to China.

Taiwan does not have nuclear weapons but it has made attempts to organize production of plutonium on an experimental basis. Taiwan is a member of the Treaty on Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and was an original signatory of the treaty. Apart from power generation, nuclear energy technology is also used widely for medical purposes in major hospitals and medical centers. There is also an Institute of Nuclear Energy dedicated to nuclear research.

In 1989 after the Tiananmen Square incident, the European Union instigated an embargo on arm sales to the PRC. Some EU states have pushed to end the ban, but other EU states, along with the United States, Japan, and the ROC, have opposed the removal of the embargo. Apart from the human rights argument, the ROC and other states have also expressed concern about China's military expansion.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The ending of martial law in July 1987 heralded not only a transition to democratic liberalization, but also a new era in justice and human rights for the Republic of China. For example, in late 1987 the ban on Taiwan residents visiting mainland China was lifted. In early 1988, the prohibition on the publication of new newspapers was lifted, paving the way for a proliferation of publications and viewpoints. In mid-1990, President Lee Teng-hui announced a special amnesty pardoning political dissidents. In December 1992 the first democratic legislative elections were held, and 1996 witnessed the first presidential elections. Throughout the 1990s, various human rights initiatives were established and written into law. Moreover, during his period in office, President Chen Shui-bian has stressed the importance of Taiwan being part of the international human rights system.

One of President Chen's election platforms in the 2000 and 2004 elections was increased democratization, which included political transparency, campaigns against corruption, maintaining social justice, developing a civic culture, and participation in the international community. In his address to the nation in October 2005, President Chen emphasized the need to proactively engage in international organizations and nongovernmental organizations by sharing experiences in the realm of democracy and humanitarianism. Chen's support of human rights issues both nationally and internationally has, arguably, contributed to the DPP steadily increasing its popular vote over time. However, it is also evident that Chen's efforts in this area are being seriously undermined domestically by allegations of corruption within his own family and government.

In February 2004, the U.S. Department of State released its Country Report on Human Rights Practices in Taiwan (2003). Overall, the report noted that the ROC, in general, respected the human rights of its citizens. In some areas, human rights were extremely well developed. In other areas there were problems—many of which, at the time of this writing, were being addressed by President Chen's government. Some key results of the report are discussed in more depth below.

There was no report of the arbitrary or unlawful deprivation of life committed by the government or its agents (Sec. la: 1). There were no reports of politically motivated disappearances (Sec. 1b: 1). However, there were credible reports that police occasionally physically abused persons in their custody (Sec. lc: 1).

Corporal punishment is forbidden under military law. Prison conditions generally met international standards. However, overcrowding and overly long stays at detention centers for illegal aliens was a problem. The authorities permit prison visits by human rights monitors (Sec. lc: 2).

The law prohibits arbitrary arrest and detention, and the authorities generally observed this prohibition. The Code of Criminal Procedure requires the police to inform a suspect during an interrogation of the specific charges in person, the right to remain silent, and the right to counsel (Sec. ld: 2).

The constitution provides for an independent judiciary, and generally the government respected this provision in practice. However, corruption and political influence remain residual problems. The law provides the right of a fair public trial, and this generally was respected in practice. Judges rather than juries decide cases (Sec. le: 3).

Freedom of speech and the press are provided for under the Constitution, and generally the authorities respect these rights in practice. Print media represented the full spectrum of views within society. Political influence over television and radio broadcasting are gradually being liberalized—particularly with the proliferation of cable television stations (Sec. 2a: 4).

The Constitution provides for freedom of assembly, freedom of association, and freedom of religion, and the authorities generally respected these rights in practice (Sec. 2b, c: 5). Citizens have the right to change their government peacefully and have exercised this right in practice, with the Chen administration winning the last two elections (Sec. 2d: 6).

A wide variety of domestic and international human rights groups generally operated without restrictions, investigating and publishing their findings on

human rights cases (Sec. 4: 7). However, violence against women, including domestic rape, remained a serious problem.

Prostitution, including child prostitution, sexual harassment, and child abuse were problems which the government is actively addressing. Education for children between 6 and 15 years of age is free and compulsory, and this rule was enforced. The law prohibits discrimination against people with disabilities and sets minimum fines for various violations (Sec. 5: 7–9).

Most workers in the ROC are allowed to form unions and to bargain collectively. However, civil servants, teachers, and defense industry workers do not enjoy that freedom. Under the Labour Union Law, employers may not refuse employment to, dismiss, or otherwise unfairly treat workers because they are labor union members. However, in practice, some employers take no heed of this legislation because it has no specific penalties for violation (Sec. 6a, b: 9–10).

The law stipulates that foreign workers who are employed legally receive the same protection as local workers. In reality, however, legal foreign workers (in low-paid employment) and illegal foreign workers are vulnerable to employer exploitation (Sec. 6e: 11).

Taiwan remains a significant transit point and, to a lesser extent, destination for trafficked persons. The majority of cases involve women from mainland China, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, and Indonesia. Taiwan is also a transit point for persons from mainland China attempting to travel to the United States and other countries. The Chen administration is actively working across government departments and with NGOs to combat trafficking of persons (Sec. 6f: 12).

The death penalty exists in Taiwan. Methods of execution include lethal gas, lethal injection, and firing squad (Shen and Yang, 7). Ten people were executed in 2001. The Chen government has made legislative changes which reduce the number of crimes carrying a mandatory death penalty (Amnesty International Report 2002, 1).

CONCLUSION

The Republic of China's democratization process has not encountered many of the disorders often found in changing societies and emerging democracies. There is a growing independence movement in Taiwan that holds dearly the island's hard-won democratic achievements. President Chen's government is determined to enhance Taiwan's international competitiveness, reinforce policy transparency, push for financial reform, improve the electoral and legislative system, maintain and improve social justice and human rights, pursue national security, and promote goodwill, reconciliation, and peaceful dialogue with the PRC.

Reunification of Taiwan with the mainland remains a major political, economic, and security issue. Although President Chen won two successive elections on the strength of independence and the promise to eradicate corruption, cronyism and illicit links between government and business are still evident. Moreover, scandal surrounding Chen and his family regarding insider trading threaten to undermine his independence platform and the credibility of his government's reforms.

The pan-KMT's control over the Legislative Yuan has prevented the DPP government initiating decisive political, economic, and military reforms. In

particular, arms procurement relating to the package of submarines, antisubmarine aircraft, and antimissile systems with the United States, under the auspices of the Taiwan Relations Act, have been held up indefinitely due to opposition indecision in the Legislative Yuan. The opposition has argued that Taiwan cannot afford the package and to proceed with the procurement would provoke hostilities with the PRC.

President Chen's recent announcement to disestablish the National Unification Council (NUC) has alarmed not only the PRC, but also the United States who have asked Chen for clarification on the issue. The NUC was established in 1990 by the, then, KMT government to examine unification with China.

To date, the PRC has refused to renounce the use of nonpeaceful means to resolve issues in the Taiwan Strait. This, combined with China's military expansion, reaffirms Taiwan's stance to defend its territory through effective military preparation, deterrence, and immediate defense against a possible attack by the PRC. Chen stresses, however, that his administration supports peaceful dialogue and permanent peace between the two entities. This is also the line that the PRC has been pursuing despite some hostile rhetoric between the two entities

In the event of cross strait hostilities, Taiwan is prepared for the possibility of a PRC naval blockade, airborne and amphibious assault, and missile bombardment. In the case of an outright attack by the PRC, Taiwan's aim would be to defend the island for as long as it would take the United States to come to its aid. However, it is by no means certain that the United States would defend Taiwan if provocative actions by Taiwan itself were to result in military conflict with the PRC. There are signs that the United States is growing impatient with Taiwan's inability to push through the multibillion dollar arms procurement package. Legislative paralysis could be interpreted as meaning that Taiwan is not committed to militarily defending itself due to its assumption that the United States will inevitably come to its aid.

The United States has generally avoided favoring one side or the other. However, a unilateral move by the PRC with regards to a military invasion, or Taiwan towards outright independence, would be unacceptable to the United States. United States policy is to maintain a status quo that has preserved peace to date and allowed both states to prosper economically. Regional east Asian geopolitics also place Taiwan within the United States' sphere of security interest.

Across the political spectrum in Taiwan there are some politicians and organizations that see Taiwan's economic future aligned with a rising China and, thus, advocate disarmament. China's ambition to be a super power and Taiwan's quest for democratic identity are not necessarily exclusive of each other. China itself is undergoing massive economic and social change, the political consequences of which are uncertain, but which would not necessarily exclude it from becoming an emerging democracy. Taiwan in this respect could be a model for mainland China to follow.

The fact that both Taiwan and the PRC have prospered and maintained peace over a substantial period when both nations have internally been confronted with major political, economic, and social issues indicates that both sides, despite the sometimes hostile rhetoric, are committed to a peaceful resolution of the cross-Strait conflict. The deciding factors regarding cross-Straight relations will be

ongoing political, economic, and social developments in both the PRC and Taiwan and the subsequent pressures on their respective regimes. The response of the United States to these pressures and developments will also be a major factor in maintaining cross-Straight peace and prosperity.

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Thailand

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GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

The Kingdom of Thailand is located between latitude 5° 37 and 20° 27 north, and between longitude 97° 22 and 105° 37 east (TAT 2006). Thailand is situated in the center of the Southeast Asian region. The kingdom is surrounded by and has boundaries with Myanmar in the north and northwest, Laos in the north and northeast, Cambodia in the east, and Malaysia in the south.

Thailand has territories of 513,115.020 square kilometers (198,953 square miles), which is close to the size of France, and slightly smaller than the state of Texas (ibid.). The authority of the kingdom has 76 provinces.

The Kingdom of Thailand has a land boundary of 5,236 kilometers. The border with the Union of Myanmar is 2,202 kilometers. The border area starts from the province of Chiangrai through to the province of Ranong. The border with the People's Democratic Republic of Laos starts from the province of Chiangrai through to the province of Ubon Ratchatani and this border area is 1,750 kilometers in length. The Kingdom of Cambodia has borderlines of 798 kilometers from the province of Ubon Ratchatani through to the province of Trat. The Federation of Malaysia has a border of 576 kilometers from the province of Songkhla through to Narrathiwat (ibid.).

The Thai people acknowledge the shape of their kingdom as the ancient Siamese axe (Kwan Boran) (ibid.). However, the shape that appears on the map is argued by scholars to be the head of an elephant instead, where the North Region is identified as the forehead, the South as the trunk, Isarn as the ear, and the East as its tusk.

The North Region consists of highlands and mountains. There are seven major alpine systems in this region. The highest, Mount Inthanon, which stands 2,565 meters above sea level, is also the highest point in the kingdom (Winichakul 1997). The Northeast Region is mainly plateau and dry land and the Khorat plateau is known as the largest plateau in the kingdom (ibid.). The Central Region is the major agricultural area in the kingdom, as most of the terrain is arable and irrigated land. The significant geographic landmark of this region is the Chaophraya

Thailand

Formal name of country: Kingdom of Thailand
Size of country: 513,115 sq km (198,953 sq mi)
Natural resources: Tin, rubber, natural gas, tungsten, tantalum, timber, lead, gypsum, lignite, and
   fluorite
Population: 64,631,595
Life expectancy at birth: 72.24 years
Key ethnic groups:

- Thai
- Chinese
- Malays

Key religions: Buddhism, Christianity, Islam
Political system: Constitutional Monarchy (temporarily under a Military Junta)
Key political groups:

- Thai Rak Thai Party
- Democrat Party
- Thai Nation Party
- People's Alliance for Democracy

Legal system: Civil and common law systems
Real GDP growth: 4.5% (prior to the military coup)
Population below poverty line: 1.4% unemployment, but 7.5 million people (11.60%) fall below the
   poverty line
Size of military: 306,600 active personnel
Relationship with the United States: Friendly relationship; free trade agreement is under negotiation
Important human security issues: Muslim insurgency and terrorism in the South
Future important security issues: Terrorist attack in the major urban centers

River (known among the Thai as Menam Chophraya), the delta of which provides the best-irrigated land in the country. The East Region consists of coastlines and archipelagoes (ibid.). This region is famous for its beaches and tropical climate. The West Region consists of hills, jungle, and a mountain system. The most significant landmark is the River Kwai (Kanchanaburi province), known for its strategic position during the second World War (ibid.). The South Region is the long coastline of 865 kilometers along the Andaman Sea, and 1,840 kilometers along the Gulf of Thailand, connected to the Tawan-org Region. The Tai region is known for its beaches, archipelagoes, as well as its tropical temperature. The significant geographic landmark of this region is Phuket Island, which is the largest island in the kingdom.

Tin, rubber, natural gas, tungsten, tantalum, timber, lead, gypsum, lignite, and fluorite are the main natural resources in Thailand (CIA 2006). Most of the natural resources in Thailand have been managed by the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources and have a considerable level of development. Coal has been reintroduced to solve the energy shortage problems and is found in Lampang, Prachuap Kirikan, Rayong, and Chiangmai. Greenpeace is protesting against the previous government's expansion of the coal power plant and coal mining in Thailand (Greenpeace 2006).

On December 26, 2004, Thailand was one of the Asian countries that suffered from the tidal waves (tsunami). The devastation affected the western coastlines and archipelagoes in the Southern Region including Phuket Island. Even though the tsunami was exceptionally large, in reality Thailand has rarely faced natural hazards throughout its long history. The kingdom has a unique location, where there are no volcanoes and few records of major natural hazards such as earthquakes, forest fires, or even hurricanes. However, Thailand is facing a large-scale human-caused hazard from deforestation, which causes flooding during the rainy season in numerous central and southern provinces. Severe flooding incidents in central and northern Thailand on May 24, 2006, caused over 100 deaths and over 200 missing (*Matichon Newspaper* 2006). In addition, the flood during September and October 2006 caused significant damage to agricultural land in ventral Thailand (ibid.).

HISTORY FROM SETTLEMENT

Prior to the foundation of the Thai kingdom, the first settlement in modern day Thailand was founded in the Ban Chiang area. The settlement was dated approximately 2000 BC, in the Bronze Age, and shows evidence of farming, the use of metal, and bronze work (UNESCO 2006). However, it was not until 543 BC that the Empire of Suwanabhumi was founded and ruins from the Suwanabhumi period are still widely found in modern day Thailand and Myanmar. Apart from the records of the Suwanabhumi Empire in Buddhist scrolls, and their ruins, there is no historical record of this ancient civilization. However, it appears that prior to 1238 AD, there were large numbers of principalities within modern day Thailand, and most of them paid tribute to the Khmer Empire. The first historical record of modern day Thailand comes in 1238 AD, when Prince Phra Ruang of Sukhothai decided to ally with other principalities and reject the tribute to the Khmer Empire. The Prince of Sukhothai successfully unified the Thai Principalities and founded the Kingdom of Siam (Jamjarat 1963). In 1283, the Thai alphabet was introduced by the third king of Siam, Ramkamhaeng. At that time, there were two major ruling houses in Siam, the House of Sukhothai and the House of Suwanabhumi (in the City of Ayutthaya).

The war between the two ruling houses led to the victory of the House of Suwanabhumi in 1365, when the capital city was moved from Sukhothai to Ayutthaya (Wichitwathakan 2001). The first European envoys to Siam were the Portuguese and as in most of the southeast Asian states, Portuguese mercenaries were hired by the crown to serve as bodyguards and infantry. The defeat at the Battle of Ayutthaya in 1569 during the Siam-Burmese War led to the demise of the

KINGDOM OF PATTANI

The Kingdom of Pattani was an ancient Muslim kingdom which covered the areas of present-day Pattani, Yala, and Narrathiwat provinces in Thailand (areas of 10,936 square kilometers). As a small state in Southeast Asia, Pattani paid tribute to the Siamese Kingdom from the Ayutthaya period (Wichitwathakan 2001) but still retained their full sovereignty until the Rattanakosin era. It was the fall of Ayutthaya that led to Pattani refusing to pay tribute to the Siamese king in Bangkok. Prince Surasi led Siamese troops to invade Pattani in 1786 and divided the Muslim kingdom into three provinces (ibid.). The Islamic insurgents claim the independence of the former territory of the Pattani Kingdom.

Suwanabhumi Dynasty and the rise of the House of Sukhothai to be the Siamese Ruling House (Jamjarat 1963). In 1590, another Burmese-Siam war began and lasted for 15 years; the decisive battle in 1599 (Jamjarat 1965). In order to create the Siamese Empire, King Naresuan successfully invaded the Cambodian, Tavoy, and Mon Kingdoms during his reign (ibid.). The most remarkable achievement in Siamese and European international relations came in 1675 AD, during the reign of King Narai. Narai sent his relative, Chaophraya (Lord) Kosatibodi as an envoy to the court of Louis XIV of France (Wichitwathakan 2001). Kosatibodi was the first Siamese noble to visit Europe as an official representative of the Siamese king. In 1767, the Burmese-Siam War led to the fall of Ayutthaya, as the Burmese forces sacked the Siamese capital city. In 1768, the new capital was established in the city of Thonburi. Phraya Tak (Lord of Tak) proclaimed himself as King Taksin and the House of Thonburi became the third effective ruling house of Siam.

However, the House of Thonburi was short lived. Once again, the power swung back from the House of Thonburi to the traditional ruling house, and Somdej Chaophraya (Lord) Mahakasatsuk Chakri (great grandson of Lord Kosatibodi) was largely supported by Thai aristocrats to the throne (Iewsriwongse 1995). The new king was crowned as Rama I, and he changed the name of his dynasty to the Royal House of Chakri in 1782 (ibid). The king decided to move his capital city eastward to Bangkok. The Chakri Dynasty has demonstrated many times that they were the best ruling house in Siamese history. King Rama I was an exceptional military leader, who won the First Burmese-Siam War in the Rattanakosin era, when his troops numbering 80,000 successfully defeated the Burmese troops numbering 144,000 (Jamjarat 1965). During the height of Imperialism, King Mongkut (Rama IV) proved to be one of the most capable Asian monarchs to negotiate with the Imperial powers along with modernizing his kingdom (Jamjarat 1963). King Chulalongkorn (Rama V) was perhaps one of the most remarkable Asian monarchs of his era, who successfully abolished slavery, modernized Siamese society, industrialized his kingdom, and modernized the administration system of Siam. In 1897 he was the first Asian monarch to visit Europe and successfully concluded an agreement with the Great Powers at that time, after the Franco-Siam War erupted in 1896. It is true that the king had to concede numerous dependencies such as Laos, Cambodia, and Northern Malaya to the British and French in exchange for Siamese independence, however; his achievement in modernizing the Thai economy, administration, education, industrialization, and the military could not be undermined by the loss of dependencies (ibid.).

In 1910, King Vajiravudh (Rama VI) succeeded Chulalongkorn to the throne of Siam. The king was the first Asian monarch to graduate in Europe, as the king was

an alumnus of Oxford University and Sandhurst Military Academy. The king continued the work of his grandfather (Mongkut) and his father (Chulalongkorn) in modernizing Siam. In 1916, the king sent Siamese troops to Europe to fight in the Great War along with Allied forces. In 1923, Prince Prajadipok of Sukhothai resumed the throne as Rama VII. Rama VII proved to be an able king, who successfully managed Siam during the great economic depression. However, the anti-absolute monarchy pressure from the young officers and mid-ranking aristocrats grew significantly during his reign (Stowe 1991). In 1932, three lords (Phraya Phahon, Phraya Ritti, and Phraya Song) and young military officers successfully staged a bloodless coup against King Rama VII. The king granted the demands for a constitution, parliament, and a democratic system (ibid.). However, the first nonmonarchical government was largely a compromise between aristocrats and the revolutionary party. In 1933, the revolutionaries staged another coup to end their compromise with royalists and aristocrats, which led to Phraya Phahon becoming the second prime minister of Siam. This incident led to civil war between the Phahon administration and the royalists under Prince Baworadej. In 1935, King Rama VII announced his abdication from the Siamese throne and resumed his former title as Prince of Sukhothai. The government decided to nominate Prince Ananda Mahidol (nephew of King Prajadipok) to the throne as Rama VIII. At nine years old, King Rama VIII was the youngest king ever to be crowned in the Rattanakosin era, while the future king was attending primary school in Switzerland.

In 1938, Colonel Phibun Songkram succeeded General Phahon as the prime minister of Siam. Phibun introduced fascism into Thai politics, and he changed the name of the country from Siam to Thailand in 1939 (Chaloemtiarana 1978). In 1941, the Franco-Thai War began, as Phibun saw the Axis attack on France as an opportunity for the Thai to win back their territory lost during the First Franco-Siam War. He successfully won back the western parts of Laos and Cambodia from the French during the war. Phibun became field marshal, and allied Thailand with the Axis, after the Japanese landed on Thai soil (Reynolds 1994). Without approval from the Regent, Pridi Phanomyong, Phibun declared war on the allied countries, and sent Thai troops to Burma to assist the Japanese campaign. Pridi along with Momratchawongse (M.R.W. is a Siamese aristocratic title equivalent to "count" in Europe) Seni Pramoj formed the Free-Thai Movement.

In 1945, Parliament and the Regent successfully forced Phibun to resign from Parliament, and named the Democrat leader, Kuang Apaiwongse as the new prime minister. Phibun and his fascist ministers were arrested and tried at the War Crimes Tribunal in Bangkok (Ampasavet 2000). King Rama VIII returned to Thailand, which led to the relief of Pridi from the Regent's position. However, in 1946, the War Crimes Tribunal found Phibun and his cabinet members not guilty (ibid.). Later, Kuang and his Democrat government lost no-confidence votes and resigned. This led to the rise of Pridi and his left-wing party to become the government. However, on June 9, King Anada Mahidol (Rama VIII) was mysteriously assassinated prior to his coronation ceremony. The mystery of King Ananda Mahidol's death is still unsolved today. Speculation over his death largely came from the opposition parties, which tried to accuse Pridi and his left-wing government and senators of being behind the assassination. The throne passed to

his brother, Prince Bhumibhol, who ascended the throne as King Rama IX (Stevenson 2001). The new king decided to leave Thailand to complete his education in Switzerland, and named Prince Rangsit of Chainat as his regent. Pressure over the death of King Anada Mahidol led to the resignation of Prime Minister Pridi. Rear Admiral Thamrong Nawasawat succeeded Pridi as the new prime minister.

In 1947, Lieutenant General Phin Chunhawan led a coup d'état against Rear Admiral Thamrong and his government (Ampasavet 2000). Phin showed no intention of taking control of politics and allowed parliament to name the new prime minister. The parliament decided to name Kuang and his Democrat Party as an interim government. Later, in the election on December 5, 1947, the Democrat Party won the election and officially formed another Kuang administration. However, in 1948, Phin successfully negotiated with Kuang, which led to the prime minister's resignation, and made his Democrat Party support Phibun and former fascist ministers in government. In 1950, King Bhumibhol returned to Thailand after obtaining his tertiary degree from the University of Lausanne (Stevenson 2001). The Naval officers staged another unsuccessful coup against the Army and Phibun's government, which led to a civil war in 1951. Finally, the American sponsored and royalist, Marshal Sarit Dhanarajata, led a successful coup against Phibun in 1957, which led to the former Thai dictator seeking exile in Japan until his death. Sarit revived the royalists for the first time since their suppression in 1933. Sarit passed away in 1963 and was succeeded by his right-hand man, Thanom Kittikachon, who ran Thailand under a military junta for another decade.

The first democratic movement by the masses appeared in 1973, when university students from all tertiary institutions in Thailand joined together under the National Students' Council of Thailand (NSCT) to protest against Thanom's abolition of the parliamentary and democratic system. Thanom responded to the masses by arresting key NSCT members and university lecturers, which led to even larger mass demonstrations against the junta. The military junta responded to the students by declaring martial law and used the armed forces to suppress the masses (Ampasavet 2000). This led to a bloody clash between soldiers and the masses, which led to pressure on Thanom and the key ministers to resign and flee Thailand after the incident on October 14.

In 1975, the first general election since the incident in 1973 led to the victory of M.R.W. Kukrit Pramoj and his Social Action Party to become the government. The most remarkable achievement in international relations under Kukrit was the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between Thailand and the People's Republic of China. In 1976, Kukrit decided to call a snap election, but failed to lead his party's return to government. The Democrat Party under his older brother M.R.W. Seni Pramoj became the government. However, problems occurred in October, when Marshal Thanom returned from exile, which led to mass demonstrations by students. The military clashed with the movement on October 6, 1976. This incident led to the resignation of Seni and his democratic government. In 1980, General Prem Tinsulanon gained support from parliament to become the prime minister. During his eight years at the helm, Prem faced numerous coup attempts from the military. However, Prem successfully repelled all of those attempts and kept Thailand under parliamentary democracy during his time as

Thai prime minister. On his retirement from politics in 1988, Chatichai Chunhawan led the Chat Thai Party to victory in the General Election. Chatichai led Thailand in achieving rapid economic progress; however, his cabinet was plagued with corruption scandals.

In 1991, the Chatichai government came to an end, as General Suchinda Krapayun led a coup d'état to overthrow Chatichai's democratic government. In 1992, the April general election caused a political deadlock as no party was able to gain a majority, which led to Suchinda seeking this opportunity to become prime minister on April 10. Major General Chamlong Srimuang, who resigned from the army and became involved in politics to become Bangkok governor, and the leader of the Palang Dharma Party (PDP—the fourth largest party at that time) led 500,000 people to demonstrate on the streets against Suchinda, as the coup leader took power through nondemocratic means. This demonstration led to a military decision to suppress the masses in May, which resulted in a clash between the military and civilians for the third time in Thai history. This incident led to the resignation of Suchinda, and the election in September 1992 delivered another democratic government under Chuan Leekpai and a coalition with the PDP. The Democrats lost the general election in 1996 which led to the government of Chaowalit Yongchaiyudh and his New Aspiration Party (NAP). However, the Asian Economic Crisis erupted in 1997 leading to mass demonstrations against the Chaowalit administration, and his resignation. The Democrats successfully formed a coalition government under Chuan Leekpai for the second time.

In 1998, multibillionaire telecommunications tycoon and former leader of the PDP (after Chamlong) and former deputy prime minister (under Chaowalit), Thaksin Shinawatra, stormed Thai politics by forming a coalition of the PDP, NAP, Social Action Party, and numerous third parties into one party called the Thai Rak Thai (TRT) Party. The general election in 2001 gave Thaksin his first landslide election victory against the Democrats. Thaksin proved to be an able administrator and economist, as he successfully solved the monetary problems and repaid the loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) prior to schedule. The most remarkable success of Thaksin came from the tidal waves incident in December 2004, as he went to the devastated areas and solved problems effectively. This led to his second landslide election in January 2005. However, his second administration was plagued by corruption scandals, especially over the construction of Suwanabhumi International Airport and his master plan to privatize state enterprises along with his decision to construct excessive infrastructure throughout Thailand under the Mega Project (*Matichon Newspaper* 2006). The scandals were exposed by Sonthi Limtongkul, the former advisor to Thaksin and the owner of the famous tabloid newspaper, *Manager Newspaper*. *Manager*'s scandals were largely speculation and many of them lacked true evidence, but they were on issues that could spark great concern among the public,

ASIAN ECONOMIC CRISIS

In 1997, Thailand was the first country in Asia to be hit by the economic depression. The crisis later spread throughout Asia and was known as the Asian Economic Crisis. The economic crisis led to the collapse of real estate, finance, and stock markets. The Thai Baht (THB) was devalued from THB 25 per U.S.$1 to THB 39 per U.S.$1. This incident led to the collapse of the Chaowalit government. However, Chuan and the Democrat administration also failed to solve the situation, which led to a loan from the IMF in order to solve Thai financial problems.

RISE AND FALL OF THAKSIN SHINAWATRA

In Thai history, there have been no politicians as loved and hated as Thaksin Shinawatra. Thaksin entered politics through the recommendation of Chamlong Srimuang in 1996. Due to his vision, he was dubbed the Knight of the Third Waves by the Thai media at that time. During the height of the Asian Economic Crisis, Thaksin rose to fame and was dubbed the Knight of the Black Buffalo for rescuing the Thai economy. Thaksin's successes in reviving the Thai economy and eventually paying back the IMF loan prior to schedule made him the most beloved politician of all time. However, his fall was imminent when corruption scandals and speculations from the *Manager Newspaper* hit Thailand in 2005. Thaksin's desperate fight back led to his downfall and the military staged a coup in September 2006, which ended the overt crisis between Thaksin and the PAD. He is currently in exile. Recently, the Counter Corruption Council investigated and named Thaksin among the 22 politicians suspected of being involved in corruption scandals over the construction of the Suwanabhumi Airport.

especially sex scandals, privatization, personal wealth, corruption, and even *lese majesty* (treason).

The famous scandals included the selling of Thaksin's personal assets to a Singaporean investor, the purchase of a personal jet through government funds, privatization of state enterprises, evasion of taxation, and most importantly, the infamous Finland Declaration, which related to republicanism and lese majestie issues (ibid.). However, it was proved that the Finland Declaration was total speculation, and Thaksin filed lese majestie back to the *Manager Newspaper* along with defamation through the Court of Justice (ibid.). The reputation of Thaksin and his administration was greatly damaged by those scandals. However, the troubles of Thaksin grew stronger when Sonthi Limtongkul allied himself with the infamous Chamlong Srimuang to form the People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD). The true objective of the PAD was to remove Thaksin from office through all possible means by mass demonstrations, blockading government buildings, and searching the private property of civil servants and convincing the military to stage a coup (ibid.).

In 2006, Thaksin responded to the PAD by dissolving parliament and declaring a snap election. The Democrat Party and all third parties decided to boycott the election and allow their voters to join the PAD on the block votes on the ballot days (ibid.). This matter led to another political deadlock as the election was judged by the court as undemocratic and a reelection was planned for October (ibid.). However, the PAD responded to the government with numerous mass demonstrations while Thaksin was away attending the United Nations General Assembly in order to assist Thai candidate, Dr. Surakiat Satianthai in the selection for UN Secretary General. The PAD was planning to hold mass demonstrations on September 20, 2006, and the pro-government group also planned to respond to the PAD by forming another mass demonstration against them, which could have led to a clash between PAD and pro-TRT supporters. Owing to the overt crisis situation, Army Commander General Sonthi Boonyaratanagalin decided to stage a coup on the night of September 19, 2006, prior to the clash between both groups (ibid.). The military named Privy Councillor General Surayudh Chulanon as prime minister of the interim government. Currently, the interim government is facing numerous problems from internal and external pressure. Thaksin is in exile, as the military officers have refused him entry to Thailand. It appears that pro-Thaksin forces have decided to take numerous actions to pressure the interim government and

the military. Currently, the military and interim government have appointed Counter Corruption Commissioners to investigate the corruption scandals of the ousted government, and the evidence shows that there were 22 politicians involved with corruption over the construction of the Suwanabhumi International Airport (ibid.). While the future of Thai politics is still uncertain, the bombing on December 31, 2006, has led to another level of hostility. Currently, there are two prime suspects for the bomb incident. The first is the Pro-Thaksin movement that aims to discredit the interim government and the military. The second is the Islamic insurgents in southern Thailand (ibid.).

SOCIETY

The Kingdom of Thailand has a population of 64,631,595 people (CIA 2006). The current population growth is 0.68 percent. The distribution by age has 22 percent of the population aged 0–14 years, the majority of the population (70 percent) are aged 15 to 64, while those above the age of 65 consist of 8 percent of the population. The median age in Thailand is 31 years. The demographic transition appears to be occurring as birth rates are at 1.387 percent, while the death rates are only 0.704 percent. The current infant mortality rates are 1.949 percent and life expectancy is 72.24 (ibid.). The racial characteristics of the Thai population are those of the Mongoloid branches. Currently, Thai demographics consist of a 25 percent urban and 75 percent rural population, while the literacy rates are 92.6 percent.

Apart from the Thai, the indigenous population in Thailand consists of hill tribes in northern Thailand, Karen in western Thailand, and many ethnic minorities living on the border of Thailand and Burma. Among the indigenous, the long-neck Karen, and the Maew hill tribe are among the best-known indigenous people. Previously, the indigenous people were not considered to be citizens of Thailand, as some tribes frequently moved from one settlement to another, and in some cases, moved across the borders between Thailand, Burma, and Laos without acknowledging the national boundaries between these countries.

The largest ethnic groups in Thailand are the Thai and Thai-Chinese, which consist of 89 percent of the population. There are attempts to draw a distinction between Thai and Chinese, and there appear to be approximately 75 percent Thai and 14 percent Chinese (CIA 2006). In reality, it is hard to distinguish between Thai and Chinese, especially in the urban areas, where the Chinese have successfully integrated into the Thai culture, adopting Thai names and language, and there is intermarriage between Thai and Chinese. On the other hand, the Thai have also assimilated Chinese culture into Thai culture at certain levels from business practices, dining, and some vocabulary. Non-Thai and non-Chinese people comprise 11 percent of the population and the third largest group is the Malays, which consists of 3 percent of the total population. In addition to these groups, there are ethnic-Laotians, who are somewhat similar to the Chinese and have been integrated into the ethnic Thai and ethnic Chinese groups successfully.

During the Cold War, Thailand was flooded by refugees from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. After the Cold War ended, repatriation programs were carried out and the last 1,164 Laotian refugees returned to their homeland on

December 15, 1999 (UNHCR 2006). In addition, the last group of 16,126 Cambodian refugees returned to their homeland on March 26, 1999. However, refugee concerns in Thailand have shifted from the East to the western side of the Kingdom, as there are currently over 140,000 refugees from Burma residing in Thailand due to political tensions. Most of the Burmese refugees are from ethnic minorities in Burma and are largely displaced internally by the Burmese government. Currently, there are no solutions to this matter. Apart from refugee problems in Thailand, there are 131 people who are Muslims/Malays in southern Thailand and have fled to Malaysia and claim refugee status due to internal displacement. However, according to the Thai government sources, those 131 people have been found to be partly involved with the terrorist activities in southern Thailand, and some were on the wanted list of the Thai government. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has decided not to grant refugee status to these 131 people and withholds any pronouncement on this matter. However, it is possible that there are internal displacements in southern Thailand. Apart from the Muslim problems, the Thai government has tried to solve the problem of internally displaced ethnic hill tribes by granting them citizenship and legal rights. The matters were partially solved as the Administration Court decided to grant citizenship to certain groups of hill tribes. Even though there are some tribes still not able to obtain Thai citizenship and still considered as internally displaced people, the government is working towards a solution to this matter, and it is likely to be solved in the near future.

Buddhism is the largest religion in Thailand; approximately 94.6 percent of the Thai are Buddhist. The largest church is the Theravada (Hinayana in India or Mahanigaya in Thai), the second largest is the Dhammayuddha (Thai Church), and the smallest is the Mahayana Buddhism (Tibetan and Chinese Church). The second largest religion in Thailand is Muslim, adhered to by 4.6 percent of the population. The majority of Thai Muslims are Malays, who reside in southern Thailand. However, there are also Thai-Muslims in other provinces, especially in Bangkok, where the Muslim district can be found at the Bankrua Community. Christianity in Thailand has the small share of 0.7 percent of the population, but is mostly popular among the urban population especially in Bangkok and Chiangmai. Roman Catholics appear to be the largest group among the Christians in Thailand. Interestingly, Christianity might appear to be lower than 1 percent of the Thai population, but there are large numbers of Thai and Chinese Buddhists who show interest in it, understand it, and attend the Christian schools. Christian schools have been found to have large numbers of alumni who have become political and economic figures in Thailand. Apart from Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity, there are also Hindus and Sikhs that make up another 0.1 percent of the religious beliefs in Thailand.

Thailand appears to have one of the best-developed infrastructures within the southeast Asian region, and it is suitable for foreign investors. The transportation system in Thailand is well established with 108 airports, eight of which have runways longer than 3,047 meters and can be considered as major airports for international passengers and cargo services (ibid.). The major gateways are Donmuang Airport (Bangkok), Suwanabhumi Airport (Bangkok), Chiangmai Airport,

Chiangrai Airport, Phuket Airport, Hatyai Airport, Ubon Ratchatani Airport, and U-Tapao Airport (Chonburi-Pattaya). Apart from these eight major airports, there are 10 airports, which appear to meet small international airport standards in terms of runways, which are between 2,438 and 3,047 meters, and able to land most jet-liner aircraft. In addition, 24 airports reach the standard for regional and mid-body jetliner aircraft as their runways range from 1,524 to 2,437 meters. The road network in Thailand is 57,403 kilometers and the rail network 4,071 kilometers (ibid.). However, the rail gauge in Thailand appears to be the narrow gauge, which measures 1.00 meter, instead of the standard gauge of 1.435 meters. The government has implemented the mega-project, which has encouraged foreign investors to invest in certain sectors, and the railroad appears to be on the list. However, the political turmoil in Thailand has led to delays in the possible development.

Thailand has four major seaports: Klongtoey (Bangkok), Laemchabang, Sri Racha, and Prachuap. The kingdom also has 4,000 kilometers of waterways, of which 3,701 are navigable by boat. The domestic air-transport in Thailand consists of seven commercial airlines, Thai Airways International, Air Asia, Bangkok Airways, Orient Thai Airlines, Nokair, PB Air, and Phuket Air. The merchant Marines have a fleet of 394 ships. The communication system in Thailand has only 6,797,000 telephone lines in the kingdom, but the mobile cellular network has been as high as 27,379,000. There are very high quality telephone systems, especially in the urban area. The third generation (3G) system is in place and is expanding towards the other urban areas and likely to be in the rural centers. At the end of 2005, there were 786,226 Internet hosts and 8,420,000 registered Internet users. There are 111 television broadcast stations. The energy sources in Thailand vary from oil, coal, natural gas, and hydroelectric plants. The states are able to produce 114.7 billion kWH, while the consumption is 107.3 billion kWH. However, the oil production is only 230,000 barrels per day, while the consumption is 851,000 barrels per day. Natural gas can be produced at 22.28 billion cu. m. while consumption is 29.15 billion.

The nature of Thailand's economy is free-enterprise and pro-investment. There is high economic participation from the people, especially the middle class and white collar workers in major urban areas. Numerous Thai firms have obtained an international reputation such as Red Bull, Chang, CP Group, Siam Cements, Shin Corps, PTT, Bangkok Bank, and Grammy Entertainment. Unemployment in Thailand has been at one of the lowest rates in Thai history since the economic policies of the Thaksin administration took shape. Currently, there is 1.4 percent unemployment in the Thai workforce, which sparks little concern in the economic system. However, the major concerns come from the privatization and ownership of resources, and the fact that the Thaksin administration was trying to introduce a joint venture with the West in the mega-project investment in infrastructure. However, the interim government of Surayudh Chulanon has implemented a sufficient economy as their key economic policy, which might change the nature of the free-market system under the ousted regime. Currently, the Surayudh administration declares that they still want cooperation on the mega-project investment to continue. However, the strict government policies on investment

and monetary exchange appear otherwise. The strict control under the interim government led to the crash of the Thai stock market and government bonds in December 2006 (*Matichon Newspaper* 2006). The interim government responded by suspending their strict policies, and the Thai stock market gradually recovered. However, the bombing on December 31, 2006, prior to the New Year countdown in Bangkok, is likely to have a negative impact on both the Thai economy and tourism. There is still no indication whether the bombing was carried out by the ousted regime, or the international terrorist organization that carries out car bombings in southern Thailand on a regular basis (ibid.). If it is the former government, it is believed to be controllable by the military and interim government. However, if it is the latter case, it will be much more complicated.

The quality of life in Thailand varies according to the areas, levels of incomes, and the differences between rural and urban communities. The basic infrastructures such as water supply, electricity, and the road system are accessible to the people in the urban and rural centers. However, in some of the isolated rural areas, certain villages that are located out of the main communication network, for example the villages of the hill tribes, or isolated villages in the jungle areas, are likely to face problems over the basic infrastructure. In the urban centers, especially the large metropolises, the quality of life is likely to be on a par with the urban lifestyles of the developed countries. However, there are also similarities to the major urban centers in that slum communities occur in these areas.

The health care system in Thailand has been more accessible since the Thaksin administration introduced the 30 Baht (U.S.$0.80) package, which means that the participant clinics and hospitals have to charge their clients 30 Baht per case, while the government will subsidize the loss in a one off payment towards those providers. However, problems over being underpaid from the state have led to appalling services from the providers and complaints from the clients about the health providers in recent years. The Surayudh administration declared the abolition of the 30 Baht charge and provides health care on a free of charge basis (ibid.). However, the appalling service is still an ongoing issue that the interim and future administrations have to deal with. In some areas, the people still have limited access to the health providers, even the district health services.

The real estate market in Thailand had a major setback after the Asian Economic Crisis in 1997. However, it has made a significant return since the Thaksin administration. The quality of most of the housing provided by the real estate subdivisions is largely on a par with the housing quality in the subdivisions within the western countries; however, the termite problems are still of major concern in the civil construction in Thailand. The ousted government also provided state housing programs for the lower sectors of society. This was a project under the Thaksin administration, but was largely criticized by the opposition over the housing quality. The interim government still neither accepts nor denies the continuation of the state housing programs. Income disparities are still an issue, and the differences in wages between different levels of employees, especially the underpaid in the public sectors, are major concerns. The Thaksin administration had made a promise to solve the underpaying of the public sectors by the end of 2007. However, this issue is yet to be confirmed by either the interim or future administrations.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

Since 1932, Thailand has been a Constitutional Monarchy with a bicameral democratic system. Under the 1997 constitution, the National Assembly consisted of two chambers (the Senate and the House of Representatives). The Senate was a non-partisan body with limited legislative powers, composed of 200 directly elected members from constituent districts, with every province having at least one Senator. The House of Representatives had 500 members, 400 of whom were directly elected from constituent districts, and the remainder drawn proportionally from party lists (U.S. State Department, October 2007).

The coup d'état on September 19, 2006, led to the suspension of both houses. Under the interim constitution in force between the 2006 coup and the enactment of the 2007 constitution, a unicameral National Legislative Assembly was appointed by the military leadership.

In August 2007, voters in a referendum approved a new, military-drafted constitution. Under the 2007 constitution, the Senate will have 150 members, 76 of whom will be directly elected (one per district). The remaining 74 will be appointed by a panel comprised of judges and senior independent officials from a list of candidates compiled by the Election Commission. The House will have 480 members, 400 of whom will be directly elected from constituent districts and the remainder drawn proportionally from party lists (U.S. State Department, October 2007).

The Head of State of Thailand is His Majesty the King Bhumibhol Adulyadej (reigning as Rama IX), one of the most beloved monarchs in Thai history. The Diamond Jubilee of the king on June 9, 2006, led to nationwide celebration and millions of delighted people appeared to celebrate the king's jubilee in the square in front of the Ananda Samakhom Palace. During his long reign, the king has dedicated himself to the Thai people, and all of his royal projects have assisted the Thai in every part of his kingdom. Currently, King Bhumibhol is the longest reigning monarch in the world, and also the longest reigning monarch in Thai history.

The current head of government is General Surayudh Chulanon. Surayudh took office after a month of political uncertainty, as a result of the coup of 2006. Surayudh comes from a family with a long military tradition. He was a professional soldier who has no intention of intervening or interest in politics. As an able officer, Surayudh progressed to the rank of general and served as the army commander and later supreme commander of the Royal Thai Armed Forces until his retirement. On his retirement, he was ordained as a Buddhist monk. Later, he was appointed to the role of privy councilor by His Majesty the King, after he had completed his religious service. Despite his lack of interest in politics, he is a popular figure as Surayudh was among the war heroes during the Cold War period. He was reluctant to take the seat after the military staged a coup against the democratically elected government of Thaksin Shinawatra. However, he is proving to be a prime minister able to solve the internal conflict. Surayudh has no intention of staying in politics, as he announced on his first day that he will only be involved in politics until the general election in December 2007.

Another important political leader is General Sonthi Boonyaratanagalin, an army commander and the chair of the Military Council. General Sonthi is the first

Muslim officer to have assumed the title of army commander in Thai history. He was personally picked and appointed to the role by Thaksin Shinawatra. At the time, Thaksin claimed that General Sonthi was the only suitable candidate to solve the Muslim insurgency in Thailand. Therefore, he was appointed to the highest position in the Thai Army structure. Prior to the coup, the general was very humble and showed no sign that he was interested in politics. He evaded the approach from Chamlong and Sonthi Limtongkul to stage a coup in late 2005 and early 2006 by declaring that a coup could only exist in past history. However, the change of political situation to an overt crisis situation led to his decision to stage a coup (*Matichon Newspaper* 2006). General Sonthi declared numerous times that he has no ambition to get into executive or administration matters. It appears that the general and the majority of his council members will be retired prior to the election in December 2007.

The former head of government is Dr. Thaksin Shinawatra. Thaksin has been elected on three occasions as the Thai prime minister, and his popularity in each election never fell below 50 percent of public support. The prime minister was first elected in 2001, and since then he has commanded support from rural voters (over 75 percent of the Thai population), especially in the North, Central, East, and Northeast Regions. However, his support in Bangkok had been decreasing significantly, since the PAD Movement began in 2005. In southern Thailand, Thaksin had support well below 20 percent, especially in the Muslim provinces, as the former prime minister's policies appeared to resort to violent means to solve the conflict with the Muslim population, and his administration supported the American campaigns in Iraq and Afghanistan. Currently, he is in exile and has announced his retirement from politics. Because of his former political ambitions, wealth, and popularity, it is very hard to be convinced that he will give up politics. It appears that numerous politicians from his party including Jaturon Chaisang, the current party leader and Chaowalit Yongchaiyudh, the former prime minister, his predecessor, have traveled to visit him in Beijing (ibid.). It is possible to believe that he will make a comeback in politics in the future, but whether it is a direct or an indirect involvement is yet to be seen.

Currently, there are three major political parties in Thailand. The former Thai Rak Thai Party was founded in 1998, and largely appears to be a coalition of third parties in Thailand. However, it was dissolved by the order of Constitution Court in May 2007. The court decided to ban 111 members of parliament (MPs) from politics for a period of five years. In July 2007, former Thai Rak Thai MPs and executives agreed to run under the name of the People's Power Party (Palang Prachachon Party or PPP). Their current leader is Samak Sundaravej, one of the veteran politicians in Thai politics. Samak has been involved in Thai politics since 1968; he has served as deputy prime minister on two occasions, minister of interior, minister of communication, deputy minister of agriculture, and governor of Bangkok. According to Thai Rak Thai information, the party has 14 million members. However, during the referendum it appears that the supporters were down to 10.7 million, which accounted for 36 percent of eligible voters in Thailand (and 42.19 percent of voters who participated during the referendum).

The Democrat Party is the oldest political party in Thailand and was informally founded as a faction within the Peoples' Party (from 1932), and legally founded in 1946. The current leader of the Democrats is Abhisit Vejjajiva (pronounced as R-Pi-Sid / Wej-Cha-She-Wa). Along with Jaturon from Thai Rak Thai, *Times Asia* and *Asiaweek* named Abhisit as another young Thai politician with a promising future. He was elected as the party leader in 2005, after the embarrassing defeat of the Democrats in the general election. Abhisit was a junior lecturer at Thammasart University, after he graduated with a Master of Arts (majoring in economics) from Oxford University. However, Abhisit was criticized by both media and politicians as inexperienced in politics, work experience, and business background.

The Democrat Party was founded by Kuang Apaiwongse, M.R.W. Seni Pramoj, M.R.W. Kukrit Pramoj, and large numbers of aristocrats and nobles. Since its foundation, the Democrat party has been largely involved with the elite and right-wing upper and upper-middle classes in Thai society. The major policies of the Democrats are largely antisocial welfare benefits and any state-sponsored welfare programs. Their major concerns are privatization, land distribution, control of the low interest rates, and strict financial policies. The Democrat Party has been firmly on the right wing of Thai politics, but after the emergence of TRT, it faced major problems, as its policies were either absorbed or taken over by TRT, while the TRT is also committed to the left on social welfare issues. The Democrat party has a membership of four million. However, the vote swing in the urban areas, especially in Bangkok and Songkhla would be likely to generate an extra two million votes towards their party in most of the elections. The Democrat Party has very strong support in Bangkok (where most of their voters are nonmembers) and southern Thailand, especially the Muslim provinces. They have strongly criticized the TRT policies on Iraqi and Afghanistan and Muslim policies, which created a strong resistance in Thai-Muslim provinces. The Democrat Party has been popular among the Muslim provinces, where it is strongly believed that their policies would be able to solve Islamic insurgencies in Thailand.

The Chat Thai Party (Thai Nation Party or National Party of Thailand) is the second oldest party in Thailand. The party founder's Ratchakru faction was one of the factions under Phibun's Fascist government (under the People's Party since 1932). However, the Ratchakru leader, Phin Chunhawan, played significant roles in the military coups of 1947 and 1948. The Ratchakru faction later served as a key faction in the Seri Manangkasila Party of Phibun Songkram. However, after the coup by Marshal Sarit in 1957, the Seri Manangkasila was abolished, and key members of the Ratchakru faction went into exile. It was not until the death of Marshal Sarit in 1963 that the leaders of the Ratchakru faction returned to Thai politics. Chatichai Chunhawan, the son of Phin Chunhawan, started the Chat Thai Party as a replacement for Seri Managkasila. Chatichai has been popular in the Khorat province, and the western part of the Northeast Region. The party has grown significantly with support from business entrepreneurs and local politicians in Central Thailand. After the downfall of the Social Action Party, Chat Thai has absorbed large numbers of their MPs, which paved the way for Chatichai to win the General Election and become Thai prime minister in 1988. In 1992, the party changed from the Ratchakru faction to the Suphanburi faction of Banharn Silpa-Archar (pronounced as Bun-Han/Sin-la-pa-R-Cha). This led to the splitting of

the Ratchakru faction to form the National Development Party, which later joined the TRT. In 1995, Banharn was elected to the Premiership; it was the last Chat Thai administration before the factions in their party left to form TRT in 1998. Currently, Banharn is still the party leader, but their support was reduced to the Central Thailand areas, and in the last elections they faced their worst results since their founding as the party obtained only 27 MPs. The party has been popular among the Thai farmers. Their major support came from the incumbency effects since the Chatichai administration, as the party is still confronted with the lack of policy initiatives and lack of direction. During the Chatichai administration, the party was known for the high interest rates, encouraging overseas investors, and investment in states such as China, Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam, along with high military expenditure, which is largely a legacy from the Cold War period. Today, the Chat Thai Party is still struggling to emerge out of its Cold War policies, and the number of its voters has been decreasing rapidly, apart from the areas that are still largely favored by the incumbency effect from the Chatichai and Banharn administrations. As a political veteran, Banharn is the oldest and most experienced politician among the three major parties. If Thai Rak Thai is dissolved, it appears that their MPs and members might choose Chat Thai as an alternative base to battle with the Democrat Party, which might provide another possible opportunity for Banharn to return as prime minister.

The participation in the elections in Thailand has been significantly low, especially in Bangkok areas. The turnout in the last two elections was 72.2 percent and 65.2 percent, respectively. The Bangkok turnout is always lower than the national average; at one stage, the turnout appeared as low as 37 percent. However, the turnout in rural areas is much higher than Bangkok, which led to the balance of 65.2 percent and 72.2 percent. While Bangkok voters do not widely participate in the conventional means of participation, they are involved in numerous street demonstrations and unconventional or violent means of participation. In 2006, the Bangkok protestors took part in violence by destroying the gate of the prime minister's office and later blockading the Electoral Commission building and illegally searching the private vehicles of the commissioners and their staff. The reasons for their actions are largely based on their lack of trust in the politicians, as they see the politicians as corrupt and some xenophobic citizens see them as the agents for foreign takeover. Therefore, Bangkok voters are stereotyped by rural voters as being arrogant, snobbish, materialistic, tending to look down on the rural voters (in material means and educational levels), valuing their votes beyond their eligibility, having unconventional participation, unlikely to vote, and hardly committed to any party from membership to voting levels. On the other hand, rural voters are blamed by Bangkok voters for vote buying through direct cash payments and incumbency effects. Bangkok voters stereotype rural voters as uneducated and too trusting of politicians. However, these assessments of rural voters are not accurate. It is true there are lower education levels in agricultural communities than in Bangkok, due to the nature of agricultural communities. However, it does not mean that the Bangkok voters are superior in their level of consideration. They are easily persuaded by newspapers, especially the tabloids, which largely publish speculation. The rural voters are established members of a particular party and likely to commit

to vote for that party, as long as the incumbency effect continues. It does not always translate that their voting behavior and trust in politicians come from a lower level of materialism or education, but are rather based on the different levels of the incumbency effect provided by politicians towards the rural and urban voters.

Representation in Thailand is under the bicameral system, where the House of Representatives is based on the Single Non-Transferable Vote system. It is important to understand that the House of the Senate has a one-term limit, and members are ineligible to be reelected. In addition, senators are not allowed to be members of political parties. As a result, the famous people in the provinces are elected to counter the House of Representatives. The tragedy is that most of the elected senators are related to TRT, Democrat, or Chat Thai anyway. It is the case that the Senators are husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, sons, daughters, nieces, or nephews of the seated MPs, but are not registered as party members. Thai scholars criticize the House of Senate as the House of Partners or House of Relatives (to the House of Representatives).

Nationalism in Thailand was strengthened by the reign of King Vajiravudh and is rooted in the issues of loyalty towards the king, country, and Buddhism. Later, the fascist government of Phibun created the new slogan of nation, Buddhism, king, and constitution. The fascist regime created numerous nationalist ways of thinking, from nationalizing the key industries, xenophobic principles, for example foreign takeover and colonization, militarization (and military intervention), and nationalistic propaganda including music. In 1957, Sarit pushed harder to relate Thai nationalism to the institution of monarchy. As a result, nationalism in Thailand has been significantly strong, and largely related to the king and royalty. The crises in late 2005 to early 2007 are undeniably the consequences of strong nationalism, patriotism, and perhaps xenophobia principles, which Fascist regimes had implemented since the pre-World War period. Numerous newspapers, especially the tabloids, have ridden on the xenophobia waves in order to maximize their sales. The PAD movement has encouraged strong speculation that focuses on antiforeign companies, antiforeign investment, anticorruption, and antigovernment. After the coup, the debate on the free-market economy remains an ongoing issue. The pro-Thaksin and pro-PAD are using Internet Web boards as their means to exchange fire with each other, as the military does not allow protests or public demonstrations to take place at this stage.

Separatism is another strong issue in Thailand which largely involves the Muslim provinces. During Thaksin's administration, the Muslim problems had been getting worse, due to the mismanagement of Muslim issues. In addition, the former government policies over anti-terrorists and its pro-U.S. stance on Iraq and Afghanistan have complicated the conflict even further. Currently, the interim government is trying to seek a possible compromise with the Muslim insurgents; however, the car bombs and assassination of civil servants in Muslim provinces, and the Muslim support of the political opposition, are still ongoing issues. The likelihood of the government reaching any solution to the insurgency is low but still more possible than under the past administration. Two possibilities for the cause of the bombing in Bangkok on New Year's Eve have been speculated. The first is action from the ousted regime. The second is possible action from the Islamic movement. However, from the evidence it appears that the first group is

trying to frame the latter group as it is the nature of Islamic insurgents to largely conduct their actions within Muslim provinces and hardly go beyond the city of Hat Yai in lower southern Thailand.

LAW AND ORDER

The police are the main body serving as law enforcement. The Royal Thai Police is one of the largest civil servant networks in the kingdom. Police forces in Thailand have the same ranking system as the armed forces, where the commissioner is always ranked as general. There are 24 major bureaus under the Royal Police, these are the Cadet Academy, Police Doctors, Information Technology, Legal and Litigation, Royal Court Security, Police Commission, Inspector, Immigration, Forensic Science, Police Education, Central Investigation, Special Branch, Border Patrol, Narcotics Suppression, Metro Police, and nine Provincial Police Regions. Apart from the 24 bureaus, there are also sub-bureaus such as the Police Aviation Division, Railway Police, Traffic Police, Highway Police, Tourist Police, and Marine Police. Like most countries, the emergency services in Thailand use the three dial telephone number, in this case 191. The service is normally directed to the police but is able to reach ambulances and fire services as well. Fire services and ambulance services are under the provincial administration. There are reviews under the interim government on the police ranking and administration system, on whether they will abolish the ranks to make the police forces more civilian related like the European, Commonwealth, Japanese, and American states, or retain the ranking but decentralize their units like the British, Australian, and American systems.

Similar to most states in the world, poverty is perhaps the major reason for the crime in Thailand, but there are also other causes leading to criminal activities. Recently, the police forces successfully captured a criminal gang run by foreigners, and proved that criminal activities such as human traffic from Eastern Europe, coercion, and the drug trade are operated by non-Thai gangsters.

Because the location of Thailand is near one of the drug producing regions, the drug trade has been perhaps among the most notable criminal activities in Thailand in the last decade. However, the Thaksin administration has taken this issue seriously. The policy of "War on Drugs" has significantly decreased the drug activities in Thailand. These policies granted the power to the police in narcotics suppression and other relevant bureaus to search and arrest and gave them all means of suppression that included assassination, or killing the suspects in the process. The former government also passed a law which enforces execution of drug dealers. At the peak of the War on Drugs, the *Matichon Newspaper* reported the gunfights between the police forces and local mafia in numerous centers of the provincial capital, including the marketplace (2004). As a result, this has led to a significant drop in the drug trade and drug traffic in the country, and the Thaksin administration saw the success in narcotics suppression as their major achievement. However, the policy itself has been critiqued largely on the grounds of human rights issues by the domestic press, politicians, and at the international level. Human traffic from eastern Europe especially Russia started after the end of the Cold War, and the government is still working on the solution to this matter.

Currently, the interim government has relaxed the suppression under the Thaksin administration, as it appears to be an abuse of human rights in Thailand.

Despite the police being the state organ to enforce law and order, the opinion of and confidence in the system vary according to people's experience, beliefs, and knowledge of the system. Generally, the urban population tends to have a negative image of the law enforcement bodies, especially those who have antigovernmental beliefs, or who follow and believe the newspapers. It is the nature of the newspapers in numerous states to publish scandal and sometimes this is related to the law enforcement body. Therefore, negative images of the police force have been portrayed in the news on a regular basis. Because of the scandals and speculation by newspapers over related government corruption scandals, the police force came under attack as the newspapers tend to relate them to the government. In the religious conflict areas, the police were the prime target of the insurgency movement, as they saw the police as the representative of the government. Police stations have been bombed in southern Thailand; however, in reality the police still largely retain the confidence, on the basis of law enforcement, of the majority of the population. The policemen in the district areas still have a certain credibility with the people in their roles. Since the coup of 2006, *Manager Newspaper* and the owner, Sonthi Limtongkul, have turned against the police as they publish and have seminars on the negative aspects of the police forces on a regular basis.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Undoubtedly the state body that deals with foreign affairs is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs itself. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Thailand has 14 departments and foreign missions in 62 countries. The 14 departments are the Office of the Minister, the Office of the Permanent Secretary, the Department of Consular Affairs, the Department of Protocol, the Department of European Affairs, the Department of International Economic Affairs, the Department of Treaties and Legal Affairs, the Department of Information, the Department of International Organizations, the Department of American and South Pacific Affairs, the Department of Asian Affairs, the Department of East Asian Affairs, the Department of South Asian, Middle East, and African Affairs, and the Thailand International Development Cooperation Agency. Apart from the governmental agencies, there are numerous nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) operating within Thailand as well (Thai Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006).

The interview of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Nij Phibunsongkram to *Matichon Newspaper* on January 1, 2007, pointed out that the interim government's priority is to make the international community understand that the current military intervention is temporary and the democratic system will return to Thailand in December 2007 (*Matichon Newspaper* 2007). The first goal of the government is to strengthen their relationship with neighboring states. Second, the Islamic insurgency is also a concern, and the interim government has discussed this with the international community, especially the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). Third, the Thai government has concerns over the understanding and credibility that they would receive from the West. It is their primary concern that the relationship between Thailand and the Western democratic states remains smooth

with business as usual. The government has worked hard to achieve its goals of convincing the investors and business people to continue their investment and trade with Thailand, and avoid any possible interruption, especially sanctions from the West in political, economic, and military relations.

Since the end of the second World War, Thailand has allied itself with the United States. The Kingdom is also a founding member of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), and cooperation with the United States exists today. The joint training and military exercises between Thailand and former SEATO members still exist under AUSTHAI (Thailand-Australia), the Sea Garuda program (Thailand–Indonesia), the Kakadu program (Thailand, New Zealand, Australia, the United Kingdom, Malaysia, and Singapore), Cobra Gold and Carat (Thailand and the United States), and Singsiam (Thailand and Singapore).

Like most of the medium-sized and small states around the world, Thailand does not possess a nuclear arsenal. However, Thailand has never dedicated itself to nuclear-free policies or nuclear research (apart from the plan to establish a nuclear power plant). Thailand does not favor, nor object to nuclear issues and proliferation.

Since the coup of 2006, cooperation between the Thai and U.S. military in certain areas such as armed supplies and some of the joint training has been temporarily suspended by the United States. However, it appears that once the elected government is formed after the December 2007 election, the relationship is likely to resume.

Since the Chatichai administration in the late 1980s, it is clear that the primary concerns of the Thai government are economic and development schemes. The Kingdom of Thailand is a founding member of the Association of Southeast Asia Nations (ASEAN), which has a major concern with economic cooperation and national developments. Thailand is also an active member of Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and involved with Asia Europe Meeting (ASEM), both of which have major concerns in these areas as well. Apart from this cooperation, Thailand has been actively involved with and is a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the World Health Organization (WHO). Thailand has been involved with international aid and promoting development in neighboring countries, especially Laos, Cambodia, and Myanmar.

Thailand has been an active member of numerous organizations. These are the ASEAN Regional Forum, Asian Development Bank (ADB), Group of 77 (G77), International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), Interpol, Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), United Nations, UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), UN Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and World Bank.

The Kingdom hosted the APEC convention in 2004 and was a founding member of ASEM in 1996. The former head of the WTO was Dr. Supachai Panichapak, who has moved to become head of UNCTAD. Thailand saw its participation in the international bodies as the key to building better international communities; therefore, the government has decided to participate in this area.

There have been differences between different governments in the last decades. The Chuan administration (from the Democrat Party) has been largely active and

closely cooperated with NGOs. However, the Thaksin administration was not in favor of (or by) NGOs. The Thaksin administration tended to disregard the NGOs and their requirements. It had a stand similar to the Bush administration in the United States, which seeks the state benefit above any requirement from NGOs (or international bodies), which could lead to a setback in the economic and national development. The Thaksin administration refused to participate in any environmental commitment including the Kyoto Protocol. They have been the prime target for the Greenpeace Movement, as the administration sought to enlarge the coal power plants, as an alternative to high oil prices. The "War on Drugs" polices and their "War on Terror" have been condemned largely by Human Rights Watch, as well as Amnesty International, over the treatment of the prisoners from those categories. However, the interaction between the state and NGOs has varied under different administrations. Under the Chuan administration, Thailand actively interacted with NGOs, and there are no set rules that the Thaksin administration would always be unfriendly towards them. However, since the coup in 2006, the interim government has not made any specific stand on the NGOs. It is still the case that the government disregards some of the NGOs' actions that might appear to undermine their administration. However, the future of the NGOs in Thailand is largely based on the election outcomes in December 2007.

Prior to the Thaksin administration, Thailand was largely involved with foreign and humanitarian aid as the receivers. The past governments had to deal with issues such as refugees, development, and economic problems. However, Thailand has acted as a provider of refugee and humanitarian aid, and since the Thaksin administration began in 2001 the government has put an end to its status of receiver. The government has sought partnership status with developed countries and has become an aid provider to developing countries. Thailand has been involved with aid to Indochina and other countries, including the construction of a hospital in Cambodia and road networks in Burma, Laos, and Afghanistan. Even though Thailand is a new player in provider areas, the government tends to look forward to expanding in these areas. Since the coup in 2006, the interim government has retained its role as a nonreceiver. However, the role of aid provider by Thaksin is currently suspended by the interim administration. There is no indication whether the aid provider roles will be resumed by the interim government or not, but it is highly likely under the new administration after the December 2007 election.

Thailand has been involved in numerous military exercises, especially peacekeeping. Since the end of the Cold War, Thailand has taken part in numerous peacekeeping processes in Cambodia, East Timor, Sierra Leone, Afghanistan, and recently Iraq.

SECURITY

The major security organization is the Royal Thai Armed Forces, which is divided into the Royal Thai Air Force, Royal Thai Army, and Royal Thai Navy. The Royal Thai Armed Forces have 306,600 active personnel (Army 190,000, Navy 70,600, and Air Force 46,000) (IISS 2007). Currently, there is conscription in Thailand, under which all males aged 18 must be registered and serve at the

age of 21 for two years (Bumrungsuk 1998). However, there are up to 526,276 people reaching the conscription age annually, and the military only chooses 80,000 conscripts to be trained annually. The participating young males will be exempt from military service, once the quotas have been met. In Thailand, there are two major intelligence services, the first is the military intelligence and the second is the National Intelligence Agency, which is under the prime minister's office and directly interacts with the prime minister.

During the Cold War period, security concerns were focused on the war against the communist movement, along with the tension between Thailand and the Communist neighboring states in Indochina. Development in the rural areas has been the benchmark policy of those administrations, as they believed that the communist insurgencies could be solved by means of state education and materialism. After the end of the Cold War, the Chatichai administration tended to see national development as the main concern. At the end of the millennium, Thailand centered its concerns on environmental and human rights issues, as the Chuan administration saw these issues as the primary concerns. It was also under the Democrat government that the security threat came largely from the Burmese problems. There was an incident where Karen minorities fled from Burma, and later decided to strike the Thai hospital in Ratchburi, and held patients, doctors, nurses, and hospital staff as hostages. The Royal Thai Army needed to deploy a counterterrorist company to rescue the hostages. Later, ethnic minorities of Burma (who entered Thailand on refugee status) took Thai civil servants as hostages; regrettably, the military failed to rescue the hostages on the second occasion. These two incidents by Karen minorities, generally forced the Thai government to intervene in Burmese issues because of human rights, democratization, and the independence of ethnic minorities through armed and financial support. However, their actions led to pressure for the Democrat government to distance themselves further from the Burmese issues and the supporting of human rights and the democratization movement in Burma.

When the Thaksin administration won their first election in 2001, the TRT government changed their security concerns remarkably. The first was the change in the Burmese stand. The Thaksin administration showed less concern for human rights or the democratization of the neighboring countries and gave priority to development issues. Goals were put in place for Thailand to reach developed country status, and to solve economic problems—which came from the Asian Economic Crisis. Generally, the new administration had success in solving economic problems, and rapidly moved the Thai nation in the direction of the First World. However, this has been at the expense of human rights and democratization concerns in neighboring countries. The Thaksin administration was mainly concerned with investment in Burma, Laos, and Cambodia rather than their human rights or democratization status. In addition, the administration appeared to actively negotiate trade agreements with those regimes and push the independence movement back to Laos, Burma, or out of Thailand. Health issues, especially avian influenza (bird flu) were a serious concern to the Thaksin administration; however, the government has shown that the influenza is well under control. SARS disease brought both concern and credit to the Thaksin administration, as Thailand

appeared to be the first Asian country to bring SARS under control, but its effect gave the government concern over the economic issues. The car bombs, destruction of public property (including schools and police stations), assassination of civil servants (including teachers, judges, soldiers, and policemen), and assassination of Buddhist monks meant political and security setbacks for the government. The demands from the Muslim insurgents vary from self-administration to the independence of three Muslim Provinces. The Thaksin government was unable to cope with those demands and responded by using military force to end the insurgencies. However, the interim government under Surayudh has toned down the aggressive action by the Thaksin administration. The new prime minister has issued a formal apology towards the Muslims on behalf of the previous government. Still, the insurgency is ongoing in southern Thailand. Other security issues are based on the bombing and destruction of state property. Currently, the interim administration has more than Islamic terrorists to suspect of such action and the ousted regime has posed a threat to the current government. In addition, the bomb on December 31, 2006, in Bangkok was another threat to the present and future security situation in Thailand.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The Thai government has closely observed the international justice system. International law and most of the international practices are closely followed by both government and the legal institutions in Thailand.

The revised version of the Thai Constitution in 1997 (now replaced by the 2007 Constitution) provided the basic rights of citizens and allowed human rights organizations to cooperate with the government. However, bills by the government, which granted the power to the authorities, including soldiers and police, to act accordingly on the terrorism and "War on Drugs" issues, were widely criticized domestically and internationally by human rights organizations. Thailand has been one of the leading countries in Asia to participate in international bodies and is widely accepted at most international conventions.

Civil Law is the legal system in Thailand. Thailand has one of the most complex judicial systems in the world, as there are three major courts, divided into more complicated systems as follows: the Supreme Court is the highest court of appeals; however, there is the Constitution Court to deal with constitution matters, the Administration Court to deal with government and civil service matters, and the Military Court to deal with military matters. In addition, there are the High Court, Civil Court, Criminal Court, District Court, and in Muslim provinces, there are also Religious Courts to deal with religious matters.

The majority of the Thai have good confidence in the ability to practice human rights, especially in Bangkok, where human rights practice has been generally high, and the political participation has been largely known in this area. In addition, the high confidence in the judicial system has led to a significantly high participation in and practice of human rights. Since the coup in 2006, some human rights practices have been limited by the interim government. This is believed to be temporary until the military and the new government can get the situation under control.

During the Democrat government (Chuan administration), the Thai government was one of the frontrunners in promoting human rights in Indochina and new democratic countries. However, the TRT government (Thaksin administration) largely reduced Thai participation in this area, as their primary focus changed to economic and infrastructure development. This also led to criticism of this administration for allowing certain practices to take place, including the emergency bills, which granted the administration and security officers the right to act beyond their usual limitations, for example on the terrorist issues and the War on Drugs. Since the coup, the new government is still limiting their active roles in human rights promotion abroad, as the current government has still to answer for its own human rights promotion within Thailand.

CONCLUSION

Thai governments have always had a good relationship with the United States. There are numerous treaties between Thai and Americans that show the friendship and mutual relationship between both nations, including the Military Cooperation, APEC, and much economic cooperation, and recently the negotiations for a free trade agreement (FTA) between both countries have started. It is only a matter of time until both countries conclude the FTA. The Thaksin administration and the Bush administration have been closely related and cooperate on numerous issues, especially the War on Terror. Even the coup in Thailand did not harm the political and economic cooperation between Thailand and the United States. However, it is the United States themselves that have suspended the military cooperation due to their political stand, although it is widely believed on both the Thai and the U.S. side that the relationship will be resumed soon after Thailand has reestablished its constitution along with an elected government.

The majority of the Thai population and especially the Thai government have healthy attitudes towards the United States. Generally, the Thai government has been optimistic about the American partnership since the second World War. The Thaksin administration was largely involved with the Bush administration on Muslim issues including deployment of Thai troops to work on the peace-keeping and construction processes in Afghanistan and Iraq. However, the attitudes among some scholars, the xenophobic movement (for example anti-Globalization, anti-FTA, and the PAD), human rights movement, NGOs, and the Muslim population have not been in favor of the government and have largely criticized the U.S. government. Among the famous criticizers, the Russian graduate Dr. Nitibhum Naowarath, a Bangkok senator, former lecturer, and columnist has greatly criticized American foreign policies, and even the Thai policies which harmonize with the Americans, in his column in the bestselling Thai newspaper *Thairath*. As his column has been largely popular among the Bangkok and urban population, it is likely that a minority of urban Thai might start to think in this different direction as well.

Thailand has been an active member of international organizations, and formed numerous linkages with the European Union, Japan, China, ASEAN, Australia, New Zealand, South Asia, and the United States. Socially, there are numerous

programs including American Field Service (AFS), Fulbright, and many other scholarships offered for exchange at citizen level in other states. In addition, the government also encourages the social linkage between the young business executives, university graduates, and researchers to participate in the exchange and seminar programs, which are sponsored by both governments and private multinational companies. With regard to security linkages, Thailand has security cooperation with the United States, Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, Indonesia, Singapore, and others. At the junior levels, there are numerous Thai officers who obtain scholarships to study at American military institutions including Westpoint. There are also large numbers of Thai scholars and civil servants who have won scholarships from the government to study abroad each year, which partially involves the social linkage as well.

A change in security is hardly likely, as the military and security in Thailand have been practicing for more than half a century. The general picture on security is that cooperation will be very stable from the Thai side, and the cooperation with the United States and other allies should be continued regardless of the TRT, Democrat, Chat Thai, or even the current interim government. However, if the interim government and the military council fail to deliver the general election by December 2007 as they promised earlier, the high possibility of mass demonstrations and social clashes could appear once again in Thailand. In addition, the anti-military and pro-Thaksin supporters that act from time to time might create an incident that could lead to a clash between the military and civilians in the near future, if the government is unable to control the situation.

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Turkey

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BACKGROUND

Turkey forms the southeastern gateway to Europe, connecting Bulgaria, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and Greece on its European side with Syria, Iraq, Iran, Armenia, and Georgia on its Asian side. It also controls the connection between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea through the Bosporus and the Dardanelles. It thus occupies a key strategic location outside of the present European Union but inside NATO. Its most significant international relations extend to the European Union, NATO countries (particularly Greece), the countries in the Black Sea region, the Middle East, Iran, and Russia/Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

The beginnings of Turkey's history lie in small fortified city states, the earliest remains of which date to the eighth millennium BC. From about 2000 BC larger states dominated the area, the first being the Hittite empire which was destroyed towards the end of the twelfth century by invaders from overseas, around the time that saw the city of Troy succumb to the same fate. One group among those invaders established the Phrygian empire which dominated the Anatolian heartland during the ninth and eighth centuries. During that time the Greeks colonized the Aegean coast and founded the Ionian city states of Miletos, Ephesos, and Priene. Subsequently, the region was dominated by the Cimmerians, then the Lydians, who were in turn overthrown by the Persians under Cyrus the Great in 546. Asia Minor remained part of the vast Persian empire for two centuries until the Macedonian King Alexander the Great conquered the region in 333 which introduced the Hellenistic period. During the second and first centuries BC Asia Minor was gradually incorporated by the Romans. After the division of the Roman empire in the fourth century the region belonged to the East Roman or Byzantine empire which lasted approximately a thousand years.

Turkey

Formal name of country: Republic of Turkey (Turkiye Cumhuriyeti)
Size of country: 788,695 sq km
Natural resources: Coal, iron ore, arable land, and hydropower
Population: 70,413,958 (July 2006 est.); 86,611,000 (2025 est.)
Life expectancy at birth: women 74.6 years; men 69.7 years (2004)
Key ethnic groups:

- Turkish 80%
- Kurdish 20% (est.)

Key religions: Muslim 97% (mostly Sunni), Christians, Jews
Political system: Republican parliamentary democracy
Key political groups/parties: Justice and Development Party, and Republican People's Party
Legal system: Independent judiciary
Real GDP growth: 9% (2004) and 5.6% (2005)
Population below poverty line: 20% (2002)
Energy sources: 79% fossil fuels, 20% hydroelectric, and 1% renewables (2003)
Size of military: 514,850 active personnel (2002); 27 million fit for service, supported by $12.155 billion (5.3% GDP) annual expenditures (2003)
Relationship with the United States: High-level visits to Turkey continue but the war in Iraq has placed a strain on the relationship.
Important human security issue: Facilitating a democratic and comprehensive debate on Turkey's accession to the European Union.
Important future human security issues:

- Reconciling its economic aspirations with the limits of sustainable impact
- Balancing demands for democratic rights of its ethnic minorities against constitutional demands towards national coherence
- Maintaining security for its citizens within the unstable strategic context of the Middle East

From the eleventh century onward Asia Minor was increasingly dominated by the Seljuk Turks although successive invasions by the Mongols and divisions among Turkoman groups prevented a consolidation of their power. One such group, led by Osman, founder of the Ottoman dynasty, eventually gained the upper hand and expanded their reign far into the Balkans and throughout Anatolia. In 1453 the Byzantine capital Constantinople (now Istanbul) fell to the Ottomans, and under Süleyman I the Magnificent the empire was expanded across the Danube into Hungary, and in 1529 reached the gates of Vienna. Religious minorities enjoyed considerable freedom under the Ottomans which prepared the ground for the secular orientation of the modern Turkish state. From the end of the sixteenth century the empire underwent a gradual decline caused mainly by chronic failures of the administrative system and by overpopulation. The emergence of more powerful nation states in Europe and Russia created further challenges.

Although successive attempts at structural reform helped stem this decline, and Vienna was once more threatened in 1683, most European possessions were gradually lost over the next two centuries. Successful independence movements by Greeks, Serbs, Bulgars, Albanians, and Armenians further undermined the Ottoman hegemony during that time.

From 1807 a series of Western-style reforms in administration, military forces, education system, judiciary, public works, and infrastructure gave the empire a new lease on life while the European powers were occupied with their colonialist exploits. The last decades of the nineteenth century saw successive attempts at republican reforms and the implementation of a constitution, alternating with periods of autocratic reaffirmation of the central authority of the sultans. The decisive changes towards republicanism were implemented during the "Young Turk" reforms, complemented by territorial consolidation during the two Balkan wars. Turkey's participation in World War I on the side of the Central Powers sealed the fate of the Ottoman Empire, leaving its infrastructure devastated and six million inhabitants (a quarter of its population) dead as a result of foreign invasions, internal revolts, famines, and epidemics. It stood to lose all its European territories and was to place large portions of Anatolia under Allied administration. Fortunately for the young republic, an ill-advised invasion by a large Greek army, accompanied by massacres of the Turkish inhabitants of coastal regions, strengthened the Turkish nationalists under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and swayed Allied sympathies towards Turkey. In the subsequent War of Independence 1918–1923 Atatürk successfully resisted the Allied terms, drove out the Greek, British, French, and Italian occupying forces and imposed a settlement embodied in the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) which formalized today's territorial borders and allowed Atatürk to establish the Turkish republic with its capital in Ankara.

Atatürk headed the republic for the subsequent 15 years, overseeing great economic and social progress according to the six constitutional principles of republicanism, nationalism, populism, secularism, statism, and revolutionism. In his foreign policy he avoided any tendencies towards revenge and instead succeeded in rapprochement with the new Balkan states while maintaining a strictly secular stance that precluded an association with Islamic states to the East and South. Mindful of the devastating outcomes of World War I, Turkey remained neutral during World War II. An attempt by Stalin to gain control of Turkey's eastern provinces propelled Turkey towards an association with the United States, culminating in its full NATO membership in 1952. The electoral success of the Democratic Party initiated a move towards democratization and privatization which allowed a further cultural and political association with the West. However, successive regimes became more authoritarian which in turn spawned radicalization on the political right and left. A new constitution in 1961 established proportional representation which in Turkey's case weakened government authority to the point that the military seized power twice to reestablish its concept of law and order. In 1971 the Cyprus crisis ushered in a turn in international relations. Turkey's 1974 occupation of northern Cyprus, triggered by a Greek-engineered coup that led to an independent South, caused the United States to terminate its aid to

Turkey, and Turkey temporarily closed all U.S. bases on its soil. The resulting distrust between Turkey and the United States has endured to the present, notwithstanding their long-standing Cold War alliance. A third and last army coup was followed by a new constitution in 1982 and a stronger entrenchment of civilian rule. Turkey did not actively participate in the first or second Gulf Wars but lent logistical and structural support to Coalition forces. The influx of hundreds of thousands of Kurdish refugees after their unsuccessful uprising against Iraq's Saddam Hussein contributed to an internal security problem that still resists all mitigation efforts.

Turkey consists of 81 provinces (*iller*) which are administered by governors (*vali*) who represent the central government. The provinces are subdivided into districts and communes; the latter are in charge of levying local taxes and exercising local powers.

European Turkey (East Thrakia) makes up only 3 percent of its land area. The rest comprises Anatolia which consists of a vast plateau, surrounded by narrow coastal plains. It is divided into the borderlands of the Sea of Marmara, the Aegean and Mediterranean region, the Black Sea region, western Anatolia, the central Anatolian Plateau, the eastern highlands, and southeastern Anatolia.

The coastline measures 7,200 kilometers which has proved a boon to tourism. Anatolia is situated on its own tectonic plate and its friction against surrounding plates give rise to frequent earthquakes, particularly along an arc extending from the Sea of Marmara in the West to Lake Van in the East. The most severe quakes since 1939, measuring 7.4 and 7.2, hit northwestern Turkey in 1999, claiming more than 17,800 lives.

The headwaters of the Middle East's largest rivers, the Euphrates-Tigris system, lie within Turkish territory. Turkey's longest river, the *Kızıl*, flows entirely within its national boundaries. Grasslands and grain fields are abundant on the Anatolian plateau, with sparse forests restricted to higher slopes. Climate regions range from subtropical through temperate to alpine. Humid deciduous forests abound along the Black Sea coast.

Wild boar, which are seldom hunted or killed by Muslims, remain abundant in the forests. Wolf, fox, wildcat, hyena, jackal, deer, bear, marten, and mountain goat are restricted to more remote areas. Of the 9,235 species in the world that were classified as endangered in 2006, 68 are endemic to Turkey. While 2.6 percent of Turkey's land area was protected in 2003, no single protected area exceeded 100,000 hectare; nor were there any official biosphere reserves (WRI 2006).

Turkey possesses adequate supplies of coal and iron ore, as well as a number of small but important mineral deposits, such as chrome ore near Guleman and Fethiye, high-grade magnetite ore at Divriği, and lead and zinc in scattered areas. Boron, copper, and silver are also mined, and oil occurs in relatively small quantities in the Southeast.

Important agricultural products include organic fruits and vegetables, wheat, cotton, processed foods and vegetable oil, as well as some tobacco. Other significant exports include textiles, clothes, crafts, metals, chemicals, and cement. Bonito, mackerel, and bluefish are plentiful in the Turkish Straits. Anchovies are caught in the Black Sea and count for at least half the commercial catch.

An important and abundant natural resource for Turkey is solar energy. Its clear skies and sunny climate have made it possible to meet much of the demand for domestic hot water in this way. This not only contributes to sustainability, it renders Turkey's energy security less dependent on external factors. Another fortuitously bountiful natural resource is geothermal energy that can be accessed in the tectonically active areas of the country.

Turkey's level of "development" in the conventional sense presents some cause for concern regarding its sustainability. Its reliance on water resources has particularly given rise to transboundary environmental pressures (SEDAC 2006).

Water pollution is caused by the dumping of chemicals and detergents. In 2005 a gold mining project near Bergama that threatened to pollute the area with cyanide runoff was stopped after an appeal to the European Court of Human Rights. A concern is also the possibility of oil spills from increasing Bosporus ship traffic. Agricultural runoff containing pesticides and fertilizers leads to eutrophication of fresh water ecosystems.

Air pollution is still affecting public health, especially in urban areas. Improvements in emission standards are offset by the increases in the number of motor vehicles and in industrial activity. Ecosystems vital for the purification of air and water are destabilized through aerial encroachment and displacement of key species. Deforestation, especially the practice of replacing native forest with plantations, threatens important habitats. Wetlands are threatened by efforts to expand grazing and cultivation. Coastal development for tourism and habitation threatens wild habitats there.

Underlying those problems are deficiencies in normative adjustments to what passes for progress. For example, like almost all countries Turkey is still struggling to cope with the plastic age. Plastic rubbish, especially drink bottles, liberally covers the countryside near most roads and settled areas. Significantly, a 2005 estimate gave Turkey's per capita environmental footprint as 16.25 hectare and its capacity as 9.08 hectare (Common and Stagl 2005). This indicates that the commonly espoused aspirations for growth in consumption will need to be tempered with a realistic assessment of which areas will allow for such growth and which areas are already overtaxed.

SOCIETY

At the time of writing (July 2006), Turkey's population measured about 70,414,000. Almost a third live in Turkey's three largest cities which are greater Istanbul with 11.3 million, Ankara with 5.2 million, and Izmir with 3.5 million (figures for 2005). Overall, 75 percent of Turks lived in urban communities in 2002, compared to 25 percent in 1945, reflecting a trend towards urbanization comparable to most European countries, and far above the world average of 47 percent. On the other hand, the demographic distribution still resembles more closely the profile of a less developed country, with 30 percent of the population under age 15 (the world average is 29 percent) and 6 percent over age 65 (world average 7 percent) (WRI 2006). This indicates a considerable residual potential for future population growth.

Turkey's rate of population growth exceeds the world average while its fertility remains below both the world average and the region of the Middle East and North Africa. Growth is fueled by the continued influx of legal and illegal migrants whereas the low fertility agrees with the relatively emancipated position of women, compared to other Muslim countries. Nevertheless, continued efforts to lower fertility below the replacement value of 2.1 would help improve Turkey's human security prospects.

Ethnic Turks comprise almost 90 percent of the population. Kurds (estimated up to 12 million) mostly populate the Southeast; elsewhere smaller populations of Laz, Hemsin, and Arabs exist, the latter mostly along the border to Syria. The remainder include Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. The population of Istanbul comprises sizeable minority communities from neighboring countries and from the Balkans (for example, about 100,000 Macedonians). Lately the number of legal and illegal immigrants from former Warsaw Pact countries, former Soviet republics, and from regions east of Turkey have been increasing.

While virtually all citizens speak Turkish, about 33 other languages are spoken, including Gagauz, Bulgarian, Kurmanji ("North Kurdish"), Dimli/Zaza, South Azeri, Arabic, Kabardian, Kirmanjki, and Georgian.

Many Kurdish families, and some entire communities, have been displaced from their villages in areas thought to contain elements of Kurdish separatist forces. Estimates of the internally displaced population range up to three million people who still cannot return to their villages.

More than 97 percent of Turks claim to be Muslim, the majority consisting of Sunnis but with a sizeable Shiite population inhabiting the Southeast. Yet the Turkish state is a secular one and has no official religion. The secularized, Europeanized elite drives foreign and domestic policy, as exemplified by the banning of head scarves at universities. Rural areas tend to be more conservative, yet Muslim fundamentalism receives little popular support in Turkey. Small Jewish and Christian (Syrian, Armenian, Greek Orthodox, and others) minorities have enjoyed a long-standing tradition of tolerance ever since the conquest of Constantinople by Muslim Ottoman armies.

A well-developed rail network, operated by the state-owned rail company Turkish Republic State Railways, is complemented by a system of numerous private bus companies that greatly contribute to the success of the tourist industry. Five major international airports serve as the main points of entry for foreign tourists.

In 2003 Turkey produced 133.6 billion kWh of electricity, about 20 percent of which was generated in hydroelectric facilities, including a new large plant on the River Euphrates near Elâzığ. Nuclear facilities are absent, fossil fuels contributed 79 percent, and other energy sources about 1 percent. In April 1995 Azerbaijan and Turkey signed a landmark agreement increasing the Turkish stake to 6.75 percent in the development of Azerbaijan's oil fields under the Caspian Sea, estimated to hold 3.8 billion barrels of crude oil. In July 2006 the pipeline was completed to transport oil from Baku, Azerbaijan through Georgia to the Turkish Mediterranean port of Çeyhan. In 2002 an agreement was signed with Greece to supply it with gas through a 285-kilometer pipeline. Only 7 percent of the petroleum and 2.5 percent of the natural gas consumed in Turkey in 2005 were contributed from domestic sources. In the absence of oil and gas imports the domestic reserves could

support the current consumption for less than a year. This dependency constitutes a security risk in terms of current price rises and the vagaries of international oil politics as well as with respect to the sustainability of the country's energy supply. On the other hand, over 95 percent of the renewable energy sources include fuel wood and other biomass while sources that create less of an impact (geothermal, solar, and wind) seem largely undeveloped, apart from the numerous private solar water heaters. This untapped potential supports a cautious optimism for Turkey's future energy situation, provided its administrations prove capable of perceiving those possibilities.

The government monopoly on broadcasting ended in 1993. Now there are four state-run national radio networks, 130 private radio stations, and hundreds of privately owned and state-owned television stations. About 37 million radios and 30 million televisions were in use in 2000. In 2004 there were about 276 landlines and 502 mobile phones per 1,000 people in Turkey, with the number of mobile phones growing rapidly. Communications are supported by a network of advanced fiber-optic cable and digital microwave-radio relays, as well as a system of domestic satellites. The Internet was used by 5.5 million Turks in 2003, supported by nearly a hundred Internet service providers and half a million Internet hosts (CIA 2006).

Turkey's economy represents a mixture of modern industry and commerce and a traditional agricultural sector that employs more than 35 percent of the workforce. The traditional nature of its agriculture has recently proved to be a particular strength because it allowed Turkey to capture a large portion of the global organic produce market. Even though the private sector is expanding, the state plays a major role in basic industry, banking, transport, and communication. Agriculture is closely followed by the textile and clothing industry which employs 33 percent. The automotive, electronic, and tourist industries are expanding.

Turkey's chief trade partners for imports are Germany, Russia, Italy, France, the United States, China, the United Kingdom, and Saudi Arabia (in declining order). It exported mainly to Germany, the United Kingdom, Italy, France, and Spain. Turkey's economy habitually suffers from a trade deficit. In 2002 it imported 43 percent more than it exported, almost $16 billion. In 2005 it was still 40 percent ($22 billion). The principal imports are oil, machinery, chemicals and pharmaceuticals, fertilizer, iron and steel, and transport equipment. Thus, the majority of imported goods are manufactured while the majority of exports are cultivated. Tourism represents a considerable source of income; over 40 percent of the work force is employed in the service industry.

In February 2001 the Turkish economy collapsed spectacularly, and the events of September 11 further damaged the tourist industry. Tourism suffered more blows in 2004–2005 when bombs exploded in Istanbul and Ankara, probably in connection with the Iraq war. Infusion of funds from the International Monetary Fund helped the economy rebound in recent years and inflation is at a 30-year low. Foreign direct investment and privatization sales are increasing. However, a high public sector fiscal deficit (6 percent of GDP), caused largely by high interest payments (37 percent of central government spending in 2004) on a public debt amounting to 67.5 percent of the GDP, is limiting economic growth. While

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GAGS AGAINST BOMBS?

During the past year, travelers to Turkey have been shaken by several bombings that were directed mostly at tourist centers (Istanbul, Bodrum, and Antalya) but claimed the lives of tourists and natives alike. This recent spate of political violence comes after several years of relative peace between the state authorities and separatist forces, notably involving the Kurdish minority, during which a peaceful resolution seemed feasible to Turkey's internal struggle for social cohesion. In many cases it remains unclear who engineered the attacks, whether they be separatist organizations attempting to harm the country's tourist industry and to call international attention to their causes or radical Islamist organizations who oppose the secular ideology that pervades Turkey's constitution and the policies of its governing bodies. Other possible perpetrators are international terrorist organizations who regard Turkey as a suitable location to stage their attacks on Western regimes.

Particularly worrisome about this threat to human security in Turkey is not just the utter disregard for the lives of innocent people but also the fact that not one of the victims was in any way culpable or even connected with the attackers' specific concerns, whichever of the three motivations may have applied. This does not bode well for the future security of tourists in Turkey, especially considering that neighboring Iraq continues to export terrorism; nor does it promise a secure future for the country's Kurdish minority.

Meanwhile, government censorship of the public discussion of such sensitive issues is waning. The 2006 Nobel Prize in literature was awarded to Orhan Pamuk, the first Turkish writer such honored. Under restrictive Turkish legislation, Pamuk had been put to trial for publicly commenting on the Armenian and Kurdish problems, although no conviction has ensued, and with his Nobel fame he is likely to escape prosecution entirely—unlike hundreds of other journalists and writers who still languish in jail.

Identified here are the main threats to Turkey's human security as the counterproductive policies towards ethnic tensions, the destabilizing effects of incoming refugees in the future, disputes with neighboring countries over fresh water resources, uncertainty over energy supplies, and unsustainable priorities in development policy.

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officially classified a debtor nation, Turkey in 2002 only received development assistance amounting to 0.2 percent of its debt (CIA 2006).

Of a total labor force of 24.7 million, about 1.2 million worked abroad in 2005. During the past four decades Turkish workers have established sizeable economic niches for themselves in most EU countries. This has given rise to large expatriate communities consisting of three generations in those countries, which sometimes causes social tension.

According to a global survey on happiness (Veenhofen 2006), Turks consider themselves only moderately satisfied with the quality of their lives. Military conscription fulfils an essential function in the indoctrination and socialization of young males to Turkish society. Every man and woman from age 20 is conscribed and 83 percent of those are deemed fit for service, although only men are required to serve the full 18 months. As in other instances of universal conscription (for example in Germany), the practice is considered beneficial for the development of civic values and social responsibility in young people, apart from undeniable economic windfalls. However, this benefit falls short of its full potential as long as conscientious objectors are not provided with the opportunity of a civil service

equivalent. At the moment such objections, and even their encouragement, are legally prosecuted by the state.

Kemal Atatürk's reforms and a consistent education policy ever since have resulted in adult literacy levels that excel in the region. The total adult literacy rate 2000–2004 was 87 percent with a rate of 95 percent for males and 80 percent for females (UNICEF 2007). Primary education through the first five grades is compulsory in Turkey. In 2000–2001 public expenditures on education comprised 3.4 percent of the GDP. Major universities are the University of İstanbul, Aegean University at İzmir, University of Ankara, and Middle East Technical University at Ankara.

Compared to Europe, however, Turkey's education system still has a long way to go. A recent World Bank (2006) study points to Turkey's noncompliance with international norms of educational policy. Compared to the European Union, where 80 percent of the general population between 20 and 24 hold a high school diploma, high school graduates lag far behind with 55 percent in Ankara and only 35 percent in the eastern provinces. The system seems to reward only a few while ignoring the rest. Whereas the proportion of ages three to five in formal preschooling is 100 percent in France, 80 percent in Denmark and Japan, 60 percent in Bulgaria, 35 percent in Morocco, 20 percent in Georgia and Indonesia, it only amounts to 15 percent in Turkey. Accession to the European Union has been made contingent on a new national policy aimed at achievement targets of 80 percent by 2015 and decreasing student/teacher ratios to below 25 students per teacher. Emphasis is to be placed on teacher education and education of girls and poor children in order to prevent them from becoming "Europe's underclass."

Turkey has a public health care system that serves many of the poorest relatively well. Data on life expectancy for both sexes and on infant mortality reflect its general effectiveness, and even in poor areas there appears to be little evidence of gross inadequacies in health care. The maternal mortality rate per live birth is comparable to that of Eastern Europe, with 81 percent of births being attended by trained personnel (compared to 67 percent in the region and 57 percent as the world average). In 2003 Turkey had 1.4 doctors per 1,000 people, compared to 2.2 in New Zealand and the United Kingdom, 2.4 in the United States, and 2.5 in Portugal. One other factor contributing to public health, often less operative in more affluent societies, is the prevalence of healthy diets and the low consumption of junk foods and sugary drinks. In 1998 the per capita meat consumption in Turkey was half the world average figure (38 kg/a) which in turn is considerably lower than the consumption in rich Western countries. Another factor is the generally high standard of personal hygiene. Among the negative factors is the prevalence of daily smokers, 32.1 percent in 2003, compared to 17.5 percent in the United States, 24 percent in Germany, and 26 percent in the United Kingdom. Protection against secondary smoke is still uncommon in public places.

What little information is available on the status of the HIV/AIDS pandemic in Turkey suggests a relatively low incidence. Only 0.1 percent of adults aged 15 to 65 are infected, compared to 1.2 percent worldwide (WRI 2006). Similarly, the incidence of avian influenza strain H5 has so far been relatively sporadic.

The distribution of household income is indicative of a considerable level of socioeconomic development. In 2000 only 2.3 percent of the population fell into the lowest decile while fully 30.7 percent belonged to the highest decile. Only 8 percent of children were underweight in 2002, compared to 15 percent in the region and 27 percent in the world. Yet the fact that 20 percent of the population are situated below the poverty line suggests that the overall level of affluence in Turkey lies much below that of, say, European countries. On the other hand, the absence of consumption by itself is not necessarily experienced as poverty, and its correlation with unhappiness is even more tenuous (Inglehart and Klingemann 2000). From a human security perspective, therefore, variables other than economic ones play a more decisive role in the assessment of the overall security of the population.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

For the past millennium, since the days of the Byzantine Empire, the region has enjoyed an official policy of religious tolerance and bridging cultural differences while Turkish society was dominated by the Muslim faith. At times those policies stood in stark contrast to the religious wars, persecution, and bigotry that periodically ravaged Europe and the Middle East. As a consequence of the intensive modernization under the Atatürk regime from 1923, Turkey transformed from an Islamic state into a secular state in 1928. Since 1982 a secular, republican constitution has been in effect. However, the public administration and its legal basis are based mainly on the French model. This means that ethnicity is not used as a criterion for citizenship. A new constitution containing major reforms intended to help ease Turkey's passage into the European Union was approved in October 2001. The unicameral parliament is called the Grand National Assembly, consisting now of 550 seats. The electoral period for parliament is five years. Parliamentary elections are mixed member proportional with a threshold of 10 percent.

The president (currently Mr. Ahmet Necdet Sezer since May 16, 2000) is elected every seven years by the National Assembly (voters in an October 2007 referendum though supported plans to have future presidents elected by the people instead of parliament). The cabinet (Council of Ministers) is appointed by the president on the nomination of the prime minister. The prime minister is appointed by the president from parliament.

The ruling Justice and Development Party carry a majority in parliament and pursue a moderate course of liberal reform. It is considered a conservative party, and since 1950 the country has been dominated by conservative parties. Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's government was elected on November 3, 2002, although he could only become prime minister after he won a parliamentary seat in a special provincial rerun in 2003. As of December 1, 2005, his party holds 357 seats of 550 (34.3 percent of the popular vote). The main opposition party, the Republican People's Party (CHP) received 154 seats (19.4 percent). It represents the political right in terms of Kemalist values or republicanism. Kemalist republicanism is described by the "six arrows" of republicanism, populism, secularism, reformism, nationalism, and statism.

Fourty-seven other parties existed at the time of the election but they did not make the 10 percent threshold of the party vote. Those that won seats are Anavatan 22, DYP (True Path Party) 4, SHP (Social Democratic People's Party) 4, HYP (People's Rise Party) 1, independent 4, and 4 vacant seats. The Turkish Green Party was formed in 1988 but was closed down by the constitutional court in 1994. The Party for Socialist Power became the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP) in 2001, in violation of a law prohibiting parties from using the word "communist" in their names. It campaigns openly under its new name.

Voter participation in the last parliamentary elections was 79 percent. Seven major trade unions and two business associations are politically active at the national level. Many Turks appear to harbor strong nationalistic feelings and find it difficult to reconcile them with any explicit critique of the government or of the political system. Often political interest is expressed in terms of affection. After a judge was assassinated in May 2006 by an Islamic fundamentalist, tens of thousands attended a march and his funeral in Ankara demonstrating for the continued adherence to the Kemalist ideal of separation between religion and government. This secularism serves as a significant source of political stability, and the majority of Turkish society evidently supports it.

Since the proclamation of the Turkish republic on October 29, 1923, the tensions between ethnic diversity and Turkish nationalism have dominated Turkey's political agenda. The Atatürk regime addressed this problem through the mass exchange of ethnic populations with Greece after the Turkish war of independence (1918–1923) and the subsequent Treaty of Lausanne (1923), as well as through repressive policies towards Armenian and Kurdish minorities in the country's east and southeast. Successive governments have regarded internal displacement alternately as a problem and a solution. While the questions about the Armenian genocide are now mainly of historical significance, problems with the Kurdish population remain at the forefront of the political agenda. The Kurdish minority in the country's southeast suffers from a lack of schooling, poor health care, and an absence of policies for regional economic development. The forced displacement of entire families from villages in the region has created an internal refugee problem, exacerbated by the presence of Kurdish refugees from Northern Iraq. The presence of sizeable Kurdish minorities in Turkey's large cities has contributed in converting the Kurdish problem from a regional to a national one. On April 1, 2006, renewed clashes between demonstrators and police in southeast Turkey resulted in eight people, including three children, killed by random police bullets. Prime Minister Erdoğan glibly warned parents not to send their children out on the streets "as pawns of terrorists" (*BBC News* 2006). Clearly there are deficiencies in the government's attitude towards the security of its citizens. By April 3, the unrest had spread to Istanbul while the death toll reached 15. The issue of problematic ethnic policies will continue to plague Turkish politics for the foreseeable future.

LAW AND ORDER

Turkey uses a civil law system similar to those of several European countries. Elements of the Swiss, German, French, and Italian legal codes were adopted into

a unified system of civil and military courts, each with a Court of Appeal in Ankara. The Council of State is the highest administrative tribunal. A constitutional court reviews the constitutionality of laws, and a court of cassation acts as a final court of appeal. Law enforcement is the duty of the National Police, regional *jandarma*, and special departments such as the Coast Guard. Most of the armed and uniformed security personnel that one encounters on the streets of Istanbul belong to private security organizations. They, as well as the municipal police, are courteous to tourists and natives alike but are treated with careful respect. This differs from the situation in outlying areas where ethnic minorities are often confronted with military security forces that have little interest in community welfare. Turks tend to regard their legal system with a mixture of fatalism and opportunism; corruption is usually taken for granted but is rarely blatant. The age-old tradition of trading favors is tempered by a moral code that emphasizes personal and professional honor, social hierarchy, and courtesy. This moral code is sometimes exploited by officials in prosecuting political critics on the pretext of having been publicly insulted by them.

Between 1984 and 1991, the number of prison admissions doubled. This was almost entirely due to new "special laws" against terrorism, illegal political activity and "thought crimes." In 1991 those laws were repealed which resulted in over 20,000 discharges that year. Apart from the political area, crimes against property, against individuals, and against "public decency and family order" are thought to have risen as a result of rapid urbanization and the weakening of traditional social controls in poor urban areas (*gecekondus*). The incidence of crime is low compared to most countries in Europe and the Middle East, although it has been increasing since the 1980s. Statistics on crime, even the ones published by the Ministry of Justice, seem unreliable (AllRefer 2006).

The three most notable types of crimes in Turkey are trafficking in humans, in narcotics, and money laundering. Money laundering operations have increased in Turkey because the enforcement of laws has lagged behind (CIA 2006). Turkey's role as both a way station and a final destination for human trafficking has become a growing problem during the past decade, owing to the acute poverty of the post-Soviet countries to the North and the wars and ecological devastation in the Persian Gulf and Afghanistan. Organized crime has moved into this lucrative business since drug trafficking attracts heavy penalties. The trade in small weapons has received some support through the activities of separatist organizations such as the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK).

Despite heavy penalties, Turks are involved in the international narcotics trade (mostly hashish and heroin) to a major extent. The country's geographical situation predestines it as a key transit point on the supply route of heroin from Southwest Asia to Europe, with laboratories for the processing of morphine base operating in remote areas as well as in Istanbul. Only very little of those narcotics are consumed domestically. Some legal cultivation and processing of opium poppies is carried out under strict government controls. In spite of Turkey's efforts, it is believed that little of the heroin passing through the country is seized because of insufficient staff to screen cargoes adequately, particularly at the key transfer point of Istanbul.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

In Turkey, day-to-day decisions on foreign policy lie mainly in the hands of the Foreign Ministry, headed by Abdullah Gul at the time of writing. Ultimate responsibility rests with the prime minister who receives advisory input from diverse sources, including foreign missions, research institutions, intelligence agencies, and others. The military seems no longer to be involved in this decision-making process (AllRefer 2006). The two most formative developments on Turkish foreign policy have been the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the Gulf Wars.

Fortunately for the losing colonial powers of Versailles (Turkey, Germany, Austria, Hungary), they also lost their obligations to their former colonial holdings, whereas the winning colonial powers (United Kingdom and France) continued to be plagued with the numerous challenges of organizing the political futures of their former colonies, and to this day they are confronted with the political fallout from their errors and the failings of those postcolonial settlements. Thus, Turkey remains relatively unencumbered by the problems of its former possessions in the Middle East, North Africa, and the Balkans. The downside of giving up most of the territorial components of the Ottoman empire and losing almost all of the Aegean islands to Greece is manifested in the so-called Sèvres Syndrome which has tainted most Turkish people's perceptions of national security. Named after the 1920 treaty that was to seal the loss of such territories as Thrakia, Izmir, and Kurdistan, it refers to the paranoid conviction that one's neighbors are united in their desire to grab one's territory. The treaty of Sèvres was vehemently rejected by Atatürk's republicans and it was never ratified. Instead his successful conductance of the war of independence created new political realities and allowed Atatürk to renegotiate Turkey's national boundaries from a position of strength. As a result, the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne nullified those severe territorial sacrifices, and in return Turkey renounced all territorial claims outside its current boundaries, agreed to a large-scale exchange of populations with Greece, and guaranteed certain rights to its remaining ethnic minorities. Nevertheless, the complex territorial disputes with Greece are ongoing and the situations of ethnic minorities remain problematic.

Another troublesome legacy of World War I lies in the relationship with Armenia. Since the crisis between Armenia and Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh, the border has been closed. Turkey refrained from supporting Azerbaijan militarily which contributed to a regime change in Azerbaijan and a cooling of relations between Turkey and Azerbaijan after the Armenian military successes of 1992–1993. Early in 2006 Turkey withdrew its ambassadors to Canada and France over proposed laws in those countries outlawing the denial of the Armenian genocide. In France the law was passed in October 2006. In further retaliation Turkish legislators proposed a bill outlawing the denial that the French committed genocide in Algeria. Relations with Armenia remain strained. A conference on the role of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire which was planned in the 1990s was officially forbidden. The Turkish Armenian Reconciliation Council lost a golden opportunity for initiating a change when it succumbed to mutual ignorance and resolved to continue the state of mutual isolation. On the Armenian side, three entities affect the reconciliation process: the Armenian Turks, the Armenian state, and,

most importantly, the Armenian Diaspora which lends support to anti-Turkish activities worldwide.

The goal of EU accession has dominated the foreign policies of successive Turkish administrations. A majority of the country's business community appears to concur, even though the economic consequences for Turkey remain far from clear. Turkey's efforts towards a closer integration with the European Union have been met with little cooperation from the European side. Assessing Turkey's opportunities within the European Union, against its future as an independent partner outside the European Union, or as part of another alliance, depends on value priorities that are usually left implicit and unquestioned. Further complications arise from the widespread mutual ignorance about each other's cultures. Turkey became an associated member of the European Community in 1964. Its application for membership was finalized in 1987 and it was recognized as a candidate for membership in 1999. A customs union has been in effect since 1995. Negotiations for membership began on October 3, 2005, but accession is not expected before 2015. Reservations within the European Union against Turkey's accession are based on its Muslim religion, low per capita income, poor educational performance, and large population. The 56th meeting of the Turkey-EU Joint Parliamentary Commission took place on May 3–5, 2006, focussing on European identity and values, freedom of expression, and cultural values in a possible Turkish member state.

Turkey's membership in NATO (since 1952) was of extreme strategic importance during the Cold War. From 1961 to 1963 NATO stationed intermediate range strategic nuclear missiles near Izmir. They were withdrawn as part of the resolution of the Cuba Missile Crisis, and no nuclear weapons have been stationed on Turkish soil since. Turkey signed the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in 1996 and the Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1973. There are no plans to harness nuclear power either for military or for civilian use (Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists 2005):

> Military assistance has been an intrinsic feature of the defense relationship between Turkey and the United States. Between 1950 and 1991, the United States provided military assistance valued at US$9.4 billion, of which about US$6.1 billion was in grant form and US$3.3 billion was on a concessional loan basis. At the height of the Cyprus Crisis relations with the US deteriorated and military cooperation and aid were temporarily diminished. In recent years, assistance again gradually decreased and was mainly given in the form of loans. Throughout the 1990s Turkey nevertheless was the third largest recipient of United States military aid, after Israel and Egypt.
>
> (AllRefer 2006)

Today Turkey contributes the second largest armed force to NATO in terms of strength and combat potential. NATO still operates an air base in Incirlik, 750 kilometers southeast of Istanbul, home of the USAF 39th air base wing. The significance of Turkey's NATO membership has shifted in the light of the Gulf Wars and the continuing tensions with Greece. Since 1974 the political future of Cyprus has constituted a significant "intermestic" challenge to the relationship between the two neighbors. The "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' is recognized only by Turkey and is stabilized by Turkish troops stationed there (in 2002, some

25,000–30,000), defying diplomatic efforts by the United States and the United Nations to dislodge them. A plebiscite in 2004 in south Cyprus initiated its accession to the European Union and effectively prevented a reunification of the island. Among the Black Sea countries Turkey's role has grown into a position of regional leadership. This is augmented by a strategic rapprochement with Russia. The history of military aid for the Turkish republic dates back to 1920. A new stage of bilateral military cooperation began in 1992 with substantial military supplies coming from Moscow, and again in 1994 with an agreement on military-technical and defense industry cooperation. A joint commission for this purpose was established in 2001. Further intensification of Russian military supplies (which now are produced to meet NATO specifications) to the Turkish forces is hotly contested by competing American suppliers. Cooperation on a wide scale was planned in a December 2005 agreement on the occasion of a visit by President Vladimir Putin. Turkey now receives more than $200 million of Russian arms per year.

Because of its security concerns towards the Kurdish sub-state in northern Iraq, Turkey now has more than 200,000 troops stationed along its Iraq border, more than the entire U.S. force in Iraq. In March 1995 Turkey mounted a major attack against Kurdish support bases in Northern Iraq, penetrating 40 kilometers into the UN protection zone. Ankara has requested the United States to carry out a further military strike against PKK installations in northern Iraq, implicitly asking them to once again abandon their principle of political self-determination. Foreign Minister Gul announced in October 2006 that Turkey was prepared to "do whatever is necessary" to address the threat of Kurdish infiltration from northern Iraq and he explicitly included unilateral action as a possibility, should the Coalition and the Iraqi government fail to lend sufficient support (*Newsweek*, October 9, 2006, 60). Tensions between Turkey and Iraq escalated during late 2007 with the parliament in October 2007 giving permission for military operations in Iraq to pursue Kurdish rebels.

One continuing challenge for Turkey's foreign policy arising from this context is the possibility for conflicts of influence arising from its membership in various alliances, its leadership in the Black Sea region, and its role as potential mediator.

Turkey is a member of the following international organizations:

- AsDB (Asian Development Bank)
- Australia Group
- BIS (Bank for International Settlements)
- BSEC (Black Sea Economic Cooperation)
- CE (Council of Europe)
- CERN (European Organization for Nuclear Research) (observer)
- EAPC (Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council)
- EBRD (European Bank for Reconstruction and Development)
- ECO (Economic Cooperation Organization)
- EU (European Union) (applicant)
- FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization)
- IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency)

- IBRD (World Bank)
- ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization)
- ICC (International Criminal Court)
- ICFTU (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions)
- IDA (International Development Association)
- International Energy Agency (IEA)
- International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)
- International Finance Corporation (IFC)
- International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent (IFRCS)
- International Hydrographic Organization (IHO)
- International Labor Organization (ILO)
- International Maritime Organization (IMO)
- International Monetary Fund (IMF)
- International Olympic Committee (IOC)
- International Organization for Migration (IOM)
- International Organization for Standardization (ISO)
- International Telecommunications Union (ITU)
- Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU)
- Interpol
- Islamic Development Bank (IDB)
- Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA)
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
- Nuclear Energy Agency (NEA)
- Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG)
- OAS (Organization of American States) (observer)
- OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development)
- OIC (Organization of the Islamic Conference)
- OPCW (Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons)
- OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe)
- Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA)
- Southeast European Cooperative Initiative (SECI)
- UN (United Nations)
- UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development)
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)
- United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR)
- United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO)
- United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS)
- United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG)
- United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA)
- Universal Postal Union (UPU)

- World Customs Organization (WCO)
- Western European Union (WEU) (associate)
- World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU)
- WHO (World Health Organization)
- World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO)
- World Meteorological Organization (WMO)
- World Tourism Organization (WToO)
- WTO (World Trade Organization)
- The Zangger Committee on Nuclear Proliferation (ZC)

Turkey is also party to the following treaties: Air Pollution, Antarctic Treaty, Biodiversity, Climate Change, Desertification, Endangered Species, Environmental Modification (signed but not ratified), Hazardous Wastes, Ozone Layer Protection, Ship Pollution, and Wetlands. In June 2002, Turkey for a time assumed command of the International Security and Assistance Force in Afghanistan.

SECURITY

Human security can be defined as a comprehensive concept that consists of four broad areas or "pillars" (Lautensach 2006). The first is military/strategic security in the traditional sense but encompasses both internal and external security aspects and incorporates nonviolent means and social justice goals such as basic human rights and dignity. The second pillar is socioeconomic welfare as defined by a balance between per capita affluence and constraints of sustainability. The third pillar is population health which includes minimizing threats of disease to communities, families, and individuals, ensuring minimum complements of safe fresh water and adequate nutrition, as well as considerations of mental health. Fourth, the security of ecological support structures represents an essential requirement for human security and lends fundamental support to the other three pillars. It includes the sustainable health of ecosystems that function as sources for raw materials and energy and as sinks for waste processing and necessitates considerations of sufficiency, respect for natural limits, and safety from natural disasters.

In the past century, two of those pillars gave rise to significant security threats for Turkey. With regard to public health, the devastating impacts of several earthquakes reminded the nation of the geological realities underlying their land. Civil defense mechanisms are in place but could be considerably improved, considering that this threat will persist and cannot be addressed at its root cause. After the last major earthquake in Istanbul, major relief was contributed by Greece which significantly improved bilateral relations.

The other major source of insecurity for Turkey in the past century lay in its external military/strategic context. Initially, the threat to its national sovereignty during the war of independence was mitigated by the Treaty of Lausanne 1923 and the republican reforms. During the Cold War the country once again became the focus of global power politics. Even though that threat has now subsided, the ongoing tensions in the Middle East continue to give rise to security concerns with

grave ramifications for Turkey's internal security. The most significant threat to internal civil security for Turkey comes from its inability to address the concerns of the Kurdish minority. Listed as a terrorist organization by a number of states (including the United States and European Union in 2004), the PKK (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan; its original name was APOCUS Ankara Democratic Patriotic Association of Higher Education) emerged in the 1970s and has been mostly active in the Southeast since 1984. Over 37,000 people have been killed since then in clashes between Kurds and government forces. The ban on the public use of the Kurdish language was only lifted in the 1990s. The PKK is thought to acquire part of its funding through the drug trade. It received some support from Syria, Iran, Greece and Greek Cyprus, and Warsaw Pact countries during the Cold War. Its leader Abdullah Öçalan has been incarcerated since 1999 (his capture may have been facilitated on a tip from Mossad) which has led to a drastic reduction of PKK activities until the upsurge in April 2006. In 1999 the PKK changed its name to KGK (Kongra-Gel or People's Congress of Kurdistan) to reflect a move to more peaceful policies, and in February 2000 it announced an end to its 15-year armed struggle. However, the media continue to use the old acronym, and the subsequent increase in violence calls into question to what extent the changes of both name and policy were backed by the organizations' membership. A final appeal against Öçalan's death sentence was rejected on December 20, 1999, but no date has been set for the sentence to be carried out. The European Union has used Turkey's reaction to the PKK as a reason to refuse their membership application. Obstacles are the PKK's electoral failure and the government's refusing an amnesty. In 2004, KGK terminated its cease-fire and violent attacks increased once more. The government has largely succeeded in isolating the PKK and its activities from the larger Kurdish question. Turkey's main Kurdish political party, the DTP (Democratic Society Party) is committed to nonviolence.

Considering the area of environmental security, the potential threats to most countries from climate change seem much more significant than possible military-strategic predicaments (UNEP-MAB 2005; Dobkowski and Walliman 2002). This is because the former affect all four "pillars" of human security in the long-term sense—economic, health-related, environmental, and political security. Arguably the greatest threat to countries worldwide would arise from a sudden movement of the Western Antarctic ice mass into the sea which would elevate sea levels by up to 30 meters within a time scale of weeks. A second major threat lies in the possibility of abrupt climate change as in the case of a disruption of the Gulf Stream. Direct effects from either of those events on Turkey will be minor because of its small amounts of coastal lowlands and its favorable geographical position. However, the likely migration pressures could prove destabilizing. Possible sources of external pressure include the vast population of the Nile delta and some countries of continental Europe that may no longer remain inhabitable. While many analysts may consider the ramifications of such possibilities too hard to think about, it seems worthwhile not to exclude them from discussion. Turkey's capacity to shelter large refugee populations could be considerable, as long as the political and economic contingencies are taken into account in current development efforts. This would include greater self-sufficiency in food production, more proactive and

preventive emphasis in health care, and a robust system of civil order that protects democratic freedoms and the rule of law.

A significant threat to Turkey's economic security emerges from the uncertain future of the energy sector. For the near future Turkey seems in a favorable position with regards to present oil pathways, especially with the completion in 2006 of the pipeline from Baku which bypasses Russia. Future pathways of gas transport from Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan via a trans-Aegean network to Greece and Italy also contribute to Turkey's energy security. However, supplies of petroleum and even natural gas will wane in a few decades. As for all countries, the challenges associated with weaning national economies from their dependency on petroleum can be managed if tackled in a timely fashion. These challenges not only affect energy security, which for Turkey represents less of a challenge than for many other countries, but also other aspects of human security. Solar water heating is already common practice today, even in more remote areas. Provisions of electricity will be secure in the long term because of abundant solar radiation. In the short and medium terms, however, the transition could be painful, especially if it combines with severe environmental disruptions. Turkey's dependence on petroleum-based fertilizers is less of a problem than for most other countries as its production of organic foodstuffs is thriving. Moreover, many rural communities have never ceased being locally self-sufficient with regards to their food supply. One local threat to human security that needs to be addressed lies in the poor regional economic conditions which cause a loss of local identity as a result of outmigration.

The risk of pandemics is becoming more significant for all countries as populations grow, global connections intensify, and human mobility increases. For Turkey, the latest threat from avian influenza seems to have passed but the events illustrate the need for greater attention to proactive and preventive measures in health care, as well as better planning and preparedness for national health care emergencies such as the inevitable earthquakes. When the next pandemic arrives, isolation will not be an option but cooperation with FAO, WHO, and CDC (Center for Disease Control) will be essential. Generally, the Turkish population enjoys an acceptable degree of health and life expectancy compared to many more industrialized countries.

Turkey's future supply of fresh water and sanitation seems relatively secure compared to other countries within the region. Its fraction of irrigated land has been increasing rapidly over the past decade. Because Turkey controls the headwaters of the Euphrates-Tigris system and is likely to make use of them as its needs require, conflicts with Syria and Iraq over fresh water resources appear inevitable. The timely implementation of sound practices of watershed management will help offset such tensions. At the same time, the supply of fresh water will set the limits for Turkey's aspirations of future growth of its economy and population. Between 2001 and 2004, per capita fresh water consumption and generation of liquid waste water increased by 3 to 4 percent (Turkstat 2006).

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The role of the military as the guarantor of democracy and republican (Kemalist) values distinguish contemporary Turkey from many other countries in the region

as well as from its own past. The one-party system was abolished in 1946 with the founding of the Democratic Party which promptly won the 1950 election. Since then the military has seized political power three times (1960, 1971, and 1980). Its professed objectives each time were to restore order and to repair imbalances of power before handing political power back to civilian authorities. In 1997 the military again contributed to the ouster of the then Islamist-oriented administration. While the state has given its citizens the freedom to escape from or to differentiate within the Muslim label, it does not guarantee the individual the right to freely express one's religious beliefs in public life. The debate about head scarves at universities is one example. Polygamy is not recognized by the constitution but is still practiced in the more outlying areas. The same goes for "honor killings" which are officially condemned but still occur with some frequency. Full political rights for women including suffrage were granted in 1934, enshrined by an equal rights article in the constitution (Art. 10). Turkey was one of the first countries with a female prime minister (Tansu Çiller) and a female chief justice (Tülay Tuğcu). Yet only 4 percent of the members of parliament are women. One problem the state faces is that its efforts to prosecute polygamy, violence against women, forced marriages, and honor killings inevitably become directed primarily against the more conservative Kurdish sector, which then attracts the accusation of racism and cultural imperialism. Abortion is illegal as well and is seldom even discussed.

The press and other media are relatively free of censorship, even though the non-Turkish language press enjoys considerably less freedom than the Turkish language press. Publication and broadcasting in languages other than Turkish was illegal until recently, and nontertiary education in such languages still is. Pressure has been exerted by the European Union on Turkish authorities to relax their harsh interpretation of criminal defamation laws used to prosecute journalists who criticize official policies. Approximately 60 writers, publishers, and journalists were brought before the courts in Turkey in 2005 on charges of defamation. Overall, the Turkish governments still practice a much more restrictive media policy than is common in other secular states, particularly in Europe.

Turkey is a member of the European Court of Human Rights although Turkey does not recognize in its entirety the ratified European Convention on Human Rights. This means that the activities of organizations promoting the rights of ethnic minorities remain constrained. The situation of such minorities in Turkey is further compromised by the official emphasis on the principle of constitutional citizenship which does not recognize ethnicity as a basis for citizenship. Thus the concept of ethnic minority is not recognized under the Turkish legal system. This causes difficulties for reforms towards a more equitable treatment of the disenfranchised along the lines suggested by the European Union.

As in all countries in the region, child labor remains a pressing human rights issue. Approximately 10 percent of children 6–17 (twice as many boys as girls) are employed overall to help their families' income. However, the number of 6–14 year olds has decreased from 8.5 percent in 1994 to 4.2 percent in 1999 (ILO 2006). In 1992 Turkey was one of six countries that decided to undertake direct action to combat child labor under the International Program for the Elimination of Child Labor. The program reached approximately 50,000 children, 60 percent of whom

were subsequently withdrawn from work and placed in schools. The remainder benefited from improved working conditions and health, nutrition, and vocational training services.

In 2002 Turkey abolished the death penalty in response to pressure from the European Union. However, Turkey is the only state among the 46 members of the Council of Europe that still refuses to recognize the status of conscientious objectors or to offer them an alternative to military service.

Problems with the treatment of political activists, women's rights, and child labor were mentioned above. A recent report by the U.S. State Department (2006) further highlighted the failings of Turkey's penal system in recognizing basic human rights. It lists torture, beatings, and other abuses of persons by security forces, poor prison conditions, arbitrary detention, lengthy pretrial detention, and excessively long trials.

Notwithstanding those shortfalls, some Turks have indicated that the treatment of citizens by Turkish police has improved somewhat during the past decade, whereas the opposite was claimed about the treatment of Turks by European customs officials. Turkish academics have assured us that they have never felt their professional freedom to be excessively curtailed by government policies; their approval was particularly strengthened in the light of the recent restrictions on academic freedom enacted in the United States.

A controversial anti-terror bill was approved on June 22, 2006, that points at new potential human rights violations in the future. The bill provides tougher penalties for publicizing declarations from terrorist groups and for disclosing the identity of those involved in combating terrorists. Financing terrorism is considered equivalent to committing it. A suspect's time in custody can be extended if there is any risk of an ongoing investigation being jeopardized. Increased state protection for witnesses and investigators is also provided. Notably, acts of non-armed fundamentalist organizations were not included in the bill's definition of terrorist crimes, an exception that was adopted against the opposition of the CHP. It seems that a considerable segment of Turkish society not only has confidence in the government's anti-terror policies but advocates even stronger measures.

CONCLUSION

A recent Pew Research Institute survey revealed that only 12 percent of Turks have a favorable view of the United States as opposed to 23 percent in 2005. Conversely, the Council on Foreign Relations (a U.S. think-tank) released a blueprint entitled "Generating Momentum for a new Era in U.S.-Turkey Relations" in which the significance of Turkey as an ally was emphasized in the light of the "growing schism between the West and the Islamic World" (Council on Foreign Relations 2006). Officially, since their fallout over the Iraq war in 2003, no successful effort at rapprochement has been made by either side. High-level visits by U.S. military officials and the associated rhetoric are ongoing. As recently as June 23, 2006, U.S. President George W. Bush during the one-day U.S.-EU summit in Vienna spoke out in favor of Turkey's membership in the European Union but did not expand on his motives for this recommendation.

The areas of international development and human security have been dominated by a fundamental conflict between the advocates of full-scale economic development whose agenda are embodied in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (Sachs and McArthur 2005), and those who caution that additional growth will only serve to aggravate the world's problems. The latter position is embodied in the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (UNEP-MAB 2005). In view of the footprint data, the reality of Turkey's overshoot seems difficult to deny, and the fact that it exceeds the world average by a significant margin should give cause for concern. The UN Millennium Project (2005) suggested four broad explanations why some regions are failing to meet the MDGs and why some goals are not being met almost anywhere. They are poor governance, poverty traps, persistent pockets of poverty, and policy neglect. While their analysis suffered from a fatal neglect of regional carrying capacity, those four explanations can nevertheless be applied to Turkey's situation. Based on the observations here it is the area of policy neglect that clearly emerges as the main obstacle to improving human security in Turkey.

Synthesizing those two observations, the greatest potential for improving Turkey's human security situation lies in the development and implementation of policies that are designed to decrease the country's footprint. Three major strategic avenues towards this goal are suggested. First, a major contribution to decrease wastage and environmental impact would be the establishment of more efficient waste processing schemes, accompanied by the reduction in disposable packaging and the improvement in the quality of fresh water. There is no obvious reason why the citizens of a country in Turkey's situation should obtain their drinking water from plastic bottles. Second, data from 1998 (WRI 2006) indicate that the per capita consumption of key resources such as petrol, meat, and paper was significantly below the world average even then. If the increases in consumption that resulted in the inflation of the country's footprint were in fact caused by relatively recent misguided policies it may be possible to reverse them again without too much sacrifice. A recommendation, then, is to reexamine recent economic policies along those lines and to redirect them accordingly. Third, the gradual rapprochement with Greece has provided Turkey with an opportunity to reduce its military expenditures. Such a reduction will be indispensable if the national debt is to be reduced.

How do those strategic security goals relate to the administration's primary foreign policy objective, Turkey's accession to the European Union? The first of those strategic goals, as well as continued improvement of public health, could be pursued more effectively and more safely in association with the European Union, as is occurring now in new member countries. In contrast, the second goal, redirecting economic policy away from merely increasing individual consumption, appears more difficult to achieve for a European Union member in view of empirical data about recent additions to the Union. The third goal, reducing military expenditures, is not contingent on either independence or EU membership. Surely the task of defending a European border in the Transcaucasus, Mesopotamia, and on the Iranian Highlands would amount to an exorbitant military effort. It would be neither advantageous nor even possible for Turkey to function as a border state

for the European Union in that capacity without a concerted and major military contribution from the Union. Pending such a commitment the goal of reducing its own military expenditure may still remain within reach for Turkey.

Based on this assessment it is considered conducive to Turkey's human security situation if its efforts to accede to the European Union were met with a more cooperative and welcoming attitude from the European side. While joining the European Union as a full member will undoubtedly change Turkey in many ways, some irreversible and some less than desirable, it is the human security priorities outlined above that tilt the balance towards joining the European Union.

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Uganda

Andrew K. Gray

BACKGROUND

Uganda is a landlocked country in eastern Africa. It shares a common border with Sudan to the north with a 435-kilometer border; the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) to the west with a border of 756 kilometers; Rwanda and Tanzania to the southwest with borders of 169 kilometers and 396 kilometers, respectively; and Kenya to the east with a 933-kilometers border (CIA 2006). Uganda comprises 241,547 square kilometers of territory (Turner 2006). Some of Uganda's borders run across significant water bodies, some of which are part of the Nile river basin. Lake Victoria's surface is controlled by Uganda (49 percent), Tanzania (45 percent), and Kenya (6 percent). Overall, 18 percent of Uganda's surface area is water, representing an abundant strategic resource. Despite this, drought still occurs in some areas.

The nation is divided into four geographical regions (central, eastern, northern, and western). The regions are made up of 56 administrative districts. Kampala is the capital city (Turner 2006). Uganda is mostly plateau with a rim of mountains. The climate is tropical, although altitude prevents the higher temperatures that would be expected in a country dissected by the equator. Generally the weather is rainy with two dry seasons (December–February; June–August). It is semiarid in the northeast (CIA 2006). In terms of land use, Uganda has an agricultural area of 12.3 million hectares, about 62 percent of the total land area. Of the agricultural area 41.4 percent is arable land, 17.1 percent is planted in permanent crops, and 41.5 percent is permanent pasture. In terms of natural resources, copper, cobalt, limestone, limonite, and volcanic ash are extracted.

Regarding natural disasters, during the El Niño period from 1997 to 1998 severe flooding occurred. Approximately 1,525 people died and 150,000 were forced to leave their homes. The floods caused damage to road infrastructure estimated at a value of $400 million and destroyed crops worth hundreds of millions (Ben 2005). Uganda's climate change policy focuses on modernization of agriculture, sustainable development of forestry, improved water management, and reduction

Uganda

Formal name of country: Republic of Uganda.
Size of country: 241,547 sq km
Natural resources: Copper, cobalt, limestone, limonite, volcanic ash, and water
Population: 28.2 million (2006 est.).
Life expectancy at birth: 48 years (2004)
Key ethnic groups:

- Baganda
- Banyanko
- Basogo
- Batoro
- Nubians
- Bakedi
- Langi
- Acholi
- Bagisu

Key religions: Roman Catholicism, Protestant, Islam, and traditional religions
Political system: Ostensibly a multiparty democracy since 2005
Key political groups/parties:

- National Resistance Movement Organization
- Forum for Democratic Change
- Democratic Party
- Ugandan People's Congress

Legal system: Based on 1995 Constitution
Real GDP growth: 5.6% (2005)
Population below poverty line: 85% living on under $1 a day (1993–2004)
Size of military: 46,800 active military and paramilitary personnel
Relationship with the United States: The George W. Bush administration has been generally supportive of the Museveni regime. There is scope for increased cooperation with the United States, especially in the context of regional security.
Important human security issues: The war with the Christian fundamentalist terrorist group Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) is the foremost security concern, especially as it has a regional dimension. Other issues are AIDS, internally displaced people, refugees, abject poverty, lack of economic development, democratization, corruption, and uneven distribution of wealth.
Future important security issues: The issues above remain largely unresolved and will influence Uganda's future. The status of the relationship between the government and LRA and the implications of the International Criminal Court (ICC) indictment against the group are important issues for the near future. Other issues include encouraging economic development, expansion of infrastructure, increasing energy capacity, and the prospect of competition over water.

of the impact of livestock on grasslands. Although the threat of seismic activity is not generally considered serious, an earthquake on February 5, 1994, killed seven people and caused approximately $70 million in damage (NGDC 2006).

The Kingdom of Buganda originated around 1500. Between 1860 and 1892 British explorers, entrepreneurs, and Christian missionaries moved into the area. Britain established a protectorate in Uganda in 1894, followed by the signing of the Agreement with the Baganda in 1901. The agreement gave the Baganda autonomy. The preferential treatment of the British enabled the Baganda to develop at the expense of other tribes, encouraging interethnic animosity. Northerners came to dominate the army. By 1913 Britain was the foremost power in the area roughly represented by Uganda today. In 1962 Uganda became an independent country and in 1963 it became a republic. Milton Obote became prime minister. In 1966 Obote ended the autonomy of Buganda and came to rely increasingly on the army to exercise political power. The army divided into a pro-Obote faction (consisting of northerners) and another in support of Idi Amin (ethnically Nilotic). In 1971, while Obote was abroad, Amin carried out a coup d'état. Amin ruled from 1971 to 1979 through the Democratic Party (pro-Catholic; pro-Buganda). Amin's forces massacred northerners, resulting in the deaths of 300,000 people by the end of his regime. Up to 60,000 Asians, mostly Indians, and also Israelis were expelled in an effort to rid the nation of foreign influence. Tanzania invaded Uganda in 1979, which rallied anti-Amin factions under the banner of the Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF). Amin fled the country. Northerners in the UNLF carried out massacres in West Nile, Amin's base of political support. Turmoil followed from which Milton Obote emerged as president after rigged elections in 1980 saw the victory of the Uganda People's Congress (generally Protestant). Obote's second regime (1980–1985) was defined by state-terror and one-party rule. Between 1984 and 1985 the massacre of Baganda resulted in the deaths of between 300,000 and 500,000 people. A rebel group, the National Resistance Army, took up a fight against the government. In 1986 the NRA established government and transformed into a ''movement'' which has held power since. The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) is the main armed opposition group.

SOCIETY

Uganda's estimated population in July 2006 was 28.2 million (CIA 2006). Uganda has experienced sustained high growth rates. This is reflected in the population projection for 2050 of 133 million (U.S. Census Bureau 2005). Population density in 2004 was 141 per square kilometer. Kampala, the nation's capital and largest city, has 1.21 million inhabitants. Between 1950 and 2000 Kampala experienced an average population growth rate of 6.5 percent. The annual average growth rate of the urban population was 3.9 percent in the period 1990–2004. Indeed, as of 2004 only 12 percent of the population was urbanized. Life expectancy, negatively affected by HIV/AIDS over time, was 48 years in 2004. The annual population growth rate in recent decades has remained steady at 3.2 percent during the period 1970–2004. Around 64 percent of the population is under the age of 18.

Uganda consists of 20 main tribes. The nine largest African ethnic groups are Baganda, Banyanko, Basogo, Batoro, Nubians, Bakedi, Langi, Acholi, and Bagisu. The Kabaka (king) of Buganda is Ronald Mutebi II. There is a small Asian and European population, as well as a "sizeable Muslim minority" (FCO 2006).

Uganda is severely challenged by the problems associated with protracted refugee situations and internally displaced people (IDP). The main reason for displacement has been LRA attacks. Estimates state between 1.2 and 1.4 million people were displaced in Uganda in 2006. The government announced in late 2007, however, that it was closing displacement camps due to a perceived improvement in security in the north of the country, and, as a result, had resettled over 400,000 people, especially in the region of Lango (UNHCR 2006, Kwera 2007). Indeed, conditions in camps are miserable. For example, the prevalence of HIV/AIDS is "six times higher" than in the rest of the country (UNHCR 2006, 155).

As of January 1, 2005, there were 215,000 refugees in Uganda. The ongoing milieu of conflict in the region is the major factor explaining their presence. The United Nations announced in late April 2006 that 12,000 of the 36,000 refugees of Sudanese origin in the Moyo district were "registered for return home." Insecurity in the Ituri district (DRC) caused 11,600 refugees to cross Uganda's western border between 1999–2004. Also, Rwandans account for 19,000 of the total refugee population (UNHCR 2006). The Uganda Self-Reliance Strategy incorporates the IDP and refugee challenge as a part of the national development strategy.

Spirituality plays an important role in Uganda, not only in every day life but also as a driving force in various political movements (Taylor 2006). Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism are the main religions with just over 10 million and 9.45 million followers, respectively. There were 1.25 million Muslims in 2001. Traditional beliefs are also common (Turner 2006). The Museveni regime discourages the Church and other religious organizations from making political statements.

Uganda's landlocked nature poses transport challenges. The seaport at Mombasa in Kenya is 1,200 kilometers from Kampala, making container transport highly expensive. The 1,250 kilometers of railway in Uganda is "poorly maintained" (WTO 2002, 71). The Uganda Road Fund (2007), a government body, divides the road network into four main groups: National Roads (10,800 kilometers, of which around 80 percent is gravel surface); district roads (27,500 kilometers); urban roads (4,300 kilometers); and community roads (30,000 kilometers). Media often report on the poor state of roads. Entebbe International Airport is the main international gateway. Five aerodromes are also designated as international entry and exit points. Lastly, Uganda's vast network of waterways could be utilized better for transport.

The telecommunications sector is underdeveloped but some improvements have been observed. As of 2004 telephone density was 0.27. There were approximately 71,600 main telephone lines, six Internet providers, and only 0.75 Internet users per 100 people. In terms of computers there were 0.45 PCs per 100 people. The cellular phone market has grown from around 56,400 subscribers in 1999 to 1.17 million in 2004 (WTO 2002; ITU 2004). The two main newspapers are *The New Vision* (generally pro-government) and *The Monitor* (considered independent). UBC TV (public), WBS (private), and Channel Television (private) are the main

television broadcasters. Six main private radio stations operate as well as the public-run UBC Radio, which controls five stations (*BBC News* 2006a).

The energy sector is underdeveloped. Capacity at 2002 was 283 MW. Wood fuel provides over 90 percent of the nation's energy needs. Petroleum-generated electricity accounts for 5 percent of energy production (Turner 2006, 1628). Indeed the nation "depends heavily on imported petroleum products" (WTO 2002, 62). In June 2006 Hardman Resources announced that quality oil had been discovered at three sites in western Uganda. One well had a flow rate of about 1,500 barrels a day. Hydroelectric schemes generate only 1 percent of energy production. Media report that power cuts are disruptive to economic processes and everyday life.

Uganda is a least developed country (LDC), a UN designation that indicates severely low incomes, pronounced weaknesses in human resources, and marked economic vulnerability. In 2004 its GDP was $7.6 billion. According to the International Monetary Fund, real GDP economic growth in 2005 was 5.6 percent. It is projected to increase to 6.2 percent in 2007. The economy is highly dependent on agriculture. The sector represents around 40 percent of GDP, and more than 90 percent of export earnings (Ben 2006). In terms of employment, 78 percent of Uganda's working population is economically active in agriculture (FAO 2006). As such, the onset of adverse climatic or global economic conditions has the potential of causing major socioeconomic disruption. Industry and services represent 5 percent and 13 percent of the working population, respectively. Tourism is particularly significant in the service sector (WTO 2002). Uganda's main export commodity is coffee, representing 57 percent of international trade earnings in 1999. Although Uganda is seeking to diversify, its dependence on coffee exports makes the economy vulnerable to reductions in world prices and declines in domestic output. Other principal exports are fish and fish products, tea, tobacco, corn, cotton, beans, oil seeds, and animal hides. Main imports are manufactured goods such as chemicals, machinery, and transport equipment.

A privatization program in the 1990s resulted in the sale of state-owned enterprises, earning the government $162 million. Privatization had the effect of attracting foreign direct investment, which totaled $221 million in 1999. Inflation in 2005 ran at 8.4 percent and is estimated to have fallen to around 6 percent in 2007. In the period 2002–2003 approximately 3.2 percent of "currently economically active persons" were unemployed. Youth unemployment was 5.3 percent (UBOS 2006). Further, 34 percent of children between the ages of five and 14 were engaged in child labor in the period 1999–2004 (UNICEF 2006).

The nation has made some progress in decreasing child and infant mortality in absolute terms, but compared to conditions worldwide, the situation in Uganda is bleak. In 2004 mortality in under-five year olds and infants under one year of age was 138 and 80 per 1,000 births, respectively. Improved drinking water sources were available to 56 percent of the total population in 2002 (UNICEF 2006). In terms of access to decent food, 4.6 million people were undernourished in the period 2000 to 2002. In 2002 only 39 percent of the rural population used adequate sanitation facilities; in urban areas 53 percent of the population had access to these. Immunization was statistically impressive in 2004 in some areas. In 2005 an estimated one million people were living with HIV/AIDS. Approximately 91,000

people have died and one million children have been orphaned due to the virus. The government spent $18.8 million from domestic sources to counter HIV/AIDS in 2004 (UNAIDS 2006). The international community has praised Uganda for its HIV/AIDS programs. But recently donors have withheld aid due to dissatisfaction with the government's shortcomings on political reforms. Indeed, in 2002, 91 percent of the population regarded AIDS and disease a "very big" problem. Other diseases pose a serious health risk. Cases of ebola haemorrhagic fever, cholera, tuberculosis, hydrocephalus, malaria, and meningococcal disease were observed in the period 2000–2006. Regarding avian influenza, Dr. Sam Okware, the chairman for the National Task Force for Avian Flu, stated in March 2006 that Uganda had a comprehensive plan in place to deal with a prospective outbreak (Ndawula 2006). About 2 percent of government expenditure has been allocated for health in recent times.

Free primary education was introduced in 1997 under the Universal Primary Education Initiative. The tertiary education sector garnered an average 10 percent of the education budget between 1998 and 2003. Lack of public funding has led to the rise of private higher education institutions. As of 2003 there were 25 private universities and four main public universities (Bidemi 2005). Uganda's adult literacy rate in 2002 was 79 percent for males and 59 percent for females. Youth literacy was 86 percent for females and 74 percent for males. The primary completion rate was 57 percent in 2004 (World Bank 2006). In terms of secondary schools, the gross enrolment ratio was 76 percent for males and 83 percent for females between 2000 and 2004 (UNICEF). Meanwhile, the government announced in June 2006 that the country had enough teachers and was now focusing on improving the quality of education. UNESCO (2006) acknowledged only three months earlier that focusing on quality was prudent, but emphasized that teachers were still overwhelmed by the sheer number of enrolments, and, as such, were unable to provide students the attention they needed to learn effectively. In terms of funding, approximately 15 percent of government expenditure has been allocated for education in recent years.

Lastly, stark consumption disparities are observed in Uganda. In 1999 the poorest 20 percent of the population spent only 5.9 percent of the national expenditure. Meanwhile the richest 20 percent spent 49.7 percent (World Bank 2006). Also, in the period from 1993 to 2004, 85 percent of the population earned less than one dollar a day.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

Uganda has a unicameral parliament consisting of 319 members (statutory number); 215 of these are directly elected and 94 are indirectly elected; 69 of the indirectly elected members must be women. A maximum of 10 nonelected ministers are appointed but they do not have the right to vote on legislation. Parliament is elected through the first-past-the-post electoral system. The president is elected via the two-round system. Suffrage is universal for citizens 18 years of age and over. The term of parliament is five years and the term of presidency is six (IPU 2006a). In 2005 the constitution was revised to remove the two-term limit for presidents, making it possible for President Yoweri Museveni to campaign for the presidency

YOWERI KAGUTA MUSEVENI

Yoweri Kaguta Museveni is Uganda's president and a lieutenant general in the army. He was born between 1944 and 1946 in Ankole, southwestern Uganda. In his early years Christian fundamentalist tendencies became prevalent. He fought guerilla warfare with the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique in the 1960s. In 1971, Museveni went into exile in Tanzania after Idi Amin took control of the country. He returned to Uganda in the aftermath of the Tanzania-Uganda War (1979–1980) but went into the bush after standing as a presidential candidate in the 1980 election, one considered fraught with irregularities. This period was formative in solidifying Museveni's worldview, which centers on the primacy of security, the importance of the military in many aspects of society, and self-discipline. Museveni emerged as the leader of the National Resistance Army which fought to remove the Milton Obote regime, and in 1986 he became Uganda's president, a position he has since maintained. Museveni has been considered the epitomy of a perceived "new breed" of enlightened African leaders, while others see him as a dictator in democrat's clothes. Indeed, it is clear that he prefers pragmatism over ideology, the latter which he views as a destructive force in African politics (Oloka-Onyango 2004; BBC 2006; State House 2006).

again in 2006. In the general election of 2006 women secured 73 seats of the 305 seats available, representing 23.9 percent of the total. Uganda is classified 32nd on an International Parliamentary Union database which shows in descending order the percentage of women in parliaments in 187 nations (IPU 2006b). Freedom House (2006) does not consider Uganda an electoral democracy because of a perception that the regime has unjustifiable influence over the political system.

President Museveni has been in power since 1986. He has tried to avert criticism of what some view as a one-party state by developing the no-party system (or movement system). The electorate voted to opt for this system in the 1994 election, which also established a Constituent Assembly charged with the duty of promulgating a constitution. The National Resistance Movement (the ruling party), in an attempt to retain a sense of legitimacy, emphasized that it was a no-party movement, not a political party. Museveni has argued that parties have encouraged sectarian conflict in the past. He believed that by establishing the no-party system, the regime could dampen friction between Roman Catholics traditionally associated with the Democratic Party and Protestants who have been associated with the Ugandan People's Congress. Critics have noted that the movement system has not overcome the animosity across ethnic, religious, and regional divides, and has in fact contributed to it. One of the main reasons cited by commentators is the NRM's tendency to favor people from western Uganda, its traditional power base, in terms of selecting government appointees and allocating resources for regional development. Meanwhile the NRM actively excludes others in these processes, particularly northerners. Further, propaganda has been used in the attempt to educate Ugandans of the positive aspects of the no-party system, and to criticize the perceived divisive nature of multiparty politics.

The 1995 Constitution institutionalized the no-party system. Since then laws have been passed to consolidate the NRM's primacy in the political realm and as a result, critics say, Uganda has increasingly come to resemble a one-party system. In 1997 parliament passed the Movement Bill, which required all adult Ugandans to belong to the movement system. This move impeded membership in rival political organizations. In 2000 a referendum was held once again to decide on the political system. The movement system was chosen by an overwhelming number of voters in a ballot that suffered from a low turnout. In 2002 more legislation

was passed that sought to impose more restrictions on political parties. In 2003 the Democratic Party was successful in having the Constitutional Court overturn some of the 2002 legislation's more Draconian clauses. More importantly perhaps, the Court also stated that the movement was indeed a political organization, not a political system. In 2005 a referendum opened the way for a return to multiparty politics. Overall, the NRM strategy seeks to maintain a fine balance between an appearance of democracy while retaining for the movement preeminence in the political sphere.

Four main political parties exist in Uganda: the National Resistance Movement (NRM), Forum for Democratic Change (FDC), the Ugandan People's Congress (UPC), and the Democratic Party.

The NRM's *Manifesto 2006* (viii) states the party's vision "is a peaceful, united, democratic, harmonious, industrialized, transformed and prosperous Uganda within a strong, federated East Africa, the African Common Market and with an African Defence Pact." Further it states the mission "of NRM is to transform Uganda from a poor peasant society into a modern, industrial, united and prosperous skilled working and middle class society."

The FDC lists 10 guiding principles in its Party Platform (2005, 2): constitutionalism; promotion and protection of fundamental freedoms; democracy and good governance; social and economic justice; equal opportunity and emancipation of women and people with disability; peace, security and the rule of law; zero tolerance of corruption and political patronage; restoration of hope and development to conflict affected areas; rapid national transformation (human development); and peaceful coexistence and international cooperation. Its leader is Dr. Kizza Besigye, a former colonel and NRM member who fomented dissent within the NRM's outside ranks in the late 1990s. He was noticeably vocal in criticizing what he saw as the increasingly undemocratic tendencies of the ruling clique. Besigye formed the Reform Agenda and competed in the 2001 election but did not do well. He fled and lived in exile, returning to Uganda on October 26, 2005 (Ingram 2006). As of April 2006, Besigye faced charges of treason, rape, terrorism, and illegal possession of firearms.

The president of the UPC is Miria Kalule Obote, widow of the party's founder Milton Obote. She garnered only 0.6 percent of votes in the 2006 presidential election. The party's *Manifesto 2006* (4) states the party's vision is "an independent, united, democratic, just, peaceful and prosperous nation where all its citizens have equal opportunities and access to the nation's resources." Furthermore, it states the "UPDC...seeks to safeguard national independence, promote national unity, equality and equity, human rights for all, fight poverty, ignorance and diseases, and ensure the involvement of all in economic development and empowerment of disadvantaged citizens."

The Democratic Party is considered a moderate conservative party. Its leader is Kizito Ssebaana. It is generally considered pro-Catholic and pro-Buganda. It was the political instrument through which Idi Amin exercised power in the 1970s.

Presidential elections were held on January 23, 2006. The incumbent, Yoweri Museveni, was elected by 59 percent of votes cast. He was inaugurated on May 12, with the allocation of ministerial portfolios following on May 31. Museveni's main rival, Kizza Besigye, received 37 percent of the vote. Turnout was 68 percent.

Domestic and international monitors observed irregularities and violence in what was described as the first multiparty election in 25 years. An article in *The Economist* on March 4 expressed concern at the potential for Uganda to "nosedive into dictatorship." On March 7, Besigye brought a case to the Supreme Court to challenge the result of the presidential election. Early in April the court dismissed Besigye's petition, ruling no evidence existed to support the position that noncompliance of electoral laws "affected the result of the presidential election in a substantial manner." Parliamentary elections were also held on January 23, 2005. The National Resistance Movement, of which Museveni is the leader, secured 190 of 304 seats. Although this represents a clear majority, the opposition is expanding.

LAW AND ORDER

The Uganda Police Force (UPF) is the principal law and order enforcement agency. A news report in *The Monitor* in 2006 gave an account of the shortage of police officers. The shortage has led to the use of private security personnel by businesses and civilians. The news report stated at least 75 security companies provide approximately 18,000 personnel, outnumbering the regular police force by 5,000. The government wants to increase the police force to 40,000 in order to provide approximately one officer for every 400 citizens. Currently the ratio is estimated at 1:1,800. Cases have been reported of private security personnel involvement in crime. Expenditure on the UPF has risen from approximately 41 billion shillings in 1995–1996 to 53 billion in 1999–2000, representing an increase of 29 percent (JLOS 2000). The U.S. Embassy in Kampala (2005) reports the United States provided the UPF with $1.84 million in funding between 2002 and 2005 to assist the training of Ugandan police in the tenets of "human rights and responsibility to the community." The U.S. Department of State (2006b) notes the UPF "continued to be constrained by limited resources, including low pay and lack of vehicles, equipment, and training. Police committed numerous abuses." Police corruption was also observed.

UPF (2007) states the total number of cases reported to Police as at the end of 2006 was 223,394. Indeed, the crime rate has more than doubled in recent years, from 304 in 2002 to 798 in 2006. The three most common crimes reported were thefts (approximately 62,000 cases), common assault (approximately 38,000 cases) and defilement (approximately 15,000 cases). Approximately 2,200 cases of murder were known to be reported in 2004. An article in *New Vision* (June 26, 2006) quoted Police Chief Major General Kale Kayihura stating organized crime was present in Kampala. Indeed 67 percent of the population considers crime a "very big" problem. Activity involving illicit drugs is also an issue. In 2003, seizures of cannabis herb totalling 25,000 kilograms were made. This places Uganda fourth, in terms of cannabis herb seizures, in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) and 16th in the world (UNODC 2005). Late in April 2006 the *New Vision* reported that authorities were tracking an Indian national who was allegedly operating a prostitution business where Indian girls were held in "sexual slavery." Indeed this is representative of human trafficking in Uganda where "victims are reported to be women and children [and] sexual exploitation is reported" (UNODC 2006, 230). The smuggling of goods from Kenya, some of it across Lake Victoria, is said to be "lucrative."

An end user perceptions survey published in 2000 concluded that the police performs poorly "with respect to efficiency and effectiveness, access and quality of justice." It also noted poor people, the uneducated and women "were at risk of being denied justice" because of a lack of wealth to facilitate processes and a lack of knowledge of individual rights (JLOS 2005, 28). Respondents of the survey also believed that nepotism and tribalism influence the quality of the exercise of justice.

The Uganda Police Fire Brigade operates at a national level. Beyond fire fighting, it is also charged with addressing disasters such as wildfires, cyclones, tornadoes, floods, chemical accidents, and oil spills. Ambulance services are minimal, where they exist at all. One notable innovation is the bicycle ambulance.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The main organization involved with foreign policy is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA). MOFA represents Uganda in Africa, Europe, the Americas, Middle East, and Asia-Pacific Rim with 27 missions and one consulate. Apart from traditional functions it also seeks to encourage tourism in the country. Same Kutesa was announced as minister for Foreign Affairs in May 2006.

MOFA states its foreign policy objectives are in accordance with the principles of the East African Community (EAC), the African Union, and the United Nations. It also asserts that its objectives are guided by the 1995 Constitution. These are summarized as follows:

> Promotion of the national interest of Uganda; respect for international law and treaty obligations; peaceful co-existence and non-alignment; settlement of international disputes through peaceful means, opposition to all forms of domination, racism and other forms of oppression and exploitation, active participation in international and regional organisations that stand for peace and for the well-being and progress of humanity [and] promotion of regional and pan-African cultural, economic and political co-operation and integration.

Some, though, have noted that the Museveni regime's foreign policy has relied on a "militaristic method" in the attempt to deepen regional integration (Oloka-Onyango 2004). For example, UPDF deployed with Rwandan armed forces into the Democratic Republic of Congo in 1998. The stated objective was to engage with the Armed Democratic Force[1] that had been making attacks in western Uganda from what was then Zaire. The DRC at first appeared to favor this move but the situation soon became complex. Rwandan and Ugandan armed forces clashed in DRC in 1999 and 2001. The DRC protested at what it saw as disruptive Ugandan operations on its soil and the UPDF finally withdrew from Congolese territory in 2003. The International Court of Justice, in December 2005, released a judgment that Ugandan armed forces had breached international humanitarian law and human rights law; and that its forces had plundered natural resources, though this was not seen to be the execution of policy. Uganda maintained its right to self defense against attacks from armed groups operating from a foreign territory. Turning to the North, Uganda's relations with Sudan have been strained. Kampala states that Khartoum has over time supported and harbored in its territory the Lord's Resistance Army. In turn, Khartoum accuses Uganda of

supporting the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA), based in southern Sudan. As of 2006, relations appeared to be improving.

Uganda is a member of various international organizations. It became a member of the United Nations on October 25, 1962. It has permanent representatives in New York and Geneva. The nation is a member of the East African Community, a regional economic grouping established in July 2000, which also includes Kenya and Tanzania. The EAC has signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the aim of coordinating foreign policy activities, and as of April 2006 was negotiating proceedings to establish a common market by 2010. Further, Uganda is a member of the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), a regional trade, development, and security grouping constituting 20 member states. Museveni was elected chairman of the COMESA authority in early June 2004 for a period ending in May 2005. It is also a member of Intergovernmental Authority on Development. It held the leadership of the organization for two consecutive terms. Uganda is a member of the Commonwealth and was set to hold the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in November 2007. Lastly, Uganda is a member of the World Trade Organization, the African Development Bank, Islamic Conference Organization, and the Non-Aligned Movement, among others.

In April 2006 parliament passed the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) Registration Bill, which legislates the monitoring of NGOs by state security services. Information Minister Dr. James Nsaba Buturo defended the bill: "Some have acted as fronts of external interests that wish to introduce new values to Uganda, yet such values have not been part of our way of life" (Namutebi 2006, 7).

Uganda has been the recipient of some generous foreign aid programs due to its image internationally as a progressive force in SSA. For example, in 2005 Uganda received $1.16 billion in Overseas Development Aid. In some years aid has represented 40 to 50 percent of the government budget. As of April 2007 the World Bank was involved in 18 projects "with commitments of U.S. $1.013 billion." Just over one quarter of spending is directed to roads. Uganda has also benefited from debt relief. One instance, totaling $1.95 billion, was provided under the Heavily Indebted Poor Country Initiative in 1998. Another was completed on July 1, 2006, when the World Bank cancelled Uganda's International Development Association debt (World Bank 2007). In late June 2006 Uganda signed six agreements with China regarding agriculture, education, technology, and trade.

In terms of international security, Uganda was one of the 13 nations forming the East African Standby Brigade (EASBRIG) in 2003. Uganda committed to contributing one light infantry battalion to EASBRIG, which would be deployed in missions sanctioned by the African Union. Subsequently, in March 2007, Uganda began the deployment of approximately 1,500 UPDF soldiers to serve as peacekeepers in Somalia as a part of an African Union initiative. Despite the fact that five UPDF soldiers have been killed there, Uganda announced its intention in July 2007 to remain in Somalia until the end of the mandate in January 2008 (Nyakairu 2007). Further, Uganda has two peacekeepers and two observers participating in the UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (ONUCI), created in April 2004. Four military observers have also been posted to the UN Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS),

established in March 2005 (IISS 2005). Lastly, Uganda has signed a number of multilateral agreements regarding nuclear weapons proliferation. In 1996 it signed the Pelindaba Treaty, which seeks the establishment of Africa as a nuclear weapons free zone. It has ratified the Partial Test Ban Treaty (1964), the Outer Space Treaty (1968), the Non-Proliferation Treaty (1982), and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (2001) (UNDDA 2006). Uganda has ratified the UN Firearms Protocol, which came into force on July 3, 2005.

SECURITY

The Uganda People's Defense Force consists of 46,800 active military and paramilitary personnel (IISS 2005). The defense budget increased from $140 million in 2003 to $196 million in 2005. In 2003 and 2004 defense expenditure as a percentage of the GDP was 2.4 percent and 2.5 percent, respectively. Further, the nation has received foreign military aid in recent years: $2.4 million in 2003 and $2.2 million in 2004. The UPDF has five divisions, one armored brigade, one artillery brigade, and an Air Wing. On June 26, 2006, the UN announced Uganda had agreed to end the recruiting and deployment of children in the UPDF. The intelligence services are divided into three branches: the Internal Security Organization, the Chieftaincy of Military Intelligence, and the External Security Organization. There is also a Joint Anti-Terrorism Task force.

The most serious current threat to Uganda's security is the war with the Lord's Resistance Army. Joseph Kony, the LRA leader, has stated that he wishes to establish a Christian fundamentalist regime in Uganda, based on the Ten Commandments. Kony's perception of the government's oppression of the Acholi is, however, more explicatory of the group's actions. The group poses little direct threat to the Museveni regime. But the result of the LRA activities and the government's failure to address them has been an almost complete breakdown of human security in the north of the country. The LRA has abducted as many as 25,000 children to bolster its combat forces and to serve as sex slaves, and forced the displacement of 1.7 million people. Its combatants rape women, burn villages and mutilate and kill civilians in brutal attacks with machetes, knives, clubs, and small arms. The U.S. Department of State included the LRA on its list of Other Terrorist Groups in its report *Patterns of Global Terrorism 2003*. Furthermore it is a U.S. Terrorist Exclusion List Designee

JOSEPH KONY

Joseph Kony is the commander of the Lord's Resistance Army, a Christian fundamentalist terrorist group based principally in northern Uganda. He was born in the early 1960s in Odek, Gulu District, and his childhood appears unexceptional. In 1987, Kony emerged within the ranks of the Uganda People's Democratic Army. In 1988, he became the leader of a wing of the United Democratic Christian Army, a group fighting against Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Army, which had come to power after the removal of Milton Obote in 1985. Kony espouses a confusing mixture of Christian, Muslim and animist beliefs. He is believed to be visited by spirits and is given to unpredictable moods, particularly on these occasions. Notably, the LRA under his leadership has become one of Africa's most brutal armed groups, whose methods are remarkably gruesome, although it is said the commander himself does not directly partake in killings. Kony has moved between northern Uganda, southern Sudan, and the northeastern Democratic Republic of Congo, depending on strategic and operational requirements. Reports state that Kony has between 50 and 60 "wives," many of whom were abducted and forced into slavery (*Jane's* 2006; BBC 2006).

(MIPT 2006). The Uganda People's Defense Force's (UPDF) apparent inability to deal with the LRA is controversial, with some arguing the central government would prefer to prolong the repression of the northerners rather than end the conflict (Otunnu 2006).

Recent developments though may improve the profile of the conflict at an international level. UN Under Secretary General for Humanitarian Affairs Jan Egeland visited Uganda in April 2006 and referred to the northern conflict as "the world's worst form of terrorism" (Reuters 2006, 1). Then, on April 19, 2006, Uganda officially asked the Security Council to adopt "strong measures to hunt down, disarm and prosecute" the Lord's Resistance Army. It also asked the United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC) and UNMIS to "forcefully disarm the LRA in the countries of their responsibility" (UN News Centre 2006). In March 2006, CSOPNU[2] released a report which stated: in northern Uganda, "rates of violent death are three times higher than those reported in Iraq following the Allied invasion in 2003." It also estimated the conflict had cost Uganda $1.7 billion since 1986.

The International Criminal Court announced in October 2005 its order to arrest leaders of the LRA for alleged war crimes (*BBC News* 2005). Some questioned the logic of the order, arguing that it would make the LRA more unpredictable and hinder local efforts to bring peace. On June 1, 2006, Interpol, on behalf of the ICC, issued a Red Notice calling for the arrest of the LRA leadership for alleged war crimes and crimes against humanity. This came just over a week after media reported Joseph Kony had appeared on video talking with Riek Machar, the vice president of southern Sudan and second in command of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army. Kony indicated he was prepared to talk with the Ugandan government and sent a delegation to Juba, Sudan (*BBC News* 2006b). Museveni offered the LRA leadership an amnesty if the group renounced terrorism. Direct talks between the two parties began on July 14. The following year, in June 2007, the media reported that the LRA had signed a ceasefire with the Ugandan government, and in July BBC's Sarah Grainger reported that almost a year of peace talks had resulted in some improvement to people's lives in the North. But the LRA's statement at the end of the month that it needed $2 million dollars from donors to pay for intra-group consultations, otherwise it could not continue negotiations with the government, gives weight to the argument that the group is simply using the peace process to stall any significant actions against it while it regroups (*BBC News* 2007).

The risk of being a victim of a terrorist attack for most of the population is low to moderate. The bombing campaigns of the pro-Amin West Nile Bank Front (WNBF) and the Islamist-oriented Allied Democratic Force (ADF) have for the time being abated. Indeed the WNBF is considered inactive due to a peace deal signed with the government in 2004. The ADF has reportedly been decimated and many combatants have surrendered since 2004. Attacks and activity in the West, however, were attributed to the WNBF and ADF in 2006. Uganda is considered a "base of operation" for Al Qaeda (MIPT 2006).

Uganda was the stage of a high-profile terrorist incident in 1976 in which the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) hijacked an airliner from

Greece and made the pilots fly to Entebbe. They wanted authorities to release other PFLP terrorists. On July 4, Israeli special forces made a raid on the aircraft and killed seven of the PFLP; three managed to escape. Twenty Ugandan soldiers, three hostages, and one Israeli special forces operator died.

Other terrorist incidents have troubled Uganda. From May 1978 to May 1999, 82 people were killed, 162 wounded, and numerous kidnappings carried out in 33 reported terrorist incidents. Targets were diplomatic representatives, military personnel, religious figures, foreign business people, refugee camps, and private citizens. The National Resistance Army, the Uganda Democratic Christian Army, the National Army for the Liberation of Uganda, the WNBF, the Allied Democratic Forces, the Ahmadiya Muslim Mission, the LRA and Hutu rebels claimed responsibility for the attacks or were suspected of committing them.

From October 2000 to December 2005, approximately 488 people were killed and 280 injured in 29 reported terrorist attacks. One LRA attack on the Barlonya refugee camp in northern Uganda on February 21, 2004, accounted for 239 of the above fatalities. The LRA claimed responsibility or was considered responsible for 26 of the attacks. Indeed in this period the LRA stepped up its campaign of terror, some of it of a profoundly disturbing nature. Most of the targets were Ugandan citizens. Elsewhere, three minor bombings were possibly the responsibility of the ADF (MIPT 2006).

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The justice system is based on the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda. The Constitution seeks to guarantee "the enjoyment of individual rights without discrimination on the basis of sex, race, colour, ethnic origin, social standing or political opinion, and without interference with the rights of others." Also it notes, "individual freedoms include freedom of speech, expression, and the press and other media; freedom of thought, conscience and belief, including academic freedom; freedom to practice any religions and freedom of peaceful assembly, association and movement" (FCO 2006, 7). The court system is organized according to the following hierarchy: supreme court; court of appeals; high court; chief magistrate's court; local council sub county courts, local council parish courts; and local council village courts. The U.S. Department of State (2006b) notes, "judicial corruption was a common problem. The lower courts remained understaffed, weak, and inefficient" in 2005.

Ugandans have struggled to exercise individual freedoms, especially that of expression. Under the Idi Amin and Milton Obote regimes, journalists were killed, tortured, and detained for criticizing the respective regimes. Freedom of speech has improved in absolute terms under Museveni. Officially the press is free, especially compared to the restrictive state of journalism in the rest of Africa. Human Rights Watch though has criticized the current government for what it considers its illiberal attitude toward independent media. In its defense, the government claims some foreign journalists act on the behalf of external interests and represent a threat to national security. The Media Centre, a government body, was set up in 2005 to check the credentials of foreign journalists, overriding another entity, the Media Council.

Freedom House (2006) considers Uganda a "partly free" country in terms of civil and political rights. The U.S. Department of State (2006b) lists notable areas of human rights abuse[3]: unlawful killings by security forces; disappearances; security forces' use of torture; vigilante justice; harsh prison conditions; official impunity; arbitrary arrest; restricted right to a fair trial; infringement of privacy rights; limited freedom of religion; abuse of internally displaced persons; government corruption; violence and discrimination against women; female genital mutilation; and violence and discrimination against persons with disabilities. Amnesty International (AI) (2005) also notes that "persecution of sexual minorities" continued in 2005. In 2006 AI noted that Uganda still retained the death penalty, although moves had been made to end laws "that stipulate a mandatory death sentence." It stated that 31 people were executed in the period between 1999 and 2003, and that as of June 2005, 555 people were on death row (AI 2005, 2006). In terms of corruption, Uganda ranked 117 of 158 countries on Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) 2005. Its CPI score was 2.5.[4] *Global Corruption Report 2006* expressed concern about corruption at the central and local government level (TI 2006). Indeed, 81 percent of respondents considered corrupt political leaders a "very big" problem in a Pew survey in 2002.

At an international level Uganda has ratified or acceded to the following international conventions regarding human rights: Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment; International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ratified Optional Protocol); Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women; International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination; International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families; and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. It has also acceded to the Optional and Second Optional Protocols on the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which are concerned with the involvement of children in armed conflict and the sale of children for prostitution and child pornography, respectively (OHCHR 2006).

It is a member of a number of international human rights bodies. It has been a member of the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights since 1962. It was an elected member of The Commission on Human Rights in 1977–1979, 1981–1983, 1996–1998, and 2002–2004. It is an elected member of the Committee on the Rights of the Child. Its mandate expires in February 2009. As of June 2007 it was not a member of the Human Rights Council established in April 2006. At a regional level in 2006, Uganda was a member of the Steering Committee tasked with coordinating the establishment of the Network of African National Human Rights Institutions (NHRI 2006). At a national level, the Uganda Human Rights Commission "is an independent Constitutional body established to promote and protect human rights."

CONCLUSION

The George W. Bush administration has been generally supportive of the Museveni regime. In 2005 the United States announced its intention to "expand its

regional foothold into Uganda" by deepening defense relations (Kucera 2005, 25). An increased U.S. military presence in Uganda would likely serve as a platform for American operations in the Horn of Africa, where its main focus is on instability in Somalia and Al-Qaeda activities in the region. As such, the U.S. military has a Co-operative Security Location (airfield) at Entebbe. Further, the External Security Service shares intelligence in terms of militant movements in East Africa with the CIA and FBI. In 2002, Ugandan, U.S., and armed forces from seven other nations carried out a joint medical exercise in northeast Uganda. U.S. provision of military aid to Uganda reportedly recommenced in 2003, after it had been suspended in 1999 due to the UPDF's intervention in DRC. In the area of health, Uganda was set to receive $143.7 million from the United States to combat AIDS in 2005. The United States demanded that emphasis in spending be placed on abstinence over the promotion of the use of condoms. Human Rights Watch criticized the American stance arguing that promiscuity is not the only way AIDS is transferred. A UN official stated Uganda was beginning to experience a shortage of condoms (FCO 2006; Vasagar and Borger 2005).

In 2002 the Pew Research Center published a report on global attitudes. It found that 74 percent of the population had a favorable opinion of the United States. Furthermore, 53 percent believed U.S. foreign policy considers others and 67 percent favored the U.S.-led War on Terror. Only 36 percent believed that the United States increased the gap between the rich and the poor. Also, 50 percent thought the spread of American ideas and customs was good and 42 percent "bad." Sixty-seven percent liked American ideas about democracy. Lastly, 57 percent liked American popular culture and 31 percent disliked it. Uganda was the third country in Africa to voice its support for the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in 2003. James Wapakhabulo, Uganda's foreign minister at the time, likened the oppression of the Saddam Hussein regime to the state-sponsored terrorism of Uganda's past. Some commentators questioned the appropriateness of the minister's comment. The U.S. Department of State reports (2006a, 57), "Uganda had a strong regional voice in opposing international terrorism and supported U.S. counterterrorism initiatives" in 2005.

The Museveni regime has been able to achieve political stability for Uganda, relative to the turmoil between 1962 and 1986. In view of the 16 successful coups and the 28 failed coups and mutinies in sub-Saharan Africa in the period 1991 to 2005, this is a positive achievement. The people of Uganda, however, are beset with considerable human security challenges. The northern conflict is the most serious of these. Not only are people killed directly in LRA attacks but the resulting insecurity has caused a new cycle of problems or exacerbated existing ones. For example, IDP camps, which were supposed to be a refuge from LRA attacks, have been targets of the group's violence. More broadly, Uganda's war against the LRA has become a source of regional insecurity, illustrated by the group's presence in southern Sudan and now Garanda National Park in DRC. As such, the result of the dialogue between the Museveni regime and LRA representatives is the factor that will influence most the security environment and the course of the country in the near future. Good relations with the DRC and Sudan are of utmost importance in ending the war and hence should be prioritized as foreign policy goals. In the advent of the final demise of the LRA it is possible that a splinter group

would arise to take its place due, to some extent, to entrenched discontent among the people of the North. Apart from placing strain on Uganda's socioeconomic systems, protracted refugee situations can become a direct source of regional instability if displaced persons are able to organize militarily and use the country of asylum as a launching point for rebellion against their country of origin. AIDS also represents an area of major concern, especially if treatment and prevention programs continue to be driven by ideology. The lack of economic development will continue to retard social development. While debt forgiveness is a positive development, the political environment, which continues to impinge on human rights and prevent further democratization, is not one conducive to significant socioeconomic advancement. In terms of the environment, potential exists for resource conflict as water becomes an even more important strategic resource, but regional initiatives such as the Nile Basin Initiative offer a forum in which to resolve potential disputes.

NOTES

1. See Security section.
2. Civil Society Organizations for Peace in Northern Uganda: *Counting the Cost: Twenty Years of War in Northern Uganda.*
3. Abuses mentioned elsewhere in the chapter are not repeated here.
4. For comparison, the nation perceived to be least corrupt in the world, Iceland, scored 9.7. In Africa, Botswana was perceived to be the least corrupt, scoring 5.9.

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United Kingdom

Neal Jesse

BACKGROUND

The United Kingdom is located on two main islands and a number of smaller islands located in the North Sea. The English Channel separates the British mainland of England from France to the southeast, while the North Sea separates England and Scotland from Norway to the east. To the west of Scotland lies the Atlantic Ocean. To the west of Wales, the Irish Sea separates the Republic of Ireland from the United Kingdom. The nation of Northern Ireland rests in the northeast corner of the Irish isle. The United Kingdom is only isolated from the European continent by less than 20 miles of ocean running through the English Channel. Yet, this distance is profound for the British who regard themselves as different from the rest of the continent.

Four separate nations comprise the United Kingdom: England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. From the capital in London, Parliament resides over the four nations plus a very large number of dependent areas, including but not limited to, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Falkland Islands, Gibraltar, and Pitcairn Islands.

The terrain of the United Kingdom is not that varied. A great deal of the country lies near the ocean, so elevation changes are not severe. Rolling plains or forests dominate the East and Southeast, while rugged hills are more common to the north. Scotland is mainly low mountains. The highest point, Ben Nevis in Scotland, is only 1,343 meters above sea level.

Britain is one of the most developed countries in the world. It is also one of the strongest trading and financial centers. Major population centers (such as London, Birmingham, and Manchester) are urbanized and modern. Over 70 percent of the population lives in urban areas and population density (for example people per square kilometer) is quite high, although not exceptional for western Europe. Approximately three-quarters of the land is used for agricultural production in a heavily mechanized, intensive, and efficient manner. The United Kingdom has large coal, natural gas, and oil reserves and thus generates a good deal of primary

United Kingdom

Formal name of country: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
Other names: Great Britain or Britain; technically Great Britain/Britain comprise only England, Scotland, and Wales
Size of country: 244,820 sq km
Natural resources: Coal, petroleum, natural gas, iron ore, lead, zinc, gold, tin, limestone, salt, clay, chalk, gypsum, potash, silica sand, slate, and arable land
Population: 60,609, 153 (July 2006 est.)
Life expectancy at birth: 78.54 years (male 76.09; female 81.13)
Key ethnic groups:

- English 77%
- Scottish 8%
- Welsh 4.5%
- Northern Irish 2.7%
- Black 2% (includes Caribbean and African)
- Indian 1.8%
- Pakistani 1.3%
- other 2.8% (2001 census)

Key religions: Christian 71.6%, Muslim 2.7%, Hindu 1.0%, other, unspecified, or none 24.7% (2001 census)
Political system: Constitutional monarchy, parliamentary democracy
Key political groups/parties:

- Labour Party
- Conservative Party

Legal system: Common law tradition with nonbinding judicial review
Real GDP growth: 1.8% (2005 est.)
Population below poverty line: 17% (2002 est.)
Size of military: 191,030 active (army 104,980, navy 40,840, air 45,210 (2007 est.)
Relationship with the United States: Maintains a ''special relationship'' in which both countries work closely together on military, security, and international issues
Important human security issues: Dispute in Northern Ireland between Protestant and Catholic communities is still unsettled; international terrorism; drug trafficking
Future important security issues: International terrorism; immigration reform

Sources: SIPRI 2006; FIRST 2006; CIA 2006; Coxall et al. 2003; Dunleavy et al. 2003; Kavanagh 2000; Norton 2001; International Institute for Strategic Studies 2007.

energy production. However, outside of energy production, Britain is not particularly blessed with natural resources. The United Kingdom imports a large number of raw materials, including cotton, rubber, rice, corn, coffee, and tobacco.

Industrialization and urbanization has led to the predictable battle with pollution. Britain is committed to reducing its greenhouse gas emissions (as per the

Kyoto Protocol). In 2005, the Labor government pledged to reduce also the amount of industrial and commercial waste disposed in landfills. Recycling of reusable material and conservation of energy has also been initiated in the past two decades. Britain is party to most international and regional environmental agreements.

The history of Britain is one of a rise to prominence. England has existed as a unified political entity since 1066 and the Battle of Hastings. William the Conqueror subdued the numerous English kings and united them into a single crown. Over the next few centuries England eventually overcame its neighbors, bringing both Wales (1536) and Scotland (1707) into a unified nation-state through successive Acts of Union. The name United Kingdom was taken in 1801 with the legislative union of Great Britain and Ireland, which had been conquered and subdued over the course of the previous three centuries. The Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1920 partitioned the Island of Ireland, with the six northern counties remaining in the United Kingdom.

In the nineteenth century, the United Kingdom became the dominant industrial and maritime power in the world. On the strength of its iron and steel output, as well as its impressive navy, Britain played a leading role in the exploration and colonization of this period, establishing a massive empire. At its height, the British Empire contained over one-fourth of the earth's landmass. Britain colonized a number of nations that later would become world and/or regional powers in their own right: the American colonies, India, South Africa, and Australia to name a few.

Britain also exported its system of parliamentary democracy and public administration around the globe. British-style democracy can be seen in such far-flung places as Canada, Australia, and India. Moreover, Britain maintains relations with most of these countries through an international trade and diplomatic organization known as the British Commonwealth.

British power waned in the twentieth century, expended on defeating conservative European powers in two world wars. Independence movements in the African and Asian colonies slowly dismantled the British Empire. Britain relinquished its leading global role to the United States and remade itself into a strong, confident European power. Britain is still a major international player, with key positions on the UN Security Council, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), European Union, and other international organizations.

SOCIETY

The United Kingdom boasts one of the largest populations in western Europe. At over 60 million people, the British population is exceeded only by that of Germany. This figure shows a slow and steady growth over the last century. In 1990, the British population numbered 38.2 million people (Norton 2001, 4). Since the 1970s, the population of Britain has grown at around 6 percent per year. This is a healthy rate that is similar to many countries in western Europe.

What makes Britain a bit atypical is that a large percentage of the population is concentrated in only one of the four nations. Over 49 million British citizens live in England, with only near five million in Scotland, three million in Wales, and almost two million in Northern Ireland. The population density (for example people per square kilometer) in England is 376, more than any other European

country and even higher than Japan. Further, more than 13 percent of the British population lives in the Greater London area. With close to eight million people, London is one of the largest cities in the world. The next largest cities, Birmingham and Manchester, have circa two million inhabitants each.

The population of Britain is primarily English, English-speaking, and White, but this fact hides greater diversity than it implies. There is the obvious distinction between those of Scottish and Welsh ethnicity and the English. Moreover, a small number of both Scots and Welsh speak Gaelic dialects. It is estimated that around 600,000 Welsh and 80,000 Scots can speak Gaelic (Norton 2001, 8).

But the diversity in Britain is not just from the historical unification of these different nations, all members of which can be thought of as an indigenous population. Recent immigration, starting in the 1950s and 1960s, has changed the face of the country. This immigration has come from many places: the Caribbean, Africa, the Near East, and the Far East. Much of this immigration has been fueled by the end of British dominion over its Empire. It is estimated that the size of the non-white population in Britain exceeds three million, or 5 to 6 percent. Of these, roughly half are born in the United Kingdom. Moreover, the non-white population is heavily concentrated in a small number of urban areas, including London, Birmingham, and Manchester.

While all are British citizens, the population in Northern Ireland is sharply divided. Roughly 55 percent is Protestant. Members of the Protestant community share a "British" ancestry: most hail from Scotland, with a smaller number from Wales and England. Their presence in Ireland is a product of British settlement of the Irish Island dating back to the sixteenth century (Ruane and Todd 1996, Ch. 2). The other half of the Northern Irish population is of Irish descent. This population is overwhelmingly Catholic and indigenous to the island. The 1920 Anglo-Irish Agreement that partitioned the island did not leave the balance between the Protestant and Catholic communities quite so even at first. However, over time with the Catholic population maintaining a higher growth rate, the Protestant population has been slowly losing its majority.

Most of Britain is not so sharply divided in religious beliefs. The Christian population is over 70 percent of the population. The Church of England, or Anglican Church, dominates in England and Wales. The Presbyterian Church is the main church of Scotland. Methodist and Catholic churches also exist in much smaller numbers. Combined with the growth of the non-white population has been the growth of other religions. The number of Muslims has grown to over 3 percent of the population.

As mentioned in the previous section, Britain is a heavily industrialized and urbanized society. As such, the infrastructure of the society is developed and extensive. Energy production exceeds 360 billion kilowatts. Most of the production is from fossil fuels (over 70 percent) with the great remainder of the rest produced by nuclear reactors (over 20 percent). Britain produces over 2.4 million barrels of oil per day, consuming roughly 1.7 million barrels of this production. Thus, Britain is a net exporter of oil, shipping 1.5 million barrels per day, while importing roughly 1.0 million barrels per day.

Britain has an extensive communications system. British citizens have access to over 32 million landline telephones, and more than 60 million cellular phones are

in use. Britain relies on more than 11 satellites to support this network. Radio and television broadcast is also sufficiently advanced, with over 220 television broadcast stations and close to 700 radio broadcast stations. Britain also possesses over five million Internet hosts, with over 400 Internet service providers. It is estimated that there are over 37 million Internet users in Britain.

Regarding transportation, Britain has 471 airport runways, with 334 of them paved. Britain has over 17,000 kilometers of railways, over 380,000 kilometers of roads, and over 3,200 kilometers of waterways. Given its position as an island nation, Britain has a large merchant marine fleet, with a number of large ports and terminals, including those in Liverpool, London, Belfast, and Southhampton.

The economy of Britain is also advanced and modern. Britain has been a leading trading and financial power in Europe for two centuries. Since the 1980s, the government has reduced the government ownership of the economy, privatized many sectors, and restricted the growth of social programs. Over this time the economy has slowly shifted from an emphasis on industry and manufacturing toward a service economy. Services, especially banking and business, now account for 72.9 percent of the gross domestic product. Agriculture employs less than 2 percent of the labor force, and produces around 1 percent of the GDP. Agricultural production meets roughly 60 percent of the food needs of Britain, thus importation of food is necessary.

The gross domestic product of more than $2.2 trillion (2005 est.) places Britain as one of the 10 largest in the world, and the third largest in western Europe, behind Germany and France. Real GDP growth stands at 1.8 percent, a fairly modest amount, but in line with most of western Europe. Per capita GDP over $30,000 (2005 est.) is one of the highest in western Europe, and exceeded only by Luxembourg and Ireland (Sakwa and Stevens 2006, 65). Inflation has been held in check for the past two decades, with the current rate at 2.2 percent (2005 est.). Government budgets typically show a deficit, usually just a bit more than 3 percent of the GDP, which is in line with the rest of western Europe. The public debt stands at more than 42 percent, and is starting to become a worry.

Despite this wealth, Britain has a number of persistent economic and social problems related to the economy. Unemployment of nearly 10 percent in the late 1980s was not uncommon, peaking in 1986 at 11 percent. The current figure of 4.7 percent (2005 est.) shows some improvement. The unemployment rate in Northern Ireland remains twice that of the rest of Britain, showing that it has not seen the improvement enjoyed by the rest of the country. Also of concern are the growing inequality and the gap between the rich and the poor. In 2002, more than 17 percent of the British population lived below the poverty line. The difference in income between the top 10 percent and the bottom 10 percent of income is roughly a multiple of 15. Moreover, the wealthiest 50 percent of the population owns 94 percent of the wealth, with the top 1 percent owning 23 percent of the wealth (Coxall et al. 2003, 25).

Class is still an important element of British society. Typically, the population of Britain is divided between the "middle class" and the "working class." This division is crystallized in the commonly used methods of census, which place citizens into the two categories and a series of subcategories. The primary distinction is that of

non-manual versus manual work, although estimates of how "skilled" the profession is are commonly applied. Whether the class structure is changing and how important this change may be is hotly debated. The size of the working class has been declining, along with the industrial sector, since the end of the second World War. The rise of the service sector has also made it more difficult to classify people.

Given the relative wealth and modernization of the country, most British people enjoy a very healthy and long life. Social indicators are overwhelmingly positive. Life expectancy is more than 78 years, with women averaging more than 81 years. The literacy rate for the total population is 99 percent, one of the highest in the world. The Brits are relatively healthy with a recent study showing that even the poorest British citizens are as healthy as the wealthiest Americans (Banks et al. 2006). Housing patterns also show a changing Britain. The sale of government-owned property, referred to as council homes, beginning under the Thatcher government in the 1980s, has transformed home ownership in Britain. Renting of government homes has dropped from over 35 percent in 1971 to just over 15 percent. Moreover, owner-occupied homes now account for more than 60 of all occupancy (Coxall et al. 2003, 29).

DOMESTIC POLITICS

The British political system is a Constitutional Monarchy. Queen Elizabeth Alexandra Mary Windsor II reigns over the whole of Britain and the Commonwealth. However, the 1689 Bill of Rights effectively established parliamentary sovereignty and reined in the power of the Monarchy. The 1911 Reform Act furthered the empowering of the parliament, and combined with various voting acts from 1918 through the 1920s, Britain established universal suffrage. Consequently, Britain is also a parliamentary democracy in which elections and rule of the people is central.

The parliament, commonly referred to as Westminster, is bicameral, but highly asymmetrical. The upper chamber, the House of Lords, represents the nobility, clergy, and honored members of British society. Its ability to veto legislation was effectively stripped by the 1911 Reform Act. The lower chamber, the House of Commons, represents the people of Britain. Its 646 members (c. 2005) are elected in single-member districts by plurality voting (for example the candidate with the most votes wins). The House of Commons is led by a Cabinet, with the prime minister being the chair of the Cabinet. The prime minister is typically the leader of the largest party in the Commons. The Cabinet initiates most legislation and champions it through the legislative process. Party loyalty is typical, with most members of parliament (MPs) voting with their party. Legislation requires a majority of support in the Commons. As the prime minister typically has a majority of MPs in his or her governing party, and with party loyalty being the norm, most legislation is passed with only the most minimal of amendment.

Elections are contested by a number of parties, but only two large, national parties have a reasonable chance of governing. The Conservative Party represents the middle class and the right while the Labour Party represents the working class and the left. Since the end of the second World War, the Conservatives have ruled Britain more than 60 percent of the time, with their longest stretch being from 1979 to 1997. Margaret Thatcher was the longest-serving prime minister of the

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LABOUR AND THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

The British Labour Party was one of the founding members, along with Karl Marx, of the International Working Men's Association, aka the First Socialist International. The First Socialist International dissolved in 1876 over differences between socialists and anarchists, but the Second Socialist International was formed in Paris in 1889. The organization was intended for European socialist and communist parties to communicate and coordinate political efforts. With the 1917 Russian Revolution, communists moved to the Communist International allied with Moscow, while the socialists continued on without them. Following the second World War, the Labour Party was instrumental in reestablishing the new Socialist International, which now includes many representatives from outside of Europe. In 1989 at Stockholm the organization removed any references to the abolition of capitalism and reaffirmed its democratic and humanitarian goals.

The Socialist International is headquartered in London. It works closely with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, of which the largest British Trade Union, the Trades Union Congress or TUC, is a member. The TUC is also a major funding source for the Labour Party and a contributor to the party's leadership election contests. The connection between the Labour Party and the Socialist International displays the international contacts of the current British ruling party. It also illustrates the commitment of the Labour Party to social democracy both at home and abroad, as well as its roots in the social and labour movements of the early twentieth century.

Tony Blair is a vice president in the Socialist International but he has not been very friendly to it. He has tried to convince the other members to pursue a new approach that he dubs "the Third Way." He wants the Socialist International to be modeled more like New Labour and the Democratic Party in the United States. Specifically, he would like the Socialist International to embrace the world markets, global capitalism, and the vision of an international community—and thus not a world community split along class lines. His efforts have thus far been rebuffed.

Source: Harmer 1999.

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twentieth century (1979 to 1990) and greatly reshaped the landscape of modern Britain through her economic, social, and foreign policies (also known as Thatcherism) as well as emphasized market forces and a strong Britain. She was followed by a fellow Conservative, John Major (1990–1997). Labour has held power since 1997 and enjoys its longest uninterrupted government since the second World War. Both the Conservatives and Labour are popular among the British population. The combined vote for both parties usually falls within 70 to 90 percent of the total vote. This combined amount was highest during the 1950s and lowest in the 1990s.

Other parties contest elections, but due to the plurality criterion, they often receive very few seats. Of note are the Liberal Democrats. This party dates back to the nineteenth century and represents the classical liberal position of free markets, limited government, and individual freedoms. It can obtain 20 to 25 percent of the national vote, but often earns only 4 to 10 percent of the seats in the House of Commons. Regional parties that represent national interests also exist and contest seats in their nation. The Scottish Nationalist Party (SNP) and Plaid Cymru represent Scotland and Wales, respectively. The SNP does well in Scotland, winning six seats in 2005. The Welsh nationalists do not fare as well, earning only three seats in 2005.

The parties in Northern Ireland are divided by religious community. The Ulster Unionist Party and the Democratic Unionist Party (to name the largest two

Unionist parties) represent the Protestant community, with the former being the more moderate. Both seek for Northern Ireland to remain a part of the United Kingdom. The Social Democratic and Labour Party, as well as Sinn Fein, represent the Catholic community. The former is a moderate, left-leaning party that seeks a local parliament for Northern Ireland and civil rights for the Catholic community. The latter is a more extreme party that seeks the unification of Northern Ireland with the Republic of Ireland, and thus the removal of Northern Ireland from the United Kingdom. The paramilitary group, the Irish Republican Army, has been linked to Sinn Fein.

The current prime minister and Labour Party leader is Gordon Brown, the former Chancellor of the Exchequer who replaced Tony Blair in June 2007. Blair was the prime minister and leader of the Labour Party from 1997 to 2007, and won three successive elections. He also redirected the Labour Party toward the center of the political spectrum. This is epitomized by the removal of Clause 4 from the Labour Party Constitution, a clause that emphasized government ownership of the economy. Blair's policies are commonly referred to as ''New Labour'' and emphasize a social economy (for example free market forces but government spending to combat inequality), further privatization of the economy, and spending on health, policing, and justice.

A key constitutional, political, and social issue in the United Kingdom today is devolution. Devolution is the delegation or decentralization of state power from the national government to sub-national authorities (Coxall et al. 2003, 289). Since the 1970s Scottish nationalists had argued for more authority to run Scottish affairs, particularly education, churches, and the courts. Following Blair's first election victory in 1997, and based on the recommitment of Labour to devolution in the 1980s, the Labour government promised a referendum in Scotland on the issue. A referendum in Scotland in 1979 failed because of low turnout. However, in September 1997, the Scottish voters overwhelmingly passed a referendum asking for a local parliament. The Labour government passed the 1998 Scotland Act which established a Scottish parliament. Elections to the Scottish parliament in 1999 led to a coalition administration of Labour and the Liberal Democrats, although the Scottish Nationalist Party held the second largest share of seats. A similar referendum in Wales in 1997 led to the Government of Wales Act in July 1998. The Welsh Assembly also is led by a Labour and Liberal Democrat administration.

Of note in this process of devolution is the notion of asymmetrical devolution. In other words, that the Scots and Welsh are represented in two assemblies (for example a regional assembly and the House of Commons) while the English are represented by only one (for example the House of Commons). This asymmetrical representation is often referred to as the ''West Lothian Question'' after a dissatisfied Labour MP who posed the question to the Labour government. This question is not a trivial one, as it goes to the heart of the British Constitution and how the four nations are represented in the larger United Kingdom. It also questions the nature of parliamentary sovereignty and the unitary state. Is the United Kingdom becoming quasi-federal? Is it eventually moving towards actual federalism? Is it moving towards a separation of Scotland from the rest of Britain? Devolution has opened up discussion on all of these issues.

Blair's government lost a good deal of popularity after the British became involved in the United States' invasion of Iraq in 2003. More than 60 percent of the British population opposed British involvement. In fact, almost half of the Labour MPs opposed the war and Blair received approval from the House of Commons largely on the support of the Conservative Party. The unpopularity of the war did not stop Blair and Labour from winning the 2005 General Election, but Labour did lose 47 seats and 5.5 percent of the national vote.

LAW AND ORDER

The rule of law is one of the fundamental principles of the British Constitution. British society is clearly organized around a framework of legal rules that restrain political behavior to those associated with a liberal democracy (Coxall et al. 2003, 251). A number of assumptions underlie the British rule of law: everyone is bound by the law, all persons are equal before the law, law and order is maintained by the state, legal redress is provided, and all legal personnel are free of political interference. Of course, the legal and judicial system in the United Kingdom is complicated because there are differences in its regional application, primarily between English and Scottish law. English law is primarily based on common law, which is contained in previous decisions by English courts. Scottish law is mainly comprised of Roman law, which involves the application of principles. On top of all this, the European Union laws and courts, such as the European Court of Justice, exerts some influence over law in the United Kingdom.

The courts system in England and Wales differs from that of Scotland. In criminal cases, Magistrate Courts hear minor cases, with the Magistrate making rulings. More serious offenses are heard in Crown Courts before both judge and jury. A Court of Appeals sits above the Crown Courts, with the House of Lords above these. In civil cases, County Courts hear most cases, with the High Court above it and answerable to the Courts of Appeal. The most common criticism of the court system is its reliance on the authority of the judges in most cases. Judges are virtually irremovable once appointed and often make controversial decisions. Moreover, judges can suggest verdicts to juries, a practice that most Americans would find unusual. However, given all this, the public generally considers the judges to be impartial and fair.

The British police force is widely regarded as one of the best in the world. It is divided into 52 separate forces: 43 in England and Wales, eight in Scotland, and one in Northern Ireland (Norton 2001, 375). The number of police officers grew in the twentieth century to over 127,000 by 2000, or roughly one for every 400 people. The population holds the police force in high esteem, praising it as a local, unarmed, well-trained, politically independent, and efficient organization.

Part of this perception is based on the relatively low crime rate in Britain. As recently as 1997, the homicide rate in Britain was 0.57 per 100,000 which rates quite well when compared with the average of the United States, 13.7 per 100,000 (Norton 2001, 377). However, a recent increase in drug-related crime and gang activity, particularly in the inner city of large urban areas, has led to calls to improve the police service. As mentioned earlier, Blair's government moved in the early 2000s to increase the number of police on city streets. In particular, Blair

hoped to decrease the amount of petty street crime, such as purse-snatching and simple robbery.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Foreign policy is the responsibility of the foreign minister, or more specifically, the secretary of state for Foreign Affairs. The foreign minister works in close contact with the defense minister and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office to coordinate policy. The foreign minister also relies on the intelligence services, cabinet committees, and departments within Whitehall, the common name for the governmental bureaucracy, to help establish policy. But perhaps of even greater importance, the foreign minister works directly with the prime minister to formulate policy. The prime minister is expected to direct foreign policy and be the primary international statesperson. As such, the prime minister often sets the agenda for foreign policy and makes most of the broader decisions about policy. The foreign minister consults with the prime minister, but quite often is left to the task to implement the foreign policy agenda set by the prime minister (Coxall et al. 2003, 411–12).

The foreign policy goals of Britain have been fairly consistent since the end of World War II and the dismantling of the British Empire. Winston Churchill first described the United Kingdom as being at the intersection of three circles of foreign interests. The first circle is the Commonwealth, the second circle is the United States, and the third is western Europe. The complimentary and contradictory pulls of each circle drive the British response to foreign events.

The Commonwealth of Nations (or simply Commonwealth) is the legacy of the British Empire. As former colonies gained their independence, they wanted to maintain good relations with the large trading and diplomatic power that is the United Kingdom. Britain wanted to retain a presence in its former colonies to defend its long-established trade relations, deter Soviet intervention, and stabilize the former colonies against internal and external aggression. The "special relationship" between Britain and the United States is the product of their intertwined governing institutions, history, and culture. It also is due to the British desire to pass the burden of international leadership on to a stronger power after World War II. The relationship is asymmetrical in terms of power, but both sides benefit equally. The United States gets a willing and capable European power to support its global efforts. Britain piggybacks on the international regimes (such as global free trade) that the United States effectively manages and gets the protection of the military presence of its partner across the Atlantic. Britain also has an interest in a stable and peaceful Europe. As such, its participation in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (among others) helps to keep a British presence in European policy making.

In a 2006 White Paper entitled, "Active Diplomacy for a Changing World: The UK's International Priorities," former Foreign Minister Margaret Beckett identified the following 10 strategic international priorities for the United Kingdom over the next five to ten years:

- Making the world safer from global terrorism and weapons of mass destruction.

- Reducing the harm to the United Kingdom from international crime, including drug trafficking, people smuggling, and money laundering.

- Preventing and resolving conflict through a strong international system.

- Building an effective and globally competitive European Union in a secure neighborhood.

- Supporting the United Kingdom economy and business through an open and expanding global economy, science, and innovation and secure energy supplies.

- Achieving climate security by promoting a faster transition to a sustainable, low carbon global economy.

- Promoting sustainable development and poverty reduction underpinned by human rights, democracy, good governance, and protection of the environment.

- Managing migration and combating illegal immigration.

- Delivering high-quality support for British nationals abroad, in normal times and in crises.

- Ensuring the security and good governance of the UK's Overseas Territories (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, March 28, 2006).

British foreign policy relies on a number of alliances in order to solidify its positions. Chief among these alliances is NATO. In cooperation with the United States and a large number of European nations, Britain collaborates on joint-command of an alliance aimed at preserving security in Europe. Over the decades, Britain has participated in a wide array of NATO missions, including the bombing of Serbia in 1999. NATO serves the role of linking Britain's trans-Atlantic interests with its European interests. With the end of the Soviet Union, Britain has reduced its nuclear arsenal to around 200 to 300 submarine-launched warheads. This is still quite a deterrent force and one of the largest in the world.

The United Kingdom is also an active member in a number of international organizations. Chief among these is the British permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council. Britain has the right to cast a veto to UN Security Council Resolutions and uses this position to protect its interests. Britain is a leading member of the World Trade Organization as well as the Group of Eight (G8, a council made up of eight of the world's largest economies). Britain is also party to over three dozen other international organizations dealing with a wide range of issues.

The United Kingdom is involved in 128 current peacekeeping missions around the globe. Britain contributes troops, civilian police, military observers, and others. About 300 British troops are deployed as part of UN operations in countries including Sierra Leone, Cyprus, Congo, the Sudan, Liberia, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, and Georgia.

SECURITY

The Ministry of Defense (MoD) ensures the security and defense of the United Kingdom and its overseas territories. As such, the MoD is the backbone of the government's foreign policy initiatives and works closely with the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. The MoD covers the armed forces of the United

Kingdom, which includes slightly over 190,000 members of the Army, Royal Navy, and Royal Air Force. The MoD controls resources of around £30 billion per year. The MoD has been headed by the Secretary of State for Defense, the Rt. Hon. Des Browne MP, a member of Tony Blair's Labour government. Three defense ministers support the secretary of state: the minister of state for the armed forces, the under secretary of state for Defense Procurement and the under secretary of state and minister for Veterans' Affairs.

There are two principal advisors to the defense ministers: the chief of the defense staff (CDS), a military officer, and the permanent secretary (PUS), a civilian. The CDS is the head of the armed forces and is responsible for managing the armed forces defense commitments. The PUS is the MoD's principal accounting officer and is responsible for the budget.

The British armed forces are one of the strongest and more advanced in the world. The army was restructured in 2004 to meet the needs of defense in the twenty-first century. It has become a smaller, lighter force capable of quick deployment. As such, the army has seen a reduction in heavy weapons from 1990. In particular, the army's holdings of main battle tanks have decreased to around 400 from a high of 1,200 (FIRST 2006). Likewise, holdings of heavy artillery have decreased from over 600 to just over 400 (FIRST 2006). The total aggregate number of heavy weapons has also decreased from over 7,000 to 4,600 (FIRST 2006). The Royal Air Force (RAF) has also moved toward a more swift and effective force, capable of deploying rapidly. The RAF deploys a wide array of aircraft. Chief among these are the combat aircraft such as the Tornado, Jaguar, Harrier, and Typhoon. Support aircraft include the C17 and C130 Hercules transport as well as the Chinook, Puma, and Merlin helicopters. The RAF operates in coalition with the Royal Navy and Army, as well as other British allies. The Royal Navy maintains around 40,000 personnel in service and a large fleet of ships. It can rapidly deploy almost anywhere in the world. The Royal Navy includes all sizes of ships from aircraft carriers to patrol boats, with the destroyers and frigates traditionally being the workhorses of the fleet. The submarine fleet patrols the waters around the British Isles and has the additional role of providing the nation's nuclear deterrent.

Intelligence services compliment the MoD. The Security Service, more commonly known as MI5, is responsible for protecting the United Kingdom against covert threats. MI5 operates under the oversight of the Intelligence and Security Committee (ISC). The ISC was created in 1994 to examine the expenditure, administration, and policy of MI5. The members of the ISC are drawn from both houses of parliament and may not be government ministers. MI5 is also directly responsible to the prime minister. The security and intelligence coordinator advises the prime minister of the activities of MI5. The Security Service Act of 1989 establishes the home secretary as responsible for MI5 and for appointing the director general of MI5. Two independent commissioners provide judicial oversight of MI5 under the Regulation of Investigatory Powers Act of 2000.

The aims of MI5 are many and include frustrating terrorism, preventing covert actions against the United Kingdom, preventing the procurement and proliferation of weapons of mass destructions (WMD), protecting sensitive government information, reducing serious crime by working with law enforcement, and identifying new and emerging threats.

As a world power, the United Kingdom has a wide array of security threats, both past and present. Perhaps the most important these days are terrorism, counter-proliferation, drugs and crime, human rights, and sustainable development. Terrorism is not new to the United Kingdom, especially in regard to Northern Ireland. The Irish Republican Army, as well as other groups, has been active since the late 1960s in Northern Ireland. The IRA took its bombing campaign to the British mainland in the 1970s. The British have responded with a two-prong approach. First, the British intelligence service and military have been trying to find and counter the IRA. Second, the British government has supported a number of peace initiatives to end the disputes between the Protestant and Catholic communities. This culminated in the 1998 Good Friday Peace Agreement that contained decommissioning of IRA weapons.

International terrorism provides the British security services with a new challenge. National or domestic terrorism typically relies on a hierarchical and/or coherent organization that can be identified. International terrorism tends to be motivated more by an idea or ideology and is more loosely organized. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office is pursuing a policy of countering international terrorism through partnership with the international community. Such efforts include the more routine counter-covert operation actions, but also working with financial institutions, law enforcement, aviation, and maritime organizations to counter terrorist groups. The United Kingdom is active in a number of countries, primarily in Africa, the Middle East, and Asia, including Kenya, Yemen, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Syria, Pakistan, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines.

Tony Blair made it clear that the proliferation of WMDs was one of the top issues on the government's security agenda. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office maintains a Counter-Proliferation Department (CPD) to deter the spread of WMDs. British efforts focus on delivery systems, particularly ballistic missiles, and related technology. CPD is also responsible for the oversight of exports and dual-use goods.

Another security priority is responding to international drugs and associated crime. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office recognizes that organized trafficking in drugs, as well as immigration trafficking, pose a security threat and have a foreign dimension. As such, the government aims to develop effective policies to counter the threat at its source in other countries. Such policies include establishing the rule of law in the Balkans, Afghanistan, and Iraq. It also includes counter-narcotics training for law enforcement in many nations, such as Afghanistan, Jamaica, Colombia, and Pakistan. Britain also leads the campaign for the eradication of poppy-cultivation in Afghanistan. And of course, Britain seeks to improve the effectiveness of international crime-stopping organizations such as Interpol, the United Nations, and others.

The British government also sees the promotion of human rights as a key security issue. In particular, the British government works with a number of international agencies on a host of policies: reducing torture, establishing the rights of children, expanding religious freedom, promoting equality, eliminating the death penalty, encouraging the expansion of civil liberties, and promoting democracy.

The environment and sustainable development are another key issue of British security policy. Britain is a signer and promoter of the Rio Principles, a number of key principles regarding the environment signed at the UN Conference on the Environment and Development in June 1992. The Rio Principles enshrine the belief that environmental issues affect all citizens of the world and that they are best addressed with the participation of all concerned parties and at all levels—international, national, and local. The Rio Principles encourage participation by citizens in decision making regarding the environment. Thus, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office sees the issue of human rights as being linked to that of the environment and sustainable development.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

A discussion of human rights in the United Kingdom is complicated by the nature of the uncodified constitution. Britain is a liberal democracy with a long history of a set of enshrined rights and liberties for its citizens. However, these rights are not enumerated anywhere, and when these liberties come into conflict with a broader social goal, the outcome is neither clear nor predictable. For example, ''The British freedoms of speech, organization, and demonstration…are supported more by tradition and political culture than by law'' (Kavanagh 2000, 349). Further, a large number of freedoms, such as freedom from arbitrary arrest and the presumption of innocence, are exercised only to the degree that the police forces respect them.

Typically, the British parliament has been able to restrict rights through legislation. The 1971 Internment Act allowed authorities to imprison and detain suspected terrorists without a trial. After a series of bombings in England, the parliament passed the 1974 Prevention of Terrorism Act that outlawed the Irish Republican Army and allowed for the arrest, detention, and deportation of any citizen born in Northern Ireland. A number of miscarriages of justice ensued with a number of innocent citizens spending just under 20 years in prison before being released.

The European Union and the emerging European Court of Justice, as well as the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) have begun to influence the practice of human rights in the United Kingdom. In particular, the European Human Rights Commission has attempted to end discrimination across western Europe. Based on the number of cases brought before the Commission alleging discrimination, Britain is one of the biggest offenders in the European Union. The Commission has ruled against such practices as police wiretapping, the access of prisoners to attorneys, legal protections for mental patients, and discrimination against foreign husbands of British women (Kavanagh 2000, 351).

Britain passed a Human Rights Act in 1998 which came into effect in 2000. It says that decisions reached by the courts of the United Kingdom, government departments, and devolved authorities have to be consistent with the European Convention on Human Rights. However, notably absent from the act is any restriction on Parliament to abide by the ECHR. If a court rules that a provision of legislation is ''incompatible'' with the ECHR, the parliament decides on the matter. They may choose to find a remedy for the incompatibility, but they are

not bound to do so. By the constitutional principle of parliamentary sovereignty, the parliament may choose to ignore the ECHR and leave the incompatibility in place. Of course, this has led a small number in Britain to call for the establishment of a human rights commission to ensure the compliance of the United Kingdom with the ECHR.

After 1997 and the Labour election victory, the new Foreign Minister Robin Cook declared that he wanted to put an "ethical dimension" into foreign affairs. Particularly, he wanted human rights to play a starring role in British conduct abroad. Central to this mission was the British commitment to not sell arms to irresponsible governments abroad. In particular, the use of British arms to suppress civilian populations and to attack neighboring countries was deemed abhorrent. The arms trade is of importance to British business as the United Kingdom is the second largest arms exporter in the world, behind only the United States. Under New Labour, British arms sales may only occur if they meet certain guidelines as set out by Parliament and in accordance with the United Nations Register on Conventional Arms (Coxall et al. 2003, 418). However, the guidelines do not carry any legal restrictions and thus are only morally binding on private British companies.

Perhaps the biggest criticism of the new "ethical dimension" is that when practical foreign policy comes up against such idealism, it is the practical that wins. Realist policy in which British national interest and security are primary has often trumped moral considerations. Critics point to the sale of fighter jets, water cannons, and riot control equipment to the Indonesian government. The critics argue that this equipment would only be used to subdue domestic discontent in Indonesia. And in 1998 the British government allowed a private company to interfere into the affairs of Sierra Leone despite a United Nations' arms embargo and sanctions (Dunleavy et al. 2003, 333). Further, in 2000 Tony Blair permitted the exportation of spare aircraft parts to Zimbabwe, despite international condemnation of Mugabe's government and its involvement in the Congolese civil war.

CONCLUSION

The security of the United Kingdom appears as secure today as it did a decade ago. The successful management of foreign policy by the British government has kept most threats at quite a distance. International terrorism poses the most immediate, and perhaps the most proximate, threat. With the bombings of the London Underground and buses in 2005, international terrorists struck at the United Kingdom in a dramatic way. The fact that the bombers lived within England sent shockwaves through the British polity. It also drove home the faceless and anonymous nature of the threat. International terrorism is not isolated to just a particular nation-state or group; it is committed by average citizens and can strike from anywhere.

The special relationship between the United Kingdom and the United States is as strong as ever. Tony Blair committed his Labour government to supporting the U.S.-led War on Terror. This led to British cooperation with the United States in both the invasion of Afghanistan to displace the Taliban and find Al Qaeda leaders, and also the invasion of Iraq to topple the regime of Saddam Hussein and locate

weapons of mass destruction. The British government has passed legislation aimed at rooting out terrorist cells within the United Kingdom and has passed legislation aimed at preventing international terrorists from operating abroad.

Of course, the presence of terrorist cells within Britain is symptomatic of a changing British society. The end product of colonization and empire has been the slow but steady movement of immigrants from the former colonies, dominions, and mandates into Britain. Of note, the number of Muslims in Britain has been increasing. This has led to the establishment of Muslim communities in most of the major cities, notably London, Birmingham, and Manchester. While the immigrant communities are overwhelmingly populated by loyal, law-abiding citizens, it is now clear that they are a potential recruiting ground for international terrorist organizations.

This reality drives home the global nature of the threat of international terrorism. Four key pieces of legislation, the Terrorism Act of 2000, the Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act of 2001, the Prevention of Terrorism Act of 2005, and the Terrorism Act of 2006 provide law enforcement and intelligence agencies tools in which to fight international terrorism, both at home and abroad. These acts typically strengthen activities designed to freeze terrorist funding, improve access to information for law

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JULY 7, 2005, BOMBINGS AND A CHANGED SOCIETY

On July 7, 2005, four suicide bombers detonated explosives in the London Underground and on a bus. These explosions claimed 52 lives and injured almost 800 others. Four British Muslim men ranging in age from 18 to 30 carried two to five kilograms of explosives in rucksacks onto packed subway trains and a commuter bus. Particularly shocking was that all four were British born and British citizens all apparently leading quite normal lives. The government, as well as British Muslim leaders, quickly condemned the attacks. Prime Minister Tony Blair said that "the slaughter of innocent people" would not intimidate Britain. He continued, "When they seek to change our country, our way of life by these methods, we will not be changed. When they try to divide our people or weaken our resolve, we will not be divided and our resolve will hold firm."

The bombings and their aftermath are a firm reminder of the link between security and the changing British society. The growing number of Muslims in Britain has often through involuntary and voluntary action been segregated into isolated communities. A great difference in understanding has developed that is not often bridged. The events of July 7, 2005, alerted the nation to the need to pursue communication and dialogue with its Muslim community. Moreover, the Muslim community has recognized the need to reach out to the rest of Britain and show that the bombers are not representative of the greater majority of Muslims.

Source: BBC News 2005.

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enforcement and intelligence, increase aviation, chemical, biological and nuclear security, increase restrictions on immigration, increase penalties for assisting terrorism, and increase police powers of search and seizure.

The British military presence in both Afghanistan and Iraq places its troops on the frontlines of international conflict. Blair's government was committed to maintaining a British presence until both governmental stability and a modicum of democratic institutions were in place (he announced in February 2007 the first large-scale withdrawal of forces from Iraq). The 1st Mechanized Brigade operates in the southeast of Iraq and deploys around 8,300 troops. Another 1,100 or so British soldiers/sailors deploy either in Baghdad or aboard naval vessels in the area. As of July 2006, 114 members of the British armed forces had been killed in Iraq. At the time of writing, the current prime minister of Iraq, Nouri Maliki, had pledged to begin deploying Iraqi troops and allowing coalition forces to withdraw. The

formerly British-controlled province of Muthanna was the first, in July 2006, to see the replacement of coalition forces with Iraqi forces.

Domestically, the United Kingdom must some day come to grips with the division of the Protestant and Catholic communities inside of Northern Ireland. In the 2005 General Elections, the more extreme parties in both communities, Sinn Fein for the Catholics and the Democratic Unionist Party for the Protestants, both increased their representation in the House of Commons at the expense of the more moderate parties, the Social Democratic and Labour Party for the Catholics and the Ulster Unionist Party for the Protestants. This is a disturbing harbinger, that when coupled with the suspension of the Northern Ireland Assembly should alert the British government to the increasing polarization in Northern Ireland. The 1998 Good Friday Peace Agreement took a great step forward in helping the two communities, as well as the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland, settle the differences in Northern Ireland. However, more work needs to be done lest a return to "the troubles" of the 1970s occur.

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The United States

Kalin Ivanov

BACKGROUND

The United States is located in the middle latitudes of North America, bordering Canada in the North, the Atlantic Ocean in the East, the Gulf of Mexico and Mexico in the South, and the Pacific Ocean in the West. Two outlying states are Alaska on the continent's northwestern tip and Hawaii, a Pacific Island chain. Additional dependent territories include Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, the Northern Mariana Islands, and American Samoa. The United States has a total area of nearly 10 million square kilometers, ranking it among the world's largest countries.

Landscape is varied, ranging from tropical to arctic climates, from deserts to rainforests, from low-lying prairies to the continent's highest peak, and from over-populated cities to vast areas virtually untouched by humans. Major mountain ranges are the Appalachians and Rockies; rivers include the Mississippi, Colorado, and Rio Grande.

The United States is a leading producer of copper, silver, zinc, gold, coal, petroleum, and natural gas. Abundant natural resources supported the development of an energy-intensive economy centering on their extraction and processing. More recently, services and technology have played a greater role. Investment in the innovative Internet sector peaked from 1997 until the so called "dot-com bubble" was punctured in 2001. Information technology is still one of the most promising sectors of the economy.

The United States remains the world's largest energy consumer and leading emitter of carbon dioxide from the burning of fossil fuels. Levels of wet sulfate and other toxins have been reduced but continue to cause air pollution and acid rain. Motor vehicles remain the largest man-made source of air pollution in the United States, especially fuel-inefficient sports utility vehicles. Other environmental problems include desertification and water pollution from pesticides and fertilizers. Natural fresh water resources in the western part of the country are limited.

The United States

Formal name: United States of America
Area: 9,631,420 sq km
Natural resources: Petroleum, natural gas, coal, timber, copper, lead, phosphates, uranium, gold, iron, mercury, nickel, potash, silver, and zinc
Population: 298,444,215 (2006 est.)
Life expectancy at birth: 77.85 years
Key ethnic groups:

- White 81.7%
- Black 12.9%
- Asian 4.2%
- Native American 1% (2003 est.)

Key religions: Protestant 52%, Roman Catholic 24%, Mormon 2%, Jewish 1%, Muslim 1%, other 10%, none 10% (2002 est.)
Political system: Presidential federal republic divided into 50 states and one district. Liberal democracy.
Key political groups/parties:

- Democratic
- Republican
- Green
- Libertarian Party

Legal system: Federal court system based on English common law
Real GDP growth: 3.5% (2005 est.)
Population below poverty line: 12% (2004 est.)
Military expenditure: $518.1 billion (FY2004 est.)
Military personnel: 1,496,000 (2003)
Source: CIA 2006.

Since the adoption of the 1787 Constitution, the United States has been a federal republic with two legislative chambers—the Senate and House of Representatives. The president, elected every four years, serves as both head of state and head of government and appoints members of the cabinet with approval from the Senate. The cabinet consists of the attorney general and the secretaries of the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Defense, Education, Energy, Health and Human Services, Homeland Security, Housing and Urban Development, Interior, Labor, State, Transportation, Treasury, and Veterans Affairs. The judicial branch is headed by the U.S. Supreme Court, consisting of a chief justice and eight associate justices, who serve for life upon nomination by the president and confirmation from the Senate.

The political map is divided into 50 states. The national capital is Washington, coterminous with the federal District of Columbia. Alaska and Rhode Island are the largest and smallest state by area, respectively, while California and Wyoming are the most and least populous. The largest cities are New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston, and Philadelphia.

A capitalist democracy, the United States is among the most highly developed industrialized countries. It was founded in 1776 when 13 British colonies on the Atlantic coast declared independence and gradually embarked on a course of westward expansion. The country was long absorbed by internal territorial and economic expansion and torn by social rifts culminating in a Civil War (1861–1865), which left long-lasting scars. In the twentieth century, the United States was twice embroiled in global conflicts, emerging victorious on both occasions and entering the ranks of the world's great powers. Locked in a Cold War with the Soviet Union until 1989, the United States now stands unrivaled as a military and geopolitical superpower. Since the September 11, 2001, attacks on the cities of New York and Washington, a major preoccupation of U.S. foreign and domestic policy has been the terrorist threat posed by Islamic fundamentalists.

Famous for its "American dream," the United States has for centuries attracted immigrants with the promise of free opportunity. As legal and illegal immigrants continue to flock in, they discover a country that does not always live up to the "American dream": diminishing resources, a contaminated environment, sharp socioeconomic inequalities, and racial tensions.

SOCIETY

The United States has a population of nearly 300 million, making it the most populous country in the world after China and India. The U.S. population encompasses wide-ranging cultural and ethnic diversity. The land's original inhabitants (Amerindians, Aleuts, and Eskimos) now number only about 1 percent. Most Americans are descendants of immigrants who have been arriving in a steady stream, especially since the 1830s. Immigration has been propelled both by "push factors" such as economic hardship or political and religious persecution at home, and by "pull factors"—the opportunities afforded by abundant land and demand for labor in the United States. Nearly 13 percent of Americans are of African descent, most of them the offspring of slaves who were forcibly brought across the Atlantic to work on plantations until the abolition of slavery in 1863.

The racist ideology of the original slave-owning society has now been officially supplanted by the principles of equal opportunity and affirmative action. Despite advances by the civil rights movement since the 1950s, racial discrimination persists, and the majority of whites (nearly 82 percent) tend to enjoy better access to education, health care, and employment.

The traditional U.S. doctrine of separation between church and state allowed a variety of denominations to flourish. Today, five-sixths of religious adherents are Christian, belonging mostly to various Protestant churches. The largest single denomination is Roman Catholicism (24 percent). Jewish and Muslim believers, the latter relatively recent arrivals, number about 1 percent each.

The United States is the world's leading economic power, measured in economic output ($42,000 per capita), and it dominates global trade in most commodities. The country's wealth is attributable to a highly developed industry and service sector, as well as to agricultural productivity and copious natural resources. The United States is also a major source and destination for capital investment. Most stock sales in the United States take place at the New York Stock Exchange and the American Stock Exchange in New York City. The country's major market for currencies and financial instruments is the Chicago Mercantile Exchange.

U.S. workers are not highly organized. Most unions in the manufacturing sector do not bargain on a nationwide scale. Despite legislative limits on the freedom to strike, unions have sometimes staged prolonged strikes. Legislation tends to favor the interests of employers. The federal minimum wage is $5.85 an hour and some states have set a higher minimum wage.

Economic dynamism has been propelled by an extensive transportation network. Mobility allowed the dispersal of business and industry and contributed to economic productivity, but it also hastened the decline of inner cities, and led to traffic congestion and pollution. A dense network of roads centers on the 44,000-mile-long Interstate Highway System. Almost 90 percent of households own at least one vehicle, and many own two or more. Large cities are served by public transit and rail commuter lines, but most trips in metropolitan areas are made by car.

Railroads, once the backbone of U.S. industry, have largely given in to competition from trucking, although they continue to carry about one-third of intercity freight traffic, especially coal, grain, chemicals, and cars. A passenger rail system serves almost 500 stations throughout the United States. A similar number of public airports support the busy air traffic. Navigable waterways include the Mississippi River, the Great Lakes–St. Lawrence Seaway system, and the Gulf Coast waterways. The leading ports, measured in total weight handled, are New York City, New Orleans, Valdez (Alaska), and Houston.

U.S. businesses are at the forefront of technological innovation, with substantial benefits for capital and labor productivity. The drawbacks of certain financial innovations were revealed in a series of corporate scandals involving fraud and corruption disguised by creative accounting. Enron, a leading energy company based in Houston went bankrupt in late 2001, when it became clear that its apparently healthy finances were in fact the result of systematic fraud. The bankruptcy cost the jobs, savings, and pensions of thousands of employees. The ensuing scandal brought about the dissolution of Arthur Andersen, a major accounting firm.

The U.S. government plays only a limited direct role in the economy, and most sectors are privately run. Agriculture is subject to extensive income support for farmers as well as output controls. The government intervenes to promote competition by enforcing antitrust laws. Internationally, the United States has been a leading advocate of free trade, viewed as beneficial for U.S. interests, but also resorts to occasional protectionist measures. Chief trading partners are Canada, Mexico, Japan, Britain, South Korea, and Germany.

The government's fiscal and monetary policies have a significant impact on the economy. Federal government activity is funded primarily through the personal

income tax, and to a lesser extent from corporate income taxes and excise duties on alcohol, gasoline, and tobacco. States levy their own excise and sales taxes.

The United States has recovered from the recession brought about by the September 11, 2001, attacks which dealt a severe blow to the airline industry and caused layoffs across the economy. Improvements in labor productivity have contributed to recent GDP growth, despite the ever-rising price of imported oil on which the country relies for nearly two-thirds of consumption. Damage inflicted by Hurricane Katrina in the Gulf Coast region in August 2005 did not cause a significant setback for the national economy. Trade and budget deficits are sizeable, with a public debt of 64.7 percent of the GDP, and a current account balance of -$829.1 billion. The U.S. dollar, the major international currency after World War II, now competes with the Euro and the yen.

Economic prosperity has provided the majority of Americans with one of the highest standards of living in the world. Most U.S. citizens enjoy a high level of material comfort, security, and individual freedom. The Economist Intelligence Unit survey ranks the United States 13th in the world according to quality of life. Life expectancy at birth is nearly 78 years. At the same time, extreme socioeconomic inequalities persist and even deepen. Since 1975, almost all increases in household income have been absorbed by the wealthiest 20 percent of households. Crime, drug abuse, urban sprawl, pollution, and AIDS continue to plague the country. Further areas of concern, especially for the poor, are the educational and health care systems. The rising medical and pension costs of an aging population remain a long-term concern.

Programs such as Social Security and Medicare have helped to reduce poverty among the elderly. Yet, nearly 12 percent of the population and about 17 percent of children live below the poverty line. Individual states offer varying amounts of welfare, and the federal government provides food stamps through the state and local governments. Limited unemployment assistance is funded by worker and employer contributions. Many poverty reduction programs were introduced in the 1960s under President Lyndon B. Johnson but were curtailed in the 1990s, in response to allegations that the poor were abusing welfare or were becoming too dependent on it.

Health care is one of the largest industries in the United States, valued at more than $1 trillion annually, a higher percentage of the GDP than in other industrialized countries. The United States is at the forefront of medical technology. Despite the high degree of private and public spending, not all Americans are guaranteed access to adequate health care, especially in rural and impoverished areas. Most Americans are covered by health insurance funded through their employers. Medicaid subsidizes the health costs of the very poor but every sixth American is not covered by health insurance, posing a serious problem in light of rising medical costs.

The majority of housing units in the United States are large single-family homes, inhabited mostly by the owners. Housing in the United States is traditionally regarded a private rather than a public matter. Since the appearance of slums in large cities, local governments have enforced sanitary controls and construction codes. Urban housing projects built for the poor in the 1950s and 1960s have been plagued by crime and drug abuse. To avoid such segregation, efforts have been

made more recently to integrate the poor into communities for people with varying income levels.

The literacy rate is 99 percent. Elementary and secondary education is compulsory and free in public schools run by local government. School quality tends to vary with the financial prosperity of parents. Especially prone to violence and drug abuse, the poorest schools struggle to retain qualified teachers. There are nearly 4,000 colleges and universities, administered privately or by state governments. The federal government provides financial support for school lunch programs, college student loans, and university research grants.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

The United States is a democratic republic where the president serves as both chief of state and head of government. George W. Bush and Richard B. Cheney have been president and vice president, respectively, since January 20, 2001, representing the center-right Republican Party. Their main rival, the center-left Democratic Party, now led by Howard Dean, held the presidency between 1992 and 2000 under Bill Clinton. These two parties dominate an essentially bipolar political system, with the smaller Green and Libertarian parties on the fringes. Since the 2004 Congressional elections, Republicans have held a majority of both legislative chambers: 55 out of 100 seats in the Senate and 231 out of 435 seats in the House of Representatives. Republicans control 20 state legislatures and 28 governorships, compared with 19 and 22 for Democrats.

Republicans traditionally stand for a limited role of the state in the economy. Their supporters also include social conservatives and the Christian right. Democrats, by contrast, are more likely to support government redistributive programs and to take a secular line on moral issues such as gay rights and abortion. Since the 1990s, the ideological gap between the two parties has narrowed somewhat as they compete for voters in the center of the political spectrum. The 2000 presidential election was particularly close, with only 537 votes separating rivals George W. Bush and Al Gore in the swing state of Florida. Bush was declared winner after a series of court challenges and recounts, even though he lost the popular vote—a situation made possible by the electoral college system. In 2004, Bush won reelection against Democratic challenger John F. Kerry with 50.7 percent of the popular vote. The most contentious issue in that election was whether the previous year's war to topple Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein had contributed to or detracted from U.S. efforts against terrorism. Bush's approval ratings in popular opinion polls started at near 50 percent, skyrocketed above 80 percent after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, and then slowly declined to below 40 percent.

Bush espouses the political philosophy of compassionate conservatism, embodied in support for traditional families, welfare reform to promote individual responsibility, faith-based social programs, active policing, and standards-based schooling. Critics challenge compassionate conservatism as hypocritical, pointing out that President Bush's tax cuts have disproportionately benefited the wealthy.

Another influential ideological current is neoconservatism, with roots in the administration of Ronald Reagan and key adherents in the administration of

George W. Bush. Neoconservatives take hawkish positions on foreign policy issues, as exemplified in the Bush Doctrine, announced after September 11, 2001, which treats countries harboring terrorists as direct enemies of the United States.

In the legislative branch, two senators represent each state for a renewable term of six years. The vice president of the United States presides over the Senate but plays no part in its deliberations except to cast a tie-breaking vote. The House of Representatives consists of members allocated among states according to population size. Representatives are elected for two-year terms, and the entire House comes up for reelection every two years, which is the case for only a third of senators. In addition to making laws, Congress has the right to impeach the president and other federal officials. The Senate ratifies international treaties and confirms many of the president's high-level appointments.

Suffrage is universal for those aged 18 and over. Election turnout has been consistently lower than in other advanced industrial democracies. Turnout at presidential elections has been below 60 percent of the voting-age population, and below 40 percent for Congressional elections. About 54 percent of Americans suspect that "a few big interests" dominate government decisions. Examples of powerful lobbies include the military and pharmaceutical industries and various ethnic and religious groups.

A contentious issue across and within party lines is gun control, with disputes centering on the interpretation of the Constitution's Second Amendment which guarantees the right of the people to keep and bear arms. Disputes concern whether popular gun ownership increases or decreases crime levels, how different types of firearms should be regulated, and who should be eligible to own a gun. The National Rifle Association has lobbied in favor of fewer restrictions on firearm possession.

Another divisive political issue is abortion. Pro-life groups insist that abortion should be outlawed because they view the fetus as a human being with a fundamental right to life. By contrast, pro-choice advocates argue that a woman has the right to choose whether or not to have an abortion. Pro-life activism is focused on overturning the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision of the Supreme Court, which struck down state laws banning abortion.

Political controversy has also focused on the legality and rationale of the 2003 invasion and occupation of Iraq by a U.S.-led coalition, which triggered mass protests in the United States and elsewhere. The Bush administration initially justified the war with claims that Saddam Hussein's regime had weapons of mass destruction and links to Al Qaeda—claims that have remained unproven. Hostilities began on March 20, 2003, and continued years after the Iraqi regime's defeat and President Bush's "mission accomplished" proclamation on May 1, 2003. The conflict, initially popular with a majority of U.S. citizens, came to be viewed as a mistake by most Americans by the summer of 2005 (Polling Report).

Domestic political life has been marred by a series of corruption scandals. An influence-peddling scandal on Capitol Hill involving lobbyist Jack Abramoff led to several resignations. In separate cases, Tom DeLay resigned from his position as House majority leader after being indicted on money-laundering charges, and Randy "Duke" Cunningham stepped down from the House after pleading guilty

to accepting $2.4 million in bribes from defense contractors. Almost half of American adults believe that "most members of Congress are corrupt" (Polling Report).

LAW AND ORDER

Law enforcement agencies in the United States are charged with maintaining public order, preventing and investigating suspected crimes, enforcing court orders, and providing first response in emergencies. There are nearly 800,000 full-time sworn law enforcement officers, most of them working in one of 17,784 state and local agencies such as local police and sheriff's departments. Agencies vary in size from the 40,000-stong New York Police Department to a single officer in rural areas. Recruitment policies require physical and psychological health and a clean criminal record.

At the federal level, the constitution allows law enforcement agencies to investigate only offenses against federal law. For example, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) gets involved in a murder investigation if a suspect flees across state lines, which is a violation of federal law. The FBI, the investigative arm of the U.S. Department of Justice, has jurisdiction over espionage, sabotage, kidnapping, extortion, and bank robbery among others. Terrorism currently tops the list of its priorities, along with cyber crime, public corruption, and white-collar crime. The FBI also collects and publishes uniform crime statistics. Led by the controversial J. Edgar Hoover for 48 years, the Bureau now imposes a 10-year term for its directors. With an annual budget of $5.9 billion, the FBI has 12,515 special agents and 17,915 support staff. In addition to the FBI, there is a Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, a Drug Enforcement Administration, and a Federal Protective Service. The powers of federal agencies were broadened by the U.S. Patriot Act of 2001.

Fire departments are organized at the municipal level. One of the largest is the 16,000-strong Fire Department of New York, responsible not only for traditional firefighting but also for first response to biological, chemical, and radioactive hazards. The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) within the Department of Homeland Security coordinates the response to disasters and the appropriation of funds for reconstruction. FEMA has been criticized for its handling of the Hurricane Katrina aftermath.

Seventy percent of Americans think that if terrorists were to target their town or city, local policy would be unprepared to prevent such an attack. Confidence in federal agencies is somewhat higher, with 43 percent saying the federal government would be prepared to prevent a terrorist attack.

Adults resident in the United States experience approximately 24 million crimes annually, 77 percent of which are property crimes

"The gravest danger to freedom lies at the crossroads of radicalism and technology. When the spread of chemical and biological and nuclear weapons, along with ballistic missile technology—when that occurs, even weak states and small groups could attain a catastrophic power to strike great nations. Our enemies have declared this very intention, and have been caught seeking these terrible weapons. They want the capability to blackmail us, or to harm us, or to harm our friends—and we will oppose them with all our power."—President George W. Bush, West Point, New York, June 1, 2002.
http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nssall.html

and 21 percent violent crimes. Violent crime rates have declined since the mid-1990s. Teenagers experience the highest rates of violent crime, while the poor face the highest risk of being robbed. Homicides are most frequent in New Orleans, Baltimore, and Detroit. The overall crime rate is highest in Myrtle Beach, South Carolina, and lowest in Bay Village, Ohio, according to government statistics (U.S. Dept. of Justice).

The United States is the world's largest consumer of cocaine, imported from Latin America. Other common illicit drugs are heroin, marijuana, and methamphetamine. The United States is also a money-laundering center and a destination for human trafficking.

Prisons in the United States are administered by federal, state, and local governments. The United States has one of the highest incarceration rates in the world, partly because of strict antidrug policies and legal requirements for long sentences such as three-strikes laws. The prison population exceeds two million, over 90 percent of whom are male. Young black males are disproportionately represented in prisons.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The United States has unrivaled military, political, and economic power. The official objectives of U.S. foreign policy are to protect U.S. citizens at home and abroad, defend allied countries, and promote peace, democracy, and free trade around the world. The sometimes contradictory interests and ideals underlying these objectives have given rise to controversy within and outside the United States. One of the most disputed foreign policy objectives is the promotion of democracy in other countries which has been among Washington's official goals at least since World War I, when President Woodrow Wilson avowed that "the world must be made safe for democracy." This statement was echoed in the lead-up to World War II when President Franklin D. Roosevelt called for the United States to become "the great arsenal of democracy." The ideal of promoting democracy has sometimes been overshadowed by considerations of expediency, leading the United States to support dictatorships in Latin America, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East.

The secretary of state is in charge of relations with other countries. The president signs international treaties which must be ratified by the Senate. The president also controls the military and may order the deployment of troops for 60 days without approval from Congress, which has the power to declare war. In public opinion polls, Americans traditionally rank domestic affairs as more important than international ones.

In its early history, the United States was not actively involved in international politics, focusing instead on territorial expansion in North America. The Monroe Doctrine established the U.S. zone of influence in both North and South America. The horizon of U.S. foreign policy expanded to the Pacific with the occupation of Hawaii and the Philippines. Embroiled against its will in World War I, the United States emerged on the victorious side but then reverted to isolationism.

In World War II, the United States allied with Britain and the Soviet Union against Germany, Italy, and Japan. Once again victorious, this time Washington

opted for full engagement in postwar international politics. It promoted the creation of the United Nations as well as the Bretton Woods financial system backed by the U.S. dollar. The Cold War with the Soviet Union resulted in ideological confrontation and proxy wars in Korea and Vietnam. The Cold War thawed from the late 1960s to the late 1970s, a period known as *détente*, which eased tensions between the hostile camps. This trend was reversed after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the election of Ronald Reagan as U.S. president in 1980. The implosion of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s reinforced the leading position of the United States on the world stage, with the ensuing necessity to become involved in conflicts from Somalia to the former Yugoslavia. After the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, the United States declared a wide-ranging War on Terror which has included invasions of Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003).

The closest ally of the United States is the United Kingdom as evidenced in traditional military and intelligence links, and personal friendships between the leaders of the two countries. Canada, many European countries, and Turkey are part of NATO, a military alliance with a commitment to mutual defense. Further allies include Israel, South Korea, Australia, and Japan. The United States is a leading member of the North American Free Trade Agreement, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the United Nations Security Council, the World Trade Organization, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the Group of Eight. The United States is also a dialogue partner in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and an observer in the Council of Europe. Enemies of the United States, defined by President George W. Bush as an "axis of evil" are Iran, North Korea, and Iraq (prior to the 2003 toppling of Saddam). Further enemies include Cuba, Libya, and Syria.

The United States funds 26 percent of the UN peacekeeping budget but it provides less than 0.5 percent of UN peacekeepers. The 1993 Battle of Mogadishu made the U.S. government careful about incurring casualties in military operations that it does not consider essential to its strategic interests.

Official Development Assistance which used to be the largest source of aid from the United States to developing countries has now been surpassed by foundations, private and voluntary organizations, corporations, churches, and individual remittances encouraged by the U.S. tax structure. The percentage of the GDP that the United States dedicates to development assistance is smaller than the percentage dedicated by other industrialized countries. Leading recipients of U.S. government aid are Iraq (post-Saddam), the Democratic Republic of Congo, Egypt, Russia, and Jordan.

The United States was the first country to develop and test nuclear weapons, and the only country to use them in combat, in the 1945 attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The United States and the Soviet Union devoted enormous resources to competing for nuclear supremacy, reaching "mutually assured destruction" by the 1950s. The confrontation climaxed in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis. Since the late 1960s, the United States has been involved in international efforts to limit nuclear proliferation by controlling the distribution of enriched uranium and plutonium. In the 1980s, President Ronald Reagan embarked on an expensive space-based antiballistic missile system.

One of the major goals of U.S. policy has been to prevent "rogue" states such as Iran or North Korea from developing nuclear weapons. The United States is a party to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (1968) and it has signed but not ratified the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (1996). In 2002, President Bush withdrew from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty of 1972 in order to proceed with plans for National Missile Defense.

SECURITY

The U.S. military budget of $329 billion exceeds by far that of any other country. Military forces include the U.S. Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force, all controlled by the Department of Defense. The Coast Guard is normally administered by the Department of Homeland Security, but in wartime reports to the Navy. The United States has military bases across the globe. The military forces have been operating on an entirely volunteer basis since 1973 but males between 18 and 25 years are still required to register for a potential draft. The National Guard, formed by what were once state militias, is a part of the U.S. Army and Air Force. Members of the National Guard have been called to active duty more frequently since the wars in Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003). States maintain their own military forces.

The Department of Homeland Security (DHS) was created in 2003 to bring under a single umbrella 22 previously fragmented federal security agencies. Its establishment was the most radical overhaul of the U.S. government since the 1940s. The DHS brought together the Secret Service, the Customs Service, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and the Coast Guard, among others. With over 180,000 employees, the DHS aims to eliminate duplication of duties. A Cabinet-level agency, the DHS is expected to prevent terrorist attacks on U.S. territory, reduce America's vulnerability to terrorism, and minimize the damage from attacks that do occur. In the event of a disaster, the DHS is charged with ensuring the continuity of essential government operations. To improve emergency response capacities, the DHS works in partnership with state, local, and tribal officials, as well as with private businesses. The department is responsible for identifying and evaluating the vulnerability of critical infrastructure and for keeping the public informed. The first head of the Department of Homeland Security was Tom Ridge, a former congressman and governor of Pennsylvania. In 2005, Ridge was replaced by Judge Michael Chertoff, a former prosecutor.

The DHS drew international criticism for requiring foreign visitors to be photographed and electronically fingerprinted upon arrival in the United States. Domestic critics, meanwhile, have pointed to inefficiencies and turf battles in the allocation of the DHS's $40 billion annual budget. The most controversial DHS program was the National Security Entry-Exit Registration System, which targeted men from Middle Eastern countries for mandatory personal registration. It was terminated in December 2003.

The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) obtains and analyzes information about foreign governments, companies, and individuals. Its tasks also include propaganda and covert operations. The Agency was created in 1947 under President Harry S. Truman and it is headquartered at Langley in Fairfax County, Virginia. It now

reports to Director of National Intelligence John D. Negroponte. Its budget and staff numbers are classified. The CIA and other intelligence services have been criticized for failing to share information that might have prevented the September 11 attacks, and for running a system of ''extraordinary rendition,'' including the alleged torture of terrorist suspects, according to press reports.

During the Cold War, the danger of a devastating nuclear war with the Soviet Union led to the construction of extensive bunker complexes to shield government personnel and infrastructure. Fallout shelters were also built to protect citizens from radioactive debris in the event of war.

Interest in emergency preparedness resurged after 9/11 in which Al Qaeda terrorists hijacked commercial passenger airliners and crashed them into the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon building in Washington, DC, resulting in the death of nearly 3,000 people, including about 400 rescue workers.

Shortly after the September 11 attacks, letters containing anthrax bacteria were received by Senate and media officials, killing five people. In the ensuing mass scare, thousands of Americans took the antibiotic Cipro to preempt an anthrax infection. In the following years, the danger of a biological, chemical, or radiological attack by terrorists led citizens to stock up on plastic sheeting and duct tape to seal windows. Nearly 54 percent of Americans think that further acts of terrorism in the United States are likely, and 36 percent are worried that their family members may become victims.

Natural hazards include hurricanes, tornadoes, tsunamis, volcanoes, mudslides, flooding, and forest fires. In August 2005, Hurricane Katrina devastated the coastlines of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, killing nearly 1,836 people and causing $81.2 billion in damage. Breached levees flooded about 80 percent of the city of New Orleans. Government preparedness for and reaction to the storm was criticized as inadequate.

Although violent crime levels have declined since 1993, they continue to present a problem. The United States has a higher substance abuse rate than most other industrialized countries, and arrests for drug offenses are on the rise.

Most Americans enjoy a relatively high standard of living. Physical comforts have reduced levels of physical activity, with only one-third of adults physically active in their leisure time. An estimated 65 percent of adults are overweight or obese. Half of Americans aged 55–64 years have high blood pressure which is a risk factor for heart disease and stroke. Among the leading causes of death are heart disease, cancer, and stroke. Fewer people smoke than in the past and some communities have prohibited smoking in public buildings, but nearly 9 out of 10 Americans are exposed to secondhand tobacco smoke. The health care system is highly developed but the poorest citizens may lack access to it. There are nearly one million reported cases of HIV/AIDS.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The judicial branch, separate from the other two branches of government, is responsible for interpreting the law. Because the system is based on English common law, the courts' interpretations become case law under the principle of

stare decisis. The first 10 amendments to the Constitution, known as the Bill of Rights, came into effect in 1791. They prevent Congress from abridging freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of religious worship, and the right to bear arms. The Bill also prohibits unreasonable search and seizure, cruel and unusual punishment, and self-incrimination. It further requires due process of law and a speedy public trial with an impartial jury.

Since its foundation, the United States has been committed to protecting individual rights and has welcomed prosecuted immigrants from around the world. Criticism of other countries' human rights violations has long been an element of U.S. foreign policy, applied with varying consistency and effectiveness. Human rights abuses are not as serious a problem within the United States as in many other countries, but concerns have been raised regarding racial discrimination, antiterrorism, the war on drugs, the death penalty, police brutality, and media concentration, among others.

Human rights organizations have raised concerns about the principle and application of capital punishment in the United States. Since the reinstatement of the punishment in 1976, over 1,000 people have been executed, mostly by lethal injection and electrocution. Capital punishment exists in 36 of the 50 states and is most frequently used in Texas, Virginia, and other southern states. Thirty-four percent of executed convicts are black, and about 80 percent of murder victims in cases leading to the death penalty are white, even though only 50 percent of total murder victims are white. These statistics point to a pattern of racial discrimination in the application of the death penalty. In addition, human rights organizations have protested against the execution of people who were underage or mentally impaired at the time of committing the crime. Before the 2005 Supreme Court ruling against the execution of juveniles, 22 juvenile convicts were executed.

Since the 9/11 attacks and the consequent intensification of U.S. efforts against terrorism, concerns have been raised about the effect of the U.S. Patriot Act on civil liberties. In 2003, accounts and photographs emerged of mistreatment of prisoners by U.S. military police, CIA officers, and contractors at the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq. In addition, thousands of Taliban and Al Qaeda suspects have been detained without trial at the Guantánamo Bay camp since 2002. In 2006, the Supreme Court ruled that the prisoners were entitled to protection under the Geneva Convention, a protection previously denied them as "enemy combatants."

Another counterterrorism measure that has come under fire for violating the rights to free speech and privacy is the National Security Agency's practice of monitoring without a warrant the international phone calls and emails of terrorist suspects. The challenges of reconciling antiterrorism with human rights are not unique or unforeseen. In a 1798 letter to Thomas Jefferson, James Madison wrote, "Perhaps it is a universal truth that the loss of liberty at home is to be

"All states must ensure that any measures taken to combat terrorism must comply with all their obligations under international law, in particular international human rights and humanitarian law. However, regulations restricting human rights and basic freedoms, special bodies and extraordinary courts, which make fair adjudication difficult and at times impossible, have been justified and given legitimacy under the cloak of the war on terrorism."—Shirin Ebadi, Nobel peace laureate, Oslo, December 10, 2003.
http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/2003/ebadi-lecture-e.html

charged to provisions against danger; real or pretended, from abroad" (James Madison Center).

The United States has a stated policy of supporting human rights throughout the world to help "secure the peace, deter aggression, promote the rule of law, combat crime and corruption, strengthen democracies, and prevent humanitarian crises." U.S. official policy is to demand accountability for past human rights abuses and to help end ongoing ones. Mass violations of human rights have been the cause of U.S. participation in military interventions, for example in Kosovo. In other cases, the United States has overlooked human rights abuses by allied governments, especially during the Cold War. The United States is a party to most international human rights agreements but it actively opposes the International Criminal Court established in 2002 to prosecute individuals for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes.

CONCLUSION

Americans rank the War in Iraq as the most important problem facing the country, above terrorism, unemployment, and rising oil prices. Critics of the Iraq War argue that it has antagonized public opinion in Muslim countries, thereby increasing the likelihood of further terrorist attacks on the United States. The U.S. government rejects the idea that its foreign policies may have provoked terrorist violence.

A cause for concern on the domestic front are deepening disparities between a well-to-do and secure majority and an impoverished minority that appears to be locked at the bottom of the income scale. Unemployment is relatively low but existing legislation and the realities of globalization make job security elusive for many. The persistence of racial discrimination in education, the labor market, and in the administration of justice is another lasting challenge. Gender inequality exists in rates of pay for men and women for equivalent work. The growing current account deficit will impose a potentially painful adjustment as will the budget deficit. Environmental pollution and dependence on oil imported from unstable regions are other long-term problems. Technological advances have increased levels of comfort and security but have also contributed to a breakdown in traditional social and community ties, related to the suburban exodus and the rise of giant retail outlets. Despite the persistence and gravity of challenges, most Americans enjoy a high degree of security in a country characterized by material prosperity, political stability, and individual freedom.

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Venezuela

B.K. Greener-Barcham

BACKGROUND

The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, or Venezuela as it is more commonly referred to, is a country in northern South America that shares land borders with Colombia, Guyana, and Brazil and which also borders onto the Caribbean Sea.

Venezuela has one federal dependency made up of 11 island groups encompassing 72 islands, and is a land of varying terrain. The country encompasses a long coastline, the Andes mountains and Guiana Highlands, the Maracaibo Lowlands, and the central plains, and it is also home to Angel Falls, the worlds highest waterfall. The climate is warmly temperate.

Venezuela has many precious natural resources such as petroleum, natural gas, hydropower, iron ore, gold, bauxite, and diamonds. However, despite the existence of these other minerals, Venezuela's economy is overly dependent upon petroleum which provides for almost 80 percent of export earnings. Taxation and inflation is high in Venezuela, as is unemployment, and the economy has been turbulent since the two-month national oil strike that occurred in late 2002 and early 2003 although high oil prices from this time onwards have helped to offset this turbulence.

Pollution from urbanization and the petroleum industry is a major problem in Venezuela, as are deforestation and soil degradation (EIA Briefs 2005). Earthquakes and floods have been ongoing problems—with the country suffering more than 30,000 casualties as a result of a brief spate of major floods and mudslides in late 1999 (Kriner 2001). The casualty rates of such natural disasters are forecast to climb with increasing urbanization and deforestation pressures.

Pre-contact Venezuela was inhabited by almost half a million indigenous peoples. Following first contact by Christopher Columbus, the first Spanish settlement on the mainland was established at Cumaná in 1521. Major struggles then ensued between the indigenous inhabitants and both these Spanish and later German invaders. Local resistance was overcome both by military might and the

Venezuela

Formal name of country: Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela
Size of country: 912,050 sq km
Natural resources: Petroleum, gas, gold, bauxite, and hydropower
Population: 26,749,000 (est.)
Life expectancy at birth: males 71 years; females 77 years
Key ethnic groups:

- Indigenous American Indians
- Spanish
- Italian
- Portuguese
- Arab
- German
- African

Key religions: Catholicism (est. 96% of the population), Protestants (2%), other (2%)
Political system: Democratic federal
Key political groups/parties: The Fifth Republican Movement (MVR)
Legal system: Supreme Tribunal of Justice, 32 justices appointed by National Assembly for 12-year terms
Real GDP growth: 5.8%
Population below poverty line: up to 75%
Size of military: FAN: 87,500 plus unknown Civilian Reserve
Relationship with the United States: Politically unstable and volatile but economic ties strong
Future important security issues: Role of energy (petroleum) security in relations with others; environmental security; transnational crime and internal stability.

introduction of disease, Spanish rule was imposed, and yet the imperial project in Venezuela soon came to be characterized by neglect.

Simón Bolívar, who had already brought independence to Colombia and was known locally as "El Libertador," seized Venezuela from Spain in 1821. He went on to liberate Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia, and dreamed of uniting them in a new state of "Gran Colombia." However, his death in 1830 resulted in the creation of three new countries: Ecuador, Colombia (then New Grenada), and Venezuela.

Post-independence was characterized by political, military, and economic instability. However, the discovery of oil in the early 1900s brought some prosperity to the country and by the late 1920s Venezuela was a major oil exporter. In this first half of the twentieth century Venezuela was ruled by a succession of strong military leaders, all of whom concentrated on developing the country's petroleum industry. However, although some of these strongmen allowed for some social and political reforms, poverty remained rife with education and health at minimal levels.

Following a brief flirtation with direct elections in 1948 which was stymied by a coup d'état, democratically elected governments have since continued to hold power in Venezuela from 1959 onwards. Such governments have, however,

experienced varying levels of success. President Carlos Andres Perez (1974–1979) nationalized the oil industry and pushed for increases in international oil prices. Perez also supported the Sandistina insurgency in Nicaragua and denounced U.S. meddling in the region. Upon his return to power in 1989, however, Perez proselytized the virtues of economic liberalism, due in part at least to the fact that the country's economy was hit hard by the 1988 drop in world oil prices. In 1992 a soldier by the name of Hugo Chávez Frias then led a coup attempt against Perez and attempted to overthrow him by force. Though this attempt was unsuccessful and Chávez spent two years in jail, Hugo Chávez was yet to have his day in the sun.

From here President Caldera brought in harsh economic and social reforms—coming down hard on civic freedoms and attempting to bring spiralling inflation and public service costs under control. Popular opinion began to turn against him, and in December 1998 Hugo Chávez was elected to the presidency with the largest vote margin in 40 years, having campaigned for broad political reform which included an official hard line policy on corruption and constitutional change to better represent the people. Chávez was first inaugurated as president of Venezuela in January 1999 and was also comfortably reelected in 2000. After surviving both a coup in April 2002 and a special vote in 2004 which could have toppled him from the presidency, Chávez has remained a controversial, popularist, and very outspoken president who presides over a country that has become an increasingly significant player in international affairs as the price of oil has continued to rise, and as Chávez attempts to export his own brand of leftist politics worldwide.

SOCIETY

Current estimates as to Venezuela's population range from 25,730,435 to 26,749,000. The population growth rate is nearly 1.4 percent, and almost 66 percent of the population is between 15–64 years of age. Average life expectancy rates are 71 years for males and 77 for females as are adult literacy rates at approximately 93 percent of the population. Approximately 85 percent of this population is concentrated in urban areas in the northern part of the country (CIA 2006).

Venezuela's indigenous people are American Indians, and although Spanish is the official language, more than 30 Amerindian languages still survive, predominantly belonging to the Arawak, Carib, and Chibcha ethnolinguistic categories. In addition to these indigenous groups, Venezuela's population is made up of people of Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Arab, German, and African ethnicity. The most common religion is Roman Catholicism with almost 96 percent of the population claiming at least nominal adherence to that religion. Protestants make up a mere 2 percent of the population and "other" religions the final 2 percent. Some of the population has been displaced from the border region with Colombia due to criminal activities and violence.

In 2002 there were approximately 2,841,800 landline telephones and 6,463,600 mobile cellular telephones in use in Venezuela. Communication systems have been described by the CIA *World Factbook* (2006) as being "modern and expanding" with the country being serviced by a domestic satellite system with three earth stations, with increasing digitalization and use of fiber-optic networks as well as recent improvement in rural areas—and with Venezuela currently participating with

Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia in the construction of an international fiber-optic network. Along with such communications growth, the local population is also becoming increasingly Internet capable.

Roads and railways are improving while there are 127 paved (and 242 unpaved) airport runways throughout the country. The Rio Orinoco and Lago de Maracaibo waterways can also accept oceangoing vessels, and major Venezuelan ports and harbors are sited at Amuay, La Guaira, Maracaibo, Puerto Cabello, and Punta Cardon, while fairly sophisticated pipeline systems enable Venezuela to make good use of its natural petroleum resources.

In terms of domestic and other energy provision, information available from the website of the Energy Information Administration of the U.S. government shows that approximately 43 percent of Venezuela's energy needs is provided by natural gas, followed by petroleum (35 percent), hydropower (21 percent), and coal a mere 1 percent (EIA 2006).

In terms of economic strength, the Venezuelan economy is heavily dependent upon the petroleum industry in particular, and is also fairly reliant upon iron ore mining, construction materials, and food processing. In terms of agricultural products, corn, sorghum, sugarcane, rice, beef, and fish predominate. Venezuela is highly dependent on its petroleum sector which accounts for almost 1/3 of the GDP and almost half of government revenue. (It is perhaps little wonder then that in late May 2006 the Venezuelan president pushed hard for the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC] to both raise the minimum price of oil to $50 a barrel and to remove any ceiling on that price.) Other revenue comes from high tax levels, with the top income earners paying 34 percent tax, and with heavy business taxes also contributing to government revenue.

In terms of recent economic patterns of growth and decline, in the late 1990s economists were questioning the future of the Venezuelan economy given that Venezuelan oil is expensive to extract and given the costs demanded by the state oil company *Petroleos de Venezuela SA* (PdVSA). The election of leftist Hugo Chávez compounded some of these issues as he has continued to struggle with controlling the PdVSA, and as he claims to reject corporate-led globalization and liberal trading policies. This policy stance has led to increased cooperation with China and, as leftist parties have also come to hold power in other South American countries, such trends have raised concerns in the United States given the United States' promotion of trade liberalization. There remain, therefore, fairly significant barriers to foreign investment in terms of new investments needing to be registered with the government, with limitations on the percentages of foreign workers within companies, and with pressure from the government for private enterprises to enter into joint venture arrangements with state-owned enterprises (most notably in the petroleum industry once more).

Thus, in terms of overall performance, economic activity briefly ground to a halt during the national oil strike of December 2002–February 2003, was followed by depression in 2003, but recovered in 2004–2005—due in large part to strong demand for oil. More recently the economy has continued to do well with estimates of around 5.8 percent growth for the year 2006–2007 according to the *Business Monitor International* (2006, 6), but long-term forecasts remain cautious due to the above questions over ideology and investment.

High levels of unemployment remain a major problem with some estimates running as high as 20 percent of the active population (FITA 2006). In terms of other social indicators, the UN Development Program's (UNDP) Human Development Index (UNDP 2005) ranks the country as 75th in the world overall, and GDP per head is approximated at $4,919. However, in 2003 the UNDP also estimated that, from the period 1995–2003, approximately 15 percent of the population were believed to be living on less than $1 a day, with another 32 percent living on less than $2 a day. Indeed, it was estimated that 75 percent of the population lived in poverty in 2004 (ICG 2004).

Education as a whole generally remains a priority as reflected in high literacy rates, while access to health services has improved with the introduction of new programs such as the controversial "*Barrio Adentro*" ("Inside the Neighborhood") initiative. This particular initiative has seen, amongst other things, Cuban doctors being invited to Venezuela to integrate into small-scale communities to help provide free primary level health care and health education in some of the country's poorest or most remote locations. It has been criticized as being too expensive, too ideologically driven, and for having diverted funds away from other health needs (such as the building of new hospitals) but many poorer and more rural citizens laud this new program (Maybarduk 2004). Other new "missions" established by the government in recent times include those such as the *Vuelvan Caras Mission* to fight unemployment and the *Guaicaipuro Mission* to address the needs of indigenous people.

Gender inequalities are apparent in terms of women making up less than 10 percent of politicians and in terms of gender pay disparities, but in terms of access to education and female managerial, technical, and professional roles women in Venezuela fare much better (UNDP 2005).

DOMESTIC POLITICS

Venezuela is a federal democratic republic made up of 25 states, one capital district, and one federal dependency. In terms of current political activity, critics such as Moises Naim (2003, 96) have labelled Chávez's behavior as "thuggish" and "undemocratic." Yet, depending on interpretations, Chávez has appeared to have the charisma or skill or luck to remain popular enough to be able to push a very assertive foreign policy and to get away with miraculous escapes when his leadership has been challenged at home. In 2002 a group of Venezuelan military officers and business leaders briefly ousted Chávez before his supporters moved decisively to return him to power. Similarly he rode out the 2002–2003 standoff with the state oil company PdVSA which defied both the supreme court and the government in an attempt to oust the president through the general strikes and indeed the company has since been somewhat more subdued (Philip 2006). Chávez then won a referendum in 2004 which was confirmed by international observers as having been conducted without any major irregularities, and in December 2005 his Fifth Republic Movement won 114 of 167 parliamentary seats and, as the opposition boycotted the election, currently faces no united opposition in politics.

Chávez is undoubtedly charismatic. He hosts his own television show and travels widely throughout Venezuela. Chávez claims to actively promote grassroots

political participation and economic self-sufficiency as the model for alleviating poverty and injustice. He is popular amongst poorer Venezuelans as he has pursued strong redistributive policies and undertaken large-scale public spending projects in sharing the wealth forthcoming from high oil prices. He has also been very active in making strong connections with other Leftist leaders in Bolivia, Argentina, Cuba, Uruguay, Chile, and Brazil in promoting a strong brand of "Bolivarianism" which emphasizes the importance of economic and political sovereignty; participatory democracy; distributive justice; self-sufficiency; and patriotism. He has a number of staunch supporters both at home and abroad.

However, his brand of nationalist populism has been criticized as encouraging xenophobia, and a number of key national institutions such as banks and the Church have expressed strong concerns about Chávez's brand of socialism. Despite his popularity with some sectors of the population, others are not so enamoured. During the standoff with the PdVSA, Chávez fired nearly half of the workforce, and the middle and upper classes are generally thought to dislike his politics. Critics question whether or not he would stay in power were the price of oil not so high, as well as scoffing at his loud critiques of the United States given that such oil has continued to flow north, and such critics further express disquiet about the rise of a new elite within the country that is at odds with Chávez's rhetoric of egalitarianism (Romero 2006). Others such as Michael Shifter (2006, 46) claim that not only have such economic policies yielded modest gains but also that "his autocratic and megalomaniacal tendencies have undermined governance and the democratic process in Venezuela," or they critique his apparent popularity with the poor and see the frequent Cabinet reshuffles that have been taking place as mechanisms for consolidating personal power (Corrales 2006, 35–38).

In addition to Chávez, his Movement for the Fifth Republic party, and his brand of Bolivarianism, Venezuela is also host to a number of other significant political players. These include the Democratic Action headed by Jesus Mendez Quijada which is social democratic in ideology, closely associated with the labor movement known as the Venezuelan Confederation of Workers (see below), and whose early founding members helped to bring about the end of Marcos Perez Jimenez's dictatorship in the 1950s. The Christian Democrats led by Eduardo Fernandez dominated politics from the 1950s to the mid-1990s. They pursue a Christian democratic party line and have lost ground in recent years.

Other major parties include the centrist Justice First party led by Julio Borges which began out of concern for the weakening of judicial power in Venezuela in the early 1990s; the Movement Toward Socialism party headed by Hector Mujica which at the end of the 1990s was divided over whether or not to support Chávez and which has become an opposition player; and Project Venezuela led by Henrique Salas Romer which won seven of the 165 parliamentary seats in the last election. More minor parties include players such as the We Can (PODEMOS) movement, led by Ismael Garcia, and the Homeland for All (PPT) party led by Jose Albornoz, as well as the Communist Party and the National Council of Venezuelan Indians to help make up the rest of the political spectrum.

With regard to the nature of the political system in Venezuela, the reformed Constitution of 1999 allows for a six-year term of office for the president, with a

maximum of two terms. The president has broad powers in that he or she appoints the vice president and decides the size and makeup of the Cabinet. The unicameral National Assembly is made up of a "Chamber of Deputies" with each deputy being voted in for a five-year term through a combination of party list and single member constituencies. It is interesting to note that legislation can be initiated from a number of sources—the executive, legislative, judicial, or "citizen" (ombudsman, etc.) branches of government as well as through a public petition. The structure of the political system in Venezuela as outlined above does present a president with quite wide-ranging powers, and indeed critics such as Javier Corrales (2006, 34) point out that Chávez in effect controls "the legislature, the Supreme Court, two armed forces [the army and the new reservists], the only important source of state revenue [petroleum], and the institution that monitors electoral rules [the National Electoral Council]." However, others point out that this presidential power used to have some limitations.

For example, although the president can ask the National Assembly to reconsider parts of proposed law, a majority in the Assembly can still overrule the president's suggestions. Similarly the "citizen's branch" of government elected by this Assembly, which includes the attorney general (tellingly named the "defender of the people"), the ombudsman, and the comptroller general, also has some power in terms of presenting legislation or in having the ability to challenge actions it believes may violate the Constitution. Government-run Internet sites encourage citizen participation in local and national political affairs, and a number of conferences and workshops on participatory democracy in politics and in labor and business affairs have been conducted in Venezuela in recent times (Vera-Zavala 2005). Indeed, voter turnout is generally high though at times—such as during the 2004 recall vote—critics claim that turnout figures are *suspiciously* high. Supporters of Chávez, on the other hand, claim that in fact it is just that true grassroots and participatory forms of democracy are very much alive and well in Venezuela.

Perhaps most striking, though, are the changes that Chávez was working to bring about at the end of 2007. The National Assembly is dominated by Chávez's supporters, and was debating new reforms that, if agreed to, will be put to a national referendum. As reported by *BBC News* (2007), the main changes to the Constitution proposed by Chávez in August were the following:

- Removing term limits for the presidency, and extending the term of office from six to seven years.
- Bringing in a maximum six-hour work day.
- Increasing presidential control over the central bank.
- Strengthening state economic powers, allowing the government to control assets of private companies before a court grants an expropriation order.
- Enabling community councils to apply to the president's commissions for funds and to manage those funds themselves for projects that they believe are important.
- Recognizing collective property within community groups and allowing cooperatives to play more of a role in the economy.

Such sweeping changes would further consolidate political power in the hands of the president, and this, coupled with the recent nationalization of oil projects in the Orinoco Belt, could be seen to make Chávez's position nearly unassailable.

Significant pressure groups in-country include FEDECAMARAS (Federation of Chambers of Commerce), a conservative business group, and the Venezuelan Confederation of Workers or CTV (a labor group associated with the Democratic Action as mentioned above). In addition to these more structured groups, the Vecinos movement—a movement that emerged out of local neighborhood groups in Caracas in the early 1970s—also acts as a pressure group on a range of local and national issues, particularly those relating to electoral issues. This movement is very fluid and often fractured as it has been infiltrated by members with varying political interests. Perhaps more coherent and significant then is the civil association *Sumate* which was founded in 2002, and which was vocal in calling for the 2004 constitutional referendum to recall Chávez. This association criticized the process and outcome of the events of 2004 and has been accused by the Chávez administration of receiving funding from the United States—prompting talk of a possible trial of treason which has since been postponed (Human Rights Watch, July 2005).

Key political issues include the perceived weakening of some democratic practices and ethos from above and increased levels of politicization amongst the military. Power struggles between Chávez and the state oil company PdVSA have also been important in shaping the political landscape within the country as most clearly demonstrated by the troubles of 2002–2003. Additional issues on the domestic front include problems with high inflation, high unemployment, increasing levels of drug addiction, outbreaks of violence along the border with Colombia, over-reliance on the petroleum industry, and the ongoing friction between the government and indigenous peoples—particularly with regard to environmental degradation.

LAW AND ORDER

Venezuela's military is the National Armed Forces (Fuerzas Armadas Nacionales or FAN). This includes ground forces or army (Fuerzas Terrestres or Ejercito), naval forces (Fuerzas Navales or Armada; includes Marines and Coast Guard), air force (Fuerzas Aereas or Aviacion), and Armed Forces of Cooperation or National Guard (Fuerzas Armadas de Cooperacion or Guardia Nacional). Military expenditure stands at around 1.2 percent of the GDP. In 2006 a new civilian reserve, known as the Territorial Guard, was created—ostensibly to fight a possible invasion from the United States (Morsbach 2006).

Venezuela's *Dirección de los Servicios de Inteligencia y Prevención* (Directorate of Intelligence and Prevention Services, DISIP) was established in 1958. DISIP comes under the authority of the Ministry of the Interior. The agency has a very checkered past and has continued to have a reputation dogged by scandal. Indeed, both Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International have expressed serious concerns about the activities of the DSIP throughout the 1990s to today, with the former writing a formal letter in 2004 to Chávez to officially complain about credible reports of beatings and torture being carried out by DISIP, National Guard, and

THE TERRITORIAL GUARD

The civilian population of Venezuela is being encouraged to join a new organization. It is envisaged that the Territorial Guard, first established in early 2006, may eventually swell to number more than two million military reservists. Civilians who opt to join undertake a four-month course to learn the tactics of guerrilla warfare from high-ranking officers in the National Guard commando units. The main official reason for the establishment of the Territorial Guard is the notion that Venezuela needs to deter a possible future invasion from the United States, with President Hugo Chávez citing alleged U.S. involvement in the 2002 attempt to overthrow him as solid evidence of a U.S. desire to control Venezuelan politics. Civilian militias in support of political figures are not necessarily a new phenomenon in Venezuela, though the size of this particular project is unprecedented. Critics express disquiet about the Guard as the force is directly answerable to the president and therefore could potentially be used to repress internal dissent, while supporters laud the idea and hope to make service in the Guard compulsory for all eligible Venezuelan citizens.

police officers following the protests that sprung up at the time of the special vote (Human Rights Watch 2004). DISIP is responsible for investigating internal issues such as narcotics and arms smuggling as well as subversion.

Just as the intelligence agencies have earned a less than savory reputation, Venezuela's police service has come under increasing scrutiny in recent years. Chávez himself came to power pledging to tackle the issue of police corruption, but there have been a few incidents in recent years which have demonstrated there are still a number of issues to be worked through. For example, in mid 2005 three innocent students were allegedly killed in cold blood by police from the Directorate of Military Intelligence and the Criminal Investigations Police (CICPC), and human rights groups claim that police executions and human rights abuses continue. In addition to this the Venezuelan prison system is also known to be harsh and abusive.

In terms of emergency services, Venezuela has Federal District fire services but has no public emergency ambulance system. Private ambulance services do exist and can either be subscribed to on a longer-term basis or may provide a more sporadic service. For example, these private ambulances will often attend emergencies and transport accident victims once an ability to pay for the service has been established.

Crime levels in Venezuela are high—particularly in urban areas such as Caracas —both in terms of robbery and assaults as well as in terms of more organized forms of criminal activity. Tourists are also warned to keep away from the Venezuelan-Colombian border where outbreaks of violence are common. As noted in the section on Security, illegal drug activities are of major concern in Venezuela as is cross-border violence. In addition to the drug trade, the United States' regular Trafficking in Persons (TIP) report has Venezuela rated at a level 3 which signals that they believe Venezuelan authorities undertake no significant action to stop instances of trafficking. Venezuela is cited as a source, transit, and destination country for women and children trafficked for sexual and labor exploitation, both internally from rural to urban areas and internationally with Venezuelans being trafficked to western Europe and other Latin American and Caribbean countries. Moreover, although the CICPC worked with Interpol on three cases of trafficking, the TIP report claimed that corruption among immigration, identification, and border patrol officials is widespread and could facilitate trafficking (U.S. Department of State 2005). Lastly, there are also reports of piracy and armed robbery

off the Venezuelan coast, and U.S. citizens in particular have been targeted for "express kidnapping" where people have been abducted from airports, hotels, and taxis to be held for ransom for short periods of time.

With regard to public confidence in the legal system as a whole, the judicial branch in Venezuela is headed by the Supreme Tribunal of Justice. The 32 Justices which make up the tribunal are appointed by the National Assembly (hence the notion above that Chávez has some control over this body) and serve 12-year terms. In terms of public confidence in this system as well as in those agencies outlined above, it is significant that, according to the Inter-American Press Association, the courts and the legal system have been used to crack down on independent media and public criticism and dissent (Daniels 2006). And, as noted below, Amnesty International also doubts the impartiality of the legal system in Venezuela (Amnesty International 2006).

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Venezuela's Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the primary bureaucratic body responsible for foreign policy. The current minister of foreign affairs is Nicolas Maduro. However, much of the recent shape of Venezuelan foreign policy has been directed by Chávez in his capacity as president. In terms of the official foreign policy goals of the current Venezuelan government, much rhetorical emphasis has been placed on the importance of human rights (particularly economic rights and the right to peace and security), the right to self-determination and nonintervention, and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

Venezuelan authorities have been particularly active in pursuing close relations within their local region both bilaterally and multilaterally through organizations such as the Organization of American States (OAS). Venezuela has strong ties with other oil-producing countries, and Venezuelan authorities have been very active in attempting to unite other developing countries, promoting a "multipolar" world in international affairs to counterbalance the influence of the United States. Venezuelan relations with the United States are outlined further below.

Significantly, Hugo Chávez has in recent years been pushing for his country's claims to a UN Security Council (UNSC) seat in the coming round of elections, and his campaign has included visits to foreign countries, which—critics note—are often followed by Venezuelan grants, loans, and treaties. Chávez claims to have the support of China, Malaysia, and Syria amongst others. However, as noted below, Venezuela has a very weak record when it comes to provision for UN peacekeeping operations and has already sat on the UNSC four times compared to none for rival claimant Guatemala who is backed by the United States and Europe.

In terms of notable positions on recent developments in international affairs, in 2005 Venezuelan Representative to the UN Fermín Toro Jiménez expressed Venezuela's concern at the changing nature of peacekeeping. He voiced disapproval at attempts to use such missions to recast countries emerging from conflict as "failed states," and argued that any peacekeeping operation mandated to "rebuild" a post-conflict state infringed on the sovereign rights of the very people of the countries such missions had been designed to help. He further emphasized that Venezuela favored conflict resolution and believed that any other approach was contrary to

the principles of building democratic institutions, sovereignty, nonintervention, and self-determination (UN 2005). Venezuelan representatives have also called the new Peacebuilding Commission "illegitimate and illegal" (UN 2006).

Venezuela supports the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and the comprehensive test ban treaty (CBTB). For example, in the late 1990s Venezuelan authorities claimed that the then-new South Asian nuclear tests reaffirmed the need for all countries to sign and ratify the CBTB. Venezuelan authorities have also continued to raise the issue of nuclear disarmament at major meetings such as the March 2006 Conference on Disarmament. However, despite concerns voiced by others in the international arena, Venezuela also supports Iran's right to use nuclear technology for peaceful means as allowed by the NPT. Indeed foreign relations with Iran remain strong overall, and are bolstered by technical cooperation in the energy production and industry fields.

Venezuela's relations with its neighbors are mixed. Chávez has expressed a desire to see much more regionalism, even suggesting the possibility of a common currency and a "Latin American NATO" (Gott 2005, 184–5). Yet not all relations on the continent are as healthy as Venezuela's strong relationship with Cuba. Venezuela advocates an end to Cuba's isolation; oil is provided to Cuba at very good rates and large numbers of nationals from both countries are involved in formal exchanges (such as the medical initiative noted above). Venezuela has also improved relations with Brazil as evidenced by increasing arms purchases from Brazil; has been providing discounted natural gas to Colombia; and has exchange programs with Argentina to trade petroleum products for agricultural products. However, relations with Mexico are at times strained by strong Mexican-U.S. relations (*Economist* 2005), and relations with Peru have also been turbulent with accusations that Chávez has been meddling in Peru's domestic political affairs with his comments on presidential candidates in the lead-in to the 2006 elections.

Venezuelan relations with China, on the other hand, have progressed rapidly. In 2005 China and Venezuela signed 17 bilateral agreements—among them deals for Chinese companies to explore for oil in Venezuela—and the two countries have often been aligned on certain issues such as their support for Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe.

In 2005 a two-day business round also saw Venezuelan-Russian collaboration increase with decisions to increase trade, investment, and joint projects—particularly in the field of metals, industry, and energy (*People's Daily* 2005).

Venezuela is a member of a wide range of international organizations including the Andean Community of Nations, the Caribbean Community and Common Market (observer), the Caribbean Development Bank, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the Group of 3, the Group of 15, the Group of 24, the Group of 77, the Inter-American Development Bank, the International Atomic Energy Agency, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank), the International Civil Aviation Organization, the International Chamber of Commerce, the International Criminal Court, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, the International Fund for Agricultural Development, the International Finance Corporation, the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent

Societies, the International Hydrographic Organization, the International Labour Organization, the International Monetary Fund, the International Maritime Organization, the International Criminal Police Organization, the International Olympic Committee, the International Organization for Migration, the Interparliamentary Union, the International Organization for Standardization, the International Telecommunication Union, the Latin American Economic System, the Latin American Integration Association, the Southern Cone Common Market, the Multilateral Investment Geographic Agency, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Organization of American States, the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean, the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, the Permanent Court of Arbitration, the Rio Group, the United Nations, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, the Union Latina, the Universal Postal Union, the World Confederation of Labor, the World Customs Organization, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Health Organization, the World Intellectual Property Organization, the World Meteorological Organization, the World Tourism Organization, and the World Trade Organization (CIA 2007).

In terms of relationships with domestic civil society agencies, despite his criticisms of Chávez, *Foreign Policy* commentator Javier Corrales (2006, 34) also pointed out that Venezuela still enjoyed "a feisty press, and a vibrant and organized civil society." As noted above, there are a number of civil "movements" in existence and there have been a number of workshops held around the country to encourage grassroots participation in political and social affairs, and despite some apparent government crackdowns on media, both private and community media sources continue to flourish in Venezuela (Fernandes 2005). With regard to relationships with transnational or global NGOs (nongovernmental organizations), clearly the ideological rhetoric espoused by the current government has led to good relationships with left-wing organizations but it has also incurred criticism from other organizations who express concern about human rights or democratic issues.

The issue of foreign aid is an interesting one for Venezuela. The European Union has recently been providing fairly substantial funding to help health, education, and environmental projects amongst other things. Venezuela has undertaken loans from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in the past and required some external help to ride out economic turbulence in the later 1980s. Venezuela also received substantial amounts of aid in the wake of the devastating mudslides of late 1999. However, on the whole, Venezuela has generally been more a donor rather than a receiver of aid. For example, the United States stopped providing aid to Venezuela in the mid-1960s and Venezuela made a very generous aid offer to help in the wake of Hurricane Katrina that was refused by the Bush administration. Further, through the San Jose accord, Venezuela, along with Mexico, provides subsidized oil to the Caribbean, and a number of different economic initiatives have been established in the region funded by Venezuelan petro-dollars.

In assessing peacekeeping contributions, the Global Policy Forum averages out the number of troops contributed to UN peacekeeping in monthly totals for the years 1996–2006. According to their estimates as posted on their website, Venezuela's monthly total averages three, and in the past four years Venezuela has not provided any troops to UN peacekeeping operations (Global Policy Forum 2006).

SECURITY

Natural disasters and environmental pollution have been constant issues within Venezuela's recent history. The 1999 mudslides came after years of more minor flooding—flooding which has occurred on a fairly regular basis in Venezuela. Moreover environmental problems arising from the exploitation of petroleum resources as well as from other natural resources have also become more and more apparent in recent years.

With regard to domestic security issues it is clear that there have been a number of turbulent years in fairly recent times. In 1989 President Carlos Andres Perez announced the implementation of a strict IMF-supported economic adjustment program which resulted in riots in Venezuela's main cities followed by the brutal repression of those riots which left as many as 1,000 dead. The year 1992 witnessed two coup attempts followed by the 1993 impeachment of Perez on charges of corruption. Most significant of the developments that have occurred since those times include the 2002 coup attempt, the 2002–2003 general strikes, and the 2004 challenge to Chávez's leadership. Indeed in 2004 the International Crisis Group's Latin America Briefing was entitled *Venezuela: Headed Toward Civil War?* In the last two years the situation has been a little more stable, helped by the implementation of a number of social and political reforms and by rising oil prices to help fund new spending programs.

In terms of traditional security issues, Venezuela still has long-standing border disputes with a number of neighboring countries. The first stems from Venezuela's claim to all of the area west of the Essequibo River in Guyana—constituting a substantial percentage of Guyana's territory—and the inability of the two countries to agree on the extent of their maritime boundary despite a number of exchanges facilitated by the UN. Barbados claims that Trinidad and Tobago's maritime boundary with Venezuela extends into their territorial waters, while Dominica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines protest Venezuela's claim to Aves Island.

Disputes with Colombia continue over the Los Monjes islands and the maritime boundary near the Gulf of Venezuela, though bilateral commissions have been established to try to resolve such issues. Some border disputes, therefore, remain unresolved at present but none of these currently constitute immediately pressing security concerns. Chávez also continues to talk up a perceived threat from the United States—both in terms of a possible covert operation and in terms of a possible invasion force. The likelihood of the latter is very low though popular sentiment suggests that many Venezuelans believe that there is some evidence of U.S. prior awareness of, if not involvement in, the coup that briefly toppled Chávez in 2002.

More pressing issues relate to the problem of the narcotics trade—particularly given the complicating factor of heavy involvement of the FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia). Colombian-organized illegal narcotics and paramilitary activities continue to penetrate Venezuela's shared border region, and in 2004 a diplomatic crisis followed the arrest of a key FARC leader and accusations on both sides of complacency in the face of FARC activity (*BBC News* 2005). According to various sources, Venezuela remains a minor *source* country for opium poppy and coca but is a major *transit* country for cocaine and heroin (U.S. Department of State 2006).

Other nontraditional criminal or human security issues such as those regarding human rights abuses by government authorities (as noted in the next section of the chapter) and the continuing threat posed by natural disasters exacerbated by man-made developments such as urbanization and poor planning are also significant factors.

Lastly, and as indicated above, internal stability remains an important issue given recent political turmoil and given continuing socioeconomic disparities despite Chávez's reforms. Polarization within the country remains between the poorer constituents who laud Chávez, and others who interpret his leadership as authoritarian and repressive, but for the moment the situation is fairly stable.

JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Multilateral human rights NGOs such as Human Rights Watch have been fairly critical of Venezuela's domestic human rights record in recent times. Venezuela has officially acceded to the Convention on the Prevention of Genocide; the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime; the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment; the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (and its two attendant Optional Protocols); the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. Venezuela has also signed the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (albeit the latter has been signed with declarations or reservations).

Venezuela has also acceded to the Rome Statute which regulates the International Criminal Court and was an original member of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) jurisdiction. However, it does not accept that the ICJ's jurisdiction is compulsory and has not signed some other more minor international conventions such as the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families.

The basic features of the judicial system have been outlined above in the law and order section. In terms of government adherence to the law, critics of Chávez argue that he and the government do not break the law only because they have been able to revise rules so that sweeping changes require fewer votes (Corrales 2006, 37). Amnesty International also claims that Venezuela lacks an independent and impartial judiciary (Amnesty International 2006). Further, and as noted above, a number of government agencies have also been criticized by groups such as Human Rights

Watch for human rights abuses. Many of these criticisms have emerged following overly heavyhanded actions by police and intelligence officers as well as in response to prison conditions within the country.

Popular literature and media sources as well as reports from NGOs therefore suggest that there are some fears by members of the public in terms of the possible consequences of protesting against Chávez's rule. Critics are concerned about the fact that details of voters and their political tendencies have been compiled and made public knowledge through the Internet (Corrales 2006, 34–35). Confidence in the ability to practice *political* human rights with regard to dissent is arguably not strong.

Yet Venezuela claims to promote human rights as a central feature of foreign policy. This involves promotion of economic and redistributive rights in particular, yet again at the end of 2005 Venezuela was criticized by nongovernmental agencies such as Human Rights Watch for initially trying to reject the notion that UN member states had a "responsibility to protect" their citizens (Human Rights Watch 2005). Furthermore, it is significant that in May 2006 Venezuela did not secure enough votes to gain a seat on the UN Human Rights Council (local commentators were rather scathing about the fact that Venezuela lost out to Cuba which they claim is guilty of systematic human rights abuses).

CONCLUSION

Despite the existence of 61 bilateral arrangements and many more multilateral ones between Venezuela and the United States (covering issues as diverse as taxation, air transport, trade, and aerial photography), the general attitude towards the United States could perhaps be best summarized as a complex mix of defiance and assertiveness in political affairs and ongoing efforts at increased cooperation in economic affairs. Since his election, Venezuela's President Chávez has been accused of trying to export his "Pink Revolution" to poverty-stricken Hispanic and black communities in the United States, while Chávez has accused the United States of trying to oust him from the presidency and a new civilian reserve has been created to counter the invasion supposed to be forthcoming from Washington, DC.

Relations have been made even more shaky by a number of developments including a visit by Chávez to Saddam Hussein in 2000 as part of a 10-day tour of OPEC countries; the refusal of the United States to supply components to upgrade Venezuela's F-16 fighter plane force (and subsequent assertions by Chávez that he would sell the fighters and purchase Russian-made Sukhoi Su-30s to go with a new deal to buy thousands of Russian rifles); the United States' belief that Chávez could be backing Marxist guerillas in Colombia; ongoing friendships between Venezuela and countries such as Zimbabwe; and the May 2006 visit to London where Chávez threatened to pull the plug on oil exports should the United States invade Iran. Indeed, Chávez's long-standing position as an "OPEC price hawk" has also soured relations with the United States, as has his very outspoken opposition to the war against Iraq.

Indeed Chávez has at times been labelled a "terrorist" in the United States and in a congressional testimony during September 2005, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice said a "policy of inoculation" was necessary to diplomatically contain Mr. Chávez's influence and she has called him a "negative force" in the region (Diehl 2005). Prominent American Pat Robertson, a popular evangelical figure in the United States, also made headline news by publicly calling for Chávez to be assassinated. Chávez has been more than ready to trade personal insults—labeling President Bush a "dumbass" and "donkey" in the early years of the administration and more recently and famously, even referred to Bush as "the devil" while giving a very public speech at the United Nations in September 2006.

Given these sentiments it is not surprising that political relations have continued to be turbulent. In late August 2006, Chávez claimed to have arrested four U.S. spies (Romero 2006), and Venezuelan authorities seized a number of U.S. diplomatic bags from U.S. vehicles shortly after they had been delivered by a U.S. military aircraft at Simon Bolivar International Airport at Caracas—prompting outrage from the U.S. Embassy and accusations from the Venezuelan attorney general that they contained supplies for the armed forces (AP 2006). Other important issues stem from Venezuelan relations with countries significant to the United States' domestic and international scene such as Israel. Venezuelan-Israeli relations are strained with Chávez having been labelled anti-semitic for his strong views in support of Palestinians and, more recently, in his criticism of Israeli activity in Lebanon. However, despite these frictions, it is interesting to note that U.S. officials also hope that Chávez will support the development of democracy in Cuba.

Moreover, Chávez is strongly outspoken in public about the evils of the neoliberal economic policies promoted by the United States and others. He has argued that such policies are responsible for much of the world's ills, claiming that they create poverty and inequality worldwide. He touts an alternative form of democratic socialism which emphasizes the redistribution of wealth and calls for a new approach to international economic affairs. In line with this rhetoric, Chávez boasts about successful programs within his own country, but he has also been actively trying to export ideas elsewhere. For example, he has offered free or discounted gas to America's poorest citizens through Citgo—a subsidiary of Venezuela's state oil company—and a number of news sources have reported that 15 "Bolivarian Circles"—the grassroots groups that form the basis of Mr. Chávez 's social revolution in Venezuela

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THE 2004 RECALL REFERENDUM

Following the constitutional changes in 1999, the 2002 coup attempt and the general strike of 2002–2003, a record number of voters turned out on August 15, 2004, to vote as to whether or not to recall controversial figure Hugo Chávez from the presidency. Of those that voted, 59 percent voted "no," and 41 percent "yes," thereby leaving Chávez in power. In terms of the accuracy of the vote, the Organization of American States certified that their observers did not find any instances of election fraud, and the Carter Center which audited the vote also claimed no major problems with the process, but other sources, particularly in the United States, questioned the outcome. The Center for Security Policy, for example, claimed that the referendum process was delayed and obstructed by Chávez's administration and that illegal practices such as vote-buying were present. However, despite such criticisms, the referendum held, and Chávez rode out the crisis. He has since used this event to claim that his politics are founded in both legitimate and democratic practices.

—have sprung up in U.S. cities including New York, Los Angeles, and Boston (*BBC News* 2005).

Yet at the same time as this political rhetoric is being played out, Venezuela has continued to enjoy strong trading relations with the United States, and indeed the United States remains Venezuela's most important trading partner. Petroleum products flow northwards while, in addition to machinery and auto parts, approximately one-quarter of Venezuela's food imports still come from the United States in the form of wheat, corn, soy products, cotton, and animal and vegetable fats and oils. Venezuela is also therefore one of the United States' top markets in the region.

In the words of Moises Naim (2003, 96) the election of Hugo Chávez in 1999 turned one of the United States' "most reliable partners" into its "most adversarial neighbor in South America." Given that Chávez has gained much publicity and notoriety from publicly jousting with the United States (despite enjoying fairly stable and profitable trading relations between the two countries) and given past events, it would seem that *future* relations between the two countries could well depend upon, first of all, whether or not Chávez remains in power in Venezuela. Whether or not Chávez remains in power will be shaped by a number of factors such as the price of oil, which at the moment allows Chávez to be rather outspoken on the world stage (thereby gaining a certain leadership status), and the interrelated chances of success or otherwise of domestic development programs. If Chávez remains in power it is likely that relations between the two countries will remain politically strained, although it is unlikely that this hostility will be translated into any kind of major military (or other) confrontation. Relations could thaw more with a change in government within the United States given the verbal barbs exchanged between Chávez and the current administration, and it looks likely that economic relations will continue to develop barring any major diplomatic or political incident.

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