

Political Systems in Today's World

Why It's Important

Political Systems Americans often take democracy for granted. By comparing political systems, we can develop an appreciation for those that provide a large degree of personal freedom and opportunity.



To learn more about the advantages and disadvantages of two specific political systems, view the *Democracy in Action* Chapter 25 video lesson:

Parliamentary vs. Presidential Systems

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GOVERNMENT

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Chapter Overview Visit the *United States Government: Democracy in Action* Web site at gov.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter 25-Overview** to preview chapter information.

Democratic Governments

Reader's Guide

Key Terms

consolidated democracies, parliamentary government, life peers, presidential government, apartheid, sanctions

Find Out

- What are the forms that democratic governments take today?
- What are the challenges for democracy in Western Europe and Japan?

Understanding Concepts

Comparative Government How does parliamentary government differ from presidential government?

COVER STORY

Japanese Teens Rebel

MITAKA CITY, JAPAN, APRIL 6, 1987

“Young people in Japan today have no desire to work as hard as our parents,” observes Junko Kotohda, as she dines with her family. Like her parents and sisters, Kotohda is seated on the floor in traditional Japanese fashion. However, there’s Western food on the table—tonight it’s fried chicken. “Our parents are workaholics,” she continues. “We want entertainment too.” But Kotohda, a high school senior, will not join teens at Tokyo’s Yoyogi Park where, dressed like 1950s American rock ‘n’ rollers, they dance to boom boxes. “I have my own individuality,” she insists.



A modern Japanese teen

There are more than 190 countries in the world. The history, culture, economic needs, natural resources, and geography of each country shape its government and politics. As a result, governments across the world vary greatly; no two are exactly the same. We can, however, identify three basic types of government: long-standing democracies, nations in transition to democracy, and authoritarian governments.

The first democratic ideas originated in ancient Greece and Rome. The principles of representative government developed slowly over many centuries in Europe. English colonists eventually brought these principles to the Americas. Today political scientists call countries like the United States with well-established democratic governments **consolidated democracies**. Such nations have fair elections, competing political parties, constitutional government that guarantees individual rights, an independent judiciary, and some form of a market economy.

Parliamentary Systems



Democratic governments may take several forms. One of the most widespread is **parliamentary government**. In this form of government, executive and legislative functions both reside in the elected assembly, or parliament. Often the parliament selects the leaders of the executive branch of government, who are known as the cabinet. Great Britain and Japan are consolidated democracies with a parliamentary form of government.

British Parliament In Great Britain, **Parliament**, the national legislature, holds almost all the governmental authority. Parliament is a bicameral (two-house) legislature, consisting of the House of Commons and the House of Lords. Both have a role in enacting legislation, but the House of Commons has much greater power than the House of Lords.

Rulers and Figureheads



The British System Prime Minister Tony Blair, not the British monarch, exercises the real power of government. *Why do you think Great Britain continues to have a monarchy?*

The **House of Commons** is the British legislative body of elected representatives. The people elect members of the House of Commons, known as Members of Parliament (MPs), for five-year terms. Their terms may be shorter, however, if Parliament is dissolved for new elections before the end of the five-year period.

The House of Commons determines Great Britain's legislative and financial policies. While any MP may introduce legislation, most bills are introduced by the majority party. Members debate bills on the floor of the Commons and then send them to one of eight standing committees to work out final details. Committees must send their final bill back to the House of Commons, and a majority vote is then needed for passage.

The **House of Lords** has historically been an aristocratic body. Until recently, it included about 1,200 members, most of whom had inherited titles. In 1999 a reform law removed the right of all except 92 hereditary peers to sit and vote in the House. The House of Lords is now dominated by about 540 life peers, people who have been awarded a title for outstanding service or achievement.

The modern House of Lords has very limited power. Money bills, for example, must originate in the Commons. The House of Lords does have the ability to amend legislation or vote down bills passed by the Commons. In both cases, however, the Commons may overrule the House of Lords and make its own bill a law.

The Prime Minister Great Britain has no separation of powers between the executive and legislative branches of government. The leader of the majority party in the House of Commons becomes the **prime minister** and chooses other ministers to head executive departments and serve as cabinet members. Most ministers are members of the majority party in the House of Commons.

A prime minister who loses the support of his or her own party resigns from office. The party then chooses another prime minister. If the majority party should lose a vote on an important issue, it is said to have "lost the confidence of the House" and must resign. Parliament is then dissolved, and new general elections are held to determine what party will control the House of Commons.

Japanese Diet Japan has a parliament of two houses, called the **National Diet**. The upper house is the House of Councillors, and the lower house is the House of Representatives. The Japanese constitution states that the National Diet shall be the "sole lawmaking organ of the state." In addition, the Diet has authority over the nation's fiscal policies. The House of Councillors has only a limited power to delay legislation. The House of Representatives has members chosen from election districts. Each district, with a single exception, elects three to five representatives. Each member of the lower house is elected for four years.

The House of Representatives elects the prime minister and has the power to vote "no confidence" in the prime minister or chief executive and the cabinet just as in Great Britain. When considering legislation, the House of Representatives may

override a negative vote in the House of Councillors by a two-thirds majority.

Members of the House of Councillors are chosen for six-year terms that cannot be dissolved with a no-confidence vote. As with the upper houses of other governments, the House of Councillors provides a calmer, more detached form of deliberation than the House of Representatives. In this way, it helps moderate any hasty actions taken by the lower house.

Committees carry on much of the work of both houses of the Diet. Cabinet ministers often testify before committees, where they face penetrating questions from members of the opposition party. Committee proceedings tend to be very lively, and they are often televised.

When voting on legislation, members of the majority party are expected to vote with the government. If they do not agree with the legislation, they simply abstain. Because the opposition parties are rarely strong enough to do more than delay legislation, most legislation is passed.


Function of the Cabinet In parliamentary government, members of the cabinet preside over departments or ministries. These may include justice, foreign affairs, finance, education, health and welfare, agriculture, and labor. Japan's system also includes other cabinet members known as ministers of state. They include the deputy prime minister and heads of various agencies, such as the Economic Planning Agency and the Science and Technology Agency.

Dissolving the Government In Great Britain and other parliamentary systems, the prime minister and the cabinet together are referred to as the government, a word equivalent to the American use of the word *administration*. The government is responsible to the elected representatives. If the government should lose a vote on an important issue, it must resign. The legislature is then dissolved, and new general elections are held.

Sometimes the government dissolves Parliament even while it still has a majority in the House of Commons. This dissolution may happen if a government senses that public support for it is so strong that it will elect more members of its party than it currently has. Then, at the prime minister's request, Parliament is dissolved and a

general election is held to select members of the Commons.

Presidential Government

 Another way to organize democracy is by **presidential government**. The United States has this type of government because its Constitution separates the executive branch from the legislative and judicial branches. The office of the president was created to carry out the laws. Only a small number of democratic nations have a presidential government similar to that of the United States. France is one such nation, but the president of France has additional powers unique to that nation.

French Presidents France's 1958 constitution helped transform the office of president into the most powerful position in the French government. Today the French president, who serves a seven-year term, is the only member of the government directly elected by voters of the nation at large. As the only nationally elected official, the French president often claims to speak for the entire nation.

Much like chief executives in other democracies, the president of France is responsible for negotiating treaties, appointing high officials, and acting as chair of the high councils of the armed forces. In addition, the French president has two special powers—the right to appeal directly to the people by means of a referendum, and dictatorial powers in times of national emergency. In 1962 French president Charles de Gaulle ordered a referendum to approve a constitutional amendment providing for the direct election of the president, rather than by an electoral college. Voters approved the referendum with a 62 percent majority.

Working with the Assembly The president maintains contact with the legislative branch of

GOVERNMENT *Online*


Student Web Activity Visit the *United States Government: Democracy in Action* Web site at gov.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter 25—Student Web Activities** for an activity about consolidated democracies.

the French government through a premier, whom the president appoints. (*Premier* is the French word for “first” and is the name given to the French equivalent of a prime minister.) The premier, in turn, names ministers, who form the cabinet. Together they conduct the day-to-day affairs of the government. Theoretically, the premier and the cabinet are responsible to the deputies of the National Assembly—the lower house of the French Parliament. Without the support of the majority of the National Assembly’s deputies, the cabinet must resign, and the president appoints a new premier. In practice, however, the premier and the cabinet answer to the president rather than the National Assembly. In regular meetings with the premier and the cabinet, the president makes sure that they continue to support the president’s program.

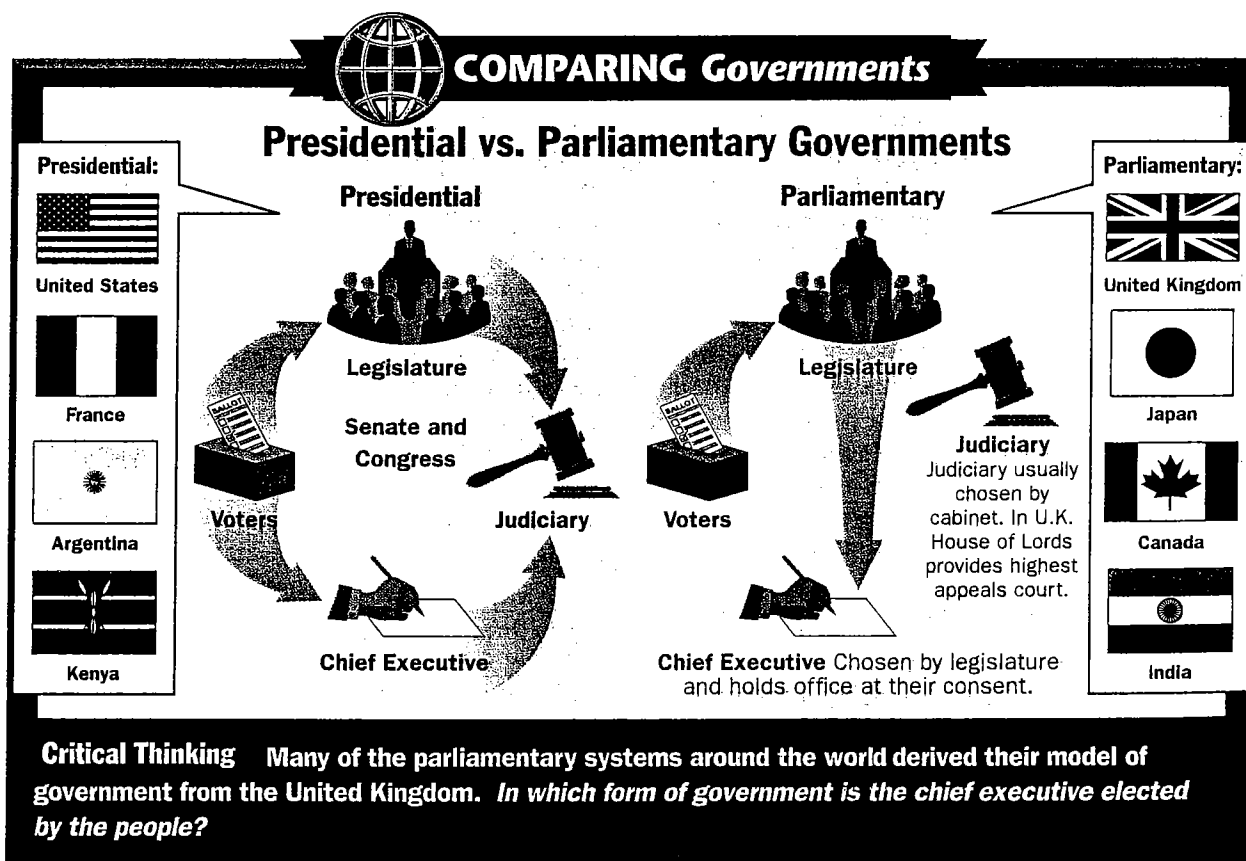
Under the constitution, the president also has the authority to dissolve the National Assembly and call for new elections. This power may be used if the president loses the support of a majority of the Assembly. With this power, even the threat of

dissolving the Assembly may be enough to force the deputies to accept the president’s leadership.

Emerging Democracies

 The spread of democracy around the world has increased in recent decades. Since the collapse of communism at the start of the 1990s, many of the countries of eastern Europe have been working to establish democratic governments. A number of countries in Latin America, Asia, and Africa have also been moving toward democracy. Poland, South Africa, and Mexico illustrate the types of challenges that confront nations trying to make the transition to democratic government.

Constitutional Government in Poland In 1989 the people of Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria threw out the Communist governments that were imposed on them at the end of World War II. Poland led the way in these revolutions when a trade union



called **Solidarity** emerged from an underground resistance movement to sweep the first democratic elections since World War II. Solidarity was supported by Pope John Paul II in its fight against Poland's Communist government. The pope, a native of Poland, quietly used his influence to strengthen Solidarity's opposition efforts. In 1990 Lech Walesa, the leader of Solidarity, became the first freely elected president of Poland. He won nearly 74 percent of the vote, and Solidarity won nearly all of the seats up for election in the parliament.

The collapse of communism, however, did not ensure the development of democracy. Reformers who took office in Poland in the early 1990s faced two major challenges. First, they needed a written constitution that would place clear limits on governmental power. Second, they needed to strengthen local governments. Reformers believed that effective local governments would give citizens a chance to get directly involved in issues that immediately concerned them, such as education and transportation.

In 1992 President Walesa signed a so-called "Little Constitution," which was intended to be a temporary measure until a new constitution could be developed. It took several more years of bitter debates to create a new constitution. New political parties, including some made up of former Communist officials, struggled to gain political advantage. Finally, on April 2, 1997, the National Assembly adopted the new Constitution of the Republic of Poland, and the voters approved it in May.

Chapter VII of the 1997 Polish constitution addressed the need to strengthen local governments. The constitution states:

“Local governments perform public duties that are not reserved by the Constitution or legislation for the agencies of other public authorities. . . . Local governments are legal entities. . . . The autonomy of local governments is protected by the courts.”

This clause meant that local governments had become constitutionally responsible for such matters as education, municipal housing, waste collection, and fire fighting.

Despite Poland's progress toward political democracy, the nation remains in a precarious position. A weakened economy in 2001 forced

Solidarity members in the Polish Parliament to cut spending to reduce government budget deficits. Voters responded to this action by voting Solidarity members out of Parliament. This shift in Poland's politics benefited many formerly Communist political supporters. Their political party, the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD), holds a majority of the seats in the lower house of Poland's Parliament. Despite this, Poland joined the European Union in 2004.

Civil Rights in South Africa Starting in 1948 South Africa followed a policy of **apartheid**, or strict segregation of the races enforced by the government. The South African populations of blacks (Africans), whites, coloreds (people of mixed European and African descent), and Asians were strictly separated. Blacks suffered the worst under this legalized segregation. Apartheid laws defined whom blacks could marry and where they could travel, eat, and go to school. Blacks could not vote or own property and could be jailed indefinitely without cause.

In response, black nationalist groups such as the **African National Congress (ANC)** pressed for reforms, but the government repeatedly crushed the resistance. By the 1960s, ANC leader Nelson Mandela had formed a military operation. In 1962 South African officials charged Mandela with treason and jailed him for life. From his prison cell, Mandela became a world-famous symbol for freedom in South Africa. In the 1980s the United States and the European Economic Community ordered economic sanctions, or imposing restrictions and withholding aid, against the South African government. This economic pressure helped bring a gradual end to apartheid. In 1990 President Frederik W. de Klerk released Mandela from prison. During the next few years the South African government repealed the remaining apartheid laws.

In April 1994 South Africa held its first non-racial national election. Nineteen parties offered candidates for the National Assembly. The election went smoothly, and foreign observers declared that it was free and fair. The African National Congress won about 63 percent of the vote along with 252 of the 400 seats in the National Assembly, which then chose Nelson Mandela as president without opposition.

The ANC fostered national unity by allowing members of other parties, including the Zulu Inkatha Party and the Afrikaner Nationalist Party, to hold some cabinet positions. Some minority parties, however, grew critical of the ANC. The Nationalists withdrew from the government in 1996, allowing the ANC to dominate elections again in 1999 with over 66 percent of the vote and over 250 seats in the National Assembly.

Removing the legal structure of apartheid has been an essential first step toward democracy in South Africa. Major challenges for the future include building a democratic civic culture, ensuring equal civil rights throughout society, and raising the standard of living for disadvantaged South Africans while maintaining economic growth.

Political Parties in Mexico In 1917 Mexico adopted a constitution that divided the national government into three branches: executive, legislative, and judicial. The president heads the executive branch and is directly elected for one six-year term. The president exercises very strong control over the government and is the dominant figure in Mexican politics.

The 1917 constitution also provided for a variety of individual, social, and economic rights for citizens. One political scientist described the 1917 constitution as the “most advanced labor code in the world at its time.” However, the president’s

power and the control of the government by one political party, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), for more than 60 years led political observers to describe the Mexican government as more authoritarian than democratic.

For decades massive organizational resources, political patronage, and the support of the major media served to keep the PRI in power. In some cases the PRI was accused of manipulating elections. In 1994, however, PRI candidate Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León won the presidency and introduced nationwide electoral reforms that did much to end the PRI’s long tradition of ballot box fraud. These reforms helped set the stage for other parties to compete fairly in Mexico’s political process.

In July 2000 Mexico took a major step toward becoming a multiparty democracy when Vicente Fox, the candidate of the National Action Party, or PAN, defeated the PRI and became Mexico’s new president.

When the PAN victory was announced in Mexico City, thousands of voters chanted: “Don’t fail us! Don’t fail us!” Fox has promised to institute major new policies during his six-year term, but he faces many obstacles. Even though PAN won enough seats in the Mexican Congress to replace the PRI as the dominant party, it did not get enough votes to gain an outright majority. Thus, Fox’s party will have to form coalitions with other parties in the Congress to pass legislation.

Section 1 Assessment

Checking for Understanding

- Main Idea** Use a graphic organizer like the one below to compare the most powerful parts of the British and French governments.
- Define** consolidated democracies, parliamentary government, life peers, presidential government, apartheid sanctions.
- Identify** House of Commons, House of Lords, National Diet, Solidarity.
- What happens when the majority party in Britain loses a vote in Parliament?
- Why is most of the legislation introduced in the Japanese Nation Diet ultimately passed?

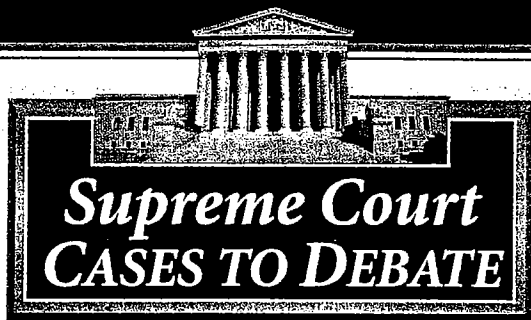
British	French

Critical Thinking

- Understanding Cause and Effect** What recent events in Mexico have contributed to making the country more democratic?

Concepts IN ACTION

Comparative Government Choose one of the countries with a parliamentary system of government discussed in this section. Draw a diagram that compares the organization of the United States government with the parliamentary system of government that you choose.



Afroyim v. Rusk, 1967

Chief Justice Earl

Warren once explained,

"Citizenship is man's basic

right for it is nothing less than the right to have rights. Remove this priceless possession and there remains a stateless person, disgraced and degraded in the eyes of his countrymen." Can Congress take away the citizenship of an American who violates a law? Afroyim v. Rusk dealt with this issue.



Polish and American flags

Background of the Case

Beys Afroyim from Poland became a naturalized American citizen in 1926. In 1950 Afroyim went to Israel, and while there he voted in an election for the Israeli Parliament. In 1960 Afroyim wanted to renew his U.S. passport, but the U.S. State Department refused to grant him a new passport. The State Department informed Afroyim that under the terms of the Nationality Act of 1940, he had lost his American citizenship. The law stated that U.S. citizens shall "lose" their citizenship if they vote "in a political election in a foreign state." Afroyim appealed and lost in both a federal district court and an appeals court.

The Constitutional Issue

Afroyim's case raised the question of whether the Nationality Act's penalty for voting in foreign

elections, the loss of citizenship, was constitutional. The Court stated, "The fundamental issue before this Court . . . is whether Congress can . . . enact a law stripping an American of his citizenship which he has never voluntarily renounced or given up." Afroyim argued that neither the Fourteenth Amendment nor any other provision of the Constitution expressly grants Congress the power to take away a person's citizenship once it has been acquired. Thus, the only way he could lose his citizenship was to give it up voluntarily.

In 1958, in *Perez v. Brownell*, the Supreme Court upheld the Nationality Act, ruling that Congress could revoke citizenship because it had implied power to regulate foreign affairs. Further, Justice Felix Frankfurter rejected the argument that the Fourteenth Amendment denied Congress the power to revoke citizenship. Afroyim urged the Court to overturn its earlier decision and rule in his favor.

Debating the Case

Questions to Consider

1. What might be the consequences of allowing the government to determine if a person can keep his or her citizenship?
2. Could voting in a foreign election be considered the same as voluntarily giving up one's citizenship?
3. Should Congress have the power to take away a person's citizenship if the person violates a law against voting in a foreign election?

You Be the Judge

The Court had to determine whether to overrule the *Perez* decision. The choice depended on its interpretation of the so-called citizenship clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, which states: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States . . . are citizens of the United States. . . ." Did that imply citizenship could be temporary? Or did the amendment mean citizenship is permanent until a person voluntarily gives it up? State your opinion.

Authoritarian Governments

Reader's Guide

Key Terms

Muslim, mullah, shah

Find Out

- How does China's Communist Party control the government?
- How is the role of religion different in Islamic governments than in democratic ones?

Understanding Concepts

Comparative Government What are the differences and similarities among the governments of China, North Korea, and Saudi Arabia?

COVER STORY

Jail for Teen Hustlers

HAVANA, CUBA, NOVEMBER 1, 1996

Every day the streets of this city fill with teenagers in search of an income. Called *jineteros*, these young street hustlers will sell nearly anything—a cigar, a place to stay, a night on the town—to foreign tourists. Alarmed at their growing numbers, Havana police have begun throwing *jineteros* in jail. Many of them express resentment because of the meager job outlook in Cuba's poor economy. "I have to earn a living," complains Miguel Angel Iglesias, a 19-year-old *jinetero*. "I used to like it in Cuba," Iglesias explains. "Now I have nothing. Before, there was hope. Now it's all gone."



Iglesias hustles for money.

While the number of democratic nations around the world is increasing, many authoritarian governments still exist as well. Governments such as those in the People's Republic of China, Cuba, North Korea, Saudi Arabia, and Iran present a stark contrast to democracies.

The People's Republic of China

Modern China is a study in contrasts. A recent U.S. State Department report on human rights called China an "authoritarian state" in which citizens lack most civil rights and in which the government commits "numerous human rights abuses." At the same time, China's Communist Party government is pursuing economic reforms that are reducing the government's tight grip on the people.

Political History China was ruled by emperors until the late 1800s. In 1911 an uprising overthrew the last emperor, and China became a republic a year later. Rival factions divided the new republic until 1929, when the Nationalist Party, under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, defeated the Communists and gained partial control of the nation. When Japan invaded China in the 1930s, the Nationalists and Communists came together to resist the Japanese. After Japan's defeat in World War II, a civil war broke out in China between the two rival parties.

In 1949 Communist revolutionaries led by Mao Zedong seized power. The Nationalists fled to safety on the offshore island of Taiwan, where they remain today. Mao then led China for the next 30 years. He established a totalitarian government strictly controlled by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), in much the same way that the Soviet Communist Party once controlled the Soviet Union.

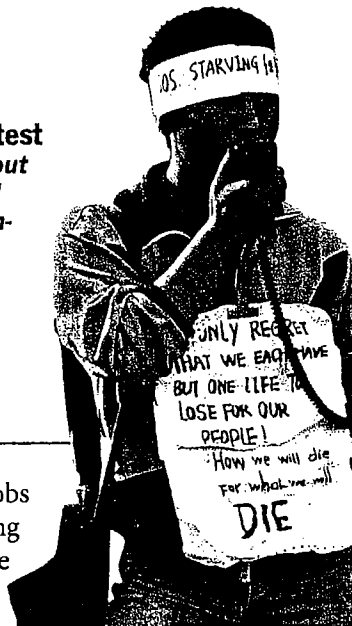
Mao's government turned China into a socialist state by taking control of all major

Appeals for Democracy

Present Demonstrators carry a banner depicting the Goddess of Democracy during a march through a Hong Kong street in 1997. The demonstrators were honoring those killed in the massacre at Tiananmen Square.

Past A student leader on a hunger strike borrows a phrase from the American Revolution as he addresses his comrades in Tiananmen Square.

The Power of Protest
What message about popular protest did the Chinese government send its citizens in 1989?



industries, assigning jobs to workers, and creating five-year plans to guide economic decisions for the entire country.

The government also took control of all farmland and forced peasants to work together on collective farms supervised by the government.

Communist Party Government Today China has two parallel systems of government. There is a ceremonial national government, which includes a legislature, a cabinet of ministers, and even a president and vice president. The national government, however, is actually controlled by the CCP. China's constitution calls the CCP the "core of the leadership of the whole Chinese people" and describes the nation as "led by the Communist Party".

The CCP's top governing body is the National Party Congress, which is composed of about 3,000 party members selected from different provinces. However, the National Party Congress meets for only about two weeks each year and merely serves as



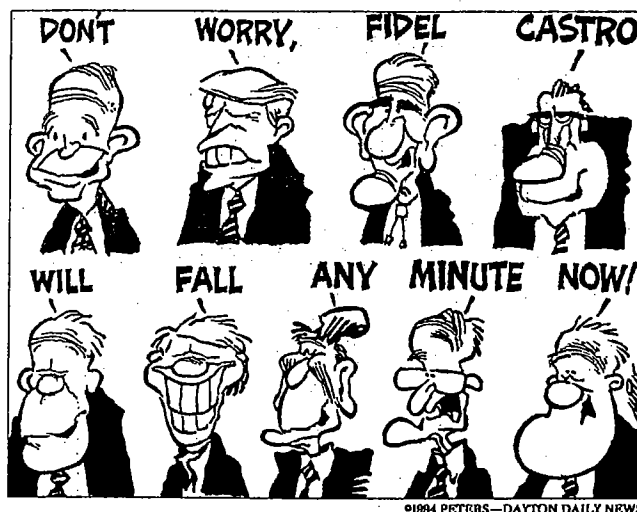
a rubber stamp for policies of the party's leaders. The General Secretary of the CCP is the country's top leader.

National policy is made by the party's Political Bureau—the **Politburo**. The Politburo is composed of about 20 top party leaders, and its standing committee is made up of the CCP's top 7 leaders. This elite group makes the key political, economic, and military decisions for China's 1.3 billion people.

Civil Liberties Authoritarian governments tolerate little criticism or open disagreement with their policies. In China a dramatic example of this intolerance occurred in 1989 when Chinese military forces massacred hundreds of unarmed, pro-democracy students who were demonstrating in Beijing's Tiananmen Square. The government continues today to suppress criticism and oppress minorities.

Party leaders are especially wary of the growth of any popular organizations. The government has, for example, ruthlessly suppressed the **Falun Gong**, a spiritual movement that combines physical exercise with Buddhism and Taoism.

Castro's Staying Power



Opposition to Castro Since Fidel Castro aligned himself with the Soviet bloc in the early 1960s, Cuba has been perceived as a threat to the United States and to the security of the region. *What is this cartoonist saying about Castro's government?*

Authoritarian governments also try to maintain tight control over a country's flow of ideas and information. Thus China has developed the world's most extensive system of censoring the Internet. By using filtering technology, the government regularly denies local users access to as many as 19,000 political and religious Web sites it deems threatening. At the same time, the government does allow Internet use for certain business, cultural, and educational purposes that it believes will help the nation compete in today's global economy.


Relations With the United States The United States ended official diplomatic relations with China in 1949 when the Communists gained control of the mainland. At the same time, the U.S. government maintained contact with the Nationalist government in Taiwan. China's foreign policy, however, began changing in 1960. A growing rift between China and the Soviet Union caused China's leaders to view the U.S.S.R. as the principal threat to its national security. China subsequently grew more willing to cooperate with the United States.

Meanwhile President Nixon was attempting to ease Cold War tensions with the Soviet Union and

with China. In 1972 Nixon became the first U.S. president to visit China. During this meeting both nations agreed to begin efforts to improve their diplomatic relationship. After several years of slow progress, in 1979 the United States recognized the Communist government in Beijing as the legitimate government of China. Tensions remain, however. While China seeks access to American technology and investments, the United States wants China to end its human rights abuses and to act as a stabilizing force in Asia.

Economic relations with China have changed dramatically over the years. By liberalizing its economy and focusing on high-technology exports, China saw its exports grow to almost \$400 billion in 2003. The United States and China remain at odds about the status of Taiwan, and poverty and unemployment are continuing problems in rural China.

Communism in Cuba

 In January 1959, Fidel Castro led Cubans in a revolt that ousted dictator Fulgencio Batista. Under Castro, Cuba became a Communist dictatorship largely sustained by the Soviet Union. Castro maintained strict control over the Cuban people.


Tensions between Cuba and the United States boiled over in two crises. In 1961 anti-Castro exiles, trained by the United States, invaded Cuba at the **Bay of Pigs**. The failed invasion embarrassed the United States. One year later the United States discovered that Soviet missiles were being installed in Cuba. Tense negotiations with the Soviet Union brought the crisis to an end, but U.S.-Cuban relations were severely strained after this event that had brought the world to the brink of nuclear war.

Economic Crisis The end of the Cold War in the early 1990s left Cuba isolated. The loss of Soviet aid, combined with low prices for sugar exports, caused a deep economic crisis. The continuing American trade embargo against Cuba, which had been in place since 1961, intensified the situation. The United States hoped the embargo would spur Fidel Castro into moving toward a more democratic system in exchange for better

political and economic relations with the United States. So far, these efforts have failed to move Castro toward instituting democratic reforms.

Cuba's Future Castro has ruled Cuba for nearly 50 years while grooming a new generation of Communist leaders. What will happen when Castro relinquishes power is unknown. Experts predict everything from civil war and more communism to a peaceful transition towards democracy.

North Korea

 After World War II, the Korean peninsula was divided into North and South Korea. With aid from the United States, South Korea became a democracy with a strong, free-market economy. North Korea became a Communist nation supported by the Soviet Union, until its collapse, and led by dictator Kim Il Sung. Since 1994 Kim's son, Kim Jong Il, has ruled the country with an iron fist.

Cult of Personality Today, North Korea's totalitarian government centers on unquestioning loyalty to Kim Jong Il. Kim's government controls all aspects of people's lives. This includes where people live and travel, what jobs they can have, and what schools children will attend.


North Koreans are almost totally cut off from outside sources of information. National propaganda glorifies Kim as the "Great Leader." Kim, people are told, deserves "absolute devotion" because he protects them against foreigners and will someday lead them to great prosperity.

A totalitarian regime like North Korea can cause great suffering. Currently, for example, about 70 percent of the nation's children are malnourished. In the last decade, more than 2 million North Koreans starved to death because the economy could not produce enough food, and much of the nation's money was spent on military weapons and luxury items for Kim.

Tension With the United States The first concern of totalitarian leaders is their own survival in power. Although North Korea's economy is weak, its military is strong. In the early 1990s, the country began to develop chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons. Few experts believe Kim would use such weapons directly against the United States, but Kim

could sell the weapons to terrorists. Also, the existence of such weapons might lead other non-nuclear nations in the region to develop their own nuclear weapons. As a result the United States has sought to limit North Korea's development of nuclear weapons.

Islamic Governments

 Islam is a religion spread by the prophet Muhammad, who lived from A.D. 570 to 632. Muhammad claimed that he received the teachings of God (Allah) in a vision. These teachings were written in the Quran. A Muslim, or follower of Islam, is "one who submits" to Allah and the instructions of the Quran. For many Muslims, Islam is not only a religion, it is also an identity and a loyalty that transcends all others.

Today there are over one billion Muslims spread across the globe. Muslims form a majority in the Arab countries of the Middle East. However, only one in four Muslims is an Arab. Muslims also make up the majority of the population in some non-Arab countries like Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, and Indonesia. In a number of other countries Muslims hold considerable political influence.

Religion and Government In modern times, Islamic countries view the relationship between religion and the state differently than do most Western democracies. Since the beginning of Islam, many teachers of the Islamic faith have believed that political rulers should use Islamic tenets in shaping governmental authority. As a noted scholar of Islam, Bernard Lewis, explains, "In the universal Islamic polity as conceived by Muslims, there is . . . only God, who is the sole sovereign and the sole source of law." Islamic leaders believe there is no need for a separation between religion and the state, since Allah is inherent in politics. The Quran provides the guidance needed on issues such as what the duties of citizens and rulers are, what rights citizens have, what makes a government legitimate, and how the government should exercise power.

Since the American and French Revolutions, some Western nations have drawn a line of separation between religion and the authority of the state. The U.S. Constitution, for example, clearly states that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion." Not all Western nations, however, follow this principle.

We the People

Making a Difference

Mark, Dennis, and David Richard



Wheels for
Humanity logo

In 1988 Mark Richard saw a disabled woman crawling along a roadside in Guatemala. He made up his mind to bring the woman a wheelchair. When he returned to the United States, Mark contacted the local chapter of the Spinal Cord Injury Association. Together they delivered 20 wheelchairs to Guatemala. Twice a year after that Mark repeated the trip, distributing 2,000 wheelchairs. His older brother Dennis helped until he died in 1994. In July 1995 David Richard, another brother, began collecting wheelchairs throughout southern California. He created a nonprofit

organization called Wheels for Humanity. In a California warehouse, volunteers restore battered wheelchairs to be distributed to disabled children in Vietnam, Guatemala, Bosnia, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and other countries. In just 18 months the Richards improved 987 lives with the gift of a wheelchair. "Once you put your hand on a used wheelchair, you're hooked," David says.

The work of Wheels for Humanity continues. Various sources estimate that more than 21 million people worldwide are in need of wheelchairs.

The Church of England, also known as the Anglican Church, is the official church of Great Britain. The Evangelical Lutheran Church is the state church of Norway. Some democratic countries even have political parties with religious identities, such as Germany's Christian Democratic Union.

Even when religion does play a role in Western democracies, that role is mostly symbolic. For example, many U.S. coins are imprinted with the phrase "In God We Trust." But religion is generally not the basis of authority in democracies, nor is it central to their political programs.

Two Views of Islam Less than 30 years after Muhammad's death in A.D. 632, a debate developed within Islam over which institution—religion or the state—should have ultimate authority. This debate continues to the present day.

Some Muslims, often called secularists, believe that religious doctrine and **secular** (nonreligious) law can and should be kept separate. Islam, they argue, is strictly a religion; it should not dictate what happens in government and politics. Other moderates call for practical compromises, with Islamic teachings playing a role but ultimately deferring to government authority on some key issues, such as declaring war. Moderate Muslims believe that Islam can and should try to coexist with the modern world

and modern ideas about government. These Muslims desire friendly relations with Western nations. Some want democratic institutions and the benefits of capitalism in their own countries.

Muslim fundamentalists (also called traditionalists or radicals) take a very different view. They believe Islamic countries should base their legal systems strictly on the *shari'ah*, or law of the Quran, rather than on any Western legal principles. These fundamentalists also hope Muslims across the world can be united in one spiritual, cultural, and political community. Further, they want to preserve or bring back cultural traditions such as requiring women to cover their faces in public and banning modern movies and music. They look to specially trained Islamic religious leaders called **mullahs**, who interpret and uphold traditional Islamic teachings. Some fundamentalists preach that the obligation of every Muslim is to rebel against any society or ruler that does not follow traditional Islamic principles.

Many fundamentalist Muslims see Western culture and society as a threat to Islamic culture. Some fundamentalists encourage negative attitudes towards Western democracies, especially the United States. Their main goal is to drive from power moderate Islamic governments that have adopted foreign customs. In 1991, for example, fundamentalists

murdered the moderate Egyptian President Anwar Sadat in a failed attempt to take over the government.

Revolution in Iran So far the most successful effort by fundamentalist Muslims has been in Iran. In the 1960s and 1970s, Iran built a capitalistic economy based on oil revenues. At that time Iran was ruled by a shah, or king, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, who strengthened economic ties to Western nations. Muslim religious leaders in Iran resented the shah's apparent embrace of Western values and sought a return to Muslim traditions. However, for many years the shah's secret police prevented any action and silenced all dissent.

Muslims who opposed the shah rallied around Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, a Muslim leader living in exile in France. In 1979, Muslim fundamentalists in Iran organized massive demonstrations and forced the shah to flee to the United States. Khomeini returned to Iran from France and formed a new government based on Islamic principles. In this regime, conservative religious leaders had veto power over the actions of political leaders.

The new Iranian government demanded that the United States return the shah to Iran to stand trial. The United States refused, and relations between the two countries grew more and more strained. At the same time, anti-American sentiment increased in Iran. In late 1979, Iranians took American diplomats hostage in the U.S. Embassy in Iran and held them there for more than a year.

Saudi Arabia The struggle between fundamental Islam and the modern world has caused political tension in Saudi Arabia, a country that has provided oil and important military bases to the United States. The Al Saud family established the country in 1932 and have ruled as absolute monarchs ever since. The government is based on a fundamentalist interpretation of Islam with no separation of religion and the state. Next to the royal family, the most powerful political force in the country has always been the mullahs who impose traditional Islamic social and political ideas through government sponsored organizations like the Committee for the Propagation of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice.

The discovery of oil in the 1950s transformed Saudi Arabia from an isolated, desert nation to a wealthy, urban nation with tens of thousands of foreign workers and a large middle class of professionals. A growing number of Saudis have also started making demands for an elected government. As a result, the royal family has been searching for ways to create a modern economy, culture, and government while placating hard-line Muslim radicals. Since the September 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States, many American critics have accused the Saudi government of indirectly supporting terrorism. These critics claim the Saudi government has funneled money to Islamic radicals as a way to appease fundamentalist critics within Saudi Arabia.

Section 2 Assessment

Checking for Understanding

- Main Idea** Use a graphic organizer like the one below to profile each of the countries covered in this section, and indicate whether the country is moving toward or away from democracy.

Authoritarian States		
Country	Controlled by	+/- Democracy

- Define** Muslim, mullah, shah.
- Identify** Politburo, Falun Gong, Bay of Pigs.
- What events in 1979 returned Iran to Muslim control?
- Why is China not a democratic nation?

Critical Thinking

- Recognizing Ideologies** How does the North Korean government promote its state leader to the people?

Concepts IN ACTION

Comparative Government Choose a country discussed in this section. Research recent political developments in this country. Imagine that you are traveling to the country that you chose. Write a letter to a friend describing the country, its government, and the extent to which the government affects people's lives.

International Organizations

Reader's Guide

Key Terms

nongovernmental organizations, intergovernmental organizations, supranational organizations

Find Out

- What is the basic structure of the United Nations?
- What is the history of the European Union's development?

Understanding Concepts

Political Processes How does the UN Security Council operate and guide the decisions of the General Assembly?

COVER STORY

Democracy Struggles

PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI, AUGUST 16, 2001

Five Haitian officers were killed and 14 wounded on July 28 when armed men attacked a police academy and three police stations. The attackers were dressed in army uniforms and proclaimed their loyalty to the defunct army, which was disbanded after the 1994 defeat of Lt. General Raul Cedras's military dictatorship. Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide urged former soldiers to resist any coup attempts, stating that "It's time not to militarize power, but to democratize power." Aristide is now challenged with controlling those who oppose the nation's progress toward democracy in addition to resolving the 2000 senate election disputes and boosting the weak economy.



President Aristide

Nations such as the United States, Japan, and Saudi Arabia remain strong forces able to shape today's world. However, international organizations also play a key role in world politics. There are two types of such organizations. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are made up of individuals and groups outside the scope of government. The International Red Cross is an example of an NGO. One of its major jobs is to monitor the treatment of prisoners during war. NGOs are funded largely by donations from private individuals and charitable foundations.

The second and most well-known type of international organization is one composed of members of national governments. This type is called an intergovernmental organization (IGO). The United Nations (UN) is the most significant example of an IGO with a global membership and mission. The European Union (EU) is another example of an intergovernmental organization. IGOs are created through agreements, usually treaties, negotiated by the member states. The powers of an IGO are established and limited by its members.

The United Nations

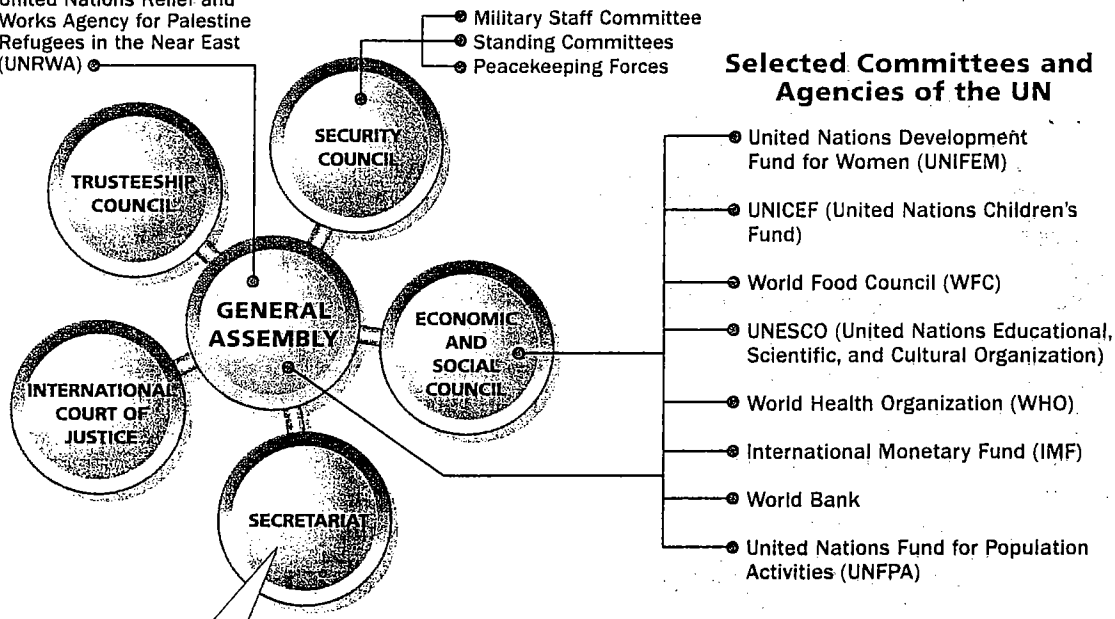


In 1945 the United States and other nations established the United Nations to provide a forum to allow nations to settle their disputes peacefully. The Charter of the UN identifies the organization's three major goals. One is to preserve world peace and security. The second is to encourage nations to deal fairly with one another. The third is to help nations cooperate in trying to solve their social and economic problems. United Nations membership is open to all "peace-loving states." Today, UN membership includes 191 nations from around the world.

Structure of the UN The main headquarters of the UN is located in New York City. The UN is divided into a variety of units that help

Organization of the United Nations

United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA)



More than 8,900 people from 170 countries constitute the Secretariat staff, which is responsible for the day-to-day functions of the United Nations.

Source: *The World Book Encyclopedia* (Chicago: World Book Inc., 1995); www.UN.org

Critical Thinking The United Nations charter calls for the arrangement of the UN into six principal units, each with a specific set of responsibilities. *How might this type of council structure help the UN achieve its goals of preserving world peace?*

fulfill the organization's goals. The **General Assembly** is at the heart of the UN. It discusses, debates, and recommends solutions for major international problems presented to the United Nations. The Assembly also controls the UN budget by determining the members' yearly contributions and by setting expenditures for the many UN agencies. Each member nation has only one vote but may send a delegation of five representatives to the General Assembly.

The **Security Council** is a kind of executive board for the General Assembly. It is composed of 15 nations. The permanent members of the Security Council are the United States, Russia, the People's Republic of China, France, and Great Britain. The General Assembly elects the other 10 members for two-year terms.

The Security Council has the authority to make peacekeeping decisions for the United Nations.

The Council may call for breaking off relations with a nation, ending trade with a nation, or using military force. Because of its rules of procedure, however, the Security Council often has difficulty making such decisions. According to the UN Charter, in order to follow any course of action, nine of the Council's fifteen members must vote in favor of it. Furthermore, these nine members must include all five permanent members. Thus, if one permanent member vetoes a measure, the Security Council is unable to act.

The **Secretariat** does the UN's day-to-day business with a staff of about 9,000 people who work under the direction of the Secretary General. The Secretary General is appointed by the General Assembly to a five-year term of office, with a two-term limit. This official is responsible for carrying out the instructions of the Security Council and can be an important figure in world politics,

especially when the UN is involved in controversial peacekeeping decisions.

The **International Court of Justice**, also called the World Court, is the judicial branch of the UN. Member nations may voluntarily submit disputes over international law to this court for settlement. The General Assembly and the Security Council select the fifteen judges that sit on the International Court of Justice. The Court holds its sessions in the Hague, Netherlands.

Finally, the **Economic and Social Council** (ECOSOC) is responsible for helping the UN promote social and economic progress around the world. It is concerned with such issues as improving education, health, and human rights. The Council has a membership of 54 countries elected by the General Assembly, with one-third of them being replaced by new members every three years.

Specialized Agencies The United Nations also has units that carry out much of the organization's humanitarian activities under the supervision of the Economic and Social Council. These specialized agencies include the World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).


Peacekeeping Activities In addition to promoting alternatives to armed conflict, the UN has a limited ability to use military force for peacekeeping. The UN acts as a peacekeeper when its member states have approved a mission, volunteered troops, and agreed to pay for the mission. The UN has conducted 56 peacekeeping operations since 1948, but the majority of those operations were conducted after the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s. As of October 2003, the UN had 13 peacekeeping forces of different sizes at locations in Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Middle East. These forces totaled over 42,000 troops and police drawn from 91 countries including the United States, England, France, China, Russia, Ireland, Canada, and several Scandinavian countries.

UN peacekeeping often involves inserting an international force of troops between combatants as a way to calm an explosive situation or monitor a negotiated cease-fire. Sometimes lightly armed

peacekeeping forces will undertake other missions, such as overseeing elections or providing humanitarian aid to help starving people in a war-torn country. Over 1,700 UN peacekeepers have been killed in such operations.

Although Americans tend not to think of it in such terms, the Persian Gulf War of 1990 was a UN peacekeeping operation. When Iraq invaded neighboring Kuwait in 1990 and then headed toward Saudi Arabia, the Saudis asked the United States for protection. The UN Security Council voted to condemn Iraq and authorized the U.S. to lead a coalition of seven nations to repel the invaders. The coalition forces quickly defeated Iraq. The UN then ordered Iraq to destroy all of its weapons of mass destruction, and it regularly sent inspectors to Iraq to look for such weapons. It also imposed economic sanctions on Iraq to force compliance.

The European Union

 Intergovernmental organizations, including the United Nations, traditionally have had little independent authority to make policies that would be binding on sovereign nations. Thus IGOs do not act independently of the nations that make up their membership. Instead, nearly all IGOs are devices used by member states to promote their own diplomatic objectives or to accomplish non-political tasks. Such IGOs include the International Civil Aviation Organization, which regulates civil aviation, and the International Criminal Police Organization (Interpol), which tracks down international criminals.

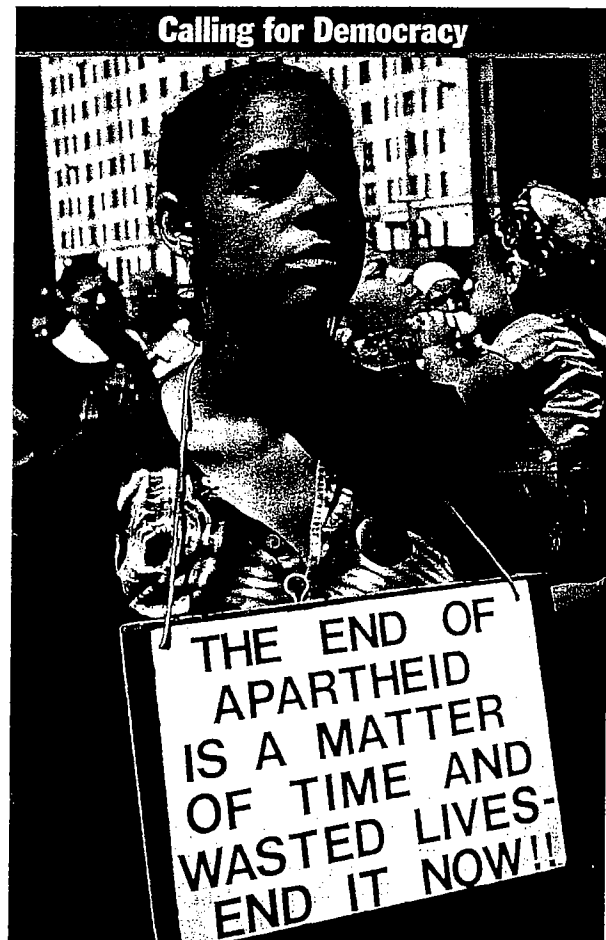
The European Union is a regional IGO that has evolved further than any other towards becoming a **supranational organization**, or an organization whose authority overrides or supercedes the sovereignty of its individual members. The EU was created in 1957 when six Western European nations saw an advantage in cooperating with each other politically and economically. The EU now has 25 members. Four more nations—Bulgaria, Croatia, Romania, and Turkey—have applied for membership to the EU. “The European Union,” according to one scholar, “is one of the great political and economic success stories of the twentieth century.” In this chapter we look at the EU's political structure; in the next chapter we consider its economic endeavors.

Political Development Since its founding, the EU has developed into a quasi-government with the authority to make and enforce some decisions that apply to all of its members even though they remain sovereign nations. In other words, these nations yield some of their sovereignty to the EU. How did the EU develop into a continent-wide political institution with a powerful economy that compares to that of the United States?

The original motivation for European integration was economic. In 1957 France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg agreed to move toward a common trading market called the European Economic Community (EEC). In 1967 the EEC merged with two other organizations to become the European Community (EC). The goal of the EC was to remove all economic restrictions, permitting workers, capital, goods, and services to move freely throughout the member nations. By the late 1980s, the admission of Britain, Ireland, Denmark, Greece, Portugal, and Spain increased the EC's population to 370 million. In 1993 the EC was renamed the European Union and became the world's largest unified market. Two years later Austria, Finland, and Sweden joined to bring the total EU membership to 15 nations.

When Eastern European nations began to break free of Communist governments in the 1990s, their new leaders recognized the value of belonging to a unified European market. Almost immediately they began negotiating to join the organization in order to integrate their own emerging free market economies with those of Western Europe.

As more countries joined the European Union, pressure increased on the member states to implement greater political integration. Economic integration is less effective alone than it is when combined with political cooperation. A key step toward such integration was the 1993 **Maastricht Treaty**. Through this treaty the member nations began to yield power to the European Union. This allowed the EU to start acting more as a political unit able to enforce common rules, not only for trade but also for crime fighting, immigration, citizenship, and other common concerns. This treaty also called for the eventual creation of a common foreign and defense policy. Two additional treaties since 1993 have further strengthened political integration by giving the EU government more authority.



Transforming a Nation In the 1980s, the United States and international organizations, such as the UN, placed economic restrictions on South Africa to end apartheid. *How might the restriction of U.S. corporate investment in South Africa affect the average citizen of that country?*

European Union Government The EU government is complex because of its need to combine many distinct cultures, languages, and political traditions into a structure acceptable to all member nations. The **Council of the European Union** decides the key directions for EU policy. The Council is a gathering of foreign ministers or state secretaries chosen by each member nation. This group meets twice a year to discuss and vote on major issues. The larger EU countries have more votes on certain matters than smaller countries.

The **European Parliament (EP)** is the legislative branch of the EU, with 732 members divided

TIME

For the Record

Foreign Soil The United Nations sits on 18 acres of land in New York City. Donated by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., the land is not part of the United States. The UN is international territory and belongs to all members of the organization. The UN has its own security and firefighting forces and issues its own postage stamps. Mail a card from the UN, and you can say you sent a foreign letter!

among countries on the basis of population. Germany, the most populous country, has 99 seats, while Malta, the smallest member, has 5 seats. EP members are elected to five-year terms by the voters in their own countries. The EP works alongside the Council to form the annual budget for the European Union and supervise the operations of smaller EU institutions.

The **European Court of Justice** is the EU's highest judicial body and has one judge per member state. The court hears cases on a wide range of issues and often uses various EU treaties as a kind of constitution by which to judge cases. The

Court can declare laws of member nations invalid if they conflict with EU treaty obligations. For example, in one recent case, the Court held that Great Britain violated EU treaties by granting certain tax exemptions to British citizens. As a result, the British Parliament had to eliminate the exemptions.

The **European Commission** does much of the daily work in the European Union. It drafts proposals for new European laws, presents them to the European Parliament and the Council, and sees that decisions are implemented throughout the EU. The Commission was originally composed of 20 individuals selected from member countries (2 each from the larger countries and 1 per smaller country). Once the EU expanded in 2004, this number changed to 1 representative per nation, with the total never to exceed 27 commission members. If the number of EU member states eventually exceeds 27, a rotation schedule will be established by the Council of the European Union. The commissioners serve five-year terms. One commissioner is selected by the Council to be the **President of the Commission**. The president directs the large EU bureaucracy and oversees the EU's annual budget of more than \$86 billion.

The EU bureaucracy has grown tremendously since 1970 and currently employs over 20,000 people. The "Eurocracy," as it is called, issues over 600 rules, regulations, and directives each year. Many Europeans complain the bureaucracy has grown too large and is not responsive to the public.

Section 3 Assessment

Checking for Understanding

- 1. Main Idea** Use a graphic organizer like the one below to summarize the two international organizations described in this section.

Organization	Membership	Goals

- 2. Define** nongovernmental organizations, intergovernmental organizations, supranational organizations.
- 3. Identify** General Assembly, Security Council, Secretariat, Maastricht Treaty, European Parliament.
- 4.** List some incidences where the UN has acted as a peacekeeper in a nonmilitary setting.
- 5.** How has European Union expansion affected the European Commission?

Critical Thinking

- 6. Analyzing Information** Should the five permanent members of the UN Security Council be able to override any UN decision? Why or why not?

Concepts IN ACTION

Political Processes Identify and find out about the duties, responsibilities, and programs of the specialized agencies of the United Nations. Create a poster that illustrates the work of these agencies. Display completed posters in the classroom.

Global Issues

Reader's Guide

Key Terms

terrorism, state-sponsored terrorism, nuclear proliferation, human rights

Find Out

- What is state-sponsored terrorism?
- Why has the United States been reluctant to sign the treaty creating the International Criminal Court?

Understanding Concepts

Global Perspectives What steps have been taken to halt the global threat of nuclear proliferation?

COVER STORY

Day of Terror

NEW YORK CITY, SEPTEMBER 11, 2001

Terrorists today crashed two commercial airliners into the twin towers of the World Trade Center. A third plane hit the Pentagon outside Washington, D.C., and a fourth went down outside Pittsburgh. All 266 people in the four jetliners were killed.

Within an hour of the first attack, Americans watched in horror on television as the south tower of the World Trade Center collapsed due to the heat of the explosion. Shortly after that the north tower fell. Many office workers in the twin towers jumped out of windows to their deaths to escape the flames. Hundreds of firefighters and rescue workers searched the debris but found few survivors. The U.S. military was put on the highest state of alert, and the nation's borders were immediately closed.



Smoke billows where twin towers stood

In today's interdependent world, citizens, national leaders, and officials in international organizations must increasingly deal with global issues that affect a large part of the world's population and cannot be solved by the actions of any single nation. Important global issues today include defeating terrorism, limiting the spread of nuclear weapons, promoting human rights, and protecting the environment.

As the world becomes more and more interconnected, even the most powerful nations, including the United States, cannot escape the impact of global issues. As one leading American political scientist explains, "U.S. security and economic interests are inevitably tied to what happens in the rest of the world. Whether we like it or not."

Global issues pose a challenge to a nation's ability to claim authority within its own borders and to act independently of other nations. This is because responding effectively to issues of a global scale sometimes requires a country to accept the decisions or rules of an international body such as the United Nations or the World Trade Organization, even if such decisions or rules differ from that country's own.

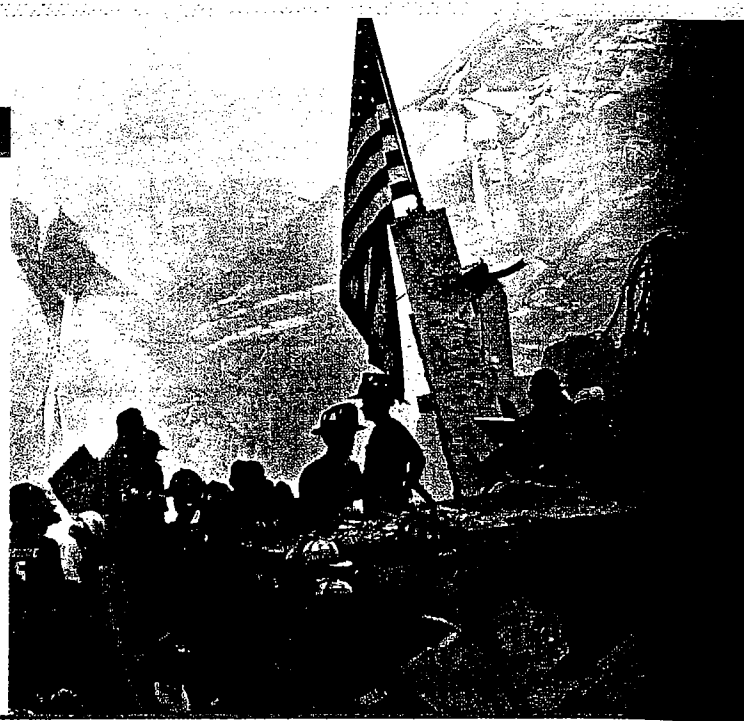
Some global issues are so large in scope that a group of nations must cooperate to solve the problems. This often means that individual nations must give up some measure of national authority. For example, to combat worldwide pollution, nations may agree to participate in a treaty that limits a nation's economic and industrial choices for the good of all treaty members. In other words, solving global issues may require cooperation among nations. A prime example of such cooperation came after the 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States, when President George W. Bush met with nearly 80 foreign leaders to ask for their cooperation in fighting terrorism.

Terrorist Attack

Bombing of the World Trade Center

Rescue workers and firefighters desperately search for survivors in the rubble of the 110-story towers. Hijackers took over passenger jets and flew them into the twin towers in a planned and coordinated act of destruction.

Do you think such incidents help terrorists achieve their objectives? Why or why not?



International Terrorism

★ The U.S. State Department reports that recent years have seen more than 300 attacks of terrorism per year across all regions of the world. Terrorism is the use of violence by non-governmental groups against civilians to achieve a political goal.

International terrorism has become one of the greatest dangers of the new global era. This truth became very clear to Americans on September 11, 2001. Terrorists launched their most devastating attack ever on the United States, hijacking commercial airliners and crashing them into the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. Another plane intended for a similar attack crashed in Pennsylvania.

Since World War II, most terrorist attacks on Americans have been carried out by Middle Eastern groups. One reason for such attacks stems from the history of American investment in the oil industry. Such investment enriched the ruling families of some Middle Eastern kingdoms but left most of the people poor. Some of these people became angry at the United States for supporting the wealthy ruling families. American support of Israel also angered many in the Middle East.

The global importance of the oil industry also increased cultural exchanges between Middle Eastern countries and the West. Many Muslim

fundamentalists resented this contact, fearing that it weakened traditional Islamic values and beliefs. New movements arose calling for a strict interpretation of the Quran—the Muslim holy book—and a return to traditional Muslim religious laws. Eventually, some of the more militant fundamentalists began using terrorism to achieve their goals.

In the 1970s, several Middle Eastern nations realized they could fight the United States by providing terrorist groups with money, weapons, and training. When a government secretly supports terrorism, this is called **state-sponsored terrorism**. The governments of Libya, Syria, Iraq, and Iran have all sponsored terrorism.

A New Terrorist Threat In 1979 the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. In response, Muslims from across the Middle East headed to Afghanistan to join the struggle against the Soviets. Among them was a 22-year-old Muslim named **Osama bin Laden**. Bin Laden came from one of Saudi Arabia's wealthiest families. He used his wealth to support the Afghan resistance. In 1988 he founded an organization called **al-Qaeda**, or "the Base." Al-Qaeda recruited Muslims and channeled money and arms to the Afghan resistance.

Bin Laden's experience in Afghanistan convinced him that superpowers could be beaten. He also believed that Western ideas had contaminated Muslim society. He was outraged when Saudi

Arabia allowed American troops on Saudi soil after Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990.


Operating first from Sudan and then from Afghanistan—then under the control of Muslim fundamentalists known as the Taliban—bin Laden dedicated himself and al-Qaeda to driving Westerners, and especially Americans, out of the Middle East. In 1998 he called on Muslims to kill Americans. Soon afterward, truck bombs exploded at the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.

In 1999 members of al-Qaeda were arrested while trying to smuggle explosives into the United States in an attempt to bomb Seattle, Washington. Then, in October 2000, al-Qaeda terrorists crashed a boat loaded with explosives into the USS *Cole*, an American warship docked in Yemen. Finally in 2001 came the devastating attacks on New York City and Washington, D.C., and the United States responded by going to war.

War on Terrorism Begins Experts on Islam point out that Islamic terrorists misrepresent the teachings of the Quran and that many of their statements actually contradict core Islamic principles. According to Bernard Lewis, an internationally recognized authority on Islam, “The callous destruction of thousands in the World Trade Center . . . has no justification in Islamic doctrine or law and no precedent in Islamic history.” When the United States began bombing targets in Afghanistan in October 2001, Bush emphasized that he had ordered the military to attack al-Qaeda’s camps and the Taliban’s military forces, and he reiterated that Islam and the Afghan people were not the enemy.

President Bush also vowed that while the war on terrorism began by targeting al-Qaeda, it would not end “until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped, and defeated.” In order for terrorism to be defeated on a global scale, however, many nations will have to work together towards that common goal.

Nuclear Weapons Threat

 Another problem that the world faces is nuclear proliferation, or the spread of nuclear weapons. Five nations—the United States, Russia, Great Britain, France, and China—have had nuclear weapons for many years. Israel, South Africa, Argentina, and Taiwan are also believed to

possess nuclear weapons. More recently, India and Pakistan have acquired the capability to produce nuclear weapons.

The United States, in cooperation with many other developed nations, has taken several steps to limit the spread of nuclear weapons. In late 1956, a joint agreement of 81 nations created the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). This organization oversees the safe operation of nuclear power plants and limits the export of plutonium processing technologies needed to build nuclear weapons.

In 1968 the major nuclear powers created the nuclear **Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)**, in which they promised not to provide nuclear weapons technology to other nations. They also vowed to ensure the safe use of nuclear power and to encourage general disarmament and destruction of existing nuclear weapons. Since the NPT’s creation, over 180 parties have joined this treaty. On occasion the United Nations has also imposed sanctions on nations seeking to build nuclear weapons.

A new challenge to limiting the spread of nuclear weapons has arisen, making the success of these international agreements more difficult. Scientists have revealed that it is possible to build small nuclear weapons using readily available low-enriched uranium or spent nuclear fuel, the waste left over by reactors used to generate electric power. Previously it was thought that only plutonium or highly enriched uranium could be used. As a result, the treaties and monitoring programs put into place so far have focused only on those two substances. The fact that these cheaper, more readily-obtainable substances can be used to make weapons of mass destruction means that a wider range of nations may have access to the materials needed to build nuclear weapons. This means that the chance of terrorists obtaining weapons of mass destruction has increased.

North Korea signed the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1985 as a non-nuclear weapons state. In 1992 both North and South Korea agreed to sign a Denuclearization Statement which stated that neither country was allowed to test, manufacture, produce, receive, possess, store, deploy, or use nuclear weapons and forbade the possession of nuclear reprocessing and uranium enrichment facilities. Also, plans were discussed for nuclear weapons inspections in both countries. After these promising beginnings, however, North Korea showed little


progress in following up on these agreements with South Korea or the international community.

The United States tried a new round of negotiations with North Korea in 1993 and 1994. North Korea agreed to freeze its existing nuclear facilities and allow international monitoring. In 2002, however, the United States discovered that North Korea was restarting some of its nuclear facilities. The North Korean government claims that these facilities are being used for power generation and not for the manufacturing of nuclear weapons. The United States disputes this claim and is keeping a close watch on developments in North Korea.

The United States is also concerned about the nuclear development of Iran, which appears to be in the very late stages of developing the capacity to manufacture nuclear weapons. Because North Korea and Iran have been accused of sponsoring terrorism, the United States and international organizations are worried that nuclear weapons produced in these countries could be sold to international terrorist groups.

Continued efforts by the international community to tighten safeguards against the spread of nuclear weapons will be costly. The United States, for example, has won agreement from Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and Russia to match a U.S. pledge to spend \$10 billion over the next 10 years on non-proliferation efforts.

Human Rights

 Protecting human rights has become a major concern for the international community. Several important treaties on human rights have been signed by a majority of the world's nations, and various international courts have tried military and political leaders for human rights violations. Such international efforts to safeguard human rights have the potential to limit or interfere with the sovereignty of individual nations.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Human rights are the basic freedoms and rights that all people, regardless of age, gender, nationality, or ethnicity, should enjoy. In 1948 the United Nations adopted the **Universal Declaration of Human Rights**, which set forth in 30 articles a comprehensive statement of "inalienable rights of all members of the human family."

The Declaration's early articles laid out a list of political and civil rights that all human beings should enjoy. Many of these rights are the same as those found in the U.S. Constitution. Several other rights are also listed, including freedom of movement, the right to seek asylum, the right to marry, and the right to own property. These articles list things a government should *not* do to limit people's freedoms.

The Declaration's later articles spell out economic, social, and cultural rights relating to a person's quality of life. These include the right to work, to receive equal pay for equal work, to form trade unions, to enjoy rest and leisure, to have a standard of living sufficient for health and well being, and to have an education. These so-called "positive rights" list things governments *should* do for people.

Protecting Human Rights The international community has developed numerous institutions and procedures for safeguarding human rights. The UN Commission on Human Rights monitors and reports on human rights violations. In addition, the UN Security Council has established several **international criminal tribunals**. These are temporary courts convened under UN authority to prosecute violators of international human rights laws. One such tribunal, created in 1993, has been trying Yugoslavian leaders, including the former president of the country, for atrocities committed in the Balkans during the breakup of Yugoslavia. The United States has been the largest financial contributor to this tribunal and supports its activities.

The European Union (EU) has also made a statement about the importance of protecting human rights. EU members stand behind the European Convention of Human Rights, which was signed in 1950 and remains a binding agreement on all current and future member states of the European Union. This treaty sets forth a long list of civil liberties that apply to all EU countries. The European Court of Human Rights has the power to enforce the Convention and rule on charges of abuses.

In 2002 a permanent International Criminal Court (ICC) was established as a result of the efforts of the UN and a group of nearly 50 countries led by Canada and Germany. The ICC has strong powers to investigate and prosecute those accused of major human rights violations and war crimes. The United States participated in the treaty

negotiations that created the ICC, but along with China, Russia, and several other nations has refused to sign the treaty.

The U.S. position against the ICC has drawn sharp criticism from many European governments. American critics of the ICC respond that as a superpower, the United States is frequently involved in controversial military actions across the globe. These critics claim that under the new ICC rules American military troops as well as U.S. leaders could become targets of frivolous complaints of war crimes by enemies of the United States.

Protecting the Environment

I Because the environment is a basic part of our daily lives, it is easy to take the air, water, and land upon which all life depends for granted. Yet the political issues and technical questions resulting from exploding population growth, increasing consumption of natural resources, and the growing discharge of pollution into the environment raises many difficult global issues. Policymakers and scientists alike recognize that dealing effectively with such issues requires transnational programs dependent upon international cooperation.

The United States occupies a unique place in international debates and negotiations regarding

the environment. As one group of scholars explains, "The United States is at the same time one of our world's leading promoters of environmental concerns and because of our size and extensive industrial wealth one of its major polluters."

Sustainable Development The core dilemma for policymakers that cuts across all the specific environmental issues like air and water pollution is how to attain **sustainable development**; that is, how can the nations of the world, especially the less developed nations, continue their economic development while protecting the environment and not exhausting the natural resources that fuel the industrial economy. Political difficulties arise because a minority of the world's population living in wealthy nations like the United States, Germany, and Japan created global pollution while they were developing their industrial economies. Less developed nations want to be free to follow the same course. To protect the environment, however, the developed nations want to put limits on future development activities.

The fact that the United States has a stable, profitable economic system provides it the luxury of finding ways to make its industrial operations more efficient and less damaging to the environment. Developing nations that are struggling to solidify

GOVERNMENT and You

Your Rights Overseas

If you visit another country, be aware that its laws may be very different from ours. Things that are no problem at home can cause you trouble overseas. For example, attempting to use a credit card that has exceeded your limit can get you arrested in some countries. Photographing police, military installations and personnel, and other subjects may also result in your detention.

If arrested, you have the right under international law to contact the U.S. consulate. Consular officials cannot get you out of jail, but they can recommend attorneys and will try to see that you are treated humanely. Since most countries do not permit bail, you may have to spend months in solitary confinement awaiting trial.

Remember that when you leave the United States, although you are a United States citizen, the Bill of Rights stays behind. The best way to protect your freedom overseas is to learn about a country's laws and customs before you visit.



**American students
tour France.**

Participating IN GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY

Be Informed Visit the State Department's Web site on the Internet for travel advice about a country you would like to visit.

their industrial base are often more concerned with creating a reliable economic system than they are with controlling industrial pollution. Established industrial nations like the United States can provide assistance to developing nations by teaching the industrial innovations they have acquired during their industrial history.

International Agreements There have been many international conferences and treaties dealing with the environment. In 1992 the UN Conference on Environment and Development, known as the "Earth Summit," produced the Biodiversity Treaty, which set forth procedures for conservation of ecosystems and natural habitats. The United States did not sign the treaty, however, because U.S. policymakers feared that, among other things, the treaty placed too many limits on U.S. patents in biotechnology and would damage the U.S. economy.

In 1992 the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change was adopted by many nations, including the United States. This agreement strove to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases that are believed to contribute to global warming. Over the next few years, concern grew that major industrial nations were not going to meet the convention's targets for reducing greenhouse emissions. In 1997 a new round of negotiations resulted in the Kyoto Protocol, which supplemented the 1992 convention and focused

on timetables for reducing greenhouse emissions to target levels among participating nations.

The United States signed the Kyoto Protocol in 1998, but in 1999 the U.S. Senate voted 95-0 against formal implementation of the agreement. American policymakers agreed that global warming and greenhouse gas emissions were serious problems, but they argued that the Kyoto Protocol would harm the U.S. economy. They also felt that the agreement did not do enough to hold developing industrial nations accountable.

The European Union and many other nations were furious. China, for example, called the United States irresponsible. President George W. Bush has responded by claiming that "[The U.S.] economy has slowed down and the idea of placing caps on [carbon dioxide] does not make economic sense."

The president and the Congress often must try to balance the desire to safeguard the environment with their responsibilities to represent the needs of the American people and plan for the good of the U.S. economy. It is difficult, however, to argue that the needs of the U.S. economy outweigh the needs of the global ecosystem. Members of the government are in a unique position to guide the decisions of the United States as a critical member of the global community. At the same time, government officials must make decisions that please the voting public. The challenge for all government leaders is how to balance the needs of their nation with the needs of the worldwide society.

Section 4 Assessment

Checking for Understanding

- 1. Main Idea** Use a graphic organizer like the one below to list two international treaties dealing with the environment, along with U.S. objections to these treaties.

Treaty	U.S. position

- 2. Define** terrorism, state-sponsored terrorism, nuclear proliferation, human rights
- 3. Identify** Non-Proliferation Treaty, international criminal tribunal, sustainable development.
- 4. Identify** four of the rights protected by the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Critical Thinking

- 5. Predicting Consequences** What could result if the major powers totally abolished their nuclear weapons?

Concepts IN ACTION

Global Perspectives Research the Kyoto Protocol, and create a poster that illustrates the basic goals of this treaty. Also highlight industrialized nations that have or have not signed the treaty, with a brief statement of each nation's position on the issue. Display the completed posters in the classroom.

Skills

Study and Writing

Preparing a Bibliography

In Chapter 23 you learned how to write a report. To complete your report, you need to prepare a bibliography that lists all the sources you used.

Learning the Skill

A bibliography should follow a definite format. Each entry must contain author, title, publisher information, and publication date. Arrange entries alphabetically by the author's last name. The following are accepted formats for bibliography entries.

Books

Author's last name, first name. Full Title.
Place of publication: publisher, copyright date.

Hay, Peter. Ordinary Heroes: The Life and Death of Chana Szenes, Israel's National Heroine. New York: Paragon House, 1986.

Articles

Author's last name, first name. "Title of Article." Periodical in which article appears, Volume number (issue date): page numbers.

Watson, Bruce. "The New Peace Corps in the New Kazakhstan." Smithsonian, Vol. 25 (August 1994): pp. 26–35.

Other Sources

For other kinds of sources, adapt the format for book entries.

Practicing the Skill

Review the sample bibliography, then answer the questions that follow.

Castañeda, Jorge G. The Mexican Shock: Its Meaning for the United States. New York: The New Press, 1995.



Politics in Mexico

Marquez, Viviane Brachet de. The Dynamics of Domination: State, Class, and Social Reform in Mexico, 1910–1990. Pittsburgh, Penn., University of Pittsburgh Press, 1994.

Cockburn, A., "The Fire This Time." Condé Nast Traveller, Vol. 30 (June 1995): pp. 104–113.

1. Are the bibliography entries in the correct order? Why or why not?
2. What is incorrect in the second book listing?
3. What is incorrect in the article listing?

Application Activity

Compile a bibliography for the research report you completed in Chapter 23. Include at least five sources.



The **Glencoe Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook, Level 2** provides instruction and practice in key social studies skills.

Assessment and Activities

GOVERNMENT

Online



Self-Check Quiz Visit the *United States Government: Democracy in Action* Web site at gov.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter 25-Self-Check Quizzes** to prepare for the chapter test.

Reviewing Key Terms

Insert the correct terms from the following list into the sentences below.

- | | |
|------------|----------------------------|
| apartheid | terrorism |
| life peers | consolidated democracy |
| mullahs | parliamentary government |
| sanctions | state-sponsored terrorism |
| shah | supranational organization |

- The European Union has evolved from a regional body into a _____.
- Britain's House of Lords is partially made up of _____, people who have been awarded a title for outstanding service or achievement.
- In a _____ both the executive and the legislative functions are found in the elected assembly.
- In the late 1970s, Muslims in Iran revolted against the _____, or king.

- To force the end of apartheid, the United States ordered economic _____, or withholding of aid, against South Africa.
- The use of violence by nongovernmental groups against civilians to achieve a political goal is known as _____.
- Until recently, the South African government supported _____, or the strict segregation of the races.
- Specially trained Islamic religious teachers called _____ interpret Islamic teaching.
- A well-established government with fair elections, competing political parties, and some form of market economy is known as a _____.
- Terrorism secretly supported by a government is known as _____.

Recalling Facts

- What are the three types of government discussed in this chapter?
- Who holds almost all governmental authority in Great Britain?
- What are the challenges facing South Africa's government today?
- What is the real role of China's National Party Congress?
- What are the three major goals of the UN?

Chapter Summary

Democratic Governments

- These governments are marked by free elections, competing political parties, protection of individual rights, and a market economy.
- In **parliamentary governments**, executive and legislative duties both reside in the elected assembly, while in **presidential governments** the executive branch is separate from the legislative and judicial branches.

Authoritarian Governments

- Under these governments, citizens lack most civil rights, human rights abuses occur, and government criticism is restricted.
- Examples include the **People's Republic of China**, which is pursuing economic reforms but continues to restrict civil liberties; the Communist dictatorship in **Cuba**; and nonsecular **Islamic governments**.

International Organizations

- The **United Nations** is a worldwide organization of 191 member nations that seeks to preserve world peace and security and encourages nations to cooperate to solve social and economic problems.
- The **European Union** is a regional organization of 25 European nations that promotes political and economic cooperation.

Global Issues

- Issues of concern to all countries today include **terrorism**, the proliferation of **nuclear weapons**, protecting **human rights**, and balancing economic growth with **environmental concerns**.

Chapter 25

Understanding Concepts

1. **Comparative Government**
Compare the powers of the president of France to those of the president of the United States.
2. **Global Perspectives** What are some reasons why some Islamic extremists began targeting Americans?

Critical Thinking

1. **Expressing Problems Clearly**
Use a graphic organizer like the one below to identify the challenges that Poland faced once its people had overthrown their communist leaders.



2. **Recognizing Ideologies** How does the role of the Communist Party illustrate its importance in the government of China?

Analyzing Primary Sources

The United Nations was formed in June 1945 at the end of World War II in an effort to provide a world forum for solving international political problems. Read the excerpt from the preamble to the United Nations Charter, signed on June 26, 1945, in San Francisco, and answer the questions that follow.

"WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS DETERMINED

- to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war . . .
- to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights . . .
- to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom . . .
- to practice tolerance and live together in peace . . .
- to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security . . .
- to ensure . . . that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and

Interpreting Political Cartoons Activity



1. How is the United Nations portrayed in this cartoon?
2. How are various countries portrayed in this cartoon?
3. According to the cartoonist, does the UN seem equipped to effectively handle the world's crises? Explain your answer.

- to [promote] the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

HAVE RESOLVED TO COMBINE OUR EFFORTS TO ACCOMPLISH THESE AIMS"

1. What are some of the specific goals of the UN? How are these similar to and different from U.S. goals for national security?
2. What are the benefits of having such a world-wide cooperative organization? What are the drawbacks?

Participating in Local Government

Take a poll of adults you know in your community. Find out their opinion about the work of the United Nations. Also find out what they think about United States involvement in that organization.

