

KEY FACTS

THE FIRST STATE STRUCTURES were developed in Egypt and China.

AN EARLY FORM OF DEMOCRACY developed in the ancient Greek states.

FEUDAL COMMUNITIES: Rule in the Middle Ages was based on interdependency and inheritance.

THE MODERN TERRITORIAL STATE developed in the absolutism of the 17th century.

Groupings and kingdoms | Feudal and territorial states | Modern age through revolution | Democracy—nature and history

SOCIETIES, FORMS OF STATE, AND GOVERNMENT

From family groupings to the bureaucratic centralized state of the modern age, the social systems of humankind developed from simple communities to increasingly complex structures. The great revolutions of the 18th century broke with the privileges of the aristocratic upper class and introduced a process of comprehensive democratization in state and society.

➔ At the beginning of the 21st century, large areas of the world professed themselves to be democracies.

FROM FAMILY GROUPINGS TO THE FIRST KINGDOMS

The family made up the first form of organization in human communal life. These grew into clans and tribes and from these communities of restricted size, the first state-like structures of history developed within the first empires.

The foundation of the earliest social systems was the family. A shared identity grew from common ancestry. Family members helped each other with tasks such as providing food and defense. In Stone Age cultures, the family members of many generations joined together in villages to form larger communities. At the same time, family relationships regulated social cooperation. The particular rank that an individual had within the kinship structure determined their role in the community.

Larger tribal communities often developed from small family groupings having a mutual bond through



Persia was one of the first empires. Darius the Great (522–486 B.C.) was one of its rulers.

a common language, lineage, or shared myth of origin. They made no claims to a defined territory and

hardly possessed any organizational structures beyond personally regulated ones.

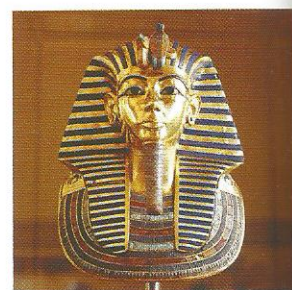
Early Kingdoms

A form of centralized state power began to develop around 3000 B.C. in the advanced cultures of Egypt, Mesopotamia, China, and India.

With the founding of these first kingdoms the binding principles of kinship were replaced with organization in support of a religion; thus these states emerged with a god-like ruler placed at the head. He ensured his power by building up an administration loyal to him. Officials levied taxes, planned building projects, and set regulations or prepared for wars.

The building up of this complex administration was made possible primarily through the development of writing. This advancement allowed information to be recorded and passed on. Enforceable laws could be documented and contracts would be bound.

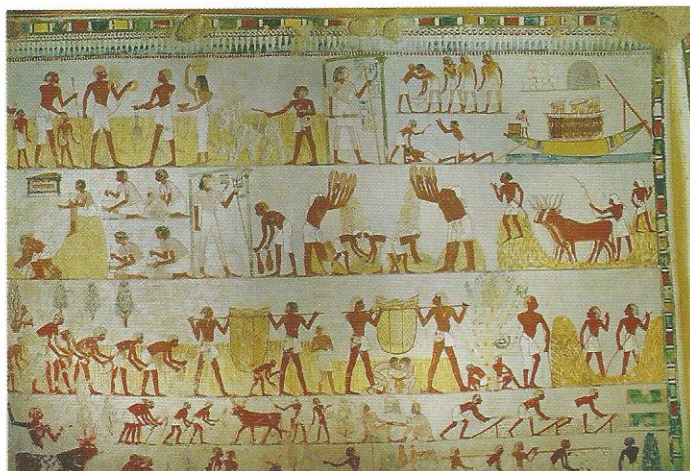
The early empires, however, had too few officials to administer the whole of the conquered territories. The Romans were the first who were able to substantially organize their domain. They sent magistrates directly to the provinces to rule. Regardless of their maneu-



The Divine Ruler

Within the ancient monarchies, it was common that kings, along with their political importance, were also accorded great religious significance. They were regarded as the personification of a god, or his son, or at least appointed by a god. Thus, in their position of power, they were more or less conceived as sacrosanct. The Egyptian pharaohs such as those in the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom (up to ca 2400 B.C.) were considered to be divine. According to Egyptian thought, the office of king was an institution that the gods had created for humankind. Each individual holder of the office was a direct descendent of the god Horus. This deified position allotted the population only a passive and subservient role.

above: Pharaoh Tutankhamun's gold mask (18th Dynasty)



In the kingdoms of the ancient Orient, such as Egypt, attempts were made for the first time to centrally control and streamline agriculture.

vers, the colossal Roman Empire around the Mediterranean broke apart due to its size and cultural diversity. The Roman Empire disintegrated around 500 A.D. in the great migrations of people. In times of states in the Middle Ages assumed the Roman legacy.

FROM FEUDAL STATE TO TERRITORIAL STATE

In the Middle Ages, rule was exercised by the holding and allocation of land. The modern territorial state, centrally led by kings or princes, developed in the 17th century.

The Christian society of medieval Europe was hierarchically divided into classes. The clergy and the aristocracy, headed by the king, composed the upper classes. Beneath them came the majority of the population: merchants, craftsmen, peasants, and serfs. Society was for the most part fixed in its structure. Each person stayed within the class into which he or she was born and was integrated into the respective social community.

Rule in the Middle Ages

The sovereignty of the kings in the Middle Ages did not rest on a central administration within a defined territory, but rather on a network of relationships of personal loyalty. In an agrarian society, the amount of power a king possessed was determined by how much land he was able to grant to his fiefs. He turned land over to his noble minions or chief tenants, who were vassals of the crown, for their personal use. In return they were required to loyally serve and follow him in times of war.

The vassals of the crown, for their part, loaned the lands to subvassals, or vavasours. This complex structure of



The structure of society was determined by the relationship between the feudal lord and his vassal.

sovereignty, known as the feudal state, thus developed within itself a number of superiors and subordinates. In addition to the royal fiefs, the vassals of the crown as a rule also owned their own land. For this reason, the king was always dependent on their good will and was anxious to gain new lands.

Paths to the Modern State

The rigid, medieval social order began to break apart in the 15th century. The increasing impact of finance and trade weakened the aristocracy while it strengthened the middle class. In the 17th century, the modern territorial state with its

defined borders and centralized powers replaced the feudal structure.

France's development is characteristic of this. With the help of a standing army and a bureaucracy loyal to him, King Louis XIV was able to win over the aristocracy and concentrate power in his court, thus establishing a monopoly that granted him the sole right to wield authority.

The king had a vast amount of power—he led the affairs of state, and was lawgiver and supreme judge. He expanded the infrastructure, introduced state economic policies, and integrated

INSIDER KNOWLEDGE

A STRICT DRESS CODE clearly separated the classes from one another during the Middle Ages.

TOWN-DWELLING CRAFTSMEN were organized in guilds.

CITY AIR IS LIBERATING: Serfs who had lived in a town for a year without being called back by their lords were granted freedom in the Middle Ages.

the Church into the state system. The process of nationalization did not lead to centralized nation-states everywhere. The princes in the German Empire remained independent and established numerous regional points of power. It was not until the 19th century that a central state was forcibly established.



THOMAS HOBBS, born 1588 in Westport, died 1679 in Hardwick Hall.

WAR OF ALL AGAINST ALL: His theory of state is founded on a pessimistic view of humanity.

ABSOLUTE STATE AUTHORITY: The state must guarantee peace and security to the individual.

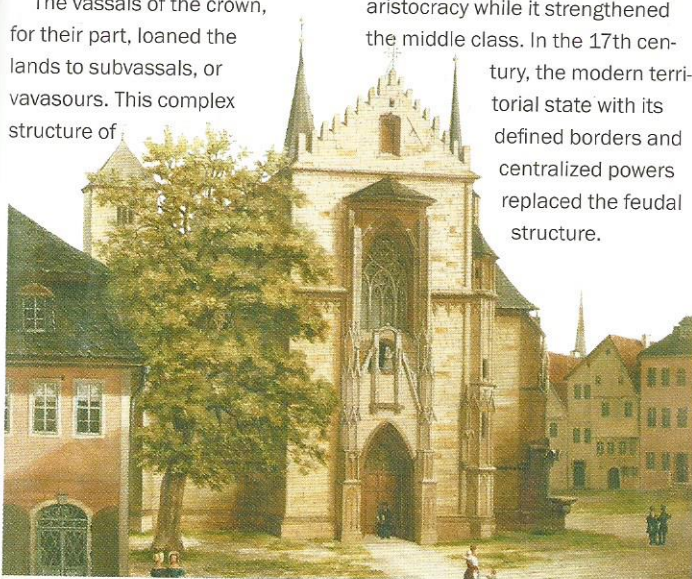
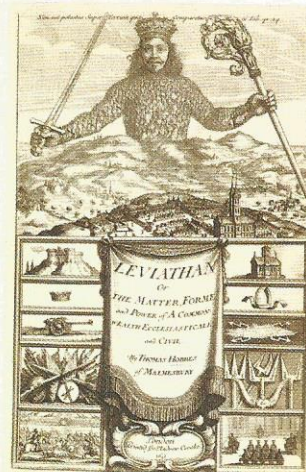
Hobbes was the first to theorize that the state derives its power from the individual.

The "Leviathan" by Thomas Hobbes

THE ENGLISH PHILOSOPHER Thomas Hobbes is considered the first political theorist of modern times and the "father of absolutism." He did not consider political authority to be God-given or natural. Instead, it could only be justified through its benefit to the individual. He considered the state as a contract between the ruler and the ruled, both seeking to secure the common interests of the citizens. Hobbes, who lived through the brutal civil war in England, saw the task of the state as primarily existing to provide for peace and security. Against this backdrop, he developed a theory of the all-powerful state in 1651 in his work "Leviathan."

HOBBS assumed a negative image of man. He posited that humankind is by nature driven by ruthless self-preservation and is constantly striving to extend their individual power. This course leads to conflict and so, in order to avoid the "war of all against all," people relinquish part of their authority to a sovereign, who is responsible to no one. This monarch alone sets the rules, which all his people must obey to resolve conflicts.

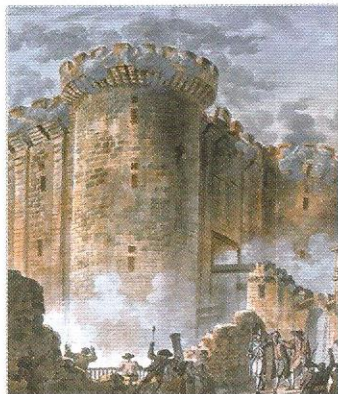
Title plate of Hobbes' "Leviathan": The state is the super ordinate, all-powerful authority that unites all people in it.



There was a great rivalry in the Middle Ages between secular and ecclesiastical authority. The emperor and the pope quarreled over who held supreme power.

THE BIRTH OF THE MODERN AGE THROUGH REVOLUTION

The revolutions of 1776–1789 launched the breakthrough of democracy in Europe during the 19th century. The working class emerged out of industrialization.



Fall of a symbol: The "storming of the Bastille" on July 14th, 1789, marked the beginning of revolution in France.

In the 17th century, the middle class gained social influence through education and money. It became the motor of the European Enlightenment in the 18th century, which in part questioned traditional political authority. In countless publications, the privileges of the aristocracy were attacked, a political voice demanded, and inalienable rights (p. 222)

formulated that were the state's responsibility to protect. These ideas formed the intellectual breeding-ground for the revolutions that radically altered the forms of society in Europe and America in the following decades.



The "Sans-culottes" were a radical republican group in the French Revolution.

Revolutions in the U.S. and France

The American Revolution began with the Declaration of Independence in 1776. In it, the British colonies officially disassociated themselves from the motherland in the name of freedom and equality. The governors of the British king were removed from office, and, in 1789, the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, providing for a presidential republic (p. 225), a separation of powers, and basic rights (p. 222). It also prescribed a binding commitment to law and justice. It remains in force today, making it almost the oldest democratic constitution in the world. Taking a revolutionary step in 1789, the representatives of the Third Estate middle class in France declared a National Assembly and passed a series of groundbreaking decisions. Among others, they abolished the aristocracy while proclaiming human and civil rights (p. 222). The constitution of 1791 founded a constitutional monarchy that was a model for other European states.

Victory of the Middle Class

For a short time the excesses of the French Revolution dragged the civil ideals of liberty through the mud, but in the meantime the traditional noble elite's dominating position had irrevocably run out. Almost everywhere in Europe in the 19th century, civil movements forced the authorities to accept constitutions and to more or less limit royal influence on political decisions. In this way, the middle class, to a great extent, ensured itself of having a voice in the political process. It be-

came a decisive factor in a society that had been radically changed

Social Upheavals

The industrialization of economic production brought forth a new class of laborers who initially were without rights. Labor unions and socialist parties (p. 230) soon demanded equal rights as well as a political voice. They were also instrumental in forming the foundations that made the establishment of modern democracies (p. 215) in Europe possible at the beginning of the 20th century.

The establishment of a communist dictatorship in 1917 in Russia (p. 218) allowed nationalist and fascist forces to gain strength. As a



A result of democratic revolutions: politicians must now be convincing.

response, many democracies, especially in Europe, turned into totalitarian regimes (p. 216). Communism came out of the World Wars more powerful, while in western Europe new democracies were founded. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, a great portion of the newly autonomous regions pledged themselves to the ideals of a liberal democracy (pp. 222–223).



"TERROR, WITHOUT WHICH VIRTUE IS IMPOTENT." Robespierre deliberately erected a reign of terror in 1793 and 1794 in France.

"RULE OF REASON": Robespierre was inspired by the teachings of the philosopher of the Enlightenment, Rousseau.

Maximilien de Robespierre (1758–1794) was known as the "the Incorruptible."

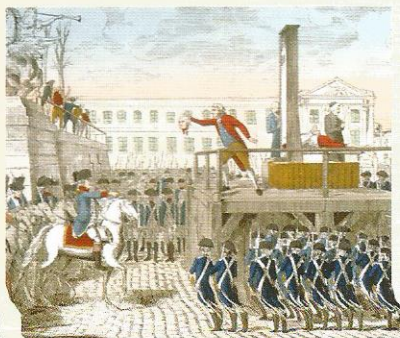
Virtue and Terror

SOCIAL REVOLUTIONS in the name of the people are always in danger of turning into murderous tyranny through the messianic missions and extremes of individual revolutionaries. Maximilien de Robespierre, who was an integral part of the radicalization of the French Revolution after 1791, is the exemplary embodiment of this historical experience. The talented speaker and fanatical supporter of the Republic held a position in France of almost unlimited power after 1793.

HIS GOAL WAS to put into practice the teachings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, according to which a true democratic society must recognize a "general will" ("volonté générale") over the will of the individual. Robespierre believed he knew

this "general will," thus, he attempted by force and deterrence to establish a "rule of virtue." He sent thousands of supposed opponents of the "Revolution" to the guillotine before he himself was executed in 1794.

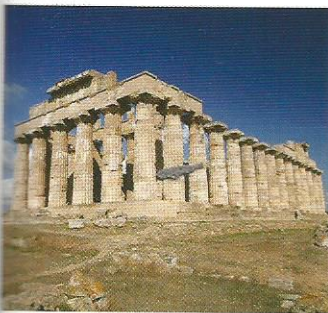
Robespierre considered King Louis XVI a "criminal of humanity." He was executed by the French people on January 21, 1793.



DEMOCRACY—NATURE AND HISTORY

The Greek city-states of antiquity founded the democratic system of government. Modern democracies with representative bodies and universal suffrage were first established during the 20th century.

The first communities in which the people themselves determined their own political rule was in ancient Greece. In the small, manageable city-states of the fifth and fourth centuries, the citizens regu-



In ancient Athens, the people's assembly met in the Acropolis ("high city"). Today, it is the most famous landmark of the Greek capital.

larly met together in the marketplace to discuss and decide on all public affairs and to sit in judgment. They also gave this form of government their name: democracy, the "rule of the people."



In the beginning of the parliamentary system, the ruler (here Elizabeth I of England) was no longer able to make solitary decisions, but rather was made dependent on winning the consent of Parliament.

The Principle of the Sovereignty of the People

Various forms of democracy (p. 224) developed in the course of history, and in modern complex societies a direct democracy is hardly possible. Despite that, the Greek legacy, the principle of sovereignty of the people, remains the decisive criterion for every democratic system of state. All political power must derive from the will of the people, which as a rule is determined indirectly through members of the representative bodies of the people. This is primarily achieved through the majority election (p. 223) of members to representative bodies by the people. Further important features of a democratic system today are the control of the exercise of state power, the guarantee of fundamental and minority rights, and the right to equal political participation for all citizens (p. 222). The last criterion in particular was not implemented in many states until the 20th century.

Origin of Parliamentary Systems

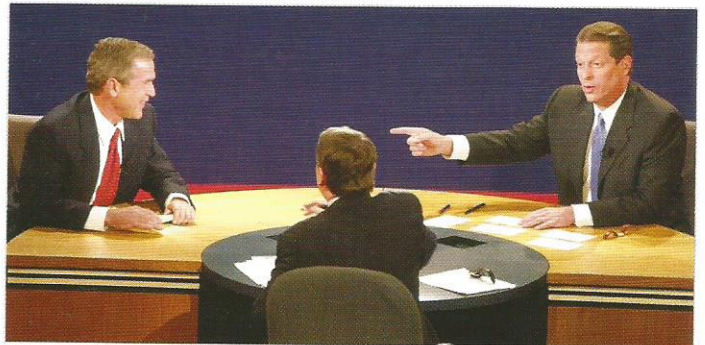
The start of modern democracy reaches back to the 13th century when the nobility in England forced the king to accept the instituting of a Parliament. This later was divided into the aristocratic upper house and a lower house where elected commoners met.

The Parliament slowly evolved from a council to an independent arbitrator. In 1688, the king was generally deprived of power, and the Parliament became the actual sovereign of politics with the right to legislate laws. Over time, the upper house increasingly lost significance and the elected lower house assumed more and more authority. English parliamentarianism be-

came the model for the revolutions in America and France (p. 214). Yet the majority of the population still remained excluded from the political process.

Suffrage for All

The right to vote in most of the other constitutional monarchies of the 19th century, which for the



Democracy in the age of media: In the presidential election of 2000, the candidates George W. Bush and Al Gore courted the voters through television.

INSIDER KNOWLEDGE

THE DEMOCRACY OF THE IROQUOIS (a union of North American natives) was influential in the shaping of the Constitution of the U.S.

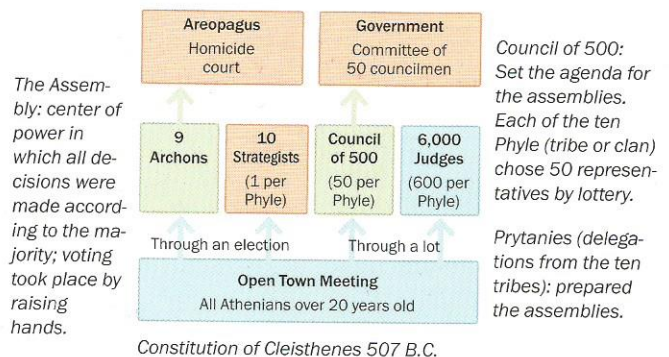
POLAND ratified Europe's first democratic constitution on May 3, 1791.

ARISTOTLE, the Greek philosopher, belittled democracy as the "vacillating rule of the many."

then in the German Empire in 1871, and finally in England in 1918—although in part only for the male population. The introduction of universal female suffrage took even longer. Whereas women in France

Athenian Democracy

THERE WAS NO PARLIAMENT and no parties in the Athenian democracy of the fifth century. All free citizens of Athens—not including women and slaves—exercised direct legislative, governmental, and judicial power, as well as control in the assemblies. Public offices were allocated only for a limited time either by vote or by drawing lots.



most part had weak parliaments, remained bound, as it had been for varying lengths of time, to property and class. Universal suffrage was introduced first in France in 1852,

had to wait until 1944 before they were allowed to have a say in the composition of the parliament, women in Liechtenstein were denied the right to vote until 1984.

KEY FACTS

A DICTATORSHIP is the concentration of power in the hands of a few.

TOTALITARIAN DICTATORSHIPS attempt to politicize even people's private lives.

LENIN'S CADRE PARTY had a decisive influence on the communist world.

NATIONAL SOCIALISM combined fascist state organization with murderous racial hatred.

Dictatorship | Theocracy | Leninism | Stalinism | Maoism | Military dictatorship | Fascism | National Socialism

DICTATORIAL FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

A dictatorship is the rule of an individual or small group. Throughout history, numerous and varied forms of dictatorial power has been exercised. Since antiquity, power-mad tyrants, oppressors, do-gooders, and nationalist military cliques have existed. A characteristic of the 20th century was the attempt of many dictatorships not only to secure their own authority, but to do it in the name of some large-scale social utopia that sought to fundamentally revolutionize society as a whole. Millions of people fell victim to these ambitions.

➔ The term dictator comes from the Latin *dictare*, to "order" or "dictate."

DICTATORSHIP—NATURE AND VARIANTS

Forms of government are termed dictatorships when all power is in the hands of an individual. Some dictatorships violate the personal liberties of citizens more than others.

Dictatorship and democracy are forms of government that fundamentally exclude each other. While the democratic exercise of power is

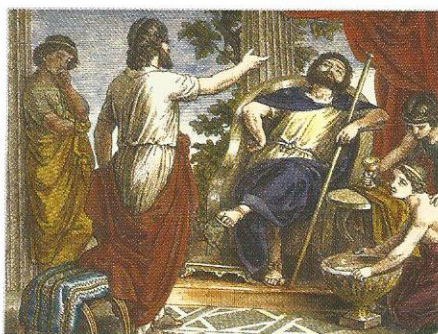


Charismatic Rule

Totalitarian dictators often attempt to establish a quasi-religious relationship between themselves and the people. They achieve what is often referred to as a "cult of personality." The ruler is presented as a demi-god at enormous mass demonstrations or in persuasive films to awaken a yearning for salvation in the people. This is intended to breed a mass of devout followers, who faithfully and devotedly obey the will of the dictator. In his speeches, Adolf Hitler often spoke of the destiny that sent him to the German people as their "savior."

above: Enthusiastic followers of Hitler in Berlin in 1935

tied to the will of the people and subject to a systematic control (p. 222), complete power in a dictatorship is concentrated in one person or group. Many democratic states, however, allow for the possibility of a temporary assumption of power that is sometimes similar to a dictatorial form of government. This form of governing is typically implemented to overcome states of emergency. In Germany, for example, basic democratic rights (p. 222) can be limited in a crisis. In France, the declaration of a state of emer-



Dionysus I ruled from 406–367 B.C. over the Sicilian city-state of Syracuse; he is considered one of the cruelest tyrants of antiquity.

gency can suspend all basic rights for a period of 12 days while in Great Britain, the War Measures Act grants additional authorities to the government during war. The implementation of these laws is a very serious matter.

Characteristics of a Dictatorship

Despite their varied historical manifestations, all dictatorships display typical commonalities. To speak of a dictator in the actual sense, a permanent and unlimited claim to power must be made. A suspension of the division of powers (p. 222) is also central. The courts and the parliament—if there is one—are filled with loyal followers. Basic democratic rights and participation in the political process are curtailed or abolished (pp. 222, 227) and all opposition is more or less violently suppressed. Many dictators, particularly in the 20th century, came to power through democratic processes. They legitimized their rule through staged elections, giving it a pseudo-democratic appearance.

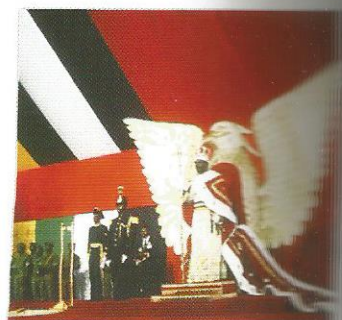
Totalitarian Dictatorships

Political forms of government that seek to establish a new, comprehensive system of values in society, as well as to extend their authority to the personal spheres of the general public, are termed "totalitarian" dictatorships. Massive propaganda is also characteristic,



General Alfredo Stroessner, who was of German descent, dictatorially ruled over Paraguay with the support of the military from 1954 to 1989.

aiming to intellectually manipulate the populace from childhood in order to integrate them all into the state or state-affiliated organizations. Arbitrary terror against "enemies of the state" is meant to break free will and to turn the population into a submissive, maneuverable mass. The communist (p. 218) and fascist (p. 220) dictatorships of the 20th century can be regarded as typical.



Jean-Bedel Bokassa set up a dictatorship in 1966 in the Central African Republic. In 1977 he had himself crowned emperor.

MODERN DICTATORSHIP—THEOCRACY, NATIONALIST REGIME

Modern dictatorships most often try to substantiate and ensure their authority through an exaggerated display of national patriotism. Religious regimes, like that in Iran, cite the will of God in their governmental decisions.

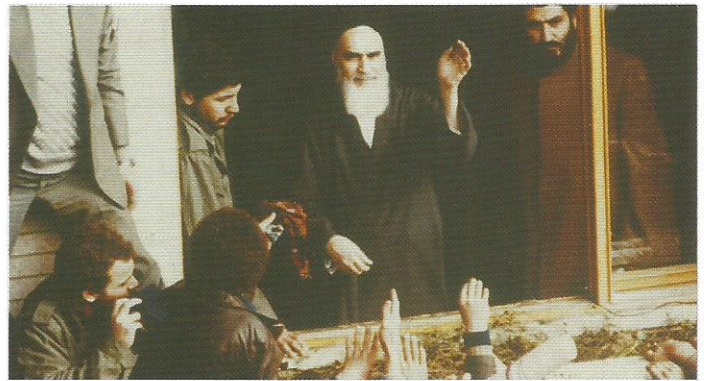
Modern dictatorships as a rule rely on an ideology to justify autocratic rule to the populace. Here, the most important point of reference is the nation, with the exception of the communist systems that were initially internationally oriented (p. 218). Common culture, religion, origin, or tradition is propagandistically inflated so as to differentiate the nation from others. This primarily serves to increase the individual's identification with the government.

Many of the military dictatorships (p. 220) of Latin America, as well as most of the clan-led governments of Africa like the Hutu, had and

continue to have such nationalistic traits. However, many communist dictatorships deliberately employ such nationalistic elements. This was how the Soviet dictator Stalin (p. 218) sought to build up communism in his own country, Russia.

From 1974 on, the Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceaușescu referenced to himself as the "leader of all Romanians" and included himself in the ranks of the great national heroes. At present, the last remaining Stalinist (p. 218) system, in North Korea, increasingly appeals to nationalistic sentiments.

Frequently extreme nationalism leads to the persecution of ethnic



Ayatollah Khomeini, still revered today, was the spiritual leader of the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979 and until 1989 its Supreme Leader.

or religious minorities and also serves as a basis for aggressive foreign policy.

In the Name of God: Dual Government in Iran

A special form of ideological dictatorship is theocracy, which presents a divine law as its justification.

At its head is a "divine" or "divinely chosen" ruler or priesthood. State and religious systems become one. Early state systems like those of Egypt, China, and India (p. 212) were often theocracies. In the Western cultural area, this only exists today in the Catholic nation Vatican City.

Since the "Islamic Revolution" of 1979, the most powerful theocracy in existence is Iran. Although the "Islamic Republic" has a

democratically elected parliament and head of state, its power is greatly reduced. A 12-man "Council of Guardians" must approve all laws and regulations by checking their compatibility with the principles of Islam. A religious leader, the Supreme Leader, is chosen by the Assembly of Experts

and holds the highest authority. He is supreme commander of the armed forces, appoints the supreme judiciary, and he alone controls the direction of state policies. In issues of dispute, it is always the clergy that makes the final decision.



Nicolae Ceaușescu ruled Romania from 1974 to 1989 with the help of the "Securitate," the all-powerful secret police.



North Korea's Stalinist ruler, Kim Jong-il, completely isolated his country from the world.



NATIONALIST REGIMES aim for one ethnic or religious "purity" of their state population.

HISTORICAL VICTIMS OF DISPLACEMENT: Jews and Muslims were driven from Spain with the Reconquista, Native Americans onto reservations.

20TH CENTURY VICTIMS OF GENOCIDE: Jews in Europe-Russia; Armenians in Turkey; Kurds in Iraq
Murdered Tutsi members after the massacre by the Hutu ruling powers in Rwanda in 1994.

"Ethnic Cleansing"

NATIONALIST REGIMES put their own ethnic group above all others and strive for an ethnically or religiously homogenous population within their borders. If necessary, this is achieved through force. Especially during the 20th century, there were regular systematic expulsions or genocides of undesirable groups in the population, providing more advantageous housing or living conditions for the dominant ethnic group. A historical example is the mass murder of Armenians in Turkey during 1915. At the beginning of the 21st century, this was causing continuing mass expulsions in the West Sudanese region of Darfur.

IN EUROPE in 1991, the divided multi-ethnic nation of Yugoslavia ignited years-long wars between the former member republics over the individual national boundaries. These were accompanied by brutal crimes against minorities perpetrated by all sides. The Serbian president Slobodan Milošević is regarded as one of those mainly responsible for the escalation. In 1999, he was brought under charges before a UN court.



Around 1.5 million Christian Armenians died in 1915 and 1916 during deportation by the Young Turks.

LENINISM AND STALINISM

Lenin established a regime in Russia in the name of socialism (p. 230). His concept of a "dictatorship of the proletariat" greatly influenced later communist states. Stalin, his successor, built the party dictatorship into a murderous autocracy.



Lenin founded the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the USSR, in 1922.

In the 19th century, the German philosopher Karl Marx regarded the transition from capitalism to a dictatorship of the proletariat as a necessary historical process in which the power of the state would be automatically transferred to the proletariat (p. 230). On the other hand, at the turn of the 20th century, the Russian socialist Vladimir

Lenin wanted to become socialists. Because Russia was underdeveloped, the capitalist stage, referred to as "historically necessary" by Marx, would be skipped and the revolution brought about as soon as possible. The Revolution of 1918 against the czarist empire was the beginning of the worldwide communist revolution.

Dictatorship of the Cadre Party

When Lenin's followers, the Bolsheviks, came to power in Russia through a coup in 1918, they began to systematically impose their authority on the state and society. The freely elected parliament was disbanded, non-socialist press and parties were banned while the influence of the church was restricted. The courts were required to administer socialist jurisprudence, which judged the

created in commerce and industry to centrally plan and control all the production in the state. After 1923, when opposition to the state economy mounted, particularly among the farmers, Lenin allowed them to



Glorification of Stalin: Art was used as state propaganda.

sell their crops on the open market instead of giving them to the state. The power of the party over the country was, as yet, not unlimited.

Stalin's Terror Regime

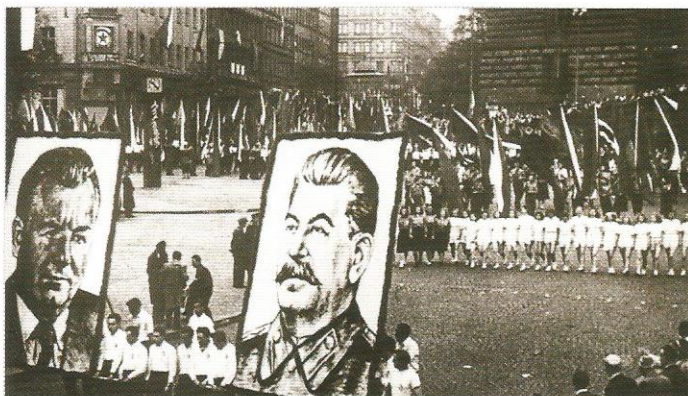
After 1928, under Lenin's successor, Josef Stalin, the country once and for all developed into a totalitarian dictatorship (p. 216). Farming was ruthlessly and forcibly collectivized—that is, made part of a state collective—while extreme industrialization was pushed forward. Actual and presumed political opponents were eliminated when the party, army, and administration regularly "purged." By 1938, Stalin had murdered almost all of the old party and state elite while replacing them with loyal functionaries, who put an unprecedented personality cult into motion. The Leninist dictatorship of the Communist Party changed into the dictatorship of one man that cost millions of lives. Today, re-



Comintern

On Lenin's initiative, all communist parties joined together in 1919 in the "Communist International" (Comintern) to achieve the worldwide "dictatorship of the proletariat." The member parties were required to be subordinate to the leadership. National parties increasingly lost their independence due to the great influence the Soviet party had from the very beginning. Under Stalin, "Comintern" became purely a foreign policy instrument of power for the Soviet dictator. He also arbitrarily dissolved the organization in 1943.

above: Second Congress of the Communist International, 1920, Petrograd; Lenin at center



The Stalin cult was also strong in the satellite states of the Soviet Union, with assemblies such as the one seen here in 1948 in former Czechoslovakia.

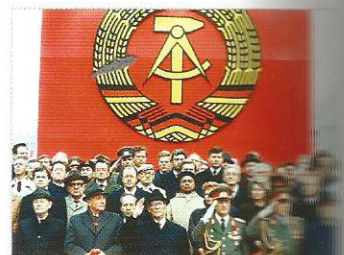
Lenin developed the doctrine that only a "new kind of party" would be able to lead the propertyless working class, the proletariat, to victory in the class struggle. Thus a core of

behavior of an individual only according to his function in the socialist society and did not recognize universal human rights (p. 222). Opponents of this new doctrine

politically trained professional revolutionaries must bring about the dictatorship of the proletariat with force, and educate the general pop-

were branded as "enemies of the revolution" and persecuted by the state secret police. An enormous administrative apparatus was

gimes that mask the absolute power of one person or small group with socialist ideology are termed "Stalinists."



The GDR regime under Soviet leadership was also Stalinist until its overthrow in 1989.

INSIDER KNOWLEDGE

STALIN actually wanted to become a priest, but because of his revolutionary intrigues he was expelled from the seminary.

LENIN, in his treatise "Testament," warned about Stalin's thirst for power.

ONLY WITH GERMANY'S HELP was Lenin able to return to Russia from exile in Switzerland in 1917.

MAOISM—COMMUNISM OF THE PEASANTS

Mao Zedong created his own variation of Marxism-Leninism on China. Despite a restructured economy, today the state and party leadership still draw inspiration from Mao.

Under the leadership of Mao Zedong, a communist regime was put into force in China. The establishment of a People's Republic in 1949 expanded Lenin's doctrine and adapted it to the specific conditions of China. Mao's interpretation of how the communist revolution should take power fundamentally differed from pure Marxist-Leninist doctrine. He believed that agrarian developing countries like China rather than the highly industrialized West or even the Soviet Union must be the vanguard of a worldwide



A portrait of Mao decorates the entrance to the Forbidden City on Tiananmen Square in Beijing.

communist revolution. He also saw the peasants in the countryside, instead of the urban proletariat, as the bearers of the revolution.

A guerrilla war against the landowners would carry the revolution in China to the cities, and there ignite a people's war that would launch a socialist revolution.

The Permanent Revolution

In practice, Mao Zedong differed little from Soviet ideology. Without compromise, he also imposed the autocratic authority of the Communist Party and, much like Stalin, had himself venerated as a great nationalist hero of the people. First and foremost, he pushed ahead with the collectivization of agriculture.

However, simultaneously, in order to catch up with industrial progress in the West, he forced heavy industrialization in the country from 1958 to 1960 with his "Great Leap Forward." It was characterized by a massive steel campaign and the foundation of communes that was meant to take advantage of China's large population. Millions lost their lives in the process.

According to Maoist philosophy, the unity of the masses, the party and the whole country is essential, therefore the attitudes of the people should be scrutinized. Special camps were set up for socialist "reeducation" of the people. The Cultural Revolution that Mao launched in 1966, which only officially ended with his death in 1976, was aimed at "purging" the Chinese society of "internal enemies" and removing "bourgeois-decadent" thought. Fanatic party cadres destroyed the Chinese cultural wealth; the educated elite were publicly humiliated.



Mao is revered to this day as the "Great Chairman."

Mao's Legacy

The Maoist model influenced many communist movements, especially in neighboring developing countries like Vietnam, North Korea, and Laos. In Albania in 1961, Maoism was even proclaimed official state doctrine.

After the fall of the Soviet bloc 1989 and 1991, Maoism changed. The state and party leadership in China has been progressively opening up the country's economy to the West ever since Mao's death



KHMER ROUGE was a guerrilla troop that emerged from the Communist Party of Cambodia.

POL POT AND THE KHMER ROUGE radicalized the Maoist theory of peasant communism.

CITY DWELLERS were deported to the countryside and particularly intellectuals were killed.

Pol Pot installed one of the most absurd terror regimes of the 20th century.

"Stone Age Communism" of the Khmer Rouge

IN CAMBODIA, the Khmer Rouge under the leadership of Pol Pot established a particularly murderous deviant of Maoism from 1976 to 1979. They subjected the country to a process of social reshaping that was aimed at creating a communist peasant state. The total population of the cities—children, elderly, and even the sick—were resettled in the countryside, where they were forced to serve as slave laborers for the farmers.

WHEN THE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION did not increase as expected, Pol Pot had whole sections of the population systematically murdered. Intellectuals—wearing glasses was enough to qualify—were especially targeted and murdered by the thousands as "useless eaters." About 2 million Cambodians fell victim to the terror. In 1979, Vietnamese troops drove Pol Pot from power. In 1998 he committed suicide.



A total of close to 2 million Cambodians fell victim to the terror.



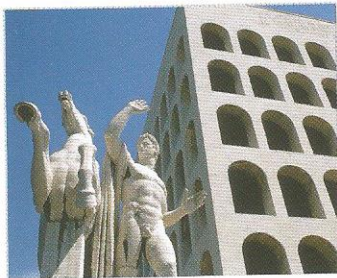
Mao sought to force industrial progress in China with major technological projects.

in 1976, while professing a "socialist market economy." Furthermore, communes were disbanded and more individual rights granted.

Up until today, Mao's ideas are still adhered to officially. One idea is truly alive and well: the monopoly of the Communist Party, with power that tolerates few political opponents.

FASCISM AND MILITARY DICTATORSHIPS

Fascist ideology with a supreme leader was characteristic of the early 20th century, particularly in Europe. This thought also prevailed in some authoritarian military dictatorships.



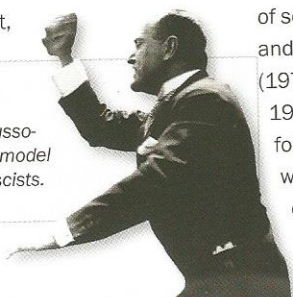
The pretense to power of fascist regimes is reflected in art and architecture (grounds of the 1942 World Exposition in Rome as planned by Mussolini).

After WWI, a nationalist movement gained ground in Italy around the former socialist Benito Mussolini. They called themselves "Fascists" after the ancient Roman symbol of power, a bundle of birch rods (Latin: "fasces"). In 1924, Mussolini took advantage of a state crisis to lever out the democratic institutions and set up a completely new kind of leader dictatorship. It soon became the model for the right wing nationalist movements to subsequently gain political influence worldwide. By 1945, fascist systems of government had replaced parliamentary democracies in Spain, Germany, and Portugal.

Fascism as Anti-Ideology

The goals of the fascists were so different in various countries that one can hardly speak of a single, united doctrine of fascism. Ideologically, they primarily held in common an opposition toward the political currents of the modern age. Their orientation was markedly anti-communist,

Italian "Duce" Benito Mussolini was a model for the fascists.



anti-capitalist, anti-democratic, and anti-liberal. Violence as a political means was glorified and the nation was aggrandized through propaganda. Fascist movements were structured like military organizations, and a cult was built around a central leader. The people were understood as a will-less, arbitrarily malleable "mass" that must unconditionally obey the will of the leader. The aspirations of the fascists to invade all areas of society and to impose an absolute unity of leader and people were almost achieved in National Socialist Germany (p. 221).

21ST CENTURY

RIGHT WING EXTREMISTS and "neo-fascist" parties have grown in popularity in the last couple of years in France and Italy.

LEFT WING PARTIES today still like to place their political opponents under suspicion of being fascists.

IN BOLIVIA AND VENEZUELA authoritarian tendencies are recognizable in the current left wing, populist presidents.

Authoritarian Military Governments

The clichés of fascist ideology, such as anti-communism, military ideals in the education of the youth, and an excess of national pride, were later adopted in part by authoritarian military dictatorships. Especially in the socially unstable countries of South America and Africa, groups of officers in many places pushed their way to power after 1960—usually with the claim of seeking to stabilize the land and reform its structures. In Chile (1973–1990), Argentina (1976–1983), and Greece (1967–1974), for example, brutal dictatorships were first established, democratic rights were subsequently

suspended, and eventually thousands of people from the leading opposition camp were arrested or murdered.

Later, as so often is the case in other military dictatorships—e.g., in Brazil (1963–1988) or today in Pakistan—spurious democratic elements have been allowed to be integrated into the dictatorship, as long as its own hold on power was not jeopardized. This included limited free elections and a less restricted freedom of speech. A slow process of democratization began in most of these countries; however, the military remains an



General Augusto Pinochet came to power in 1973 in Chile through a military coup.

important factor in the struggle for power, usually linked to but at times somewhat independent from that of the dictator, especially in the case of developing countries.



FROM 1936 TO 1975 General Francisco Franco ruled with near absolute power in Spain.

THE SUPPORTING COLUMN of his rule was, along with the military, the Catholic Church.

AFTER 1945, Spain developed into an authoritarian system.

Francisco Franco

The Franco Regime

IN 1936, FRANCISCO FRANCO established a partly fascist, partly authoritarian dictatorship in Spain that was finally ended through free elections in 1977. The nationalist Franco overthrew the republican government with the help of the military, proclaimed himself "leader of all Spaniards," and brutally suppressed all opposition. Franco's position of absolute authority rested on the loyalty of the fascist Falange state party, the military, and, surprisingly, the Catholic Church. He granted it numerous privileges and declared Catholicism to be the only religious denomination of the Spanish nation.

FRANCO REMAINED NEUTRAL during WWII. In 1947, he officially restored the monarchy, but retained all power for himself. Under international pressure, the economy was liberalized in 1959, censorship loosened, and a restricted



amount of system-friendly civil rights were granted to citizens. After Franco's death in 1975, Spain peacefully transformed into a parliamentary monarchy under his successor King Juan Carlos.

Francisco Franco surveys a parade after his victory over the Republicans.

NATIONAL SOCIALISM—VIOLENCE AND RACIAL FANATICISM

Adolf Hitler installed a regime contemptuous of humankind in 1933 in Germany that was only brought down after a bitter war. The totalitarian "Fuehrer" (German: "captain") state was marked by a confusing juxtaposition of competing power structures.

A variation of fascism, National Socialism came to power in Germany in 1933 with Adolf Hitler as its central figure. The extreme racism, however, also gave it an ideology completely of its own.

A New European Order

Hitler sought a complete reorganization of Europe along the principles of his racial theory, which decreed that the racially "valuable" people, the Aryans, should rule over the "inferior" races as the master race. With this goal, he began a war in 1939, which cost millions of people their lives, especially in Eastern Europe. It was not until the complete defeat of Germany by a coalition of the leading international powers—England, France, the U.S.,



Hitler was a talented demagogue who cast a spell over the masses.

and the USSR—that the National Socialist system of power was destroyed. The ideology has since been internationally outlawed.

Political and Social Nazification

Within a very short time, Adolf Hitler had transformed the German democracy into a totalitarian Fuehrer dictatorship (p. 216) and had imposed the National Socialists' claim to the universal validity of their ideological precepts on all levels of politics and society. Basic rights were rescinded, the media were made compliant, and all political parties except the official state party, Hitler's NSDAP (Nazi Party), were banned. The military was made to swear a personal oath of loyalty directly to Hitler himself. Those active in industry were compulsively organized in party-controlled mass associations. Even spare time was organized by the regime while a special value was placed on the education of youth. From 1940, children between the ages of 10 and 18 were forced to join the party's youth organizations.

Instrument of Terror: The SS

At the head of the National Socialist state there was no hierarchically organized ruling bloc. Rather there was a chaotic co-existence of rival state and party organizations. Their

only point of reference remained Hitler. The whole system of suppression was at first composed of a thick tangle of state and party organs. Heinrich Himmler, however, gradually built up the "SS" (Schutzstaffel) from a small elite unit to the regime's main instrument of power. He tied the SS and the police tightly together and finally controlled the whole system of terror of the National Socialist state. The SS was in charge of the concentration and extermination camps within German-controlled territories, in which "undesirable"



Exemplifying nationalism, the Germans citizens of Berlin adorned Koenigstrasse with Nazi banners in August of 1936.

persons were systematically tortured and/or murdered. The Allied military court in 1946 declared the SS to be a criminal organization.



The Dual State

While in exile in 1940/1941, the German political scientist Ernst Fränkel analyzed the principles of power of National Socialism in a study. According to him, the German terror regime could be broken down into two structurally different systems of government, both conditional to one another. The normative state, in which fixed laws were in force and maintained the appearance of normalcy, and the prerogative state, in which these laws were broken and arbitrarily pre-empted according to political discretion.

above: Ernst Fränkel



THE NATIONAL SOCIALISTS considered the Jews to be the "corrupters of humankind."

SINCE 1933 the Jews had been systematically forced out of society. In the "Night of Broken Glass" (Nov. 9–10, 1938), Jewish houses, stores, and synagogues were destroyed.

ABOUT 6 MILLION JEWS fell victim to systematic mass murder.

Anti-Semitic propaganda in Germany

The Genocide of the Jews

THE MAJOR ENEMY from the National Socialists' point of view was "International Jewry," which was seen as ruling over all international movements and destroying the national "purity" of the people. Directly after assuming power in Germany, the National Socialists began to systematically force all citizens with Jewish backgrounds out of every area of life by judicial, economic, and criminal means.

WITH THE BEGINNING OF WWII IN 1939, Jews were first deported to ghettos and work camps. Mass executions after the invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941 heralded bureaucratically organized genocide. Jews from all over Europe were transported to planned killing centers and murdered there. In the largest Nazi "death factory," Auschwitz-Birkenau, at least one million people died, primarily from poison gas.



Extermination camp Auschwitz-Birkenau

KEY FACTS

IN REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACIES the citizens decide who governs them.

CITIZEN INVOLVEMENT is crucially decisive in the quality of democracy.

DEMOCRATIC RULE serves the protection of human rights.

DEMOCRATIC STATES intervene in a more or less regulatory manner in the free marketplace.

Basic rights and separation of powers | Civil society and welfare state | Basic forms of democracy | In the U.S.

PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY

The democratic systems of government that are in practice within the world today are very diverse. All functioning democracies are based on the fundamental principles of human rights, separation of governing powers, and the right of every citizen to vote during political elections. The various political decision-makers are elected for a specific period of time, and the state institutions are constrained by legislation and justice systems. This type of system allows for social interests to develop freely.

➔ "Democracy is the worst form of government except all those other forms..." —Winston Churchill

BASIC RIGHTS AND SEPARATION OF POWERS

The guarantee of basic rights combined with an institutionalized control of state power are essential structural elements to prevent a misuse of power in a democracy.

Democracy stems from the idea of self-determination of the government by the citizens. Although citizens can influence politics, this does not mean no rule is exercised over them. All citizens are bound by laws, and offenses are prosecuted by the state. There are two main principles that prevent the misuse of state power in a democracy. One is a separation of powers into different, individual bearers of power; the other is the existence of legally protected basic rights of freedom and protection for each individual that in their essence cannot be revoked.

Individual Rights

Each person is entitled to individual rights of protection—a concept that dates from the age of Enlightenment (p. 330). The abstract human rights to freedom and equality to all citizens are, as a rule, expressly guaranteed by modern democratic constitutions. Such fundamental rights are enforced through legal action in politically neutral courts.

Every democracy is based on fundamental rights. First and foremost, the basic rights represent the citizen's right of defense against the state, but also normally guarantee the right to participate in the state's political life. In a functioning democracy all decisions

of the state are bound to the constitution. Ultimately, a legitimate democratic system of governance

Baron de Montesquieu originated the system of separation of powers in 1748 in his work "The Spirit of Laws."

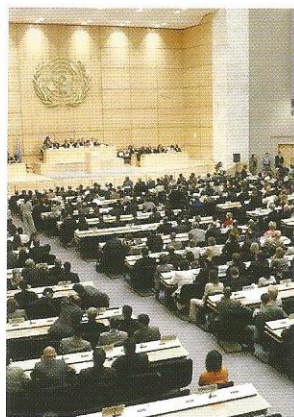
protects an individual's rights to freedom.

Balance of Powers

The overlapping principle of separation of powers in democratic constitutions is directed at guaranteeing these civil freedoms in the polity



and averting a dangerous concentration of power. The three main functions of the state—legislative, executive, and judicial—are allocated to separate state organs (parliament, administration, courts), that are in principle independent from one another and that check the constitutionality of each other's actions. The powers are strictly separated in presidential democracies (p. 224), but are dependent on each other through a system of mutual control (checks and balances) in the exercise of their duties. In parliamentary democracies (p. 224), the legislative (parliament) and executive (administration) are closely interlocked, while control is exercised by the opposition in parliament, for instance, through investigating committees. The judicial element of this system of governance, on the other hand, remains independent of both in order to balance



UN: Universal Declaration of Human Rights

"All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." Thus begins the universal "Declaration of Human Rights" that the UN General Assembly adopted on December 10, 1948. The member states almost unanimously committed themselves to the protection of civil and political rights (e.g., the right to freedom of speech) as well as the social rights of each individual (e.g., the right to work). Although not legally binding, the declaration increased the political and moral pressure on nations and contributed to human rights standards' becoming the uniformly applied standard for the legitimacy of state actions today.

above: The UN Human Rights Council, founded in 2006, aims to protect civil rights worldwide.



The declaration of human rights by the French National Assembly marked the way to a democratic constitutional state.

CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE WELFARE STATE

A stable democracy requires the active participation of its citizens. State organs protect the democratic order and also guarantee, to varying degrees, economic welfare to its citizens.



State employment agencies and private job centers find work for job seekers.

As important as the effective control of the government's decision-making processes is, the quality of a nation's democratic culture depends primarily on an active citizenry. Citizens not only cast their votes in elections as they arise, but also actively support their interests in day-to-day life, by joining political parties, clubs or citizens groups, and committees (p. 227). In this way, concerns and problems of the citizens become public, influencing and structuring the political decision-making process in democratic institutions. This requires a public arena that is open to various civic groups to have equal opportunity to articulate their interests. Such a civic society is promoted in a federally organized system, such as that of the U.S., in which the decision-making authorities are decentralized as much as possible.

This means that a good deal of power and authority lies with the communities or, as in the case in the U.S., with the individual states, and less with the central government.

Socio-Political Balancing Mechanisms

Socio-political balancing mechanisms and economic freedom can hardly be separated from political freedom. At the same time, a free economy can perfectly well endanger democracies. It creates social and economic imbalances, placing the legitimacy of democratic order in question.

For that reason, democratic states all intervene to a certain extent in a regulatory manner, referred to as the principle of the free marketplace. Businessmen, for example, are required to adhere to specific labor, health, and environmental standards. A comprehensive system of security like unemployment, retirement, and health insurance is meant to protect the people from undue social risks. In emergencies, state social welfare guarantees a minimum economic standard.

The extent of a state's social services ultimately depends on the political orientation of the government. For instance, the social democratic (p. 230) orientated Scandinavian countries aim to provide comprehensive care for their citizens, whereas the state-guaranteed social security in traditionally liberal states (p. 229) like the U.S. is more weakly developed. There citizens carry the re-

sponsibility of protecting themselves against the varying levels of risk they might encounter by taking out specific insurance policies.

Sovereign Functions of the State

The democratic state has two core functions: to ensure the functional ability of state organs like the courts and police, and to protect the liberal constitution. Above all,



Communal self-government is stressed in federal states.

protection against anti-democratic forces within the society is difficult to manage in a democracy. To what extent the state can partially intervene in an open opinion-making process and the basic rights it can suspend are debatable.



SECRET SERVICES are meant to protect the constitutional order in democracies.

BASIC RIGHTS of an individual can be suspended.

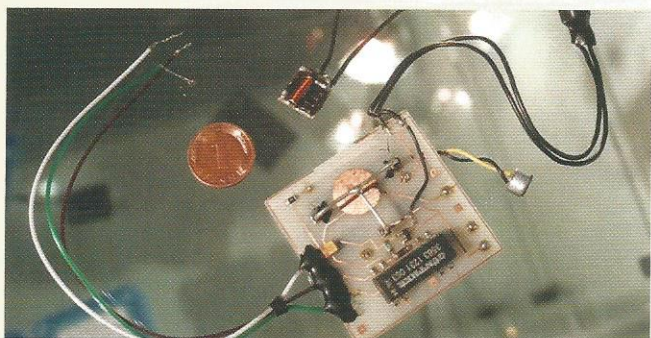
AN EFFECTIVE CONTROL of the secret police is difficult even in a democracy.

Emblem of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the federal police of the U.S.

High Anxiety

SPECIAL STATE AUTHORITIES are empowered to collect covert information that is important to the security of the state and to pass it on to political decision-makers. The investigations are directed primarily towards attempts against the democratic order, in the course of which basic civil rights like the privacy of telephone or postal communication are suspended.

IN DEMOCRACIES, secret organizations are usually subject to the control of parliament in order to avoid arbitrary misuse of their power, though their effectiveness is often disputed because control of secret service activities does not take place publicly. Following September 11, 2001—as well as a number of other terrorist attacks—the authority of the security agencies in many states, especially in the U.S., has been greatly expanded.



Ready for a major "eavesdropping attack" on the citizenry: a microtransmitter, a bug, and a telephone circuit board



An outwardly fortified democracy; soldiers swear loyalty to the state (Germany pictured).

BASIC FORMS OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

Modern democracies can be divided into presidential and parliamentary systems of government. In the former, the people elect the head of state; in the latter, parliament does.



In parliamentary democracies such as Germany, the head of government must justify his policies to parliament.

In representative democracies, the people do not vote directly on political issues as they did, for example, in ancient Athens (p. 215). Rather, the people elect representatives to state bodies provided for in the constitution, where they make political decisions for them. As a rule, the representatives are responsible only to their own consciences, but must stand for re-election by the people at regular intervals. Two basic forms have developed in the various representative democracies that differ from each

other primarily in the form of the relationships between parliament, administration, and head of state.

Parliamentary Democracies

In parliamentary systems of government like those in England, Germany, and Italy, the head of state is elected by parliament, which can also force his resignation. The government is therefore dependent on the confidence of parliament, which is usually accompanied by close cooperation with the parliamentary majority. If the government loses the majority in parliament, the head of state often has the right to force new parliamentary elections. The head of government is either a president, who is elected, or—as in England and the Netherlands—a monarch; who chiefly fulfills representative and ceremonial functions.



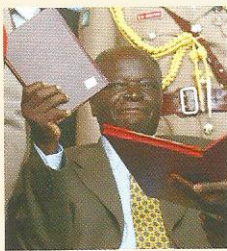
Heads of state in parliamentary democracies, like the reigning British queen, have very little political power.

INSIDER KNOWLEDGE

IN TIMES OF PRONOUNCED POLITICAL DISAFFECTION, the call for a more direct democracy becomes louder.

THE FREE PARLIAMENTARIAN must often in practice give in to party discipline.

ENGLISH MONARCHS have not used their right to dissolve Parliament for centuries.



RULERS are also freely elected in democracies that have not fully developed.

IMPORTANT AREAS OF SOCIETY in a democratic culture like the press or interest groups are merely underdeveloped.

Corruption and inscrutable decision-making structures are characteristic of many nominally democratic states in Africa. Kenya's president, Mwai Kibaki, dissolved his cabinet in 2005.

Authoritarian Democracies

IN THE 1990S, particularly in Africa, Asia, as well as former communist states of Europe (e.g., Russia), many technically democratic systems of government with authoritarian tendencies were formed. Though they guarantee free elections and have democratic institutions, the protection against state intervention in citizens' civil rights and control of governmental power are generally insufficient.

FREQUENTLY, free democratic structures are missing outside of parliament out of which a living civil society can develop. Freedom of the press can be restricted, as a rule. As most of those states were former dictatorships, this condition may represent just a short transitional stage on the way to developing democracy.



In "defect" democracies, demonstrators against governmental policies are not always protected against repressive measures by the state (Russia pictured).

Presidential Democracies

In presidential systems of government like in the U.S., parliament, or the legislature, and the government are clearly separate from each other. A state executive is elected directly by the people and functions as both head of state and government. He is independent of the legislature and cannot be voted out of office by it. In turn, he cannot dissolve the legislative branch. In many countries there is a mixed form of presidential and parliamentary democratic elements. In France and Finland, for instance, a directly elected president and a prime minister are dependent on the confidence of parliament and share the powers of government.

Direct Democracies

In all representative democracies there are limited forms of direct citizen participation (p. 223).



Directly elected presidents of states, such as Nicolas Sarkozy in France, have enough authority to make independent decisions.

THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT IN THE U.S.

Characteristic of the U.S. governmental system is a resistance against too great an accumulation of power by an individual group or person. Despite the politically strong position of the President, rule is divided. For instance, only Congress may formally introduce legislation.

The U.S. is a federal state comprised of 50 individual states. The Constitution of 1787 provides for a republic with strict separation of powers and is still in force today (p. 222). The executive power lies with the President, the legislative with Congress, composed of the Senate and the House of Represent-



The constitution of 1787 begins with the words "We the people."

atives, and the highest judicial power with the Supreme Court (p. 248). The individual states can make decisions in many areas independent of the federal government. Their political structure is overall the same as that of the federal state, except that a directly elected governor sits at the head of the government.

The President
The President is the focal point of power in the U.S. at the federal level. He is elected along with his Vice President for a term of four years. He is eligible for reelection, but can only serve two presidential terms. The President represents the country abroad, shapes foreign policy, and alone has the right to conclude international treaties.



The U.S. President may only address Congress once a year in his "State of the Union."

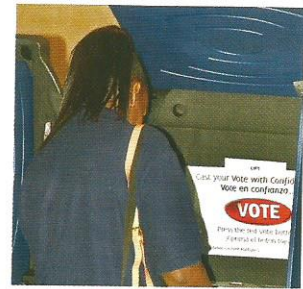
As warranted by the Constitution, he is also commander in chief of the armed forces. He is in charge of the White House staff, which advises him in all political fields and prepares recommendations. The President can be removed from office only through impeachment by Congress, which must determine his violations of the Constitution. But the extent of presidential powers only appears immeasurable. The President's influence is dependent on his assertiveness with the other branches of government.

Institutionalized Control of Power

An important limitation to the President's power lies in the structure of the executive branch, which he formally heads. The political responsibility for an individual area of policy is spread over many different offices, whose authority often overlaps and who often in part

pursue opposing political goals. It is then a challenge for the President to coordinate all these strands and achieve his will.

Congress authorizes and funds the executive. The legislative branch alone, composed of the Senate and the House of Representatives, passes bills and can declare war. Treaties become effective only upon ratification by the legislature. The executive office may not formally present a bill to Congress, but must rather enlist individual representatives to take the initia-



Presidential Election

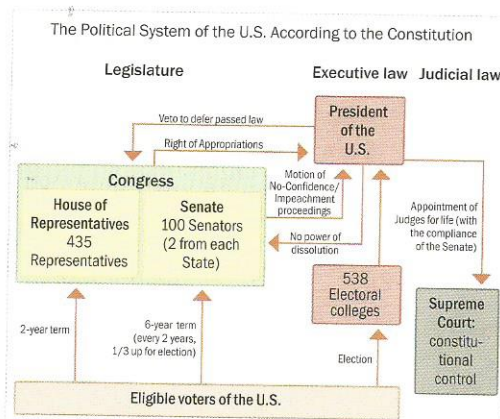
The President is elected in a multi-staged process. After an election campaign within the party, the candidate is nominated by their party's national convention. The people actually only elect the Electoral College. Each state sends to the college only as many electors as it has representatives in Congress. Electors in most states are informally bound to vote for their party's candidate. However, few ever stray from their promised commitments. As all of a state's electoral votes fall to the majority elected candidate, it is possible that a candidate receives a majority of the electoral votes and becomes President without winning the majority of the nationwide popular vote (Election 2000).

above: Citizen casting vote

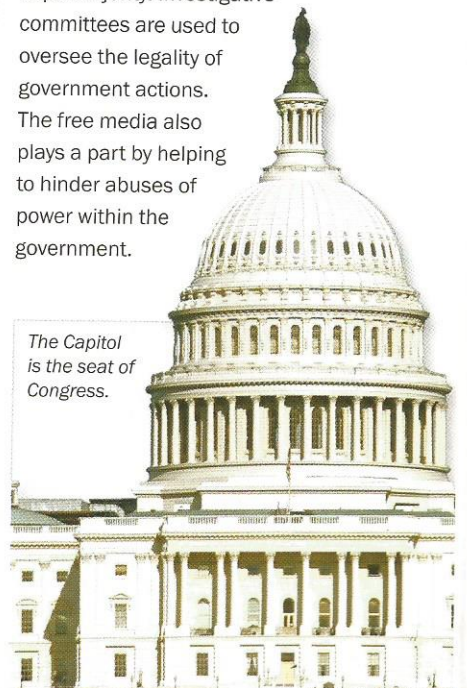
tive and introduce the bill. The President has the power to veto a bill, but Congress can override with a supermajority. Investigative committees are used to oversee the legality of government actions. The free media also plays a part by helping to hinder abuses of power within the government.

Checks and Balance

IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S., the authority of the three governmental branches is balanced in a system of mutual control. This is done in order to prevent any majority to rule the country without having to answer to anyone. The legislative branch is divided so as to balance the interests of the individual states. The Senate is composed of two senators from each state, serving six-year terms. The senators then face reelection, which is determined by the voting citizens of the state. In the House of Representatives, on the other hand, the 435 seats are allocated according to the size of each state's population, with the Members serving two-year terms.



The Capitol is the seat of Congress.



GOD SAVE THE QUEEN—THE BRITISH SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

Great Britain is considered to be the motherland of parliamentarianism. Although officially a monarchy, actual power lies with the government head, who is accountable to Parliament.



Westminster Palace is the seat of both chambers of Parliament.

The United Kingdom with its member countries, England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland, is a parliamentary monarchy. It is based on an unwritten constitution, i.e., it has not been formulated into a single document. The political institu-

tions—the monarchy, the government, and the parliament—along with their relationships to one another have developed out of enacted laws and common law (p. 243) over the course of centuries. Thus, all power is ultimately derived from the legislative authority called Parliament. Until recently, the UK was centrally governed and administrated from its capital of London. The individual countries, with the exception of England, have their own parliaments (an Assembly in Wales) with the authority to make independent decisions regarding their specific areas.

Monarchy and Parliament

The monarch is the head of state of the kingdom and theoretically has combined executive, legislative, and judicial powers. In practice, however, these powers are separated as in every democracy (p. 222). For centuries, according to common law, the monarchy has had only a limited political role. Today, it embodies the historical continuity of the nation and assumes ceremonial functions. The head of state usually gives the annual “Queen’s Message,” which is formulated by the government.

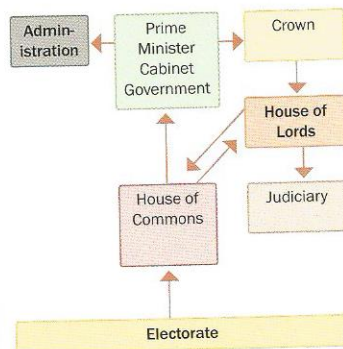
Legislative power lies exclusively with a bicameral parliament consisting of the House of Lords (upper house) and the House of Commons (lower house). The House of Lords formerly was only the hereditary nobility. Today, ecclesiastical dignitaries hold seats there along with commoners who have been raised to peerage because of their services to the state. The earlier functions of the House of Lords as a supreme court of justice as well as its participation in legislation have since been greatly reduced. Yet, it can recommend laws and

Constitutional System Overview

IN CONTRAST TO THE STRICT SEPARATION of powers in the U.S. political system, Great Britain’s executive and legislative branches are closely entwined. British parliamentarianism has even been described as a temporary “elective dictatorship” because, with the help of the parliamentary majority, the government has

almost unlimited powers of achieving its will in decision-making. The democratic control consists foremost in the competition between the government and the opposition party. In terms of a separation of powers, the independence of the judiciary is to be strengthened in the future. Instead of the “Law Lords,” a supreme court of law is to be made separate from the upper house.

The “House of Commons” is the only institution that is directly democratically legitimized.



block them for one year. Actual legislative authority lies with the democratically elected House of Commons. It controls the government and can force its dissolution.

Power of the Prime Minister

The center of power of the government is presided over by the prime minister, who, along with his Cabinet, exercises the executive power.

The politician obtaining the majority in the House of Commons is named prime minister by the monarch. He appoints the members of his Cabinet—usually from outside the House of Commons—coordinates their work, and determines the guidelines of the government’s policies. He can designate the exact date of the next elections within a five-year time period.



The Commonwealth

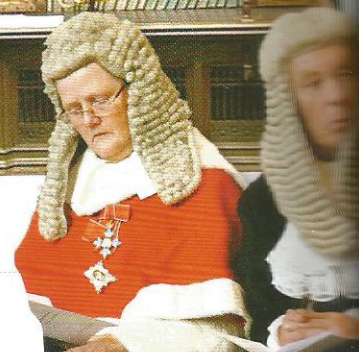
A community of states, the “Commonwealth of Nations,” emerged out of the former British colonial empire, devoting itself to cultural exchange. Today it includes a total of 53 sovereign states in all corners of the world. These states either recognize the British queen as a nominal head of state or she is represented by a governor-general. Among them include India, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand. Every two years there is a summit conference that serves to resolve mutual problems of the Commonwealth.

above: The Queen visits Commonwealth member state Australia.



The prime minister speaks before the House of Commons.

right: Members of the upper house



PLURALISM AND PARTICIPATION

Besides casting their vote in elections, people can take part in the democratic decision-making process by being active in political parties or interest groups.

Not only state organs like parliament and government are part of the political reality of a liberal democracy. Rather, it is also of prime importance that institutions exist through which citizens can exert influence on political decisions, such as political parties, associations, and the media.

Tasks of the Parties

The political parties are the most important mediators between the state and society. Citizens who have similar opinions about the



Parties present candidates to the people for election to public offices.

organization of the polity join together in them. The parties bundle ideas into a political platform, make it public, and cultivate political lead-

ers. In Europe, for the most part, they are tightly organized; in Germany they even have constitutional status and are partially financed by public funds. In the U.S., on the other hand, they are less of an organization with a unified philosophy, but

rather more like a loosely knit association of individual groups. Their main purpose is to nominate candidates for public offices. Members of Congress are free to make decisions independent of party affiliation. Because candidates are chosen by state party organizations, the party leadership in Congress has less influence over how Senators vote in Congress than is the case in the UK, where the national party controls who can run for office. In the UK, party leaders in the House of Commons can impose a "whip," while a backbench rebellion would be seen as undermining the authority of its leadership.

Pressure of Individual Interests

Every citizen in a democracy has the right to join clubs and associations to articulate personal interests. Besides professional associations, there are politically active groups in various fields: in the field of economics, business associations and trade unions; in social welfare, charities; and in sociopolitical fields, environmental groups. As a general rule, all of these political groups attempt to make their goals public so as to bring pressure on political decision-makers. The organization of these groups varies



Election Systems

There are basically two procedures for transforming votes into a political composition of parties in Parliament. In Great Britain and the U.S., among others, a first-past-the-post electoral system is used and all positions being contested are given to the few parties with the most number of votes irrespective of the exact ratios. The votes for other parties are no longer of consequence. This is to ensure a stable parliamentary plurality for one party. In most European states, however, the mandate in the constituency is divided among the parties according to the number of votes they received (proportional representation), so that the will of the people is reflected as exactly as possible in Parliament.

above: U.S. final 2004 presidential electoral chart according to state



COMMUNICATION: The Internet enables new forms of political participation.

VISION: Some dream of a civil society linked together through the Internet.

WHETHER THE INTERNET actually leads to more democracy is debatable.

Politicians like Tony Blair can communicate directly with the people over the Internet.

The Electronic Democracy

THE INTERNET has not only revolutionized economic life, but also offers the chance to have a more direct democratic voice in politics. Especially for the young, the Internet has become an important medium to gain the information and orientation vital for making key political decisions. Opinions can be exchanged interactively in discussion forums or campaigns organized by the various parties or by impartial organizations.

NEW POSSIBILITIES have also opened up for politicians. Their own digital monologues ("blogs") increase the transparency of decisions and allow a direct dialog with the people. The fact that Hillary Clinton first announced her candidacy for President online on January 20, 2007, shows the status of the Internet in politics. A virtual public marketplace has been created that has some dreaming of a worldwide civil society linked together through the

Internet. It is clear that the administrative process can be made organizationally more transparent and closer to the people through use of the Internet.

The Internet is the marketplace for political opinions.



Many workers are organized in labor unions that represent their interests.

KEY FACTS

CONSERVATIVES want to maintain traditional values.

LIBERALS stress the responsibility and self-determination of the individual.

SOCIALISTS want to build a society exhibiting solidarity upon the principle of equality.

GREENS stress environmental protection and seek to establish a greater level of democracy.

Conservatism | Liberalism | Socialism | Alternative politics

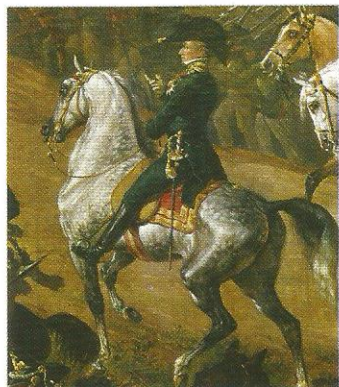
POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

In their actions, politicians follow their basic convictions, such as how society should be constituted or, above all, how it would function ideally. Today, the classic political conceptual structures of conservatism, liberalism, and socialism still form the foundations of the major parties as well as the guidelines for concrete political actions and decisions. There are, of course, many subfactions of these core ideological groups. Also, in the last decades, alternative political concepts—the Green parties for example—have gained importance.

➤ Ideologies motivate people's political behavior.

CONSERVATISM—THE POWER OF TRADITION

Security and continuity remain the central principles of conservative ideology. At the same time, the conceptual positions have shifted greatly since the 19th century.



The conservative Austrian statesman von Metternich wanted to reorganize the power structures of Europe in the 19th century.

Basically to have a fundamentally conservative attitude means to want to protect and maintain the existing social order. To a conservative, the state, society, and culture are historically evolved structures held together by the customs as well as practices of the people. Innovations

are desired only when they are proved to be mandatory for the stability of the political framework.

State Power and Individualism

Conservatism first developed at the end of the 18th century as an independent political position in a defensive reaction to the ideas of the French Revolution. Political theorists like the English philosopher Edmund Burke defended the old social order based on privilege and ecclesiastical authority. The aristocracy and landowners supported the conservative parties of the 19th century in continental Europe. The state was assigned a central role in securing social structures and was to take over welfare services if necessary. The course of development was completely different in England and the U.S., where the conservatives were early to support the personal responsibility of the individual. Traditionally, the English "Tories" and the American "Republicans" assume an anti-social assistance position.

Conservatism Today

Classic conservatism lost its aristocratic base after World War II. Conservative parties everywhere now back democracy and the free economy. Meanwhile, a Christian orientation grew, particularly in Italy and

Germany. Beyond national peculiarities, the modern conservative is characterized by advocating a strong state from within and outside as well as a distinctly anti-socialist sentiment. The old conservative attitudes that are seen today are primarily in a close relationship



Politically conservative and economically liberal: Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher.

with religion and, if existing, with the monarchy.



COMMUNITARIANISM places a sense of community in the center position.

THE COMMON GOOD stands above the interests of the individual.

A CIVIL SOCIETY should be strengthened, the demands of the state lowered.

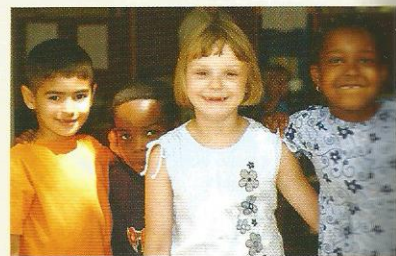
Communitarians want solidarity between communities instead of a faceless state apparatus.

Communitarianism

COMMUNITARIANISM is the term given to a political theory movement that emerged in the 1980s whose most important advocates are considered to be the U.S. intellectuals Michael Walzer and Amitai Etzioni. They criticize the exaggerated individualism in modern society.

THE COMMUNITARIANS, in contrast to the liberals, consider a person as a social being whose community is primarily shaped by culture and tradition. Individual self-fulfillment along with egotistical pursuit of profit destroy group solidarity and with it the foundation of a free, democratic society. According to their demands, politics must orient itself more toward the common good and increase local communities' power to shape them in order to develop the responsibility of the individual for the community. Politicians such as the British Prime Minister Tony Blair have referred to communitarian ideas.

Values such as tolerance and solidarity should be learned as early as possible.



An election poster of German conservatives in 1957 warns of "socialist experiments."

LIBERALISM—INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND SELF-FULFILLMENT

The most important principle of liberalism is to protect the freedom of the individual from intrusions by the state. The primary liberal demands are fulfilled today in modern democracies.

Liberalism focuses on the free development of the individual and takes a negative standpoint on external coercion. In its view, the state primarily has the task of enabling each person to determine his or her own life. The core liberal concerns are maintaining individual civil rights and establishing constitutional restrictions of political power.

John Stuart Mill demanded in the 19th century that the individual should be sovereign over himself.



The Constitutional State

Based on the ideas of the Enlightenment, political thought was socially sustained in the 18th and 19th centuries primarily by the rising middle class (p. 214). To oppose the absolutist pretension to power, they promoted the state protection of the people's right to privacy in all areas and their political participation. The power of the state had to be restricted through a constitution in which the basic rights (p. 222) and the possibility of citizen participation were bindingly specified and enforceable.



Freedom and national unity were demands of the German liberals in the 19th century.

Liberal constitutional states emerged out of the revolutions in the U.S. in 1776 and France in 1789 (p. 214). By the end of the 19th century, this form of state also prevailed in all of Europe.

Separation of powers (p. 222) and the rule of law became the principles of the modern systems of government.

Capitalism and Social Liberalism

Classic economic liberalism is based on the teachings of the 18th century Scottish philosopher Adam Smith. According to him, the egotistical pursuit of gain, as well as that of necessity, also promotes the common good. Free competition alone creates wealth and economic progress. The state's only economically-related task is to protect private property.

As a matter of fact, the liberalized economy of the 19th century did create immense wealth, but it also concealed a social time-bomb. The owners of industrial means of production made huge profits at the expense of their workers. In reaction to the achievements of the labor movements that formed against it, strong liberal social currents developed in the 20th century that advocated state intervention in the economy. Aside from the consideration of civil rights, the term "liberal" in the U.S. stands above all for the state control of economic forces and social betterment.

Victoried to Death?

After the Second World War, the rule of law and a more or less bridled economy became the chief concerns of almost all democratic parties. Organized liberalism increasingly lost its influence. Today, only in Canada and Australia are there still major liberal parties. At present, modern liberalism faces the question of

how values of freedom and the control of power can be secured in a globalized economy with the



Liberalization of the economy was a significant catalyst of industrialization in the 19th century.

various states of the world sharing ever-increasing levels of political, cultural, and economic interaction with one another.



JOHN LOCKE, born 1632 near Bristol, Great Britain, died 1704 in Oates.

THE STATE IS LEGITIMIZED through protecting the freedom and property of its citizens.

THE CITIZEN has a right to resist the power of the state when necessary.

John Locke is regarded as the progenitor of liberalism and greatly influenced the Constitution of the U.S.

John Locke, the Liberal Guide

THE POLITICAL TREATISE "Two Treatises of Government" by John Locke, published anonymously in 1689, is considered the key work of liberalism because it theoretically ties together his political and economic demands. Locke considers humankind as free by nature and hence able to decide the fate of the fruits of their labors. People join together of their own accord in a community and make elections according to the principle of majority rule government that is divided into executive and legislative powers.

IT IS THE TASK of the government, according to Locke, to safeguard individual property. If the state is not capable of that, then the individual has a right to revolt. Locke does not regard property primarily as an instrument to increase profit, but above all as a guarantee of the people's political independence and reason for their engagement in the civic world.



The protection of personal property (here an English mansion) remains to this day the main liberal creed.

SOCIALISM—EQUALITY FOR ALL

Socialists strive for a social order based on communal solidarity in which all layers of society have an equal share in the commonwealth.



Social democrats everywhere in the world organized themselves in the "Socialist International" (here in Rome in 1997).

In general, endeavors and teachings that criticize liberal economic social systems are termed socialist (p. 225). They are directed at creating a more humane society based on the principles of equality and solidarity. In contrast to liberalism, they stress the social responsibility of the individual. The economic system of private capitalism en-

a movement against the impoverishment and political exclusion of the working class. Everywhere in Europe, workers joined together in labor unions to fight for their rights. Socialist parties gained great popularity with the

masses and were elected to parliaments. It was only in the U.S. that the socialist idea never gained a foothold.

With political successes, the two main currents within the labor movement, the reformists and the revolutionaries, suddenly saw their differences grow violent. While the one sought a gradual transformation to better social conditions, the other urged for a quick, and if necessary, violent revolution in order to see results.

INSIDER KNOWLEDGE

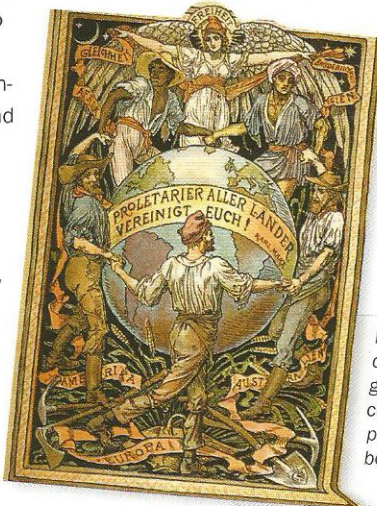
COMMUNIST parties in Western democracies distanced themselves from Soviet dictatorship.

THE GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY was banned from 1878 to 1890 and became the largest party on the continent during that time.

courages the enrichment of few. It acts as a proponent of social inequality, and thus should be placed more or less under state control so that the resources are generated justly and divided for the common good of all.

Reformism vs. Revolution

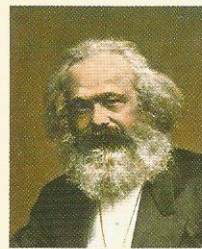
During the period of industrialization in the 19th century, socialism became



International solidarity, as propagated in this woodcut, was the main principle of the labor movement.

Social Democrats vs. Communists

At the beginning of the 20th century, the labor movement split once and for all between Social Democrats and Communists. In 1918, the Communists pushed their way to power in Russia (p. 218) and established a regime in the name of socialism. They ruled dictatorially under Lenin, and later Stalin, and placed the econ-



KARL MARX, born 1818 in Trier, Germany, died 1883 in London.

A PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION was in his opinion an historical necessity.

COMMUNAL PROPERTY leads to a communist society free of domination.

Karl Marx was the father of communist theory.

Karl Marx and Communism

THE GERMAN PHILOSOPHER Karl Marx founded "scientific socialism." Together with Friedrich Engels, he wrote in 1848 the "Communist Manifesto," a historico-philosophical theory that formed the ideological foundation of communism in the 20th century. They ascribed to the proletariat the historical task of liberating humankind from oppression and bringing about a domination-free society.

MARX SAW WORLD HISTORY as a series of class struggles between the rulers and the ruled. He asserted that the free development of each individual will be possible following the historically inevitable victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. The means of production must be taken over by the community, so that each individual can live free of all coercion. All forms of domination become obsolete in a communist society.



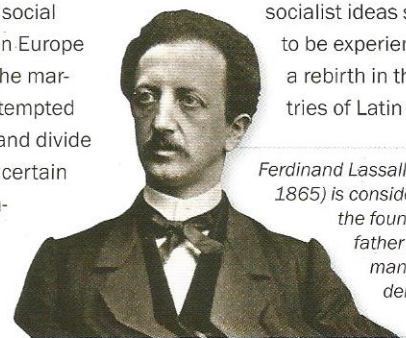
The vision of a society free of exploitation and coercion was full of promise to the maltreated laborer of the 19th century.

omy under state control. Totalitarian socialism spread out into many countries (p. 219) after the Second World War. In the dispute with the "real-existing socialism," democratic socialism stressed that no society can be considered humane without individual civil rights and democracy in all social areas.

After 1945, most social democratic parties in Europe basically accepted the market economy and attempted to equalize income and divide property only within certain areas. The establishment of a distinct social welfare state (p. 223)

the work of the Social Democrats. The present crisis of the social welfare state in Western democracies is causing many European Social Democrats to gain notice. "New Labour" in Great Britain managed a transition to a pronounced market economy since coming to power

in 1997. In contrast, the old socialist ideas seem to be experiencing a rebirth in the countries of Latin America.



Ferdinand Lassalle (1824–1865) is considered the founding father of German social democracy.

THE GREENS—ALTERNATIVE POLITICS

When the Greens emerged from different social protest movements of the 1980s, they brought a new political current that has established itself most notably in European parliaments.



The Green policies support the development of alternative sources of energy, e.g., wind power stations.

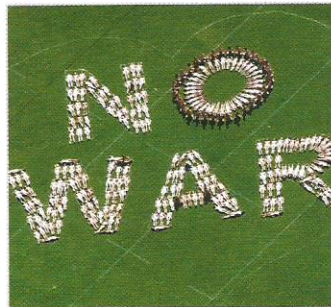
Anti-authoritarian movements of the 1960s led to an increase in social protest movements in Western

democracies. From outside the established political party structures, they demanded social changes in specific areas. Since the 1980s, Green parties have developed worldwide out of a broad variety of individual factions like the environmental, peace, civil rights and feminist movements and have since become an integral part of the political party landscape, particularly in Europe. In Europe there are at present 12 Green parties represented in national parliaments. In Sweden, France, and Germany, among others, they have already

held governmental positions of responsibility. In countries with pronounced two-party systems like Great Britain and the U.S., the Greens' influence on a national level remains limited, despite strong regional success.

Ecology and Emancipation

The major focus of their platform and the trademark of all Green parties is their consistent engagement for comprehensive environmental



Peace activists repeatedly drew attention to their cause through spectacular actions.

protection and especially new environmentally-friendly forms of energy sources. Often they assume positions in other matters that do not fit into the classic left-right spectrum and that are weakly or not convincingly represented by the established parties; the central value standards used here are social responsibility of the individual, the right to self-fulfillment, and suspicion toward those in authority. Typical demands include worldwide peace policies, less imposition of bureaucratic will, improved protection for minorities, more active support of women, and, above all, a political voice for all citizens.

Distinctly Combative

This call for more participation in all political processes and the legacy of the protest culture are also re-



The Limits of Growth

This sensational study by the "Club of Rome," an international think-tank, initiated an ecological rethinking in 1972 inside Western societies. If the industrial over-exploitation of nature continued unabated, according to the thesis, the natural resources of raw materials, energy, and soil would near depletion in 100 years at the latest. The result would be famine and the loss of prosperity. Environmental protection and a sparing of resources have since found their way into everyday politics.

above: Green parties have planted the protection of the environment into the general consciousness.

flected in the relatively democratic basis and decentralized organizational structure of most Green parties. The party leadership is more bound to the members' votes than in most other parties. Rules like gender quotas and a ban on accumulating offices are also meant to make Green values secure within the party and to avoid an exalted caste of functionaries. Powerful party heads, as a rule, better their chances against the other parties, but represent to some, a betrayal of party ideals.

21ST CENTURY

ALL THOSE in political power recognize in principle the necessity of energy sources that would spare the environment.

WHETHER A MARKET ECONOMY or a planned economy holds a better solution to protecting the environment is still debated in many Green parties.

THE KENYAN Green politician Wangari Maathai was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2004.

STUDENTS DEMANDED more participation and democracy in Western societies.

THEIR ARGUMENT: Rigid social norms suppress the free development of the individual.

ROCK MUSIC AND CLOTHING were as much a means of protest as were demonstrations and disruptive actions.

"Make love, not war": For some of the youth, the open treatment of sexuality was also a protest.

The Anti-Authoritarian Movement of 1968

IN THE 1960S, a student protest movement started in the U.S. and was taken up in the entire Western world. It was first ignited by the U.S.'s military engagement in Vietnam, but soon expanded to a fundamental opposition against political conditions. While the American students took up the cause of African-American civil rights, those in Europe primarily demanded social democratization under socialist conditions.

POLITICAL PROTESTS were accompanied by the complete rejection of "authoritarian power structures." With inappropriate clothing and music, many youths sought to make clear their utter rejection of the traditional system. The pacifist "hippie" movement rebelled against the pressure to achieve, as well as against middle class values, with their glorification of free sex and drugs.



The works of the philosophers Herbert Marcuse and Max Horkheimer formed the ideological armor of the rebellious students.

KEY FACTS

IN THE UN, nations attempt to find joint solutions to world problems.

THE EU is a close confederation of nations with some degree of supranational collaboration.

NATO is a military alliance of governments with commonly shared political values.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS are international players in the global civil society.

United Nations | European Union | NATO | Amnesty International | Greenpeace | ATTAC

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

In principle, it is the function of international organizations to find international solutions for the political, economic, military, or social tasks the members agree to handle. The UN, NATO, and the EU are free associations of nation-states established under international law with their own organs and areas of responsibility. International organizations like Greenpeace and Amnesty International, on the other hand, are independent of national governments and are committed worldwide to a clearly defined cause.

➔ The more the world becomes economically cross-linked, the more important international politics become.

UN—THE UNITED NATIONS

Almost all of the world's nations have joined the UN to ensure peace. The UN has only as much power as the member states allow.

The United Nations (UN) was founded in 1945 after the Second World War by 51 nations and has its seat in New York. In 2003, there were 191 members of the UN, al-

most all of the world's nations. With their membership, the states commit themselves to maintain world peace, to resolve disputes peacefully, and to respect human rights,

among other things. The extent to which the UN can honor its goals depends on the members' willingness to cooperate. The UN is not a "world state" with its own instruments of power, but rather a free association of—in principle—sovereign states.



THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE was awarded to the UN for its work toward a better world in 2001.

THE MANY UN PEACE MISSIONS successfully contributed to establishing peace in conflicts.

THE BUILDING of new state and social systems is increasingly becoming the primary objective of multiple UN missions.

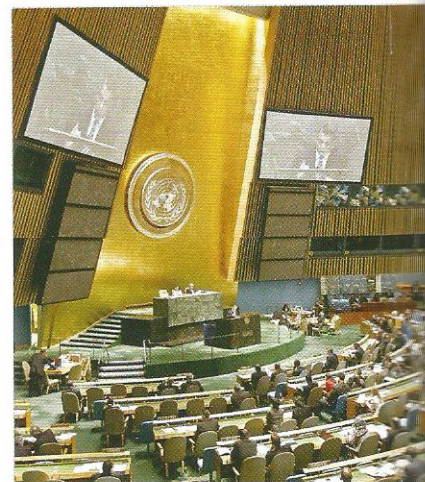
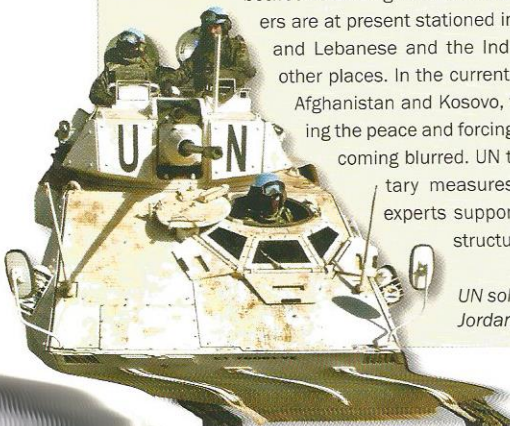
In the former war zone of Kosovo, UN-ordered soldiers are ensuring the safe return of refugees.

UN Peace Missions

TO MAINTAIN WORLD PEACE, the Security Council of the UN can decide upon military action. The member states must make troops available for this, because the UN maintains no troops of its own. The troops can be deployed directly against an aggressor. The Security Council then grants individual states permission to restore peace with force, for example, in the Iraq-Kuwait conflict of 1990.

THE MAJORITY OF THE MEASURES are peacekeeping missions following a conflict. In these cases, multinational troop contingents—also called "blue helmets" because of their UN emblems—position themselves as neutral buffers between the belligerents and manage the ceasefire. Peacekeepers are at present stationed in the Congo, and on the Israeli and Lebanese and the Indian-Pakistani borders, among other places. In the current UN peacekeeping missions in Afghanistan and Kosovo, the boundaries between keeping the peace and forcing the peace are increasingly becoming blurred. UN troops are allowed to take military measures against troublemakers and experts support the buildup of civilian infrastructures.

UN soldiers safeguarding the Israeli-Jordanian border.



The General Assembly examines and approves the UN budget.

General Assembly and Security Council

In the complex structure of the world organization, the General Assembly is formally the supreme body. All member states are equally represented in this "unelected world parliament." The General Assembly can, among other things, pass non-binding resolutions and elect a general secretary to outwardly represent the UN. Associated with it are special organizations like the children's fund, UNICEF.

The actual center of power of the UN is the Security Council. It determines if world peace is in jeopardy and, if necessary, sets courses of action that can range from economic boycotts to military engagements. It has five permanent members (the U.S., Russia, Great Britain, France, and China) and ten members elected for two years. The five

permanent members must pass all resolutions unanimously.

Further key bodies of the UN are the International Court of Justice (p. 247), as well as the Economic and Social Council, which coordinates the economic and social activities of the UN along with working together with many special organizations like the World Bank.

Discussions of Reform

Since the Cold War, there have been discussions of how fundamental reforms to the UN could address the new problems and challenges of the 21st century more effectively (pp. 236–239). The subjects include an expansion of the Security Council, more authority for the General Secretary, the formation of a world environmental organization, and an autonomous UN military.

THE EUROPEAN UNION

Following the Second World War, the European states interwove politically and economically more and more with each other. Today, the EU is a close union of autonomous states that makes cross-border decisions in many areas.



1945, European states step began to unify the continent both politically and economically. The goal was to make the impossible in the future in Europe. The first step was taken in 1951, when six countries, including West Germany and France, created a common market for coal and steel. In 1957, the European Economic Community (EEC) was created, and, through various treaties, steadily dismantled customs barriers and other obstacles to trade in other industrial sectors.

Pathway to a Political Union

A milestone on the way to a united Europe was the 1992 treaty on EU (Treaty of Maastricht). With it, the EEC was transformed into the European Union, and the economic zone was further developed into the close political and economic union of today. The reso-



The European Commission is the executive of the European community. Its president represents the EU in the world.

lution to introduce a common currency was groundbreaking. In 2002, the euro replaced the local currencies in 11 EU countries. The political union was also pushed ahead and a common foreign security policy and cooperation in the areas of the judiciary and internal affairs were decided upon.

Besides that, the EU handles questions that directly affect the lives of the people in the member states. Job creation is supported and an alignment of the living conditions in the different states is a goal. Also, everyone belonging to a member state is an EU citizen with special rights. All EU citizens have an unlimited right of residence in all EU countries and voting rights at the municipal level in the country in which they live.

Character and Institutions

The EU has developed into a confederation of states, each retaining its own individual character. It is neither a federation with an independent central power like the U.S. (p. 225) nor an international organization, in which sovereign governments work together like the UN (p. 232).

The member states remain in principle autonomous, but join together at the European level to gain international clout and to democratically clarify issues of common interests. In many areas, the member states have voluntarily conferred—partially or totally—legislative authority to the EU institutions they created.

The highest EU authority is the European Council, consisting primarily of the heads of state and

government of the member states. It sets fundamental political goals and appoints the head of the 25-person "European Commission" with the approval of the "European Parliament," which is re-elected every five years.

Among other things, the Commission monitors the implementation and proposal of EU laws. Only the "Council of the European Union" or

sometimes "Council of Ministers," and the European Parliament, can pass laws. The "European Court of Justice" acts as a judicial organization that ensures the observance of these passed laws.



The euro is the official currency in 18 European countries, 13 of which belong to the EU.



THE WORLD'S LARGEST DOMESTIC MARKET currently, the EU includes 27 states and close to 490 million inhabitants.

STATES WANTING MEMBERSHIP must meet political and economic requirements.

THE EU also sees itself as a community of shared democratic values.

In 2004, Poland joined the EU.

EU Expansion

THE UNITED EUROPEAN MOVEMENT has been a great success so far. Only West Germany, France, Belgium, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands took part in the first steps toward unification in the 1950s and 1960s. But one after the other, almost all West European states joined: Denmark, Ireland, and Great Britain in 1973, Greece in 1981, Spain and Portugal in 1986, and in 1995, Austria, Finland, and Sweden.

THE COLLAPSE OF communism in 1989–1991 presented the EU with the chance to unify the whole continent ideologically as well. Political and economic criteria were set up for those former Eastern bloc states seeking membership: A stable democracy, a constitutional system, as well as a functioning market economy and competitive ability within the EU. In 2004, ten new countries joined the EU all at once: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Malta, and Cyprus. In 2007, Romania and Bulgaria were added. Negotiations with further aspirants are in preparation. The possible admittance of Turkey is the most fiercely disputed for many different reasons.



The European family of nations gained additions in 2004 and 2007.

NATO—DEFENSE ALLIANCE AND CRISIS MANAGER

Until 1990 NATO was a defense alliance of Western nations against the communist Eastern bloc. Today its focus lies in the prevention of conflicts and military reaction to crises.

In 1949, the U.S., Canada, and many European nations came together to form NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), an alliance for military and political defense. Later, West Germany, Greece, Turkey, and Spain also joined. Its prime goal until 1990 was to deter communist expansion attempts, namely those of the Soviet Union and its satellite states.

In its Articles of Treaty, which have remained unchanged to the present, NATO members state a pledge to come to each other's aid in case of attack (collective defense

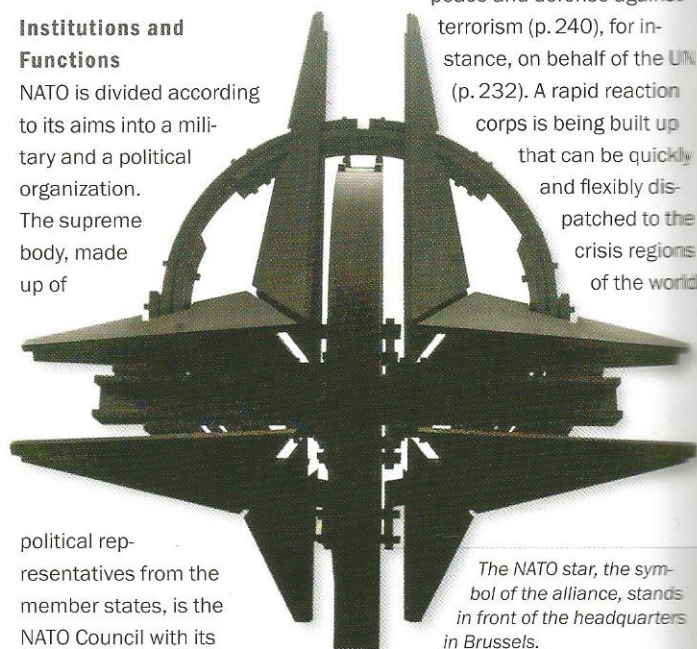
action). In doing so, each state can independently take the measures it deems necessary. There is no automatic military obligation of mutual assistance. With membership, the states commit themselves to political, economic, and cultural cooperation along with the military.

The goal of the alliance is also the defense of certain values. From the outset, the member states were required to accept the constitutional state and private property as principles of liberal democracies.

Institutions and Functions

NATO is divided according to its aims into a military and a political organization. The supreme body, made up of

Communism in 1989–1991. Today, NATO sees its most important tasks, alongside mutual defense, to be worldwide deployment for peace and defense against terrorism (p. 240), for instance, on behalf of the UN (p. 232). A rapid reaction corps is being built up that can be quickly and flexibly dispatched to the crisis regions of the world.



The NATO star, the symbol of the alliance, stands in front of the headquarters in Brussels.



THE NATO STATES stood face-to-face with the highly armed states of the communist "Warsaw Pact" until 1991.

THE PRINCIPLE of military deterrence was meant to secure the peace in Europe.

PROXY WARS in developing nations replaced a confrontation between the superpowers.

The signing of the NATO treaty in 1949; in the center, President Harry Truman

The Cold War

NATO WAS FORMED in 1949 as a defense alliance against the communist states in the East, which joined together in the Warsaw Pact in 1955. The alliance was meant to counter the perceived threat of the military presence of the Soviet Union with a strong armed forces capability in Western Europe. The fundamental concept of the Cold War was to make clear to the opponents that an attack would have deadly consequences even for them. The result was an arms race of weapons of mass destruction, which put both sides theoretically

in a position to wipe out all of humankind several times over.

DESPITE DISARMAMENT negotiations, armament surges occurred again and again during this period, leading to mass paranoia. The arms race ended with the collapse of the Soviet empire in 1991. However, NATO continues to possess many nuclear weapons.



Apocalypse as deterrent: a nuclear test in Nevada

political representatives from the member states, is the NATO Council with its headquarters in Brussels. It has the authority to make essential political policy decisions. Coordinative to it is the planning commission on issues of defense and nuclear policy composed of the defense ministers of the member states. Assisting the Council are numerous technical committees that handle special matters. NATO has its own bureaucracy headed by a general secretary who is responsible for the conducting of daily affairs. The highest military body is the Military Committee, on which the alliance partners' top generals sit. It advises the NATO Council and executes its directives. NATO armed forces consist of national units that in an emergency are placed under NATO command according to a prescribed procedure.

Alliance with a Future?

NATO lost the original purpose of its founding with the collapse of

In addition, the former Eastern bloc states are being introduced into NATO through new accords and new structures and cooperation is being intensified. Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia have since officially joined. Even Russia has been loosely tied to the NATO structure. But it has been observing the expansion of the military zone of influence of its former opponent toward its own borders with suspicion and mistrust.



NATO currently has 26 members. France and Iceland are still not members.

NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Organizations like Greenpeace are active worldwide in the name of particular social concerns without an official mandate. They have increasingly gained in importance on the world stage over the past decades.

Internationally active interest groups with large memberships are today usually termed nongov-

tarian tasks are also performed by medical organizations like "Doctors Without Borders."



Members of "Doctors Without Borders" provide help in war zones or disaster areas with medicine and technical medical equipment.

Environmental organizations (NGO). They are privately organized, non-profit orientated, have a working structure capable of acting, and are financed by donations or membership fees. Each organization pursues aims within a specified area. Preferred areas of focus are general humanitarian, social, and ecological concerns. They attempt to sensitize the public to their concerns and to influence the decision-makers in politics and business through the collections of signatures, petitions, or even demonstrations.

Human Rights and Environment
NGOs in humanitarian fields are not a phenomenon of the 20th century, however. One of the most well-known, the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, with organizations almost everywhere in the world, was founded in the 19th century. Their mission is to alleviate the suffering of the victims of armed conflicts and natural catastrophes and support national civil defense and the medical corps of armed forces. Such classic humani-

How to make one's concerns known by effective use of the media is demonstrated time and time again by Greenpeace—the largest international environmental organization. It has successfully taken action to stop

Many NGOs dedicate themselves specifically to the protection of human rights, e.g., the safeguarding of children (*terre de hommes*). The best-known and most influential human rights organization with more than 1.7 million members worldwide is "Amnesty International." On the basis of the UN's Universal Declaration of

Human Rights (p. 222), it has been investigating violations of human rights and publicly denouncing them in regularly published reports since 1961. Professionally organized and internationally carried out campaigns, such as the recent "Stop Violence against Women," are meant to heighten the awareness of human rights.

21ST CENTURY

MANY NGOS have been founded in Africa in recent years primarily established with funds from Western development aid.

DYNAMIC GROWTH: There were officially 7,306 NGOs worldwide at the end of 2004. In 1964, there were only 1,470.

PUBLIC SOCIAL PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP: Private enterprises are increasingly participating in the financing of social projects.



BY ITS OWN ACCOUNT, ATTAC has over 90,000 members worldwide.

ITS NETWORK is still relatively loosely structured and ideologically heterogeneous.

ATTAC wants to increase its cooperation with organizations with similar aims.

Closing demonstration of the fourth World Social Forum of anti-globalists in Mumbai, India.

ATTAC—Against Economic Globalization

IN 1998, an association was founded in France that advocated democratic controls of the global financial markets. This ATTAC association—the French acronym for the "Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions to Aid Citizens"—is today an active network worldwide that criticizes the "neo-liberal" excesses of capitalism. With the slogan "The world is not for sale," it is calling for global political, social, and environmental changes directed at a balancing out of disparities between rich and poor nations.



ALTHOUGH TENDING to be grounded at the left of the political spectrum, the association sees itself as being open to all political persuasions that pursue similar goals. Not having a centralized leadership, the national divisions for the most part freely decide topics and the organizational form of specific actions. Only violence is fundamentally rejected.

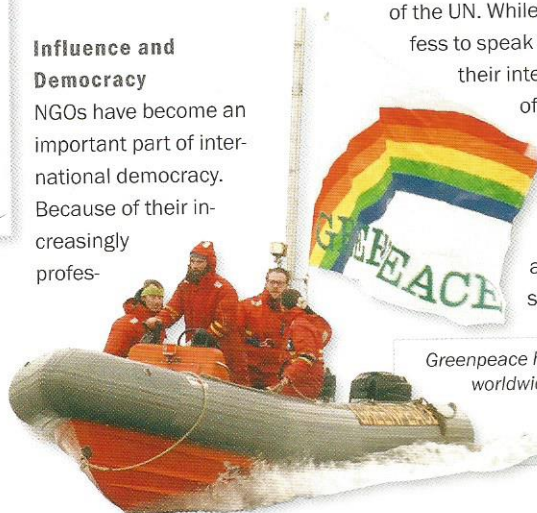
Example of globalization: The American fast food chain has set up restaurants all over the world.

nuclear tests and the commercial killing of whales. Since its founding in 1971, it has grown from being a small citizens action group of American environmentalists to a globally acting network with hierarchically organizational structures and its own research divisions.

Influence and Democracy

NGOs have become an important part of international democracy. Because of their increasingly profes-

sional organizational forms, governments and supranational organizations are recognizing many NGOs as advisers. Among others, the Economic and Social Council of the UN works closely with NGOs. NGOs also participate as a rule in international conferences within the framework of the UN. While many NGOs profess to speak for all humankind, their internal structures are often not entirely democratic. Moreover, most NGOs originated in rich industrial nations and in part represent their interests.



Greenpeace has become known worldwide for its spectacular actions for the environment.

KEY FACTS

GLOBALIZATION is the increasing political, economic, and cultural integration of national societies.

THE MORE POLITICS, cultures, and businesses are internationalized, the greater the sentiment is felt to be reassured of traditional values and one's own identity.

THE GLOBAL TERROR NETWORK al Qaeda misuses Islam to justify its acts of violence.

Knowledge-based society | Global economy | Globalization and fragmentation | New world order | International terrorism

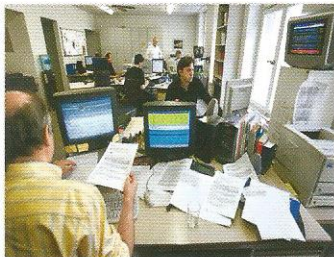
TRENDS OF THE 21ST CENTURY

Technological progress and the end of East-West conflict have brought the world closer together since the end of the 20th century. National borders are losing more and more of their significance in political, economic, and cultural decision processes. A digitally interlinked "world society" is being created that is tearing down traditional barriers and offering individuals numerous diverse opportunities for personal development, which was unimaginable until now. However, at the same time new, dangerous social and cultural divides are also coming to light.

→ Tying economic progress to active environmental protection is the major global task of the 21st century.

ON THE WAY TO A KNOWLEDGE-BASED SOCIETY

Thanks to modern means of communication, the world and developed societies in particular are facing a structural change. In the future, the acquisition of knowledge will progressively come to determine an individual's social position.

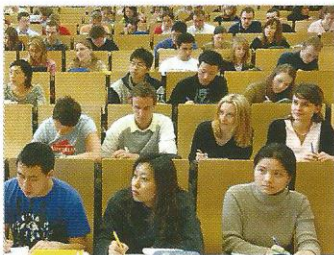


News agencies try to process and organize the flood of information every day for their readers.

What the mechanization of the industrial processes was to the 19th century, the advancements made in information technology are to the 20th and 21st centuries. It is fundamentally changing the working and living conditions of humankind.

The Information Revolution

With the development of increasingly powerful computers that handle ever larger amounts of data,



Education and advanced training are gaining importance in an interlinked, knowledge-based society.

and the digitalization of the classic means of communication such as the telephone, the exchange of information worldwide is entirely unimpeded by time and distance.

The Internet has become the embodiment of this information revolution. The "World Wide Web" of connected computers makes it possible to access limitless types of information from anywhere in just seconds. The wireless computer, the cell phone, and the satellite dish have all become marks of modern society. These mediums also function to aid humanity toward further social and technological development.

Social Consequences

In general, the modern means of global communication have granted almost anyone access to the exchange of new information. Knowledge is progressively becoming the most important raw material of modern society.

Among other things, knowledge plays a key role in the effective implementation of the different factors of production (labor, land, capital). The number of people working in the industrial mass production of goods continues to decrease as it is increasingly being

taken over by machines or outsourced to countries with lower

wages. In highly developed countries, nearly half of the labor force is employed in jobs that use or further develop information technology. The field of information technology is already the fastest-

growing sector of modern society. As this trend continues, participation in the future knowledge-based society will be decided more than ever by an individual's level of education.



NORTH-SOUTH DIVIDE: The majority of the over 600 million Internet users worldwide live in Europe, America, and Asia. The participation of this information exchange in the poorer countries of Africa is comparably less.

AUTHORITARIAN AND DICTATORIAL REGIMES attempt more than ever to control and regulate access to the Internet.

An example of modern media in Africa

Global Village—Vision and Reality

WORLDWIDE, the information revolution awakens the hope for individual liberty and a democratic voice. Anyone has limitless possibility to broadcast information, images, and opinions over the Internet beyond the commercial range of information. It is in this way that "virtual communities" develop across national boundaries and censored material is dispersed internationally. It is because of this that some people hope to undermine authoritarian claims to power and promote efforts of political emancipation.

THIS VISION of a free, democratic world community will probably remain a vision for a long time to come. Recently, particularly undemocratic countries have found ways to censor or completely block information with undesired content. Moreover, international communication remains strongly limited to the rich nations and, as long as that remains unchanged, the economic as well as cultural divisions of the world will continue to grow.

With increased modes of mobility, it has become increasingly common for people to travel to foreign lands and experience different cultures firsthand.



GLOBAL ECONOMY AND WORLD DOMESTIC POLICIES

As the effects of globalization are seen most pointedly in commerce, there are increasing political issues that can no longer be solved within a national state framework.

At the end of the Cold War in 1990 and the opening of national markets, the internationalization of the world economy has had a new characteristic. Trade,

single market, nations find themselves in stiff competition to attract businesses within their own borders so as to retain and create jobs for domestic capital. Many nations

economy. There is hardly any competitive economic structures and, in part, unstable political conditions rule. It is in these regions that a rise in poverty has been recorded.

However, rich countries must also have an interest in the balanced participation of everyone in economic and technological progress in the medium term. Otherwise, a hardly controllable flight from the developing countries could start and shake the economic stability of the industrialized nations.

"One-World" Politics

The threat of a growing divide between the rich and poor is only one of the worldwide challenges of economic globalization. The stability of the international financial system and the guaranteeing of effective environmental protection are also political tasks that concern all nations. In the end, these are issues that can only be solved by taking initiatives together.

try to lure investors and highly qualified personnel into their countries with tax incentives, as well as favorable conditions such as an increased liberalization of trade.

Global Winners and Losers

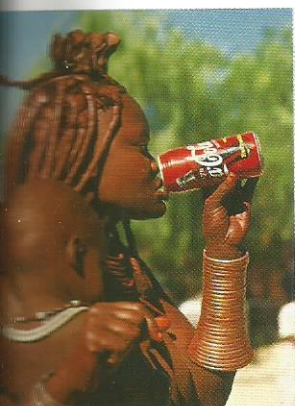
A result of globalization of the economy is a continuing growth of world trade at a high level since the 1990s. Foreign investment is booming and is even flowing into some developing countries. Because labor is often cheaper there than in industrialized nations, it is being integrated into the global production systems of the corporations. The opening of the markets has led to high growth and positive effects in the labor market, especially in emerging nations such as Vietnam.

The countries of Africa and areas of Latin America are primarily still excluded from the advantages of a global

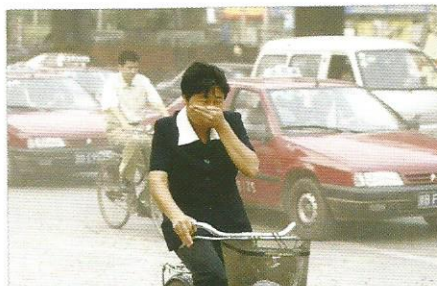


The New York Stock Exchange on Wall Street is the largest in the world. Large corporations' stocks are bought and sold here, thus determining their value.

and service markets today are closely interwoven with one another. The international financial markets globalize the most, thanks to new technologies that enable the instant transfer of a gigantic flow of capital from one country to another. Major transnational corporations coordinate their activities worldwide and select products as well as markets at every point that would be most profitable for them. With the whole world practically merging as one



The products of multinational firms are present everywhere.



Environmental problems rise with increased energy use in economically booming nations like China.

INSIDER KNOWLEDGE

THE GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT

(GNP) has increased on average five-fold worldwide since 1950, widening the gap between the rich and poor nations.

MANY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES are still disadvantaged in international trade, particularly agricultural trade, which is most important. Access to the markets of industrial nations is made difficult by protective tariffs.

Nongovernmental organizations such as Greenpeace and Amnesty International, which exert pressure on political decision makers for specific causes through a worldwide network, are playing an increasingly important role in enacting international policies.



Social State Under Pressure

Because of the intensified competition to lure businesses to locate within their borders, the rich industrial nations increasingly perceive social services primarily as cost factors. Particularly in countries where the employers help pay for the social system through supplemental wage costs, businesses are pushing for financial relief in order to compete with low-wage countries. Reforms in many places are aimed at demanding more individual responsibility from the employees, for example, in medical insurance coverage. In order to prevent international competition from harming the social benefits of workers, minimum social conditions for workers of all nations have been discussed on a global level for years.

above: Due to cuts in social services, poverty is again rising within the rich nations.

CULTURES BETWEEN GLOBALIZATION AND FRAGMENTATION

The leveling of the world brought on by globalization has also resulted in increasingly blurred cultural boundaries. At the same time, there are conspicuous tendencies toward a return to national cultural identities.

Expanding economic integration also affects culture and lifestyle in various countries. Modern mass media and people's increasing mobility promote cultural globalization. Foreign influences permeate every part of social daily life and mix increasingly more with the individual traditions of a country.

Today, Mexican cuisine and Indian films are as common in Europe as American fast food is in Asia, or Hollywood films are in Arab countries. American pop music blares from radios in Africa and the

Far East. At least in a politically liberal constituted state, an individual can now piece together their own personal lifestyle from the traditions of diverse cultural groups in a way that is largely independent from the cultural background of their own homeland.

Resistance and Terror

Yet, the blending of cultures in almost all areas of life does not automatically promote as much tolerance and openness toward foreigners as one would hope.

Instead, it has been observed worldwide that many people are experiencing a growing need for a distinct cultural identity as a solid personal foundation.

Particularly in socially unstable developing countries, the economic dominance of rich industrial countries in the media is also seen as an attempt to force the values of their "Western" models of prosperity upon weaker nations.

As a reaction to this, movements have arisen in many places, some of which are violent, that reject modernity through propagating a return to religious or national traditions and values. Currently,



Between modernity and tradition: Japanese women in kimonos with cell phones at their ears.

Regional and cultural identities are also being revived and cultivated within Western countries. In many national states, for example,



"THE CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS" created an international sensation in 1993 by stating that the wars of the 21st century will not arise due to economic or ideological reasons, but rather will be primarily caused by the conflicts between two cultural groups (e.g., the West and the Arab world). Its author, the U.S. political scientist Samuel Huntington, has since toned down his thesis.

Samuel Huntington teaches political science at Harvard and is an advisor to the U.S. State Department.

Political-Religious Fundamentalism

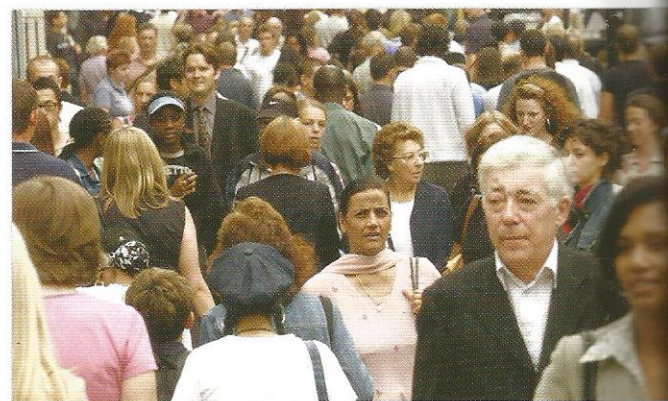
POLITICIZED RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS are gaining strength worldwide as counter movements to liberal modernity are often grouped together under the term "fundamentalism." Among them are Christian rights groups, Islamists movements, the Jewish settler movement, and Hindu nationalism in India. Rejecting the modern separation of church and state, they want political decisions made according to the traditions and creeds of their particular religion. They invoke fixed principles that, as a rule, are based on literal interpretations of religious scriptures (Bible, Qur'an, etc.). Typically, these groups are characterized by their intolerance toward anyone who holds an adverse opinion as well as their tendency to think in strict terms of good and bad.

PARTICULARLY BECAUSE OF THE UNWILLINGNESS to compromise, religious-political fundamentalism inherently embodies within it the threat of violent fanaticism. Although all the world religions are in principle peaceful, some

fundamental activists want to impose, even through violent means, what they believe is the "god-given" or "proper" order.



Radical Jewish settlers insist on their biblically guaranteed right to all of the Holy Land of their forefathers.



Multi-cultural society: In many major cities (as seen here in London) people from different cultural groups can live together in relative peace.

Islamic groups have come into focus worldwide, a minority of which sometimes resort to terrorist means (p. 241).

Retreat Tendencies in the West

The feeling of a threat and social anxieties have now led liberal states to attempt to protect their own societies from "overalienation." Their measures include the stiffening of immigration regulations as well as placing a greater emphasis on the assimilation culturally and politically of immigrants into mainstream society.

the regional rights of civic participation are being strengthened. This is clearly seen in Europe, where almost all countries are granting public funds in support of various native cultural assets.

INSIDER KNOWLEDGE

TO PROTECT THEIR OWN CULTURE, a reduced tax rate is levied on native cultural assets in all west European nations. For instance, price fixing on books in some countries is meant to ensure a wider sales.

THE WESTERN CULTURE INDUSTRY dominates the world market from film to music and books.

NEW WORLD ORDER

The end of the East-West conflict did not make the world more peaceful. Instead, the escalating domestic conflicts present new challenges for international security policies.



The number of civil wars is highest in Africa, where children are often utilized as soldiers.

The end of the East-West conflict in 1991 reduced the danger of a global nuclear war. However, the hope for establishing a permanent

peace has only been fulfilled in the developed countries of the Northern Hemisphere that have profited the most from economic globalization. Since the 1990s, multiple regions have seen the number of armed conflicts drastically rise. In 2005, 278 more or less violent crises have been recorded,

most of which did not occur between different nations, but rather from within.

The Privatizing of Violence

The global confrontation of the two leading powers, the U.S. and the Soviet Union, had concealed many internal problems. After the collapse of communism in 1989/1990, old resentments, ethno-religious differences, and once forgotten border conflicts flamed up again. The wars relating to the disintegration of Yugoslavia in the mid-1990s are bloody examples of this chaos. In developing countries like Rwanda, Somalia, and Liberia, the state's central authority crumbled, thus plunging the regions into anarchy. Currently, civil war-like conditions are prevailing, particularly in Afghanistan and in Iraq, after forced regime changes. The already politically and economically explosive Middle East region threat-

Known nuclear powers: U.S., Russia, Great Britain, France, China, Israel, India, Pakistan, and North Korea



The Rise of China

As the most populous and third largest nation of the world, a nuclear power, and a permanent member of the UN Security Council, China has already been playing an important international role ever since the Second World War. In addition, its economy has been booming since the beginning of the 1980s with an average growth rate of almost 10 percent. China has risen to the fourth largest national economy. Many experts already see in the culture-rich nation an up-and-coming economic superpower that could contend with the U.S. for its leadership position sometime in the 21st century.

above: China's largest skyscrapers are being built in Shanghai.



ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS both make claim to the historical territory of Palestine.

THE STATE OF ISRAEL, founded in 1948, is not recognized by some Arab states.

SINCE 1995, THE PALESTINIANS have been autonomously administering parts of the territory as a basis of a separate state alongside Israel.

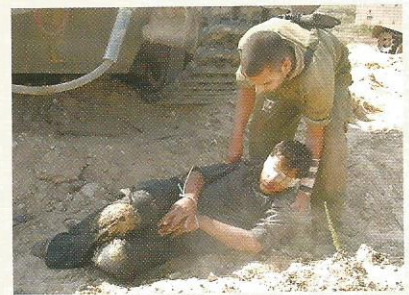
Israel seeks to protect itself from attacks with a wall on stretches of the border.

War Without End? The Middle East Conflict

THE CONFLICT between the Israelites and the Palestinians over the "Holy Land" has been the focus of international politics for over 60 years. Already since the forced Jewish emigration from Europe at the end of the 19th century, there have repeatedly been bloody clashes with the local Palestinians.

THE UN PARTITION PLAN in 1947 saw the division of Palestine into two states—one Jewish and one Palestinian. However, the Palestinians and the whole of the Arab world did not accept this partition and fought against it from the start. The wars that followed saw the seizure of territories outside the UN-decreed state by Israel. The Palestinians reacted to this with violent resistance. To this day, all efforts at finding a compromise between the Palestinians and the Israelis have been hindered by radical groups on both sides of the conflict.

Both Israelites and Palestinians justify their own use of violence with the other's violence. An end to the terrible conflict is not in sight.



ens to become an uncontrollable problem, should the international community not succeed in its efforts at stabilizing the situation. Moreover, the collapse of state structures offers a breeding-ground for international crime and terrorist groups (p. 241).

Weapons of Mass Destruction

Due to such developments, the proliferation of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons of mass destruction has become a global security and political problem today. It is increasingly feared that terrorist groups might gain access to such weapons or at least the materials from which they could manufacture them. During the Cold War, weapons of mass destruction were primarily owned or at least

under the control of the two superpowers: the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Now Israel, India, Pakistan, and North Korea are also numbered among the nuclear powers—countries that until now have not become signatories to the non-proliferation treaty of the UN.

Through the currently unmonitored export of know-how, more nations could soon be in a position to produce weapons with devastating destructive capabilities. Thus, new general nuclear disarmament policies seem urgently necessary.

21ST CENTURY

NATION BUILDING: The interventions of the international community within crisis areas must in the long term support the building of civil and state infrastructures and should not be limited to military actions.

NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY will probably lose its significance in the future.

METHODS AND GOALS OF TERRORISM

Terrorists aim to overthrow an existing system of rule through violence. Their activities moved from the national to the international level in the 20th century.

Terrorism is defined as politically motivated acts of violence that can range from bank robberies and targeted assassinations to major coordinated campaigns like airplane hi-jacking or the taking of hostages. Perpetrators are usually single individuals or groups that are in a distinct minority within a society and seek to destabilize the political order through attacks. Targets for attacks are often representatives of state or social dominance, but are also increasingly innocent civilians.



Terrorism From the Left

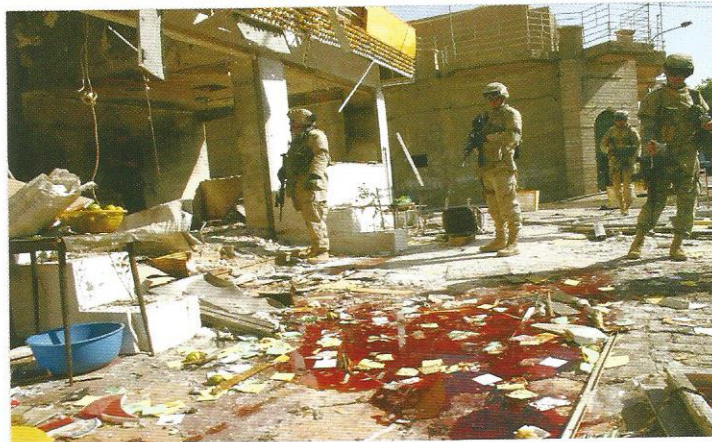
A radical offshoot of the student movement, left-wing terrorism gained strength in the 1970s, especially in Europe. The German "Red Army Fraction," the Italian "Red Brigade," and the French "Direct Action" attempted to destabilize the hated capitalist system primarily through the kidnapping and murder of leading representatives of the state—although without success. Left-wing terrorism lost its significance worldwide with the collapse of communism in 1989/1991. However, it cannot be ruled that new terrorist structures will not emerge on the periphery of globalization.

above: The RAF kidnapped and murdered the German employer representative Hanns-Martin Schleyer in 1977.

Independent of their concrete goals, all terrorists feel like members of an oppressed section of the population forced by an oppressive state apparatus and thus resort to immoral means of violence. They primarily want to change people's attitudes through their attacks. The deeds are meant to instantly bring their concerns into public focus and to shake the population's trust in the security apparatus of the state. The counteraction of the state is taken into account and is used to mobilize "closet" supporters as well as to win new ones in order to create a "revolutionary situation" in the medium or long term.

From National to International Terrorism

That this strategy definitely can bring the effect desired by terrorists is proven by the successes of the anti-colonial rebellion movements of the mid-20th century—particularly in Asia and Africa. The beginning was primarily accompanied by terrorist campaigns. These violent struggles for liberation in the developing nations were concerned with a change of national order, a characteristic typical of terrorism in the 20th century. The attacks were restricted to the local country.



Since the forced regime change by the U.S. in Iraq, a number of groups are fighting the new government with terrorist suicide attacks.



WELL-KNOWN ETHNO-NATIONALIST TERROR GROUPS: ETA in Spain, Kurdistan Workers' Party in Turkey, IRA in Ireland, al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades in Palestinian territories

CONSERVATIVE TERRORISM fights primarily with self-administered justice for an existing state order, e.g., the Ku Klux Klan.

Spanish security forces searching through automobiles

Ethno-Nationalist Terrorism

ETHNO-NATIONALIST MOTIVATED terror groups are widespread in countries in which an occupational force oppresses ethnic groups or ethnic minorities are suppressed by the majority and feel discriminated against. They seek national independence and invoke the people's right of self-determination. The most well known examples in Europe are the Basque Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) and the Catholic Irish Republican Army (IRA). The IRA renounced violence in 2005 and now seeks to fight the British domination of Northern Ireland through political means and in 2007 were given a share in power. ETA continues to shake the Spanish society with brutal campaigns. In this way they want to force the national independence of the Basque region.

VARIOUS PALESTINIAN GROUPS have been fighting in the Middle East through terrorism against the state of Israel and for an Arab state of Palestine since its very inception. Hamas, a militant group, now holds government.

It is estimated that over 1,700 people have lost their lives in IRA bomb attacks.



Spectacular actions like kidnappings and airplane hijacking,

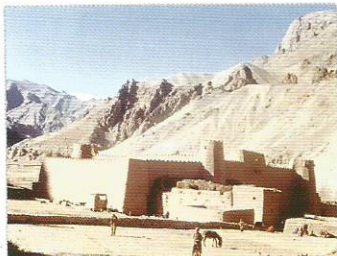
primarily by Palestinian groups, launched the internationalization of terrorism at the end of the 1960s. Foreign citizens and other nationalities increasingly became the targets of attack. This was designed to make their regional concerns internationally known. The violence continued to escalate with the growth of terror groups motivated by religious fundamentalism.

In the battle against the "embodiment of evil," large numbers of victims were condemned. Examples are poison gas attacks by a Japanese sect in the Tokyo underground and the devastating terror attack of September 11, 2001. The al Qaeda network is a prime example of the new global terrorism.

AL QAEDA AND THE "NETWORK OF TERROR"

fundamentalist, totalitarian, and borderless: The Islamist terror network al Qaeda is considered the prototype of modern global terrorism.

"Al Qaeda" (Arabic: "the base") is not a terror organization in the traditional sense with a clearly defined hierarchy, but rather a loose worldwide network of Islamist extremists. They are unified through one common goal: To free the Arab world—and eventually the globe—of "infidels" and to establish a theocracy according to Islamic law. Primarily the world powers—the U.S. and its allies—are considered the enemy, according to accusations that they are suppressing the Muslim world. Their primary task is to fight regimes that are under Western influence in the Middle East regions that are traditionally Islamic. In addition, they seek to demonstrate the vulnerability of the Western world and the way of life by terror attacks car-



Until 2001, al Qaeda fighters were being trained in Afghanistan.

Modern Organizational Structure

Primarily what is new in this Islamic terror network is its global and decentralized character. In contrast to international terrorism of the past, al Qaeda is largely independent of state sponsorship and is financially supported by cover businesses and foundations. The recruitment of

proaches and ideological schooling take place primarily over the Internet. Even technical knowledge for attacks is accessible online. In principle, anyone can take action in al Qaeda's name.

Counter-Strategies

This modern "project-related" organizational structure and the employment of the most modern technology present the combatting of terrorism with totally new challenges. It is no longer enough to take out a command level or to

IN ORDER TO COMBAT GLOBAL TERRORISM with permanent effectiveness, stronger international cooperation is needed between the secret services that have been operating nationally until now. Alongside the fight against Islamic terrorism, a dialog with moderate representatives of political Islam should be promoted to mutually break down hostile and prejudicial views of each other.

capture a top terrorist. A strategy that would possibly be met with more success in trying to prevent the formation of new terrorist cells would be if the terrorists were deprived of their political breeding grounds by defusing regional conflict hot spots such as those in the Middle East.



Plumes of smoke over Manhattan: On September 11, 2001, two hijacked planes flew into the World Trade Center. Its two towers collapsed.

ried out in "enemy territory" and causing the largest numbers of casualties, thus forcing Western states to stop exporting their values and patterns of behavior. Since the attacks by Islamist suicide assassins on September 11, 2001, on the New York World Trade Center and the Pentagon, the threat al Qaeda represents against the Western nations is clear.

new followers knows no national boundaries but takes place worldwide, even though the focus is on North Africa and Southeast Asia. Groups and persons connected with al Qaeda are scattered in all regions of the world, making the network very flexible and mobile in its actions. Since 2001 following the military crushing of the control center in Afghanistan, initial ap-



OSAMA BIN LADEN was born in 1957 in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, to a family of businessmen and studied economics.

IN 1996, he directed a "declaration of war" against the U.S. saying it "enslaved" the Islamic world.

HIS WHEREABOUTS since 2001 are unknown. To date, it was unclear if he was even still alive.

Osama bin Laden already has martyr status among Islamists.

Osama Bin Laden

OSAMA BIN LADEN is the founder of the terrorist network "al Qaeda" and is regarded as the mastermind behind the attacks of September 11, 2001. The rich son of a Saudi-Arabian building contractor, he organized from Pakistan the Islamic resistance in Afghanistan in the 1980s against the Soviet occupation. Among his supporters was the American CIA. After the Soviet withdrawal, he first lived in Saudi-Arabia, but was forced to flee to Sudan in 1991 after criticizing the royal family. In 1996, he was harbored by the radical Islamist Taliban regime in Afghanistan.

SINCE 1988, BIN LADEN has built a widespread network of militant fighters with regional cells in over 30 nations with the help of his private fortune. He organized a military training camp in Afghanistan to prepare for terror attacks in the world. Following the attacks on New York and Washington in 2001, the U.S. declared him to be "the no. 1 enemy of the state." Despite a major military attack by the U.S. on Afghanistan and the destruction of the central terrorist structures, he remains at large in 2007. One can only speculate about his fate.

Since 2001, Bin Laden has only appeared in videotaped messages.

