

FREEDOM IN THE WORLD

1989-1990

Political
Rights
& Civil
Liberties



FREEDOM HOUSE

Freedom in the World

Freedom in the World Political Rights & Civil Liberties 1989-1990

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Foreword

Freedom House is an independent nonprofit organization based in New York that monitors political rights and civil liberties around the world. Established in 1941, Freedom House believes that effective advocacy of civil rights at home and human rights abroad must be grounded in fundamental democratic values and principles.

The *Comparative Survey of Freedom* is an institutional effort to monitor the political rights and civil liberties in 167 nations and 58 related territories on an annual basis. Freedom House began earlier efforts to record the progress and decline in human rights during the 1950s in reaction to racial violence in the United States. The first year-end review of freedom was sparked in 1955 by the kidnapping and murder of Emmet Till, a fourteen-year old black in Mississippi. During those early years, the project was called the Balance Sheet of Freedom, and later the Annual Survey of the Progress of Freedom. By the late 1960s, the Freedom House Board of Trustees felt that there was a need to create a single set of standards by which the institution could as objectively as possible record the development of freedom around the world.

When Freedom House's *Comparative Survey of Freedom* was finally established in the early 1970s, democracy was in a perilous state: Spain, Portugal and Greece were under military rule; the world's largest democracy, India, would soon declare martial law; and the prospects for liberalization—not to say democratization—in Eastern Europe, Latin America and Asia, were dim. The *Survey* since then has recorded some thirty transitions from military or one-party domination to formal civilian, elected rule, as well as ten reversions to military rule.

The past decade of global structural change led Freedom House to reorganize the *Comparative Survey*

of Freedom and integrate it more fully into our many programs. The *Survey* is a year-long project that uses regional specialists and outside experts and depends for its information on a wide-range of sources. During 1989, Freedom House itself conducted numerous fact-finding missions to Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Paraguay, Chile, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Namibia, South Africa and Angola. Throughout this period, we consulted a vast array of published materials, ranging from reports of other human rights organizations to regional publications.

But the most valued resource are the many human rights monitors, journalists, editors and democratic activists in countries around the world, people who stand on the front lines of political change and face real risks to person, prestige and family for their commitment to democratic values. The *Survey* is dedicated to them and their courage.

The 1989-1990 *Survey* was conducted by a seven-person project team aided by several research assistants. The team consisted of: R. Bruce McColm, the coordinator who also serves as executive director of Freedom House; Dr. Joseph Ryan; Douglas W. Payne; James Finn; George Zarycky; and Leonard R. Sussman. The team appreciates the dedicated work of this year's research assistants: Brian Brown, Kim Balasiano, Mykola Hryckowian, Peter Kozodody, Monica Mandell, John Massaro, Jessie Miller, Eric Singer, Michael Stoltz and John Worth. Editorial assistance was provided by James Finn and Mark Wolkenfeld, who forcefully ended all the deliberations over country ratings to meet a tight deadline on schedule.

Freedom House receives funding from private individuals, corporations, labor unions and foundations for all its activities. It especially wants to express its gratitude to the Pew Charitable Trusts for its support for the *Survey* project over these many years.

The Comparative Survey of Freedom 1989-1990: The Challenges of Freedom

Nineteen-eighty-nine was a year that tantalized with the possibility, not the achievement, of freedom. It began with Soviet citizens rejecting Communist Party nominees for the Congress of People's Deputies and ended with six of the Soviet Union's fifteen republics on the verge of secession. The Iron Curtain separating Hungary and Austria was sold on the streets of Budapest and hunks of the Berlin Wall became souvenirs on New York's Fifth Avenue. By the time of the Malta summit between Presidents Bush and Gorbachev, all the governments of the Soviet bloc with the exception of Romania had been removed, purged or rejected at the polls. The once-banned Solidarity movement assumed the leadership of the Polish state, while Hungary's Communist party abandoned its ideology to compete in free elections in 1990. On the fiftieth anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, a human chain formed across the Baltic republics with demands for independence.

Throughout Africa, post-colonial regimes reassessed the viability of state socialism and one-party politics, while Ethiopia, the Sudan, Mozambique and Angola faced international and domestic pressures to seek political settlements to long-time civil wars. The decade ended with two old-time adversaries—South Africa and the U.N.—administering the decolonization of the old League of Nations' trusteeship of Namibia through free and fair elections. Yet, in China a decade of economic reform ended brutally as tanks smashed the prodemocracy movement in Tiananmen Square as it demanded political changes.

The past year was the most volatile for the *Survey* since the mid-1970s, when freedom declined in the face of revolution, Soviet expansionism and the declaration of martial law in India. While there were dramatic advances in 1989, there were also significant reversals. The fragile democracies in Central America remained under siege by last decade's revolutionary vanguard. As the year ended, the Philippines were rocked by a serious coup that threatened to bring down the democratic Aquino government. These

vicissitudes were the natural culmination of a decade of change and transformation.

Global structural change

The 1980s was a decade of profound global structural change, heralding political and economic transformations that will make the post-war world order obsolete. The technological and information revolution dovetailed with global market tendencies and contributed to the political renaissance of the West and the rise of new challenging economic power houses around the Pacific Rim. Around the globe, the exigencies of economic restructuring and modernization preceded and were conducive to a measure of political liberalization in societies with distinctly authoritarian traditions, as in South Korea, Taiwan and Thailand. The gradual abandoning of belief in the corporatist state and party-state structures also led to the growing consolidation of an international democratic movement, which applied the lessons and techniques learned in Poland to Nicaragua and in Chile to Hungary. The transnational implication of this emerging democratic movement is that it will be extremely difficult in the future for a government to resort to the types of state repression known throughout the twentieth century without inflicting considerable economic damage to the country.

The difficulties in evaluating freedom have been inherent in the *Survey* since its inception at the beginning of the 1970s. The difficulties were especially severe in 1989 as the world experienced rapid mutations and permutations of political forms as a number of authoritarian and totalitarian regimes could no longer maintain any semblance of national consensus and were delegitimized in varying degrees by vast citizens' movements. For some, these echoes of freedom signalled both the death knell of sclerotic ideologies and repressive systems and, ultimately, the advent of a new liberal democratic order before the dawning of a new millennium.

Yet, in reviewing the state of freedom in the world, the *Survey* team found the notion that liberal-democracy is the inevitable wave of the future privately appealing, but narrow and dangerously triumphalistic. In evaluating political rights and civil liberties, the *Survey* classified 61 countries as *Free*, 44 as *Partly Free* and 62 as *Not Free*. It found that 38.87 percent of the world's people lived in countries rated Free; 21.85 percent in those rated Partly Free; and 39.28 in those found Not Free. However, while 60.72 percent of the world's population was living in free societies or those with a relatively high degree of freedom (the highest number since the *Survey* began), the Free or freer countries were almost uniformly liberal democracies, societies with institutional safeguards for the preservation of political rights and civil liberties and juridical mechanisms for self-correction and redressing injustices. Such institutional safeguards were not present in the 62 Not Free countries, nor to an appreciable extent in the new but as yet undefined political and socio-economic order emerging in much of Eastern Europe. Moreover, existing democracies and the delicate process of reform in Partly Free nations were threatened by a myriad of political, social and economic factors.

Main threats to freedom

The main threats to freedom continued to be the inherent weaknesses of existing or inchoate democratic institutions; the absence of the rule of law and the juridical mechanisms to codify and protect human rights; the fragility of the emerging civil society; the rise of nationalism and the persistence of ethnic, religious and revolutionary conflicts throughout the world; and the acute social and economic inequities in developing and Communist societies. The downing of Pan Am 103 over Scotland by Iran-backed terrorists and the murder in late November of West German banker-industrialist Alfred Herrhausen by the Red Army Faction indicated the continued destabilizing potential of international terrorist groups. The *Survey* also found that the instability inherent in political reformation or restructuring created new pressures and burdens on the embryonic institutions of a civil society evolving in Eastern Europe. As totalitarian structures and institutions continued to crumble rapidly around the East bloc, initial euphoria was followed by the sobering awareness that, with the possible exception of Poland, the burgeoning opposition was still in an infant stage, unprepared for the difficult challenges of assuming national leadership and responsibility. The challenge for freedom in that

part of the world is to find a means to channel the energy of revolt that brought down regimes into creating new and permanent institutions, and to find people with the skills and know-how to oversee the immensely difficult transition from one-party rule to genuine pluralism and from centrally planned economies to market-oriented systems.

Eastern Europe

The strategy of social self-organization that was adopted by the democratic oppositions in Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia throughout the 1970s and early 1980s saw the reconstitution of the civil society both as a valuable end in itself and as a means for political change. Organizations such as the New Forum in East Germany, Charter 77 (and now the Civic Association) in Czechoslovakia and the Alliance of Free Democrats in Hungary for years formulated alternatives to the regime. However, with the rapid liberalization of Eastern Europe, and the heady promise of democratization in Poland, the vast destruction communism inflicted on everything associated with a healthy society requires a reconstruction effort that goes beyond the present ability of that network of independent associations and informal communities. Those who once operated in the "gray zone" between the official and unofficial worlds are now being thrust into positions of great political responsibility that requires their transformation within a very short time into politicians responsible for running a modern industrialized state.

In Poland, Hungary and eventually, it is expected, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and perhaps Yugoslavia, the devolution of the power structures will place a heavy burden on the new role of these emerging civil societies or networks, especially as they expand in number to become mass movements. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the civil societies—which had been repressed throughout Eastern Europe—emerged as repositories not only of cosmopolitan and democratic elements, but also of national cultures vitiated by communism. These dissident elements, which found their most elaborate organizational expression in Solidarity, were essentially a coalition of a variety of political positions that formed anti-totalitarian structures existing on the periphery or outside the system and put pressure on the regime.

As Solidarity in Poland faces the challenges of transitional governance, once-unified-anti-totalitarianism will become differentiated into competing viewpoints and constituencies with new institutional functions. The primary obstacles confronting reformers

trying to attain a truly free Poland or Eastern Europe are members of the entrenched *nomenklatura*, who seek to maintain their privileged positions, prestige and wealth, and a military-security apparatus still controlled by the Soviet Union. The much welcomed economic policies of privatization of state industries and holdings have allowed the *nomenklatura* to liquidate state assets and property for personal gain.

The resurgence of demands for political rights and civil liberties in Eastern Europe has been accompanied by the age-old specters of irredentism, nationalism and ethnic-religious animosities, forces that eroded freedom in other parts of the world as well. Ethnic exclusivity and parochial nationalism, twin diseases of political man, emerged as tools of regime support as evinced by the expulsion of 500,000 ethnic Turks from Bulgaria, the rise of Serbian nationalism and anti-Albanian violence in Yugoslavia, and Romania's extraordinary demand for the return of Bessarabia from the Soviet Union and its expulsion of ethnic Hungarians.

While it is unlikely that the erosion of communism in Eastern Europe will result in a reversion to the Balkanization that preceded World War I, the future of freedom and tolerance will depend on securing and maintaining democratic infrastructures that guarantee the rights and liberties of all citizens and overcoming a leadership vacuum. This is particularly true in East Germany and Bulgaria (which had no true moderate or liberal wings in their ruling parties), and Czechoslovakia (where the liberal wing was purged after the 1968 Soviet invasion).

Another major challenge facing post-totalitarian regimes remains the revitalization of moribund and systematically flawed economies. In 1989, it remained to be seen if East European societies, conditioned by over forty years of collectivism and egalitarianism, could peacefully adapt to the social differentiations and tensions inherent in the transition to a healthy, modern economy. Would workers in these societies, often at the vanguard in the fight against the systemic defects of a planned economy, readily accept the uncertainties and sacrifices that will surely be a critical part of economic restructuring, particularly in inefficient, labor-intensive industrial sectors?

In a global sense, we are moving into an age where the state appears committed to ceding whole parts of the power structure to the civil society, private enterprise and other nongovernmental institutions and movements. Yet, this does not mean that ultimate power has been shifted to the people. This remains the distinction between the atmosphere of freedom and the structure of freedom. For countries

such as the Soviet Union to attain more than a modicum of freedom, the governing structures must be so reoriented as to give individual citizens the right to choose their own government, something that clearly has not happened and is unlikely in the foreseeable future.

The Soviet Union

Eastern Europe notwithstanding, in terms of international significance, the most rapid and dramatic changes, spurred in large part by the demands of the global economic revolution, occurred in the Soviet Union. Academics have used the metaphor of Ottomanization of the Soviet empire as a loose analogy for a slow process of imperial decline, in the course of which we might see an unplanned and discontinuous freeing of Eastern Europe from the imperial center and of society from the party-state. After five years of Mikhail Gorbachev's policies of perestroika and glasnost, the Soviet Union has yet to solve its ideological and long-term economic crisis rooted in the built-in defects of a command economy and the maintenance of a land-based and overseas empire.

Increasingly, Gorbachev's reformism, which at its beginning stressed controlled change, authoritarian rule and discipline for economic modernization, appears to have taken the form of a zany jazz improvisation responding to the overwhelming, but destabilizing, spontaneity of strikes, nationalist demonstrations, protests and increased political activity by Soviet citizens. Throughout the year, Gorbachev maintained that his reform project entailed the revitalization of Marxism with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) continuing to play the leading role in society. Concerned about the long-term prospects for the modernization of Soviet society, he never intended to oversee the dismantling of the Soviet Union into a loose confederation of semi-autonomous national republics. Faced with increased demands for sovereignty in the Baltics, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Moldavia, Gorbachev may yet resort to selected uses of force to maintain order before embarking on more radical reforms with a thoroughly purged Party. After consolidating party control before the autumn Party Congress in 1990, he will be faced with greater demands for the CPSU to cede its dominance within the political structures of the Soviet Union.

In March 1989, Soviet voters went to the polls to elect representatives to the newly created Congress of People's Deputies. Despite Party control of the nomination processes, voters crossed off the names of

Party officials who ran unopposed in a dramatic rejection of the existing system. The rise of popular fronts in the constituent republics, which were intended to create a pressure group on conservative local Party officials, appeared as a destabilizing by-product of the reform process, as they frequently assumed nationalist agendas. Under glasnost and perestroika, the proliferation of independent political, cultural and social groups led to greater freedom of public expression and debate, but such promised reforms as an independent judiciary, legal reform and new draft laws on religion and the press were not codified by the end of the year.

In 1989, two new decrees limiting criticism of state or Party organizations were passed. In the final analysis, the limits of change in the Soviet Union were still prescribed by the basic value of stability, and perestroika remained largely a matter of promise, exhortation and improvisation, rather than an articulate and coherent blueprint for genuine liberalization. The long-term prospects for greater freedom in the Soviet Union will depend on the demonopolization of Party authority and the development of an intellectual opposition.

Latin America

In the 1980s, Latin America witnessed an unprecedented number of transitions from military to democratic and civilian rule. When the decade began, half the countries in South and Central America were ruled by national security regimes; by the end of the decade, 90 percent had elected governments nominally controlled by civilians. In 1989, the seemingly intractable Stroessner dictatorship in Paraguay ended with the aging despot abruptly deposited in a Sao Paulo hotel room. The Chilean people gallantly reclaimed their democratic legacy in the December elections, clearing the Southern Cone of the remnants of the national security state. There were democratic elections throughout the region, notably in Argentina, which made a peaceful transition from one civilian government to another. Mexico, under President Salinas, continued to liberalize and modernize the PRI-dominated political system, and in 1989 the opposition PAN Party broke the PRI monopoly by winning a state governorship. In Central America, Panama's strongman Gen. Manuel Noriega continued to defy rebellious army officers (despite international isolation), and the ruling FSLN in Nicaragua faced the dilemma of postponing elections and creating a government of national unity, which they would control, or accepting political defeat. Guatemala was

still marred by severe human rights abuses and several aborted coup attempts, while El Salvador's new, democratically elected government faced an escalation of the leftist FMLN's guerrilla war at the end of the year. Costa Rica and Honduras remained Free and democratic.

The region's political gains remained imperilled by armed revolutionary movements and, more importantly, by the failure to implement requisite economic restructuring and the dismantling of the corporatist state and its bloated bureaucracies, still managed by entrenched power elites. Security forces dominated local government, particularly in rural areas, and judiciaries need strengthening to prevent a return to the human rights abuses of the past. Intense labor unrest throughout the hemisphere and growing social and economic inequities point to the disturbing fact that democracy has yet to meet the needs and aspirations of the people. Colombia and Peru continued to cling to their democratic form of government, yet economic deterioration, insurgencies and the rise of narco-terrorism seriously undermined democratic structures and destroyed local government in large parts of these societies.

Finally, the hemisphere saw the maintenance of democratic structures in much of the Caribbean. Among the Free countries in 1989 were Barbados, St. Kitts-Nevis, Trinidad and Tobago, St. Lucia, the Bahamas, Dominica, the Dominican Republic, and St. Vincent and the Grenadines. In the same category, Jamaica saw a peaceful transition with the return of Prime Minister Michael Manley, but in Grenada Prime Minister Herbert Blaize recessed parliament rather than face a no-confidence vote. On the downside, Haiti and Cuba continued to be mired by human rights abuses and continued political repression.

Africa

In Africa, there were clear indications in 1989 that post-colonial regimes, buffeted by economic disintegration, were reassessing the viability of one-party, state-socialism as the only effective means of maintaining national cohesion and sovereignty in the face of ethnic or tribal differences. One-party states such as Tanzania and Mozambique abandoned their socialist economic policies and implemented free-market mechanisms. As the decade closed, there were encouraging signs that economic transformation would be accompanied by a concurrent trend toward more open societies.

The most dramatic and positive changes in the upcoming years are likely to come in southern Africa as

the new de Klerk government in South Africa slowly dismantles apartheid and embarks on a wide-ranging dialogue about a new constitution and a Bill of Rights with all political organizations and movements, including the banned African National Congress. South Africa is expected to release Nelson Mandela, the long-jailed ANC leader, and will allow *de facto* the unbanning of several black political organizations, while lifting the state of emergency.

The stage for a peaceful evolution in southern Africa was set with the U.N.-supervised elections in Namibia and the commitment of SWAPO to a democratic constitution for the newly independent country. Mozambique opened its one-party state to more representation from other social sectors and began talks mediated by Kenya's President Arap Moi with the Renamo guerrilla movement. Efforts to mediate an end to the Angolan civil war will likely continue into the 1990s. (See below, Regional Conflicts.)

Black Africa's most populous country, Nigeria, appeared headed back to a civilian-run democracy despite Gen. Babangida's crackdown on human rights activists and restrictions on certain political activity. Similar developments occurred in Madagascar and, most significantly, in Algeria, where the ruling FLN abandoned its role as the vanguard party and allowed the functioning and practice, with some limitations, of rival political parties. Tunisia reinstated competitive elections on the local level.

Somalia's declaration that it would establish a multiparty system with elections in 1990 represented a welcome change from a government known for arresting, detaining and executing thousands of civilians suspected of supporting guerrilla movements. The bleak records of the Ethiopian and Sudanese regimes were only lightened by the mediation efforts of former President Carter between the Mengistu regime and its various guerrilla opponents and the Nairobi declaration that the Sudanese government will begin talks with the southern forces of Sudan's People's Liberation Army.

Asia

The most publicized reversal in freedom last year was the crackdown on the prodemocracy movement by Chinese authorities. The widely televised event, which sent tremors through the reformist Communist world, left thousands dead and led to mass arrests, torture, executions, the reinstatement of political reeducation and a reversion to a traditional Marxist-Leninist regime. The demonstration of brute force left the Deng

Xiaoping regime unstable, ruled by a fragile, temporary coalition of gerontocrats. With no viable transition figure in place, the People's Republic of China (PRC) is likely to muddle through the next few years with a Beijing version of a torpid Brezhnevism, promising modest economic gains to compensate for the total suppression of freedom.

The difficulties of consolidating democratic transitions were evident in the Philippines, where the Aquino government continued to be beset by the tenacity of authoritarian forces, coup attempts, insurgency movements, ethnic tensions and economic problems, and in Pakistan, where President Benazir Bhutto survived a coup attempt, a no-confidence vote, and continued power struggles with military elites. India, the world's largest democracy and a regional power, faced severe strains with its overseas commitments in Bhutan, Nepal, the Maldives and Sri Lanka. Renewed ethnic and religious tensions at home contributed to the most violent and corrupt election in the country's forty-two-year old history, which saw the defeat of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's government and the victory of V.P. Singh.

The once healthy multiracial democracy in Sri Lanka was sundered by ethnic and sectarian violence by Sinhalese and Tamil extremists that resulted in political assassinations and thousands of civilian deaths. South Korean President Roh Tae Woo reneged on holding a midterm referendum on his presidency and took a harder line against a rash of student demonstrations. During 1989, Taiwan continued its process of democratic reform by establishing a framework for competitive elections, forcing the retirement of some 1,100 old-guard KMT deputies who represent mainland constituents, and holding a national election in which the opposition gained strength and became a viable political force that had the power to initiate legislation.

The *doi moi* renovation launched by Vietnam in 1987 to reduce bureaucracy, institute monetary reform and stimulate foreign investment did not extend to the political sphere. The slight movement toward liberalization in 1987-88 was reversed, with new crackdowns on intellectuals. Boat people continued to leave the country by the thousands, while some 95,000 former opponents to the regime remained political prisoners. North Koreans still live under one of the most brutally oppressive regimes on earth. All citizens continued to be subject to security ratings that determine access to employment, Party membership, food, health care and higher education. There are an estimated 115,000-150,000 political prisoners housed

(Continued on page 10)

The Survey 1990—A Summary

This year Freedom House reorganized the *Comparative Survey of Freedom* and integrated it more fully into the many other programs it conducts. The *Survey* is a year-long project that uses our regional specialists and outside experts and depends for its information on a wide range of sources. Most valued to us are the many human rights monitors, journalists, editors and democratic activists in countries around the world who stand on the front lines of political change and face real risks to person, prestige and family for their commitment to democratic values.

During 1989, Freedom House conducted numerous fact-finding missions in Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Paraguay, Chile, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Namibia, South Africa and Angola. Throughout this period, we consulted a vast array of published source materials, ranging from reports of other human rights organizations to regional publications and newspapers.

This year's *Survey* was conducted by a project team and several research assistants: R. Bruce McColm, coordinator; Dr. Joseph E. Ryan, a comparative political scientist; Douglas W. Payne; George Zarycky; James Finn; Eric Singer; and Leonard R. Sussman.

Category Changes

The 1990 *Comparative Survey of Freedom* restores the categories of *Free*, *Partly Free* and *Not Free*. In terms of category changes, **the Gambia** was upgraded to a Free status because of its pluralistic, multiparty democracy, joining Botswana and Mauritius among the African countries in that category. In Asia, **Thailand** moved into the Free category with the decline of military influence and increased democratization, and the Pacific Island nations of **Western Samoa** and **Vanuatu** were reclassified from Partly Free because of events and changes this year in the *Survey's* methodology. (See methodological essay.)

Several countries moved from Not Free to Partly Free. In Africa, **Algeria** saw the emergence of a multiparty system, despite continued limitations on the functioning and practice of rival political parties

and their ability to come to power. **Zimbabwe** saw the formation of an opposition party and increased challenges to Robert Mugabe's one-party rule.

Namibia experienced a free and fair election overseen by the United Nations and a commitment by the winning party to the creation of a democratic state. **South Africa** saw the establishment of the Democratic Party, the election of President F.W. de Klerk and his subsequent release of ANC leaders, significant changes in some apartheid laws, extensive discussions with leaders of all black organizations and promises to repeal the major apartheid laws in the February session of Parliament. **Swaziland**, **Zambia** and the **Ivory Coast** were upgraded for methodological reasons. In the Middle East, the election in **Jordan** was a hopeful sign of liberalization, and in Latin America voters in **Paraguay** facilitated the increased liberalization of that country in a roughly free and fair election that ratified the rule of Gen. Rodriguez. **Yugoslavia**, though beset by deep ethnic divisions and conflict, saw a move to pluralism in Slovenia and some attempts at liberalization by the federal government.

The *Survey* also found some significant reversals. In Latin America, established democracies in **Peru** and **Colombia** were downgraded to Partly Free as they continued to be undermined by economic deterioration, insurgencies, the rise of narco-terrorism and flagrant human rights abuses by the security forces. **Suriname**, which returned to civilian rule with decisive elections in 1987, was reclassified as Partly Free because of the continued domination by the military and limitations on the civil society. The **Sudan**, plagued by an ethnic-religious civil war, was downgraded from Partly Free to Not Free after a coup and a subsequent crackdown on political and press activity.

Other advances in Freedom in 1989

The most significant advances in freedom occurred in the **Soviet Union** and Eastern Europe. Although the USSR was still rated Not Free by the *Survey*, the March election for the Congress of People's deputies was the most open and contested in Soviet history. The new legislature has shown some

independence, and an opposition caucus led by Boris Yeltsin has emerged. The rise of the so-called popular fronts in the republics, as well as scores of independent political, cultural and professional societies form the seeds of a nascent civil society. Large demonstrations and rallies have been tolerated. While the media remain under state or party control, they have reflected a diverse range of views on previously off-limits subjects. Small independent publications are tolerated and disseminated and open public discussion is permitted. There is a small private sector. Some religious restrictions have been lifted, as have restrictions on emigration and foreign travel. On the downside, many of the changes have not been codified or institutionalized. There were new legal restrictions placed on free speech and assembly. The government is still firmly in the hands of the ruling Communist party, and Mikhail Gorbachev has amassed more personal power than any Soviet leader since Stalin. Social freedoms, such as choice of residence and property rights, are still circumscribed, and the judiciary and security apparatus are controlled by the Party.

In **Poland**, a Solidarity-backed government replaced the Communist regime, marking the first peaceful transition from a Communist to a true coalition system in Eastern Europe. **Hungary** saw the codification of laws of assembly and association, and the government announced its commitment to a multiparty state. Both nations remain Partly Free. The collapse of hardline regimes in **East Germany**, **Bulgaria** and **Czechoslovakia** are clearly remarkable events, but these nations remained Not Free in 1989 because fundamental political changes have yet to be made. **Albania** instituted an amnesty for political prisoners.

Besides improvements in **Tunisia**, **Nigeria** and **Madagascar** saw several opposition groups formed and there were signs that the ruling National Front for the Defense of the Malagasy Revolution (FNDR), a loosely knit and ideologically diverse group made up of seven political associations, was breaking up. The tiny nation of **Sao Tome and Principe** witnessed a slight easing on civil liberties and some political reform.

In Latin America, in addition to progress in **Paraguay**, **Chile** held elections to formalize the transfer from military rule. In **Jamaica**, the return of Prime Minister Michael Manley was accompanied by a more civil atmosphere of debate and discussion during the campaign, unlike previous years which

were marked by considerable violence on the part of both parties.

Other declines in freedom in 1989

In Asia, in addition to the end of reform in **China**, there were several downturns. In **Burma**, the military government, after promising multiparty elections, brutally squelched political activities by arresting leading opposition figures and repressing their followers. **Afghanistan's** repressive Najibullah regime consolidated its power after the Soviet troop withdrawal was followed by a massive infusion of Soviet arms and other material aid. Factional disputes among resistance groups led to several outbreaks of violence. **Sri Lanka** continued on the path of national disintegration, torn by internecine and sectarian conflict resulting in political assassinations and thousands of deaths.

In the fall, El Salvador saw another FMLN offensive, further curbs on civil liberties, and renewed violence. In **Panama**, the Noriega regime sabotaged the electoral process and cracked down on all political parties and newspapers. Early in the year, **Cuba's** Fidel Castro cracked down on small independent human rights groups. Wholesale purges in the government, as well as the political trial and subsequent execution of General Ochoa, indicate his efforts to avoid pressures to reform the political and economic system. **Grenada**, after completing its move back to a functioning democratic system following the 1983 collapse of the revolutionary regime and U.S. intervention, lost some ground with the arbitrary extension of parliament by Prime Minister Herbert Blaize, who faced a nonconfidence vote.

In Africa, **Mauritania** launched a brutal campaign to expel 40,000 of its black citizens into neighboring Senegal. Independent refugee officials indicated that victims had been falsely denounced by informers as Senegalese and had their property confiscated and identity cards destroyed.

In Eastern Europe, **Romania** continued to resist political and economic reforms. Several senior party leaders were placed under house arrest after drafting an open letter to party boss Nicolai Ceausescu demanding change. The regime continued to persecute the country's Hungarian minority, and a resettlement plan resulted in the destruction of rural towns and villages and historic parts of Bucharest. •

in detention facilities, reeducation centers, labor camps and at least a dozen maximum security prisons.

Middle East

A war-weary Iran faced the post-revolutionary period with moderate attempts to preserve political gains at home, while toning down its commitment to Islamic fundamentalism abroad. After the death of Ayatollah Khomeini in June 1989, the country remained rigidly committed to a theocratic state, where repression marred the peaceful transition to an elected government. In Jordan, restricted elections restored the long outlawed National Assembly, while Lebanon remained caught in a fratricidal conflict that cost the life of elected President Moawad. Coalition and religious politics of Israel's democratic government provided the backdrop for delicate negotiations concerning the occupied territories after the Palestinian uprising (*intifada*) was met with severe repression by military forces.

The Pacific

Democracy continued to flourish in many of the Pacific Island nations rated Free, although some were beset by longstanding social and economic problems. Papua New Guinea faced an armed insurgency on the copper-rich island of Bougainville, and Vanuatu's government had to deal with a lingering political crisis that came to a head in December 1988 when a former leader of the ruling party attempted to oust the prime minister. The Solomon Islands, Kiribati, Western Samoa, Nauru and Tuvalu remained stable and Free. Fiji, which had been rated Free from 1972-86, continued to be ruled by a military regime that ousted the Indian-dominated elected government in a 1987 coup and installed a nonelected civilian government headed by the man who lost the election, a native Fijian.

Regional Conflicts

While the easing of East-West tensions may reduce the likelihood of a large scale conflict between the two superpowers and their allies, the *Survey* was concerned by the some twenty-three major regional conflicts around the world affecting tens of millions of people and threatening to disintegrate nation-states. Wars of national liberation and politically inspired terrorism continued to erode freedom, even as the ideological rationalization for superpower involvement

in regional conflicts waned. Central America remained a crisis region as the continuing efforts of Cuba and the Soviet Union to fortify the Nicaraguan military establishment and supply the FMLN guerrillas in El Salvador fostered instability and continued to be a contentious issue on the East-West agenda. In Nicaragua, the Ortega regime, which had promised free elections for February 1990 and faced a serious challenge from opposition candidate Violetta Chomorro, announced it was lifting a nineteen-month ceasefire with the Contras and initiated an offensive, ostensibly because of renewed rebel incursions. The united opposition (UNO) charged the Sandinistas with trying to shift the focus away from the gathering momentum of the UNO campaign and creating a pretext for calling off an election the regime was afraid of losing. By year's end the crisis remained unresolved.

Negotiations on Cambodia soured as the PRC, the United States and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries could not develop a strategy that would lead to an interim government and the cessation of hostilities without the inclusion of the murderous Pol Pot faction, the Khmer Rouge. Vietnamese authorities declared a unilateral withdrawal of forces from Cambodia, leaving the Hun Sen regime in place but without diplomatic leverage. After the withdrawal, the three main guerrilla groups, the non-Communist Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF), the pro-Prince Sihanouk Armee Nationale Sihanoulienne (ANS), and particularly the battle-hardened Khmer Rouge, had made impressive gains against a weak and demoralized Cambodian regular army.

Afghanistan continued under the control of the Najibullah regime, with military support from the Soviet Union. Predictions of a military victory by the *mujahideen* proved premature, as factional fighting and government control of the major cities hampered their efforts. Nearly 6 to 8 million Afghans remained refugees in the neighboring states of Pakistan and Iran and another several million are displaced within their own country. By the middle of the year, the U.S., Pakistan and the Soviet Union appeared to be in agreement that only a political settlement would ameliorate the situation.

In Angola, the fifteen-year civil war between the MPLA regime and the UNITA forces led by Dr. Jonas Savimbi continued despite the mediating efforts of eighteen African countries, led by Zaire's president, Mobutu Sese Seko, and a December 1988 Tripartite Treaty signed by Angola, South Africa and Cuba that called for the withdrawal of all Cuban

forces from the country by 1991. Despite several ceasefires, fighting escalated in September 1989, as UNITA proposed a five-point peace plan which included direct MPLA-UNITA talks, a ceasefire supervised by the International Red Cross, a transitional government of national unity, a review of the constitution, and democratic elections. By year's end, 30,000 Cuban troops remained in Angola.

Part of the Tripartite Agreement also called for free elections and the independence of Namibia. In November 1989, Namibians went to the polls to elect representatives to an independent government. The Southwest African People's Organization (SWAPO), which had been fighting for independence since 1966, won the vote, but did not get the two-thirds majority needed for it to approve the constitution. At the close of the year, negotiations began with other parties to complete a constitution and form a government.

In 1989, the Sudan continued to be embroiled in a civil war between the predominant and Arabized Muslim north and a Christian and animist south. A rebel movement in the south, the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) led by Col. John Garang, has been fighting since 1983 to establish greater autonomy and abolish *sharia*, or Islamic law. Both sides have used food as a weapon in the conflict, and famine killed an estimated 300,000 people in 1988 alone. The civil war has displaced over 2 million people. In 1989, the country's civilian government, in power since elections in 1986, was deposed in a coup by the military, which suspended the constitution, dissolved parliament, banned all political parties and unions.

In Mozambique, where the Marxist Frelimo regime has been fighting Renamo rebels since about 1980, 1989 saw the beginning of indirect talks between the government and the guerrillas. In August, church leaders representing the government met with Renamo representatives in Nairobi to launch a process of reconciliation. Renamo released a sixteen-point peace plan that included a call for free, competitive elections, a change in the constitution, a joint Frelimo-Renamo government, and the withdrawal of pro-government Zimbabwean troops. The government announced in June that the estimated 700-1,500 Soviet advisers would leave the country by 1991.

In 1989, Ethiopia's Marxist regime faced significant military defeats at the hands of the separatist Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), which has been fighting for independence since 1961, and by the Tigre People's Liberation Front (TPLF), which has fought for an independent province since 1974. In November, the Mengistu regime for the first time

engaged in peace talks with the Tigrean rebels, while calling for a national mobilization. In addition to the military defeats, the government was prompted by the Soviet Union's decision to withdraw its 1,200 advisers and hints that it may reduce military aid after the current agreement expires in 1990.

In addition to these conflicts, smaller wars and insurgencies continued to smolder in several countries. India faced Sikh religious separatists in the Punjab, the Philippines government continued to confront Communist and Muslim insurgencies, the notorious Burmese regime faced several ethnic and political rebel groups in its border areas, Bangladesh was plagued by a fourteen-year insurgency by Buddhist and Hindu Chakma tribesmen concentrated in the Chittagong Hill Tracts on the India-Burma border, and Sri Lanka was rocked by bloody, internecine fighting between Tamils and Sinhalese militants. The end of 1989 saw an increase in the factional fighting that has torn Lebanon since the mid-1970s, and has destabilized the region.

The role of the United States

The fragility of developing democratic institutions in the face of economic crisis is revealed by developments in Latin America, parts of Asia, Africa and, most noticeably, Eastern Europe. Even where democratic mechanisms are in place, freedom is eroded and society destabilized when dysfunctioning economic systems cannot provide for the needs of the people or cause huge social inequities.

The *Survey* underscores Freedom House's concern for the enhancement and support of democratic movements abroad as an integral part of American national interest. The changes in many parts of the world indicate that it will be difficult for authoritarian or totalitarian regimes to reassert their old authority. Yet, a real danger to the nascent democratic movements and to established democracies under siege is reflex end-of-history triumphalism and its companion, neo-isolationism. Events in China, Panama, Southern Africa, Central America and Eastern Europe clearly reflect the need for the United States to help strengthen democratic organizations and institutions.

Popular movements cannot last long without institutional structure, and the skills and resources on which such structures depend. By assisting the new democracy-builders abroad and helping free the economies of many countries from unjust and excessive controls, we can reduce conflicts and encourage worldwide economic growth and technological progress. The democratic societies we seek will be more

responsible to international efforts to control terrorism, drug trafficking, disease and environmental pollution. Clearly, it is simply not enough to topple an authoritarian regime or even to have a totalitarian government liberalized. Durable political leadership, civic habits and a culture that sustains democracy must be established as well.

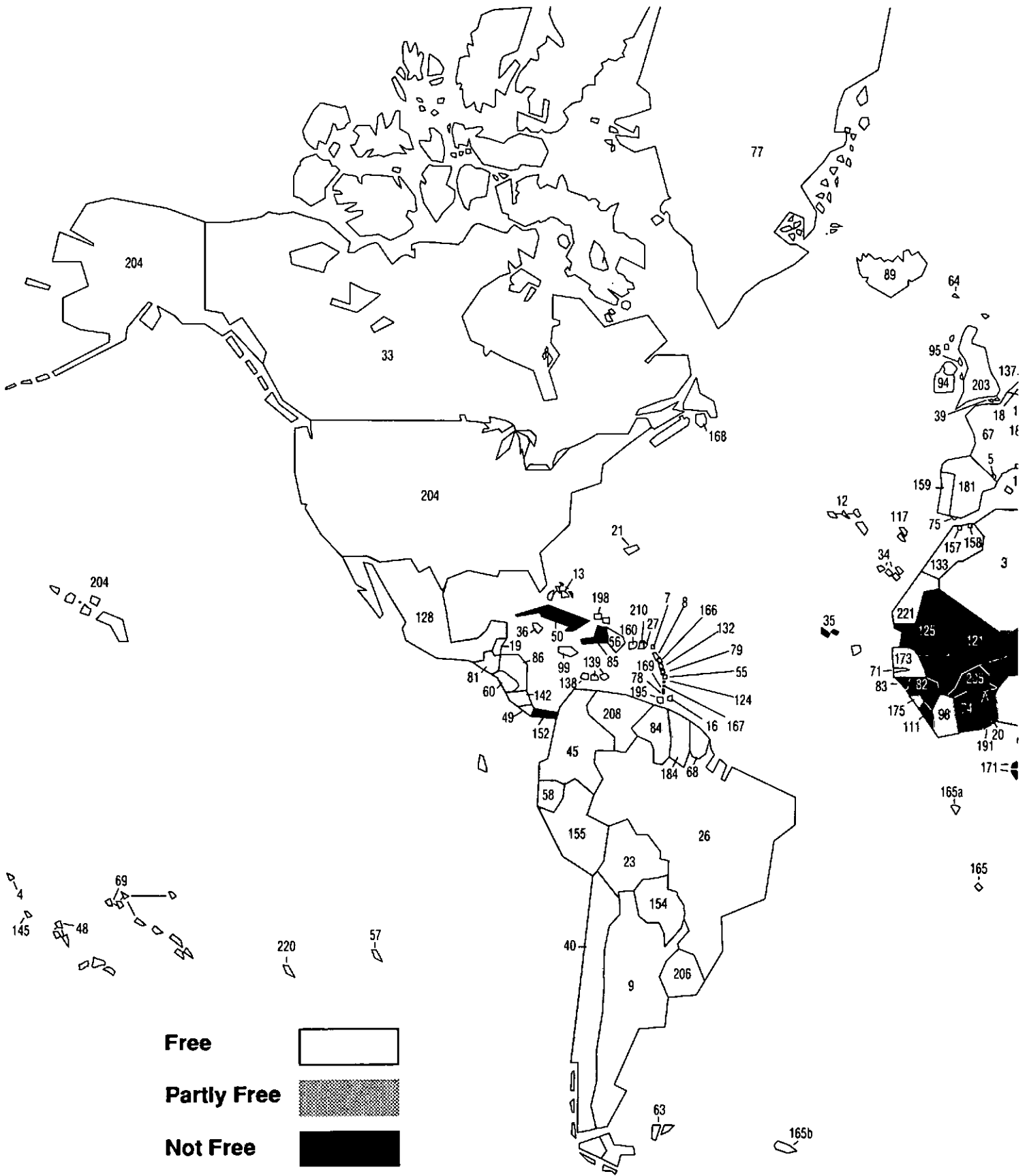
There are concrete steps the United States can take in this area. Our foreign aid, trade and investment, the licensing and transfer of our science and technology, our cultural and academic exchanges, our military deployments, alliances and assistance, and our diplomacy all can be shaped by concern for strengthening democratic values and institutions abroad. We should help democrats in unfree societies to acquire and use the new information and communication technology, such as satellite television and telephone transmissions, FAX machines, photo-copiers and personal computers.

U.S. economic assistance programs should be integrated with democracy-building programs. Countries struggling out from under command economies should be helped with aid and debt relief plans that foster open economies and accountability. In addition, trained legal and parliamentary delegations must work closely to help emerging free societies forge the important juridical underpinnings for democracy and human rights.

These are only a few basic yet important first steps. The twentieth century is replete with grim reminders of new ideologies and political experiments that replaced failed systems. Newer, more virulent strains of repression, and alliances built around already existing security apparatuses, are conceivable if the United States remains overly cautious and hesitant in this period of intense global structural change.

The Map of Freedom 1990

This map is based on data developed by Freedom House's Comparative Survey of Freedom. The Survey analyzes factors such as the degree to which fair and competitive elections occur, individual and group freedoms are guaranteed in practice, and press freedom exists. In some countries, the category reflects active citizen opposition rather than political rights granted by a government. More detailed and up-to-date Survey information may be obtained from Freedom House.



Map Legend, page 17



The Map of Freedom—1990 (Numbers refer to the map, pages 14-15)

FREE STATES	140 Vanuatu	PARTLY FREE STATES	35 Cape Verde Isls.
8 Antigua & Barbuda	208 Venezuela	3 Algeria	37 Central African Republic
9 Argentina	212 Western Samoa	14 Bahrain	38 Chad
10 Australia		15 Bangladesh	41 China (Mainland)
11 Austria	RELATED TERRITORIES	22 Bhutan	46 Comoros
13 Bahamas	4 Amer. Samoa (US)	40 Chile	47 Congo
16 Barbados	5 Andorra (Fr-Sp)	45 Colombia	50 Cuba
18 Belgium	7 Anguilla (UK)	59 Egypt	223 Czechoslovakia
19 Belize	138 Aruba (Ne)	60 El Salvador	54 Djibouti
23 Bolivia	12 Azores (Port)	65 Fiji	61 Equatorial Guinea
25 Botswana	21 Bermuda (UK)	81 Guatemala	62 Ethiopia
26 Brazil	27 Br. Vir. Is. (UK)	84 Guyana	70 Gabon
33 Canada	34 Canary Isls. (Sp)	88 Hungary	72 Germany (E)
49 Costa Rica	36 Cayman Isls. (UK)	91 Indonesia	74 Ghana
51 Cyprus (G)	157 Ceuta (Sp)	98 Ivory Coast	82 Guinea
52 Cyprus (T)	39 Channel Isls. (UK)	101 Jordan	83 Guinea-Bissau
53 Denmark	43 Christmas Is. (Austral.)	107 Kuwait	85 Haiti
55 Dominica	44 Cocos (Keeling Isls.) (Austral.)	116 Madagascar	92 Iran
56 Dominican Republic	48 Cook Isls. (NZ)	119 Malaysia	93 Iraq
58 Ecuador	57 Rapanui/EasterIs. (Chile)	128 Mexico	103 Kenya
66 Finland	63 Falkland Is. (UK)	133 Morocco	105 Korea (N)
67 France	64 Faeroelsls. (Den)	180 Namibia	108 Laos
71 The Gambia	68 French Guiana (Fr)	136 Nepal	109 Lebanon
73 Germany (W)	69 French Polynesia (Fr)	142 Nicaragua	110 Lesotho
76 Greece	222 French Southern & Antarctic Terr. (Fr.)	144 Nigeria	111 Liberia
78 Grenada	75 Gibraltar (UK)	151 Pakistan	112 Libya
86 Honduras	77 Greenland (Den)	154 Paraguay	118 Malawi
89 Iceland	79 Guadeloupe (Fr)	155 Peru	120 Maldives
90 India	80 Guam (US)	224 Poland	121 Mali
94 Ireland	95 Isle of Man (UK)	173 Senegal	125 Mauritania
96 Israel	113 Liechtenstein (Swz)	175 Sierra Leone	131 Mongolia
97 Italy	117 Madeira (Port)	176 Singapore	134 Mozambique
99 Jamaica	127 Mahore (Fr)	179 South Africa	143 Niger
100 Japan	123 Marshall Isls. (US)	182 Sri Lanka	150 Oman
104 Kiribati	124 Martinique (Fr)	184 Suriname	152 Panama
106 Korea (S)	129 Micronesia (US)	185 Swaziland	161 Qatar
114 Luxembourg	130 Monaco (Fr.)	42 Taiwan (China)	163 Romania
122 Malta	132 Montserrat (UK)	193 Tonga	164 Rwanda
126 Mauritius	139 Ne. Antilles (Ne)	196 Tunisia	171 Sao Tome & Principe
135 Nauru	225 New Caledonia (Fr)	197 Turkey	172 Saudi Arabia
137 Netherlands	145 Niue (NZ)	200 Uganda	174 Seychelles
141 New Zealand	146 Norfolk Is. (Austral.)	213 Yemen (N)	178 Somalia
148 Norway	147 No. Marianas (US)	215 Yugoslavia	183 Sudan
153 Papua New Guinea	17 Belau (Palau) (US)	217 Zambia	188 Syria
156 Philippines	220 Pitcairn Islands (UK)	218 Zimbabwe	189 Tanzania
159 Portugal	160 Puerto Rico (US)	RELATED TERRITORIES	191 Togo
166 St. Christopher-Nevis	162 Reunion (Fr)	87 Hong Kong (UK)	201 USSR
167 St. Lucia	165 St. Helena and Dependencies (UK)	115 Macao (Port)	202 United Arab Emirates
169 St. Vincent and the Grenadines	165a Ascencion	221 Western Sahara (Mor)	209 Vietnam
177 Solomon Isls.	165b Tristan da Cunha	NOT FREE STATES	214 Yemen (S)
181 Spain	168 St. Pierre-Mq. (Fr)	1 Afghanistan	216 Zaire
186 Sweden	170 San Marino (It)	2 Albania	
187 Switzerland	192 Tokelau (NZ)	6 Angola	RELATED TERRITORIES
190 Thailand	198 Turks & Caicos. (UK)	20 Benin	24 Bophuthatswana (SA)
195 Trinidad & Tobago	210 Virgin Isls. (US)	28 Brunei	219 Ciskei (SA)
199 Tuvalu	211 Wallis & Futuna Isls. (Fr)	29 Bulgaria	149 Occupicd Territories (Isr.)
203 United Kingdom		205 Burkina Faso	194 Transkei (SA)
204 United States		30 Burma	207 Venda (SA)
206 Uruguay		31 Burundi	
		102 Cambodia	
		32 Cameroon	

The Comparative Survey of Freedom—1989-1990

Survey Methodology

During 1989, the world became simultaneously more free and less free. Some countries, such as Poland, Hungary and the Soviet Union, improved in political rights and civil liberties. Others, such as Colombia and Sri Lanka, became less free due to increased levels of violence. In Africa, the Sudan lost freedom following a coup, while Algeria allowed the development of new political parties. China and Burma crushed their prodemocracy movements, thereby halting and reversing their moves towards reform. Freedom House has summarized such developments each year since 1973.

The purpose of the *Comparative Survey of Freedom* since its inception in the 1970s has been to provide an annual evaluation of political rights and civil liberties everywhere in the world. The *Survey* attempts to judge all places by a single standard, and to point out the importance of democracy and freedom. At a minimum, a democracy is a political system in which the people choose their authoritative leaders freely from among competing groups and individuals who were not chosen by the government. Putting it broadly, freedom is the chance to act spontaneously in a variety of fields outside the control of government and other centers of potential domination. Normally, Westerners associate the adherence to political rights and civil liberties with the liberal democracies, such as North America and the European Community. However, there are also such Third World democracies as Costa Rica and Botswana. In another case, Western Samoa combines political parties and competitive elections with power for the *matai*, the heads of extended families.

Freedom House does not view democracy as a static concept, and the *Survey* recognizes that a democratic country does not necessarily belong in our category of "free" states. A democracy can lose freedom and become merely "partly free." Peru and Colombia are examples of such "partly free" democracies. In other cases, countries that replaced military regimes with elected governments can have less than

complete transitions to liberal democracy. El Salvador and Guatemala fit the description of this kind of "partly free" democracy. (For an explanation of the designations "free," "partly free," and "not free," see the section on The Map of Freedom below.)

Just as democracy is not a static concept, the *Survey* itself adapts to changing conditions. Readers of the previous editions of the *Survey* will note that the ratings of many countries and related territories have changed since 1989. Events have changed some ratings, but other changes reflect methodological refinements developed by this year's *Survey* team.

Definitions and Categories of the Survey

The *Survey's* understanding of freedom is broad, and encompasses two sets of characteristics grouped under political rights and civil liberties. Political rights enable people to participate freely in the political process. By the political process, we mean the system by which the polity chooses the authoritative policy makers and attempts to make binding decisions affecting the national, regional or local community. In a free society this means the right of all adults to vote and compete for public office, and for elected representatives to have a decisive vote on public policies. A system is genuinely free or democratic to the extent that the people have a choice in determining the nature of the system and its leaders.

The *Survey* employs checklists for these rights and liberties to help determine the degree of freedom present in each country and related territory, and to help assign each entity to a comparative category.

The checklist for political rights asks whether (a) the head of state and/or head of government or other chief authority, and (b) the legislative representatives, are elected through free and fair elections. Freedom House considers the extent to which the system offers the voter the chance to make a free choice among competing candidates, and to what extent the candidates are chosen independently of the state. The

checklist asks specifically whether there are fair electoral laws, equal campaigning opportunities, fair polling and honest tabulation of ballots.

The mechanics of the election are not the only concern. We also examine whether the voters are able to endow their elected representatives with real power, or whether unelected elements reduce or supercede this power. In many Latin American countries, for example, the military retains a significant political role, and in Morocco, the king maintains significant power over the elected politicians.

A fully free political system must allow the people to organize in different political parties or other competitive political groupings of their choice, and the system must be open to the rise and fall of these competing parties or groupings. The *Survey* looks for the occurrence of a significant opposition vote, *de facto* opposition power, and a possibility for the opposition to increase its support or gain power through elections. The definition of political rights also includes a country's right of self-determination, and its citizens' freedom from domination by the military, foreign powers, totalitarian parties, religious hierarchies, economic oligarchies or any other powerful group.

Finally, the *Survey* examines minority rights and subnational political power: Do cultural, ethnic, religious and other minority groups have reasonable self-determination, self-government, autonomy or participation through informal consensus in the decision-making process? Is political power decentralized, allowing for local, regional and/or provincial or state administrations, led by their freely elected officials? (For entities such as tiny island nations, the absence of a decentralized system does not necessarily count as a negative in the *Survey*.)

For traditional monarchies that have no parties or electoral process, the *Survey* gives discretionary credit for systems that provide for consultation with the people, encourage discussion of policy, and allow the right to petition the ruler.

Freedom House does not have a culture-bound view of democracy. The *Survey* team rejects the notion that only Europeans and those of European descent qualify as democratic. The *Survey* demonstrates that, in addition to those in Europe and the Americas, there are free countries with varying kinds of democracy functioning among people of all races and religions in Africa, the South Pacific and Asia. In some South Pacific islands, free countries can have competitive political systems based on competing family groups and personalities rather than on European or American-style parties.

Civil liberties are the freedoms to develop views, institutions and personal autonomy apart from the state. The checklist for civil liberties begins with a requirement for free and independent media, literature and other cultural expressions. In cases where the media are state-controlled, but offer pluralistic points of view, the *Survey* gives the system credit. The checklist also includes the rights to have open public discussion and free private discussion, and freedom of assembly and demonstration. Freedom House looks for evidence that a country or territory allows freedom of political or quasi-political organization. This includes political parties, civic associations, ad hoc issue groups and so forth.

The *Survey* considers whether citizens are equal under the law, have access to an independent, nondiscriminatory judiciary, and are respected by the security forces. Freedom House does not mistake constitutional guarantees for the respect for human rights in practice. The checklist also includes protection from unjustified political terror, imprisonment, exile or torture, whether by groups that support or oppose the system, and freedom from war or insurgency situations. Freedom from war and insurgency situations enhances the liberties in a free society, but the absence of wars and insurgencies does not in itself make an unfree society free.

The standards for civil liberties also include free trade unions and peasant organizations or equivalents, free professional and other private organizations, free businesses or cooperatives, and free private and public religious expression and free religious institutions.

The checklist for civil liberties has an item on personal social freedoms, which include such aspects as gender equality, property rights, freedom of movement, choice of residence, and choice of marriage and size of family. The *Survey* also rates equality of opportunity, which includes freedom from exploitation by or dependency on landlords, employers, union leaders, bureaucrats or any other types of denigrating obstacles to a share of legitimate economic gains. Equality of opportunity also implies a free choice of employment and education. Extreme inequality of opportunity prevents disadvantaged individuals from enjoying a full exercise of civil liberties. Typically, desperately poor countries and territories lack both opportunities for economic advancement and the other liberties on this checklist.

The final point on the civil liberties checklist is freedom from extreme government indifference or corruption. When governments do not care about the social and economic welfare of large sectors of the population, the human rights of those people suffer.

Gross government corruption can pervert the political process and hamper the development of a free economy.

The *Survey* rates political rights and civil liberties separately on a seven-category scale, with 1 representing the most free and 7 the least free. A country is assigned to a particular category based on responses to the checklist and the judgments of the *Survey* team at Freedom House. The numbers are not purely mechanical; they also reflect judgment. The team assigned initial ratings to countries by awarding from zero to two points per checklist item, depending on the degree of compliance with the standard. The highest possible score for political rights is eighteen points, based on up to two points for each of nine questions. The highest possible score for civil liberties is twenty-six points, based on up to two points for each of thirteen questions.

After placing countries in initial categories based on checklist points, the *Survey* team made some minor adjustments to account for factors such as extreme violence, whose intensity may not be reflected in answering the checklist questions. The *Survey* team recognizes that one factor may overwhelm others so that the suggested initial category is not necessarily the most accurate. For example, in a few cases, such as Colombia, the team adjusted political rights ratings to reflect extreme violence. For the sake of better comparative accuracy, the team also reevaluated a few countries, such as Suriname, to reflect the degree of military influence on their political systems. These exceptions aside, in the overwhelming number of cases, the checklist system reflects the real world situation and is adequate for placing countries and territories into the proper comparative categories.

The Map of Freedom

The map accompanying this article divides the world into three large categories: "free," "partly free," and "not free." The *Survey* places countries and territories into this tripartite division by averaging the category numbers they received for political rights and civil liberties. Those whose category numbers average 1-2.5 are considered "free," 3-5.5 "partly free," and 5.5-7 "not free." The dividing line between "partly free" and "not free" falls within the group whose category numbers average 5.5. For example, countries that receive a rating of 6 for political rights and 5 for civil liberties, or a 5 for political rights and a 6 for civil liberties, could be either "partly free" or "not free." The total number of raw points is the factor which

makes the difference between the two. Countries and territories with combined raw scores of 0-14 points are "not free," and those with combined raw scores of 15-29 points are "partly free." "Free" countries and territories have combined raw scores of 30-44 points.

The differences in raw points between countries in the three broad categories represent distinctions in the real world. There are obstacles which "partly free" countries must overcome before they can be called "free," just as there are impediments which prevent "not free" countries from being called "partly free." Countries at the lowest rung of the "free" category (category 2 in political rights, category 3 in civil liberties) differ from those at the upper end of the "partly free" group (category 3 in both). Typically, there is more violence and/or military influence on politics at 3,3 than at 2,3 and the differences become more striking as one compares 2,3 with worse categories of the "partly free" countries.

The distinction between the least bad "not free" countries and the least free "partly free" may be less obvious than the gap between "partly free" and "free," but at "partly free," there is at least one extra factor that keeps a country from being assigned to the "not free" category. For example, Zimbabwe (6,4) has a court system that is capable of ruling against the government party on electoral matters, and Bahrain (6,5) has a system of consultation between ruler and subjects, and rights of petition. These are examples of aspects that separate these countries from their respective "not free" neighbors, Zaire (7,6) and Syria (7,7). The gap between "partly free" and "not free" is easier to see if one compares some aspects of Indonesia (5,5) with Albania (7,7). Indonesia tolerates a few political parties, allows public worship, and has some relatively free businesses. In contrast, Albania is a one-party Communist dictatorship, allows no legal religion, and has a totally statist economy.

Freedom House wishes to point out that the designation "free" does not mean that a country has perfect freedom or lacks serious problems. As an institution which advocates human rights, Freedom House remains concerned about a variety of social problems and civil liberties questions in the United States and other countries that the *Survey* places in the "free" category. Similarly, in no way does an improvement in a country's rating mean that human rights campaigns should cease. On the contrary, we wish to use the *Survey* as a prod to improve the condition of all countries.

The *Survey* team rated South Africa (6,5) as "partly free" and the Soviet Union (6,5) as "not free."

(Continued on page 24)

The Tabulated Ratings

The accompanying Table of Independent Countries (page 311) and Table of Related Territories (page 313) rate each country or territory on seven-category scales for political rights and civil liberties, and then place each entity into a broad category of "free," "partly free" or "not free." On each scale, 1 represents the most free and 7 the least free.

Political Rights

In political rights, generally speaking, states rated 1 come closest to the ideals suggested by the checklist questions, beginning with free and fair elections. Those elected rule. There are competitive parties or other competitive political groupings, and the opposition has an important role and power. These entities have self-determination or an extremely high degree of autonomy (in the case of related territories). Usually, those rated 1 have self-determination for minority groups or their participation in government through informal consensus. With the exception of such entities as tiny island countries, these countries and territories have decentralized political power and free subnational elections.

Countries and territories rated 2 in political rights are free, but are less free than those rated 1. Such factors as violence, political discrimination against minorities, and foreign or military influence on politics are present, and weaken the quality of democracy.

The same factors that weaken freedom in category 2 may also undermine political rights in categories 3, 4, and 5. Other damaging conditions are at work as well, including civil war, very strong military involvement in politics, lingering royal power, unfair elections and one-party dominance. However, states and territories in these categories still have some elements of political rights such as the freedom to organize nongovernmental parties and quasi-political groups, reasonably free referenda, or other significant means of popular influence on government.

Typically, states and territories with political rights rated 6 have systems ruled by military juntas, one-party dictatorships, religious hierarchies and autocrats. These regimes allow only some minimal manifestation of political rights such as competitive local elections or some degree of representation or autonomy for minorities. A few states in category 6 are traditional monarchies that mitigate their relative lack of political rights through the use of consultation with their subjects, toleration of political discussion, and acceptance of petitions from the ruled.

Category 7 includes places where political rights are absent or virtually nonexistent, due to the extremely oppressive nature of the regime.

Civil Liberties

States and territories rated 1 in civil liberties come closest to the ideals of freedoms of expression, assembly and demonstration, religion and association. They also do the comparatively best job of protecting the individual from political violence and from harms inflicted by courts and security forces. Entities in this category have free economic activity and strive for equality of opportunity. In general, these countries and territories are comparatively free of extreme government indifference or corruption.

The places in category 2 in civil liberties are not as free as those rated 1, but they are still relatively free. In general, these countries and territories have deficiencies in three or four aspects of civil liberties. For example, a country rated 2 might have significant human rights abuses by its courts and security forces and limited equality of opportunity. Another state in the category might have some press censorship, occasionally restricted speech, and limited personal social freedoms. In each case, the country would be generally free otherwise.

Independent countries and related territories with ratings of 3, 4 or 5 have progressively fewer civil liberties than those in category 2. States in these categories range from ones that are in at least partial

compliance with virtually all checklist standards to those which have partial compliance with only eight standards. Some countries have a mixture of good civil liberties scores in some areas and zero or partial credit in others. As one moves down the scale below category 2, the state's oppression increases, especially in the areas of censorship, political terror and the prevention of free association. There are also many cases in which groups opposed to the state carry out political terror that undermines other freedoms.

Typically, at category 6 in civil liberties, countries and territories have a few partial rights. For example, a country might have some religious

freedom, some personal social freedoms, some highly restricted private business activity, and relatively free private discussion. In general, these states and territories restrict expression and association severely. There are almost always political prisoners and other manifestations of political terror.

At category 7, countries and territories have virtually no freedom. An overwhelming and justified fear of the state's repressive nature characterizes the society.

The accompanying Tables of Combined Average Ratings average the two seven-category scales of political rights and civil liberties into an overall freedom rating for each country and territory. •

For explanations of the ratings of these special cases, see the accompanying country reports.

The approach of the Survey

The *Survey* attempts to measure conditions as they really are around the world. This approach is distinct from relying on intense coverage by the American media as a guide to which countries are the least free. The publicity given problems in some countries does not necessarily mean that unpublicized problems of other countries are not more severe. For example, while the U.S. television networks are allowed into Israel and El Salvador to cover abuses of human rights, they are not allowed to report in Albania, which has far less freedom than the other two countries. To reach such comparative conclusions, Freedom House evaluates the development of democratic governmental institutions, or lack thereof, and also examines the quality of civil society, life outside the state structure.

Without a well-developed civil society, it is difficult, if not impossible, to have an atmosphere supportive of democracy. A society that does not have free individual and group expressions in non-political matters is not likely to make an exception for political ones. As though to prove this, there is no country in the *Survey* that places in category 6 or 7 for civil liberties and, at the same time, in category 1 or 2 for political rights. In the overwhelming majority of cases in the *Survey*, countries and territories have ratings in political rights and civil liberties that are within two categories of each other.

The *Survey* rates both countries and related territories. For our purposes, countries are internationally

recognized independent states whose governments are resident within their officially claimed territories. A few internationally recognized states, such as Monaco and San Marino, count as related territories here, due to their officially dependent relationships with other states. With those exceptions, related territories consist mostly of colonies, protectorates, occupied territories and island dependencies. Although many countries recognize the PLO as the government of Palestine, we do not count Palestine as an independent country, because the PLO does not govern a Palestinian state. Similarly, the *Survey* does not give ratings to Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, despite the American recognition of their right to independence. Legally or not, the Soviet government is presently the effective one for these once independent states.

The *Survey* excludes uninhabited related territories and such entities as the U.S.-owned Johnston Atoll, which has only a transient military population and no native inhabitants. Since most related territories have a broad range of civil liberties and some form of self-government, a higher proportion of them have the "free" designation than do independent countries.

The 1990 *Survey* has made some changes in its coverage of related territories. In the past, the *Survey* counted Transkei among the independent countries. This year's *Survey* considers all of the black "homelands" of South Africa to be related territories, not independent countries. Namibia counts this year as an independent country, not a related territory, due to its scheduled transition to independence in early 1990. The new *Survey* team also added some small island territories, such as the Pitcairn Islands, to the list of entities rated.

Introduction to Country Reports

The Survey team at Freedom House wrote reports on 167 countries and 58 territories. This year's format allows for more information on each country than in previous editions of the Survey. Each report begins with brief political, economic, military, and social data. This information is arranged under the following headings: **polity, economy, political rights, civil liberties, status, population, conflict, life expectancy, PPP (private purchasing parities), and ethnic groups**. More detailed information follows in an **overview** and in an essay on the **political rights and civil liberties** of each country.

Under **polity**, there is an encapsulated description of the dominant centers of freely chosen or unelected political power in each country. Most of the descriptions are self-explanatory, such as Communist one-party for Albania or parliamentary democracy for Ireland. Such non-parliamentary democracies as the United States of America are designated presidential-congressional or presidential-legislative democracies. European democratic countries with constitutional monarchs are designated parliamentary democracies, because the elected body is the locus of most real political power. Only countries with powerful monarchs (e.g. the Sultan of Brunei) warrant a reference to the monarchy in the brief description of the polity. Dominant party polities are systems in which the ruling party dominates government, but allows other parties to organize or compete short of taking control of government. There are other types of polities listed as well. Among them are various military and military-influenced or -dominated regimes, transitional systems, and several unique polities, such as Iran's clergy-dominated parliamentary system. Countries with genuine federalism have the word "federal" in the polity description.

The reports label the **economy** of each country. Non-industrial economies are called traditional or pre-industrial. Developed market economies and Third World economies with a modern market sector have the designation capitalist. (Newly independent Na-

mibia combines capitalist and traditional sectors, and will be designated capitalist-traditional until its direction becomes clear.) Mixed capitalist countries combine private enterprise with substantial government involvement in the economy for social welfare purposes. Capitalist-statist economies have both large market sectors and government-owned productive enterprises, due either to elitist economic policies or state dependence on key natural resource industries. Mixed capitalist-statist economies have the characteristics of capitalist-statist economies plus major social welfare programs. Statist systems have the goal of placing the entire economy under direct or indirect government control. Mixed statist economies are primarily government-controlled, but also retain significant private enterprise. Developing Third World economies with a government-directed modern sector belong in the statist category. None of these labels is intended to be anything more than a general description of the overall nature of each economy.

Each country report mentions the category of **political rights and civil liberties** in which Freedom House classified the country. Category 1 is the most free and category 7 is the least free in each case. **Status** refers to the designations "free," "partly free," and "not free," which Freedom House uses as an overall summary of the general state of freedom in the country.

Every entry includes a **population** figure which, of necessity is sometimes the best approximation that is available. Many countries have international wars, civil wars, terrorism, or violent ethnic disputes. Where relevant, these situations have a listing in the category of **Conflict**. For all cases in which the information is available, the Survey provides **life expectancy** statistics for males and females. Freedom House obtained figures showing per capita gross domestic product (GDP) in terms of purchasing power parities (**PPP**). Using international dollars, these figures adjust per capita GDP to account for real buying power. For some countries, especially for tiny island

states and others with statist economies, these statistics were not available. (Note: the listed purchasing power parities do not include developments in 1989.) The Survey provides a listing of countries' **ethnic groups**, because this information may help the reader understand such questions as minority rights which the Survey takes into account.

Each country summary has an **overview** which describes such matters as national history and current

political issues. Finally, the country reports contain a section on **political rights** and **civil liberties**. This section summarizes each country's degree of respect for the rights and liberties that Freedom House uses to evaluate freedom in the world.

Reports on related territories follow the country summaries. In most cases, those reports are comparatively brief and contain fewer categories of information than one finds in the country summaries.

Afghanistan

Polity: Communist one-party

Economy: Statist

Population: 14,655,000

Conflict: Ideological-religious-international

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 37 male and female

Ethnic Groups: Pathan, Tajik, Uzbek, Hazara, others

Political Rights: 7

Civil Liberties: 7

Status: Not Free

Overview:

The country's eleven-year-old civil war has been stalemated since unified Soviet troops, which invaded in 1979 to bolster a faltering Communist regime, pulled out in February 1989. Predictions of a military victory by the Afghan resistance, or *mujahideen*, over the Soviet-backed Marxist regime of President Najibullah, the former secret police chief, have proved ill-founded. The mujahideen are having difficulty in switching from guerrilla tactics to staged battles against the regime, whose troops are entrenched in the major cities. In addition, although the resistance is contemplating holding elections, it has failed to popularize its interim government-in-exile. Many Afghan refugees, particularly moderate intellectuals, have been killed or threatened by KhAD, the regime's secret police and by radical Islamicist factions. Most important, the mujahideen have been hampered by party and personal rivalries.

The seven parties composing the alliance are split into moderate traditionalists wanting to end a foreign occupation and a puppet regime and Islamic radicals wanting to create a state based on their beliefs. Thirty-two field commanders loyal to Ahmed Shah Massoud were reported killed by followers of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, a prominent radical leader who broke with the government-in-exile after it condemned the killings. Massoud has captured the leader of the massacre and sent him to Peshawar for trial. Fighting between factions is reportedly taking place over the heroin trade in Afghanistan. Eight small Iran-based Shiite parties have refused to join the interim resistance government, complaining of Sunni domination.

President Najibullah, who has tried to woo and coopt individual resistance commanders, seeks an internationally negotiated settlement that would secure power for his People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). The Pakistani and U.S. governments are also beginning to consider a negotiated solution (as opposed to waiting for a resistance military victory) but one which would exclude the present regime. The Soviet Union, also urging a settlement, insists on a dominant role for the PDPA. In August they quietly consulted with the former Afghan king, Zahir Shah, to explore his potential role in a political settlement.

After the troop pull-out Najibullah declared a state of emergency, launched a crackdown against suspected resistance supporters and quadrupled the wages of officers and soldiers. Soviet forces continue to sustain the PDPA military with substantial Soviet equipment and ammunition each month. U.S. funding to the resistance has declined. Some U.S. officials estimate **200-300** Soviet military advisers remain in the country. Fear of execution by fundamentalist mujahideen has stemmed the flow of defections from the Afghan army. Civilians in the capital city are extremely war-weary

and are preparing for a winter of long bread lines and severe fuel shortages. As the war continues, Najibullah's legitimacy declines; he remains associated in the public mind with previous atrocities and the 1978 coup which brought the PDPA to power.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The war has caused a third of the population to flee the country and killed another 1.3 million. Millions of landmines left behind by Soviet troops are a threat to the remaining rural population and refugees seeking to return. Bitter factional warfare within the PDPA is common. Torture by Afghan forces is widespread. Impressment of youth into the Afghan army and "voluntary labor" for military construction are still reported. Both *mujahideen* and regime forces have been accused of killing prisoners. Political prisoners held by the regime are estimated to number in the thousands. Those arrested, detained or tried enjoy no legal protections, the legal system being controlled by the Party. Rights of privacy are not respected.

The media are government owned and operated and serve to indoctrinate. Private criticism of the regime can result in detention. The PDPA supervises all religious organizations. Soviet military personnel and civilian advisors played a prominent role in most ministries and decision-making; hundreds of Indian military experts have recently replaced some Soviet personnel. The Central Council of Trade Unions is a PDPA-controlled umbrella organization for labor. Thousands of Afghan children are sent to school in the USSR for years. The PDPA still runs the educational system, Kabul University in particular, and lecturers are still sent to Moscow for special training. The system of village schools no longer exists.

Albania

Polity: Communist one-party

Economy: Statist

Population: 3,181,000

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 69 male, 73 female

Ethnic groups: Predominantly Albanian (two main ethnic-linguistic groups: Ghegs, Tosks)

Political Rights: 7

Civil Liberties: 7

Status: Not Free

Overview:

Located on the Adriatic, the small Socialist People's Republic of Albania was established as a one-party Communist regime in 1946 and was led by Enver Hoxha until his death in 1985. Hoxha fluctuated from Stalinism to a home-grown Maoism, eventually severing relations with the USSR and China. He was succeeded as first secretary of the Albanian Party of Labor (Communist) by Ramiz Alia. An umbrella Democratic Front of Albania (DFA) includes all social and political organizations and, theoretically, all Albanian citizens. One of the world's most repressive regimes has monopolized virtually all facets of political and social life. The unicameral, 250-member People's Assembly, elected every four years on a single slate of the Party-controlled DFA, meets only for a few days twice a year to rubber-stamp decisions by the Presidium headed by Alia. Agriculture is collectivized, private property and religion have been abolished, and the security service, the Sigurimi, is a pervasive and intrusive force of state control.

Once thoroughly isolated from the world, in 1989 Albania continued to take steps to broaden diplomatic and economic relations with Balkan and West European countries, a process begun in 1984 in response to the economic integration of Western Europe in 1992.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Albanians cannot democratically change their system of government. Despite evidence of some liberalization, civil liberties and human rights are severely constrained. The criminal code still contains at least twelve "political" offenses, and thirty-four crimes carry the death penalty. Prison conditions are reportedly harsh. Political freedom is nonexistent. The media is firmly under the control of the Party-state apparatus, although foreign broadcasts are received from nearby nations. Religion has been abolished since 1967. Freedom of assembly is nonexistent and there are no independent groups or associations. Restrictions for Albanians travelling abroad have been loosened somewhat. Workers are forbidden from striking or organizing, and belong to government-controlled unions.

Algeria

Polity: Dominant party

Economy: Statist

Population: 24,215,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$2,633

Life Expectancy: 59 male, 62 female

Ethnic Groups: Arab-Berber

Political Rights: 6

Civil Liberties: 4

Status: Partly Free

Overview:

Ruled since achieving independence from France in 1962 by the National Liberation Front (NLF), Algeria has recently undergone a partial political opening. Massive anti-government riots in October 1988 over the government's austerity program left hundreds dead and led President Chadli Benjedid to initiate a reform of the rigid one-party state constructed by his predecessors. Benjedid quickly replaced prominent hardliners in the FLN and the army and appointed a new prime minister. At a party congress in November, it was decided that non-FLN members would be allowed to run in future elections, and journalists, professionals and workers were encouraged to organize independently of the FLN. After running unopposed in December 1988 for a third presidential term, Benjedid submitted a new, more liberal draft constitution to a popular referendum in February 1989. Six million voted in favor of the new constitution, which will replace the 1976 National Charter, while 2 million voted against and 2 million abstained. Fundamentalist Moslems boycotted the referendum. The new constitution makes no reference to the FLN as a vanguard party or to socialism as the national objective. It also calls for an independent judiciary and for the separation of the party from the state. In a major confrontation in September, Benjedid fired his prime minister, Kasdi Merbah, and the cabinet, charging them with failing to carry out his anti-corruption and liberalization mandate. In Merbah's stead, Benjedid appointed Mouloud Hamrouche, who chose a cabinet over half of whose members do not belong to the FLN Central Committee. Hamrouche has pledged to develop a market-based economy. The new interior minister is a respected

judge. Local elections for October have been rescheduled for the early spring.

During the spring and summer of 1989, as teachers and government workers went on strike and political groups of all stripes began to form, the National Assembly debated implementing legislation regarding political parties, elections and the press. The Political Parties Law allows groups "of a political character" to apply for registration and compete in elections, but prohibits parties based solely on "a particular religion, language, region, or sex." Despite this, fundamentalists committed to an Islamic state and the Rally for Culture and Democracy, a social democratic group that wants to preserve and have taught the Berber language, have won recognition, along with a handful of other groups. In all about thirty political groups applied for legalization. Under the Elections Law, a party winning a majority will get all seats. Barring this, a party winning a plurality will get the main share of seats, with other parties getting a proportional share—provided they get at least 10 percent of the vote. This law may make the FLN unbeatable. A new press law would permit opposition newspapers, but the FLN will retain its grip on television and radio and the two major national papers will become explicit party organs.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

During the riots of 1988, hundreds of detainees were reportedly abused and tortured, and the army apparently fired on thousands of demonstrators holding up Islamic slogans, killing at least 159 persons. In addition, suspected political opponents not taking part in the riots were arrested. Government investigations into torture have not resulted in the prosecution of any security force personnel. Detainees are often held incommunicado for prolonged periods of time. Although the government has allowed freedom of expression and criticism in light of the riots, Algeria's press is under state and party control. There are a few new independent groups that have received government recognition, such as the once-banned Algerian League of Human Rights, but most organizations are mass associations under the FLN umbrella, for example, the General Union of Algerian Workers (UGTA), the only lawful organization representing workers. Security forces are believed to keep a close watch on public meetings and possible dissent with unauthorized telephone taps and an elaborate informer system. Islam is the country's official religion, but the tiny Christian and Jewish communities are allowed to practice their faith. Algerians are free to travel within Algeria and outside, although traveling abroad is made difficult by strict currency controls. Public and private sector employees have staged unauthorized work stoppages since the October riots. They were tolerated by the authorities even though public sector workers are formally prohibited from striking and private sector strikes require UGTA approval.

Angola

Polity: Communist one-party

Economy: Statist

Population: 8,385,000

Conflict: Insurgency

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 40 male, 44 female

Ethnic groups: Ovimbundu (37 percent), Mbundu (25 percent), Kongo (13 percent), mulatto (2 percent), European (1 percent)

Political Rights: 7

Civil Liberties: 7

Status: Not Free

Overview:

A former Portuguese colony on the Atlantic coast of southwest Africa, Angola gained independence in 1975 after fourteen years of guerrilla war led by three principle independence movements: the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), the Marxist, Soviet-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), led by Dr. Jonas Savimbi.

Ten months prior to independence slated for 11 November, the three signed an agreement for interim rule by a Portuguese high commissioner and a body consisting of one representative from each of the movements. However, after the Portuguese commissioner left on 10 November, the MPLA, which controlled the capital of Luanda, declared a People's Republic of Angola. Two weeks later, the FNLA-UNITA forces, which controlled the northern, eastern and southern parts of the country, announced the creation of a democratic Republic based in Huambo.

Before the end of the year, Cuba had dispatched some 20,000 troops to Angola to buttress the MPLA regime. Over the next several years, the Cuban presence grew to over 50,000. With the virtual elimination of the FNLA by 1979, Savimbi's UNITA forces, backed by millions in U.S. aid and South African forces, continued guerrilla activities, controlling several areas in the northern part of the country.

The government of Angola is a one-party state controlled by the MPLA-Party of Labor led by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, who took over after the death in 1979 of former MPLA leader and president Agostinho Neto. In 1978, the posts of prime minister and deputy prime minister were abolished. The 223-member National People's Assembly, with MPLA-approved members indirectly designated by locally elected provincial delegates, serves as the legislature.

In December 1988, Angola, South Africa and Cuba signed a Tripartite Treaty at the U.N. in New York setting a timetable for Namibian independence preceded by the withdrawal of South African and SWAPO forces, and the phased withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola to be completed by 1991. In February 1989, UNITA launched an offensive, despite a government offer of amnesty to guerrilla forces (though not to Mr. Savimbi).

On 22 June, after efforts by eighteen African leaders, the Angolan government and UNITA forces agreed to a cease-fire after a meeting between Savimbi and President dos Santos in Zaire mediated by Zaire's president, Mobutu Sese Seko. At a follow-up meeting on 20 July each side accused the other of cease-fire violations. By 24 August the cease-fire had collapsed, as UNITA rebels announced they had resumed fighting, accusing the government of launching a military offensive in violation of the so-called Gdadolite Agreement. Savimibi also opposed a plan put forth earlier in the month at a summit in Zimbabwe which implied that UNITA would be absorbed into the MPLA party. The UNITA leader insisted that he envisaged a coalition administration in Angola, which would preside over multi-party elections in which he would participate (he later said that he would not take part), and denied that he had agreed to go into exile.

In September, as fighting escalated, eight African leaders met in Kinshasha, Zaire, to save the peace process. To increase pressure on Savimbi, Zaire reportedly cut supply lines to the rebels. On 29 September UNITA announced its own five-point peace plan drawn up during its second extraordinary congress and which included direct MPLA-UNITA talks, a cease-

fire supervised by the International Red Cross, a transitional government of national unity, a review of the constitution and democratic elections.

In early October, Savimbi met with President George Bush in Washington, and agreed to return to the bargaining table, saying he accepted President Mobutu's mediation. In mid-October, Savimbi joined U.S., South African and Angolan officials at a meeting in Mobutu's seaside villa in France, and some progress was reported. In November, some 30,000 Cuban troops remained in Angola.

The civil war, coupled with the collapse of oil prices, has left the Angolan economy in ruins, with a foreign debt of \$650 million. Manufacturing output is low, and the country desperately lacks managers and technicians. Less than 10 percent of the rail system is currently operational. Attempts at restructuring have been assisted by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Angola remains a one-party Marxist state and the people do not have the legal means to democratically change their government. The ongoing civil war has led to persistent reports of political killings, torture and disappearances perpetrated by the government. Suspects in political cases can be held without charge for up to three months. The judiciary is not independent of MPLA control, and does not meet internationally recognized standards of fairness and impartiality. Citizens cannot freely express their views without risking persecution, and the government-controlled press reflects official policy. Freedom of assembly is circumscribed for all but the MPLA and related groups. Churches are allowed to function, but they are highly regulated by a government officially committed to atheism. The ongoing civil war has resulted in domestic travel restrictions, and the issuance of passports is restricted. Workers cannot form free trade unions, and the National Union of Angolan Workers (UNTA) is controlled by the MPLA.

Antigua and Barbuda

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 84,000

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 68 male, 72 female

Ethnic Groups: Relatively homogeneous

Political Rights: 2

Civil Liberties: 3

Status: Free

Overview:

The islands of Atigua and Barbuda constitute a member of the British Commonwealth. The British monarchy is represented by a governor-general who acts as ceremonial head of state. The islands, which include the uninhabited Redondo, became self-governing in 1969 and gained independence in 1981.

Antigua and Barbuda is a parliamentary democracy with a bicameral parliament consisting of a seventeen-member House of Representatives elected for five years, and an appointed Senate. In the House of Representatives there are sixteen seats for Antigua and one for Barbuda. Eleven senators are appointed by the prime minister, four by the parliamentary opposition leader, one by the Barbuda Council and one by the governor-

general. Barbuda has achieved limited self-government through the separately elected, five-seat Barbuda Council.

In the 9 March 1989 general election the ruling Antigua Labour Party (ALP) recaptured fifteen of the sixteen seats it held in the House. The opposition United National Democratic Party (UNDP) won one seat. The Barbuda People's Movement (BPM) took the Barbuda seat which was not contested by the ALP. Also competing were the leftist Antigua Caribbean Liberation Movement (ACLM), the Barbuda National Party (BNP) and the Barbuda Independent Movement (BIM). In separate elections two weeks later, the BPM took all five Barbuda Council seats.

The violence-free general election was marred by a number of irregularities including the late arrival of ballots which caused five-hour delays in ten of the seventeen constituencies. In response to a petition filed by the UNDP, a high court annulled the results in one constituency. Before it could rule on six other contested constituencies, the ALP parliamentary members holding the contested seats resigned and the ALP government announced that by-elections would be held in August. The ALP also named a new electoral supervisor.

The UNDP boycotted the by-elections, stating they would not participate until reforms were made in the electoral system. The ACLM did not nominate candidates either, citing financial reasons. The ALP, led by the eighty-year-old Vere Bird who is now in his fourth term as prime minister, therefore retained the fifteen seats it had won in March. The opposition has charged over the years that the ALP exerts undue influence over the nominally independent electoral supervisor and uses bribery and intimidation at polling time.

By the end of 1989, the ruling ALP confronted a looming succession crisis as Vere Bird Jr. and Lester Bird battled for the party mantle held for decades by their now ailing father. There were also reports of dissension within the UNDP over the decision to boycott the by-elections.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Political parties, labor unions and civic organizations are free to organize and express themselves. The free exercise of religion is respected. Labor unions have the right to strike and are politically active. There is an independent Industrial Court to mediate certain labor disputes between unions and the government.

The judiciary is independent and nondiscriminatory and the rule of law is enhanced by an inter-island court of appeals for Antigua and five other small former British colonies in the Lesser Antilles. There are no political prisoners.

There is a variety of newspapers, most associated with political parties including the leftist ACLM's *Outlook*. Some have been subject to systematic legal harassment by members of the ruling ALP. Radio and television are either owned by the state or members of the Bird family; the opposition charges both with favoritism.

Argentina

Polity: Federal presidential-congressional democracy

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 32,205,000

Conflict: Left-wing guerrilla group; the All for the Fatherland Movement (MTP)

PPP: \$4,647

Life Expectancy: 66 male, 73 female

Ethnic Groups: Relatively homogeneous

Political Rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 2

Status: Free

Overview:

The Argentine Republic was proclaimed upon achieving independence from Spain in 1816. A federal constitution was drafted in 1853. In this century, democratic governance has been frequently interrupted by military take-overs. The end of the dictatorship of Juan Peron (1946-55) marked the beginning of an era of political instability, left-wing violence and right-wing military government. Following seven years of repressive rule by successive military juntas, and after the military's defeat by the British in the 1982 Falkland/Malvinas war, Argentina returned to civilian and democratic government in December 1983.

Most of the constitutional structure of 1853 was restored in 1983. The president and vice-president are designated for six-year terms by a 600-member electoral college. The electoral college is chosen on the basis of proportional representation, with each of the twenty-four electoral districts, twenty-three provinces and the federal district of Buenos Aires having twice as many electors as the combined number of senators and deputies. The legislature consists of a 254-member Chamber of deputies directly elected for six years, with half of the seats renewable every three years, and a forty-six-member Senate nominated by the legislatures of each of the twenty-three provinces for nine-year terms, with one-third of the seats renewable every three years. Provincial and municipal governments are elected.

In the October 1983 national, provincial and municipal elections, the moderate-left Radical Civic Union (UCR) led by Raul Alfonsin won a decisive victory over the Peronist Justicialist Nationalist Movement (MNJ). It was the first Peronist electoral loss in nearly four decades. President Alfonsin was inaugurated in December 1983, backed by a UCR majority in the Chamber of Deputies. The UCR lost its majority in the 1987 midterm elections.

Following the prosecution of former military leaders for human rights abuses during the "dirty war" against leftist guerrillas, the Alfonsin administration was buffeted by three military rebellions, two in 1987, the last and most serious in December 1988. There were also, in early 1989, three left-wing guerrilla attacks on military installations by a resurgent faction of the dissolved Revolutionary Army of the People (ERP), the All for the Fatherland Movement (MTP).

Although civil-military relations remained a key concern, the main issues in the campaign for the 14 May 1989 elections were the massive foreign debt, the threat of hyperinflation, the deteriorating standard of living and the state's domination of the economy. In the 1988 primary elections, the UCR nominated Eduardo Angeloz for president, and the Peronists selected Carlos Menem. Menem led in the opinion polls throughout the campaign as

Angeloz was unable to overcome the incumbent UCR's inability to arrest the collapsing economy. In the end, Menem won with 49 percent of the vote against 37 for Angeloz and the Peronists attained virtual control of both houses of Congress.

The transition between governments was scheduled to take place 10 December. However, food riots in the wake of the election, symptomatic of the country's worst economic crisis since the nineteenth century, led both major parties to agree to an early succession. President Menem was inaugurated on 8 July, the first time in sixty-one years that one democratically elected civilian had succeeded another in Argentina.

In the first four months of his term, Menem made a number of startling policy turns. He had campaigned as a populist in the traditional Peronist manner, but once in office began an economic liberalization and austerity program designed to cut inflation and privatize huge, bankrupt, state-owned enterprises. Then, in October, he pardoned 280 officers and civilians accused of corruption, coup-mongering and human rights atrocities, including eighteen generals and admirals and the former junta members convicted in 1984. The pardons were a clear attempt to placate the disaffected military and guarantee political stability. The military, however, appeared ready to keep pressuring for full vindication of its behavior a decade ago. Also pardoned were sixty-four individuals accused of belonging to terrorist groups in the 1970s.

Menem said he sought "national reconciliation," but amid negative reaction from abroad, the Argentine human rights community vowed to contest in the courts the constitutionality of the pardons, particularly of those yet to be tried. In an effort to attain an edge in the looming legal battle, Menem submitted a bill to Congress to enlarge the Supreme Court from five to nine members. The new Congress, with a working Peronist majority, was scheduled to convene 10 December, and it appeared that Menem was angling for a Peronist majority on an expanded Court.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Constitutional guarantees regarding free expression, free exercise of religion and the right to organize political parties, civic organizations and labor unions are respected. Although the political scene is currently dominated by two parties, there are dozens of active smaller parties from Communist and Trotskyist on the left to fascist on the right. Political expression is occasionally restricted by violence associated with political campaigns, justice issues, labor activities and deteriorating economic conditions.

During the May food riots in Buenos Aires and a number of cities in the interior, over a dozen deaths and over a thousand arrests were reported by the government. Security forces and police appeared to respond with relative restraint. With the announcement that the government would change hands early, and as the government and private organizations rushed to set up soup kitchens, the disorder abated.

The human rights community is well organized and consists of numerous organizations dating back to the 1970s. It played an influential role in the prosecution of military officers during the Alfonsín administration and was gearing at the end of 1989 for a legal and political confrontation against Menem's October pardons.

The judiciary is an independent body headed by a five-member Supreme Court. There are federal appeals courts and provincial courts. The judicial

system proved to be effective and thorough in handling the numerous human rights and criminal cases brought against the military and former leftist guerrilla leaders during the Alfonsín administration. In October, four of the five sitting Supreme Court justices rejected Menem's initiative to expand the Court, setting the stage for future political clashes.

Labor is well organized and politically powerful. The approximately 3 million unionized workers are dominated by the Peronist-led workers confederation, the CGT, that carried out numerous one-day general strikes during the Alfonsín administration. The Argentine economy remains protected, statist and corporatist, an embedded legacy of the Peron era, and antiquated labor laws make it virtually impossible to fire anyone. Menem's decidedly non-Peronist economic stabilization program, however, led to a three-way split in the CGT during an acrimonious and occasionally violent CGT congress in October. The fate of Menem's economic policies will rest in significant part on the outcome of the clash between the warring labor factions.

Newspapers are privately owned, vocal and uncensored. There are numerous independent dailies reflecting various points of view. Circulation has been hurt, however, by the country's severe economic deterioration. Television and radio broadcasting are both private and public. The Menem administration announced that it would privatize a number of television stations owned by the state. The state has also stopped discriminating in favor of certain publications in providing credit and advertising.

Australia

Polity: Federal parliamentary democracy **Political Rights: 1**
Economy: Capitalist **Civil Liberties: 1**
Population: 16,955,000 **Status:** Free
Conflict: None
PPP: \$11,782
Life Expectancy: 72 male, 79 female
Ethnic groups: European (95 percent), Asian (4 percent), Aboriginal (1 percent)

Overview:

The Commonwealth of Australia was established as a federal parliamentary democracy in 1901 from the British colonies of New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria and Western Australia. In 1911, two territories were added: the Northern Territory and the Australian Capital Territory.

A governor-general serves as a representative of the British monarchy. The current government is headed by Prime Minister Robert Hawke, head of the Australian Labor Party (ALP), which—as a result of the 1987 elections—controls 86 seats in the 148-member House of Representatives, part of the bicameral legislature. A seventy-six-member Senate comprises the upper house of the Federal Parliament. Senators are elected to six-year terms, with elections staggered so that about half the Senate is up for election every three years. Members of the House are elected for three-year terms. The prime minister chooses a cabinet from among members of parliament.

State governments are patterned after the federal model, and are responsible for public safety, health, utilities, transportation and education.

Major opposition parties are the Liberal Party of Australia (LP), the National Party of Australia (NPA) and the Australian Democrats (AD). Minor parties include the Communist Party of Australia (CPA), and the Western Australia Anti-Nuclear Party (WAANP), among others.

Prime Minister Hawke is facing a general election scheduled for April 1990, the outcome of which could well hinge on the economy. In May 1988, the government launched a broad program of economic reform that cut corporate and individual taxes. The program also included budget cuts and a tax on retirement savings. In 1989, however, the economy was plagued by a record federal deficit, a prime lending rate of 20 percent and 8 percent inflation. State assembly elections in Western Australia on 4 February showed a 10 percent shift away from the ALP.

In July, the prime minister announced a comprehensive environmental program, appointing an "ambassador for the environment," and allocating some \$30 million for environmental protection.

Several states were rocked by corruption scandals in 1989. A government commission convened to investigate corruption in Queensland concluded that "cronyism flourished and corruption became entrenched" in the state. In the wake of the investigation and financial scandals in other states, several investigative commissions were established.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Australians have the democratic means to freely change their government. Fundamental human and civil rights are respected by the government. The judiciary is fair and free from government interference. Basic rights such as freedom of speech, press, association, religion and movement are codified and respected in practice. Unions are independent and workers have the right to strike. Despite laws forbidding discrimination based on race and affirmative action laws, Australia's aborigines claim to suffer widespread discrimination. The federal government has yet to deal effectively with the issue of aboriginal land claims.

Austria

Polity: Federal parliamentary democracy **Political Rights: 1**
Economy: Mixed capitalist **Civil Liberties: 1**
Population: 7,584,000 **Status:** Free
Conflict: None
PPP: \$12,386
Life Expectancy: 70 male, 77 female
Ethnic Groups: Austro-Germans and a Slovene minority

Overview:

The small Republic of Austria began in 1918 after the defeat of its predecessor, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, in World War I. Austrian independence ended in 1938 when Nazi Germany annexed its territory. After Germany's defeat in World War II, the Republic of Austria was reborn in 1945, but the Western Allies and the Soviet Union occupied the country until 1955 when they signed the Austrian State Treaty. This agreement restored Austrian sovereignty and guaranteed its neutrality.

The Austrian head of state is President Kurt Waldheim, who was elected directly for a six-year term in 1986. The president belongs to the conserva-

tive Austrian People's Party. His position is primarily ceremonial. The president appoints the chancellor, the government's chief executive, whose party or coalition commands majority support in the National Council, the 183-member lower house of Parliament. Its members are elected directly to four-year terms. The upper house is the sixty-three-member Federal Council, which the provincial assemblies choose by proportional representation. Federal Council members have four- to six-year terms, depending on the term of their respective provincial assemblies. The chancellor is Socialist Franz Vranitzky, who took office in 1986. Following inconclusive National Council elections in 1986, the Socialists formed a grand coalition government with the Austrian People's Party. The right-wing populist Freedom Party and the Greens hold the remaining seats in the National Council.

Austria's international reputation has been damaged by allegations concerning President Waldheim's activities during the Nazi period. Domestically, the coalition government has been concerned with economic reform and deficit reduction. The Socialists received a shock in May 1989 when Freedom Party leader Joerg Haider formed a coalition with the People's Party and became governor of the province of Carinthia. Haider replaced a socialist government

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Austrians have the right to change their government democratically. Four parties won seats in the National Council in the most recent elections. Nazi organizations are illegal, and the 1955 State Treaty prohibits Nazis from enjoying freedoms of assembly and association. However, for many years old Nazis found a haven in the Freedom Party.

The country's provinces have significant local power and can check federal power by choosing the members of the upper house of Parliament. There is a Slovenian minority which has had some disputes with the Austro-Germans over bilingual education.

The media are generally very free. There are a few, rarely used restrictions on press freedom which allow the removal of publications from circulation if they violate laws on public morality or security. Broadcast media belong to an autonomous public corporation. There *is* freedom of religion for faiths judged consistent with public order and morality. Recognized denominations must register with the government.

The judiciary is independent. Refugees have long used Austria as the first point of asylum when they leave Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. There is freedom of association. Business and labor groups are strong and play a major role in formulating national economic policy. Most Austrian workers must belong to Chambers of Labor, which represent workers' interests to the government. Trade unions, on the other hand, negotiate for the workers with management.

Austria has generous welfare provisions and several state enterprises. However, the current government is trimming the size of the public sector.

Bahamas

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 243,000

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 64 male, 69 female

Ethnic Groups: Relatively homogeneous

Political Rights: 2

Civil Liberties: 3

Status: Free

Overview:

The Commonwealth of the Bahamas, a member of the British Commonwealth, became internally self-governing in 1967 under the leadership of Lynden O. Pindling and the Progressive Liberal Party (PLP). Independence, which was not supported by the opposition Free National Movement (FNM), was granted in 1973. The British monarchy is represented by a governor-general.

Under the 1973 constitution, there is a bicameral parliament consisting of a forty-nine-member House of Assembly directly elected for five years, and a sixteen-member Senate with nine members appointed by the prime minister, four by the leader of the parliamentary opposition, and three by the governor-general. The prime minister is the leader of the party commanding a majority in the House. Islands other than New Providence and Grand Bahama are administered by centrally appointed commissioners.

The PLP under Prime Minister Pindling has remained in power since independence. At the two most recent parliamentary elections of 1982 and 1987, the PLP retained control of the House of Assembly but fell short of the three-quarters majority it had previously enjoyed. In the 1987 elections, the PLP won thirty-one seats, the FNM sixteen and independents two. The results were expected to be closer as evidence revealed in U.S. courts pointed to high official corruption in connection with narcotics trafficking. The PLP counter-charged that it was the FNM that was involved in drugs. The FNM alleged that fraud had taken place, charging that throughout its tenure, the PLP government had enhanced its electoral advantage by dispensing favors to supporters. The next general election is due in 1992.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Constitutional guarantees regarding the right to organize political parties, civic organizations and labor unions are generally respected, as is the free exercise of religion. Labor, business and professional organizations are generally free. There is a right to strike, but demonstrations are often broken up by police with demonstrators subject to temporary detention, as was the case during a state employees strike at the end of 1988. There exists an independent Grand Bahama Human Rights Association which frequently criticizes the government on police, constitutional and other issues.

Full freedom of expression is constrained by strict libel laws which the government uses against the independent press. On occasion, newspapers have been ordered by the government not to print certain materials. Radio and television are controlled by the government-owned Broadcasting Corporation of the Bahamas and often fail to air pluralistic points of view.

The judicial system is headed by a Supreme Court and a Court of Appeal, with the right of appeal under certain circumstances to the Privy Council in London. There are local courts, and on the outer islands the local commissioners have magisterial powers.

Despite recent antidrug legislation and a formal agreement with the

United States in 1987 to suppress the drug trade, there is evidence that drug-related corruption continues to compromise the police force, the judicial system and the government at the highest levels. There is no military.

Bahrain

Polity: Traditional monarchy

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 458,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$11,142

Life Expectancy: 67 male, 71 female

Ethnic Groups: Bahraini, Asian, Arab

Political Rights: 6

Civil Liberties: 5

Status: Partly Free

Overview:

Since 1782 the Al Khalifa family has governed the country, located in the Persian Gulf, as a traditional monarchy. Presently Bahrain is ruled by Sheikh 'Isa ibn Salman Al Khalifa and the emir's prime minister and eldest brother, Sheikh Khalifa ibn Salman Al Khalifa. Once a British protectorate, the country became independent in 1971 and sought to form a constitutional monarchy. A draft constitution approved in June 1973 called for a National Assembly that would consist of a cabinet and thirty popularly elected members. In 1975, however, the emir dissolved the Assembly and began to rule by decree, as was his right under the constitution. One of his decrees was to suspend the constitutional provision for an elected assembly, which the emir found dominated by "alien ideas." In a limited way, citizens may participate politically by attending the emir's open-air audiences, but political rights are otherwise sharply curtailed. Political parties or meetings with any political undertones are proscribed. Criticism of the regime's legitimacy is not tolerated.

The ruling family is Sunni Muslim while roughly 60 percent of the population is Shiite. The regime has been wary of possible fundamentalist rebellion, especially since the Iranian Revolution of 1979. This has led the government to limit the number of Bahrainis who make pilgrimages to Iran and wish to study there. The most threatening underground opposition groups have been the Iran-backed Islamic Front for the Liberation of Bahrain, which launched a coup attempt in 1981, and the Islamic Call Party which seeks the establishment of an Islamic state through violent action.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Sunni Muslims are generally better off than Shiite Muslims. They hold better jobs and have easier access to social services. Although newspapers are privately owned, traditionally they adhere to government positions: past censorship and suspensions by the Information Ministry have caused self-censorship to be widely practiced. Radio and television are state-owned. Some private professional associations are allowed to function, and public religious events are tolerated, but they too are monitored closely by the government for possible political discussions. "Workers' committees," composing over 10 percent of the work force, are sponsored by the government. Workers have no right to strike, and expatriate workers, a majority of the work force, are not allowed to form unions. Jews, Baha'is and expatriate Christians are allowed to practice their faith in their own places of

worship. Bahrainis are free to move within the country, while passports for foreign travel have been denied in the past for political reasons. Human rights monitors have previously alleged torture was practiced on select leftists, but there are no recent charges of torture. Arbitrary and incommunicado detention has also been reported in the past. There are a number of political prisoners, and defendants before the security court do not receive a fair, open trial.

Bangladesh

Polity: Dominant party
(military dominated)
Economy: Capitalist-statist
Population: 111,390,000
Conflict: Ethnic-separatist insurgency
PPP: \$883
Life Expectancy: 48 male, 47 female
Ethnic groups: Bengali (98 percent), Bihari (1 percent), various tribal groups (1 percent)

Political Rights: 4
Civil Liberties: 4
Status: Partly Free

Overview:

Among the world's poorest and densely populated nations, the People's Republic of Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan) was formed on 3 December 1971, after a civil war in which it was supported by India. Plagued since its inception by bloody coups, insurgencies and intermittent impositions of martial law, the government is run by President Lt. Gen. Hossain Mohammad Ershad, chairman of the National Party (*Jatiya Dal*), who seized power in a March 1982 coup, appointed himself chief martial law administrator, and suspended the constitution. He assumed the presidency in 1985, a move confirmed by a referendum. He was elected in 1986 in an election boycotted by the major opposition parties. An amended constitution was reinstated. He was reelected under a state of emergency in 1987 amid violent political unrest and civil disorder.

All executive power is vested in the president, who is elected for a five-year term and can appoint (and dismiss) the prime minister and other ministers. The unicameral National Parliament of 300 seats (plus thirty reserved for women) is dominated by the *Jatiya Dal*, a coalition of four main parties, with the opposition consisting of several smaller parties. Major opposition parties, including the Awami League and the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), boycotted the March 1988 legislative elections amid violence that left hundreds dead. Under the constitution, new parliamentary elections are not required before 1993.

A major issue facing the government is the fourteen-year insurgency of the 600,000 mostly Buddhist and Hindu Chakma tribesmen, concentrated in the Chittagong Hill Tracts on the India-Burma border and led by the outlawed Shanti Bahini (Peace Force) guerrillas, who have been fighting the encroachment of Bengalis into their region. The government offered the region limited autonomy by proposing new local councils, the tribes being guaranteed roughly a two-thirds majority, which would have the power to settle land disputes, control health care and education, and raise taxes. However, guerrillas dismissed the proposal and attempted to violently disrupt council elections.

Despite the existence of over a dozen opposition parties (ranging from Marxist to fundamentalist Muslim), the ruling coalition is the dominant force in political life. It is closely tied with the military, with the current president holding the post of defense minister. Two of the country's pro-Moscow political parties, the Communist Party of Bangladesh (CPB) and the National Awammi Party (NAP), were divided over the USSR's reformist policies, a crisis which could diminish the political power of the left. Recent elections have been marred by political violence and opposition boycotts that seriously undermine a democratic electoral process.

Bombings, political killings and shootouts plagued university campuses throughout the country. In 1989 at least twelve students were killed in campus political violence.

In September 1989 President Ershad's judicial reforms received a setback when the appellate division of the Supreme Court declared *ultra vires* a constitutional amendment that would have allowed the creation of permanent High Court benches outside Dhaka, the capitol city.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Citizens do not have the means to change their government democratically. The press has been formally or informally censored since the 1982 coup, independent newspapers often practice self-censorship, and the government controls radio and television. The 1974 Special Powers Act (SPA) allows the government to arbitrarily restrict the press, as well as detain individuals without charge. Civil courts are fair, and the judiciary is independent. In 1988, Islam was declared the state religion of Bangladesh, which is 87 percent Muslim, but the government generally respects the rights of Buddhist, Hindu and Christian minorities. Freedom to move within the country is, with some exceptions, unrestricted, and citizens can freely emigrate or travel abroad. Workers are allowed to organize, and even though strikes are not allowed under law, work stoppages occur. Labor unions represent less than five percent of the workforce in this largely agrarian society.

A major human rights issue is the plight of some 250,000 Bihari, Urdu-speaking Muslim refugees who opted for East Pakistan after the partition of the subcontinent in 1947, but favored (West) Pakistan in the 1971 civil war. Scattered in sixty-six refugee camps, the Bihari await emigration to Pakistan, but the issue has been in a diplomatic tangle involving the U.N., Bangladesh and Pakistan. Living conditions in the crowded camps are generally appalling, and Biharis suffer from typhoid, tuberculosis and other diseases.

Barbados

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 255,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$7,927

Life expectancy: 70 male, 75 female

Ethnic groups: Relatively homogeneous

Political rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 1

Status: Free

Overview:

Barbados, a member of the British Commonwealth, became internally self-governing in 1961 and achieved independence in 1966. The British monarchy is represented by a governor-general.

Barbados is a parliamentary democracy. The bicameral parliament consists of a twenty-seven-member House of Assembly elected for five years by direct popular vote, and a twenty-one-member Senate, with twelve senators appointed by the prime minister, two by the leader of the parliamentary opposition, and seven by various civic interests. Executive authority is invested in the prime minister, who is the leader of the political party commanding a majority in the House.

Since independence, power has alternated between the Democratic Labour Party (DLP) and the Barbados Labour Party (BLP), the DLP under Errol Barrow until 1976, and the BLP under Tom Adams from 1976 until Adams' death in 1985. Adams was succeeded by his deputy, Bernard St. John, but the BLP was soundly defeated in the 1986 elections. The DLP took twenty-four seats to the BLP's three and Barrow returned as prime minister. Barrow died suddenly in June 1987 and was succeeded by Erskine Sandiford.

The DLP's majority was reduced in February 1989 when four House members, led by former finance minister Richie Haynes, broke away from the DLP to form the National Democratic Party (NDP). As per the constitution, Haynes became the leader of the opposition on the strength of the NDP's four-to-three seat advantage over the BLP. Although the ruling DLP retained twenty seats, and general elections need not be held until May 1991, the unusual degree of political ferment led to speculation in late 1989 that Sandiford was considering calling snap elections.

The manner in which the NDP emerged and became the official opposition led to a call from some quarters for legal reforms that would require House members who cross the aisle to vacate their seats and face by-elections. However, a significant body of public opinion held that the emergence of the NDP injected new life into the political system which has been dominated for decades by the two moderate, labor-based parties.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Constitutional guarantees regarding freedom of religion and the right to organize political parties, labor unions and civic organization are respected. Apart from the parties holding parliamentary seats, there are other political organizations including the small left-wing Workers' Party of Barbados. Labor unions are politically active and free to strike.

Freedom of expression is fully respected. Public opinion expressed through the news media, which is free of censorship and government control, has a powerful influence on policy. Newspapers are private. There are both private and government radio stations. The single television station, operated by the government-owned Caribbean Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), presents all political points of view.

The judicial system is independent and includes a Supreme Court that encompasses a High Court and a Court of Appeal. Lower court officials are appointed on the advice of the Judicial and Legal Service Commission.

Belgium

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 9,862,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$13,140

Life Expectancy: 70 male, 77 female

Ethnic Groups: Fleming (55 percent), Walloon (33 percent), mixed and others (12 percent)

Political Rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 1

Status: Free

Overview:

Modern Belgium dates from 1830 when the territory broke away from the Netherlands. A constitutional monarchy, Belgium has a largely ceremonial king who symbolizes the unity of this ethnically divided state. The Dutch-speaking Flemish comprise about 55 percent of the population, while the Francophone Walloons make up about 33 percent. The rest of the population is of bilingual, mixed or other background. There is a small German minority near the German border. Brussels, the headquarters of the European Commission, has a large foreign population. Belgium is divided into separate linguistic zones for the Flemings, Walloons and Brussels. There are frequent disputes between the two dominant language groups. In addition to the native ethnic tensions, Belgians must deal with assimilating North African, Turkish and other immigrants.

Due to ethnic divisions, Belgians have political parties split along linguistic lines. Governments come and go rapidly. There have been more than thirty cabinets since World War II. However, many of the same politicians and political parties reappear frequently in coalition governments. The bicameral parliament has a Senate, which combines directly and indirectly elected members, and a Chamber of Representatives, which the people elect directly on the basis of proportional representation. Each house has a term of up to four years. The heir to the throne has the right to a Senate seat. The current Senate has 181 members, while the Chamber of Representatives has 212.

Following the 1987 general elections, there were five months of political stalemate before Wilfried Martens of the Christian People's Party formed a center-left coalition government. Belgium has been a traditionally generous welfare state, but recent economic problems have led to budget cuts.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Belgians have the right to change their government democratically. Voting is compulsory. Nonvoters are subject to fines. Numerous political parties organize freely, usually along ethnic lines. Each language group has the right to autonomy within its own region. However, tensions and constitutional disputes arise when members of one group get elected to office in the other's territory and refuse to take competency tests in the regionally dominant language. The voters elect regional councils, but the national government appoints the provincial governors.

There is freedom of speech and of the press. However, the law prohibits some forms of pornography and incitements to violence. Libel laws may have some minor restraining effects on the press, while restrictions on civil servants' criticism of the government may constitute a small reduction of freedom of speech. Autonomous public boards govern the state television and radio networks, and ensure that public broadcasting is politically and

linguistically pluralistic. The state has permitted and licensed private radio stations since 1985. There is freedom of association. The overwhelming majority of workers belong to trade union federations. The largest labor group is Catholic, while another major federation is social democratic. Belgium has freedom of worship. The state recognizes and subsidizes Christian, Jewish and Muslim institutions. Other faiths have complete freedom.

The judiciary is independent. The government appoints judges for life tenure. In general, Belgium has a good record on prisoners' rights questions, but there have been some problems with extended pretrial detentions. Since 1985, the municipalities around Brussels have had the right to refuse to register new residents from countries outside the European Community. In 1988 the central government set up a commission to handle political asylum cases.

Belize

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 184,000

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: NA

Ethnic Groups: Majority of mixed ancestry, including Carib, black, Creole, and Mestizo

Political Rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 2

Status: Free

Overview:

Belize is a member of the British Commonwealth. The British monarchy is represented by a governor-general. Formerly British Honduras, the name was officially changed to Belize in 1973. Internal self-government was granted in 1964 and independence in 1981. Because neighboring Guatemala refused to recognize the new state, Britain agreed to provide for Belize's defense; a small British military force remains because of Guatemala's continued nonrecognition.

Belize is a parliamentary democracy with a bicameral National Assembly. The assembly consists of a twenty-eight-seat House of Representatives with members elected to five-year terms. Members of the Senate are appointed, five by the governor-general on the advice of the prime minister, two by the leader of the parliamentary opposition, and one by the Belize Advisory Council.

In the country's first post-independence election on 14 December 1984, the center-right United Democratic Party won twenty-one seats in the House, overturning thirty years of rule by George Price's center-left People's United Party (PUP) which took the remaining seven. The UDP's Manuel A. Esquivel replaced Price as prime minister.

The next elections were due by December 1989, but the UPD called snap elections on 4 September, three months early, to take advantage of gains in the economy. After a hotly contested campaign, however, the PUP won a narrow victory, securing fifteen seats in the House to the UPD's thirteen, and George Price returned as prime minister. A third party, the Belize Popular Party (BPP), has been unable to win any seats in the House.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

While the UDP and the PUP dominate the political scene, there are no restrictions on the right to organize political parties or civic groups. Labor unions are independent and are free to strike. There is freedom of religion.

The judiciary is independent and nondiscriminatory and the rule of law is guaranteed. However, the creation of the Security Intelligence Service (SIS) by the UPD government in 1988 has been roundly criticized by PUP. The UPD argued the SIS was needed to combat drug traffickers and deal with the threat of subversion from the increasing number of Central American refugees in Belize. The PUP charged that the SIS was an instrument of harassment, set up and utilized by the UPD for domestic political purposes. The Belize Human Rights Commission, established in response to the creation of the SIS, voiced concern in late 1988 about growing complaints of physical and verbal abuse and wrongful arrests by security forces. The SIS was a major issue of the 1989 electoral campaign and the PUP promised to dissolve it.

The media were also an issue in the campaign. There are five independent newspapers representing various political viewpoints. Belize has a literacy rate of over 90 percent. Radio and television, however, have come to play an increasingly prominent role in recent years. There are two privately owned television stations and four cable systems, but political advertising is controlled by the government-appointed Belize Broadcasting Authority (BBA). The PUP has charged the BBA, as well as government-controlled radio, with favoritism, and promised to reduce government involvement in the media, a turnaround from its position when last in power.

Benin

Polity: One-party (military)

Economy: Statist

Population: 4,725,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$665

Life Expectancy: 42 male, 46 female

Ethnic groups: Fon, Adja, Yoruba, Bariba

Political Rights: 7

Civil Liberties: 7

Status: Not Free

Overview:

Known until 1975 as Dahomey, this narrow central-west African country gained independence from France in 1960. After a dozen years of political upheaval marked by coups and periods of civilian rule, Maj. Mathieu Kerekou seized power in October 1972 and two years later declared a Marxist-Leninist state. In November 1975, the People's Republic of Benin was established under the leadership of the Benin People's Revolutionary Party (PRPB). In 1980, President Kerekou accepted Islam and changed his name to Ahmed. The president is named by the 206-member National Revolutionary Assembly, which is elected to represent corporate and social-professional classes. Candidates belong to the PRPB and are appointed by the government. The military plays a prominent role, with representatives in the cabinet and the PRPB Political Bureau.

In January 1989 the country was rocked by student and civil servant strikes in the face of a grave economic crisis. The government ordered the army to fire on the students without warning. In March, ten sugar cane workers were reportedly shot dead by paratroopers during a protest for

overdue wages. Scores of students and teachers were detained during the strike which lasted some twenty weeks. Hospital workers went on strike in May. Another teachers' strike remained unresolved by August. The strikes were partly caused by budget cuts made under International Monetary Fund restructuring guidelines.

In January, President Kerekou met with representatives of three independent publications and sternly warned them about criticizing his policies. The same month, two former ministers were arrested, reportedly on political charges. In February, a State Security Court sentenced four defendants accused of plotting a coup to terms ranging from 5 to 20 years. In March, an independent journalist was reportedly arrested and held without charge, and over 400 teachers were dismissed for striking. On 8 April, the eve of a visit by an Amnesty International delegation, President Kerekou freed fifty political prisoners held since 1985 on suspicion of belonging to the illegal Communist Party of Dahomey. In late July, court proceedings were started against twenty conspirators involved in a 26 March 1988 coup attempt.

In late June, the single list of 206 candidates presented by the Benin authorities for the Revolutionary Assembly was voted in by a large majority. On 2 August, the Assembly elected President Kerekou to another five-year term amid continued social unrest and serious economic problems.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The citizens of the People's Republic of Benin cannot change their government through democratic means. Suspects in political or antigovernment activities can be held without charge or trial. The judicial system is subservient to the ruling party. Criticism of the regime is not permitted; the country's few independent publications have criticized economic policies, but generally exercise self-censorship for fear of government reprisals. In September, the government banned the sale of an issue of *Gazette du Golfe* because it ran an opinion poll showing that over 50 percent of the people do not trust the government. The ruling party is the only political organization allowed to hold meetings and demonstrations, but private social, service and professional organizations are permitted. There are no major restrictions on religion, and domestic travel is not restricted. All unions must belong to the umbrella National Workers' Union of Benin, controlled by the party. The right to strike is not protected, but several strikes occurred this year involving teachers, government employees and cane workers.

Bhutan

Polity: Traditional monarchy

Economy: Preindustrial

Population: 1,519,000

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 46 male, 49 female

Ethnic Groups: Bhotia (60 percent), Nepalese (25 percent), indigenous (15 percent), Tibetan refugees

Political Rights: 6

Civil Liberties: 5

status: Partly Free

Overview:

Located south of Chinese-occupied Tibet, Bhutan is an isolated kingdom, having been ruled by a series of different monarchs since the sixteenth century. In 1865, Bhutan agreed to allow Great Britain to run its external

affairs in return for financial support. The agreement lasted until the end of World War II, when, in 1949, India agreed to adopt the British role of "safeguarding" Bhutan.

Since World War II, Bhutan has undergone a series of political and social changes as a result of King Jigme Dorji Wangchuk's modernization policies. The king established a National Assembly in the 1950s, which gradually gained more influence in directing domestic policy, and a Royal Advisory Council in 1965, which has since evolved into a government cabinet. Most of these new policies were opposed by traditional elements in Bhutani society, but the current monarch, Jigme Singye Wangchuk, who succeeded his father in 1972, has continued to follow his father's policies. Two-thirds of the 150-member National Assembly is elected every three years by universal suffrage, with the remaining third designated to several religious bodies and secular interests supported by the monarch.

The Indian government continues to deal with most of Bhutan's external affairs, although in more recent years, Bhutan has expressed an increasing desire to speak for itself and conduct its own diplomatic relations.

Since 1979, Bhutan has participated in several international bodies such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the Asian Development Bank. Current issues include border discussions with China and reforms in the civil service begun in 1988. Another issue is fear by the majority Buddhists that they will be out-numbered by a heavy influx of Hindu immigrants.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The citizens of Bhutan do not have the ability to freely elect their government. The legal system does not provide for due process in the Western sense, but trials are open and adjudicated expeditiously. In familial cases, Hindu law applies to the Nepalese and Buddhist law governs the majority of Bhutanese. The media consist of one government-controlled newspaper and one radio station. Criticism of the monarch is permitted in the Assembly but not in the public media. Freedom of association and assembly is generally respected, though guaranteed by no law. Buddhism is the state religion, but other faiths are free to worship. There are no restrictions on emigration or domestic and foreign travel. There are no labor unions.

Bolivia

Polity: Presidential-congressional democracy

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 7,184,000

Conflict: Left-wing guerrilla activity

PPP: \$1,380

Life Expectancy: 49 male, 53 female

Ethnic Groups: Mixed (25-30 percent), Quechua Indians (30 percent), Aymara Indians (25 percent), European (5-15 percent)

Political Rights: 2

Civil Liberties: 3

Status: Free

Overview:

Since achieving independence from Spain in 1825, the Republic of Bolivia has endured recurrent instability and extended periods of military rule. The armed forces, responsible for over 180 coups in 157 years, returned to the barracks in 1982. The leftist government of President Hernan Siles Suazo

restored to full force the 1967 constitution that had been suspended in 1969. However, in the face of insurmountable economic problems, Siles was forced to call elections a year early in 1985.

The 1967 constitution provides for a president elected for a four-year term by universal adult suffrage and a 157-member Congress consisting of a 130-member House of Representatives and a twenty-seven member Senate similarly elected for four years. If no presidential candidate receives an absolute majority of the votes, Congress makes the selection from among the three leading contenders. Although the constitution calls for biennial municipal elections, local balloting was conducted in 1987 for the first time in thirty-nine years.

In the July 1985 national elections, former military dictator Hugo Banzer of the right-wing Nationalist Democratic Action (ADN) obtained a narrow plurality of the votes cast for president. Former president Victor Paz Estenssoro of the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (MNR) won a plurality of congressional seats. With the support of left-wing parties in the Congress, Paz Estenssoro was selected to be president over Banzer. It was the first peaceful transfer of power between two democratically elected presidents in twenty-five years.

The candidate of the ruling MNR in the 7 May 1989 elections was Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada, President Paz's planning minister and architect of a market-oriented austerity program that had ended hyperinflation and rationalized the economy. The two main challengers were Banzer, whose ADN had formed an alliance with the government to support the MNR's economic program, and Jaime Paz Zamora of the formerly radical, now social democratic Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR). All three candidates vowed not to make any major changes in the government's economic policy.

The balloting resulted in a virtual three-way tie as Lozada obtained a slim plurality over Banzer in second and Paz Zamora in third; only 54,000 votes separated the three. Although an array of international observers praised the electoral process, the tight finish led to mutual accusations of fraud and fierce horse-trading in the new Congress where the MNR took forty-nine seats, the ADN forty-six and the MIR forty-one. Banzer, still smarting from the acrimonious ending of the ADN-MNR alliance before the election, finally decided to back Paz Zamora for president in exchange for the ADN receiving over half the cabinet positions. With the ADN support, Paz Zamora was easily elected president by Congress in August. Municipal elections were scheduled to take place on 3 December 1989.

The Indian-Marxist Zarate Willka Armed Liberation Front (FALZW) initiated hostilities in April 1988 with an unsuccessful attack on the car of visiting U.S. Secretary of State George Schultz. There were sporadic attacks in 1989, including the killing of two U.S. Mormon missionaries. Bolivian officials expressed concern that the FALZW had links with the Maoist Shining Path guerrilla movement in neighboring Peru.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Constitutional guarantees regarding the right of free expression, of religion, and the right to organize political parties, civic groups and labor unions are generally respected. However, political expression is often restricted by recurring violence associated with the illegal \$600-million-a-year coca trade, and in the struggle between the government and traditionally powerful

unions. Although the languages of the indigenous population are officially recognized, the 40 percent Spanish-speaking minority still dominates the political process.

There are over two dozen legal political parties ranging from the fascist right to Trotskyist, Maoist and Moscow-line Communist on the left. There are also a number of Indian-based peasant movements.

There continues to be strong evidence that drug money has penetrated the political process through the corruption of government officials and through electoral campaign financing. The drug trade has also spawned private security forces that operate with relative impunity in the coca-growing regions.

Unions are permitted to strike and have done so repeatedly against the government's austerity and denationalization programs which have left more than 20 percent of the work force idle. In response, the government has often resorted to force, and there have been allegations of police brutality. Workers still have a generous social welfare program and are compensated when dismissed from state-owned enterprises. Nonetheless, the Bolivian Workers Central, the national labor confederation, threatened to take up "active resistance" against the new Paz Zamora administration.

Headed by a Supreme Court, the independent judicial system has become stronger and more effective since the return to civilian rule. There are nine District Courts, and local courts to try minor offenses. The judiciary has struggled against the compromising power of the narcotics traffickers; after being apprehended, drug kingpin Roberto Suarez was tried, convicted and sentenced to prison. Judges speak out often on the drug trade's threat to the political system.

There are human rights organizations, both government-sponsored and independent. Allegations of police brutality and harsh prison conditions including torture were underscored by the discovery in October of a clandestine cemetery on the grounds of a prison farm run by the national police.

The press, radio and television are privately owned and free of censorship since the end of military rule. There are a number of daily newspapers including one sponsored by the influential Catholic church. Public opinion polling is a growth industry. Five years ago there was no television; in 1989 there were forty-seven television stations. The impact was most evident in 1989 in the media-based campaigns of the prominent political parties.

Botswana

Polity: Parliamentary democracy and traditional chiefs

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 1,230,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$2,496

Life Expectancy: 53 male, 56 female

Ethnic groups: Tswana (95 percent), Baswara, Kalanga and Kgalagadi (4 percent) European (1 percent)

Political Rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 2

Status: Free

Overview:

The land-locked, sparsely populated Republic of Botswana, located in the heart of southern Africa, gained independence from Britain in 1966. It is

one of the world's largest producers of diamonds, which account for over 70 percent of foreign exchange. Many Botswanans work in neighboring South Africa, which plays a major role in the country's economy.

Botswana is one of Africa's few genuine democracies, with eight competing political parties and a bicameral Parliament (consisting of a 38-member National Assembly, 34 members of which are directly elected by universal suffrage) and a consultative House of Chiefs. The National Assembly also serves as an electoral college that elects the president for a five-year term. On 8 October 1989, legislative elections were held, with the ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) winning twenty-eight parliamentary seats. The opposition Botswana National Front (BNF) and the Botswana People's Party (BPP) took the rest. The results assure another term for President Dr. Quett K.J. Masire, leader of the BDP.

In the last several years, Botswana has been the target of several incursions by South African forces against suspected African National Congress (ANC) strongholds. In 1986, the country passed a National Security Act to combat terrorism, giving the government broad power to arrest without warrant

In 1989, the key issue remained the economy, particularly the growing disparity between wealthy, urban businessmen and the almost three-quarters of the population that live in rural areas and are dependent on animal husbandry and subsistence agriculture. Although the economy has been growing at an annual rate of 10 percent since 1979 as a result of mineral exports, and the gross national product has jumped from about \$70 to \$1,400, food continues to be a problem, unemployment is on the rise, there is a lack of housing and high rents, and growing inequalities in the standard of living. These developments were expected to undermine BDP support in the October elections, but the party's strong showing indicated continued broad support for the government's economic program.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Botswana is a parliamentary democracy in which citizens have the power to democratically elect and change their government. The judiciary is independent of government interference. Even under the National Security Act, citizens are protected from arbitrary arrest and detention. Freedom of expression, both public and private, is honored and respected. The government media report on the activities of the opposition, and three independent papers express diverse views. Freedom of assembly and association are granted and observed in practice, and citizens are free to practice their religion. There are no significant restrictions of domestic or foreign travel. The Botswana Federation of Trade Unions (BFTU) is a member of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), and workers are permitted to strike, but that right is limited by a requirement for government arbitration. In September, 12,000 primary teachers throughout the country went on a three-week strike.

Brazil

Polity: Federal presidential-congressional democracy

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 145,930,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$4,307

Life Expectancy: 61 male, 66 female

Ethnic Groups: White (54 percent), mixed (39 percent), black (6 percent), pure Indian (less than 1 percent)

Political Rights: 2

Civil Liberties: 2

Status: Free

Overview:

Brazil retained a monarchical system after achieving independence from Portugal in 1822. In 1889, the Federative Republic of Brazil was established. Since then, democratic rule has been interrupted by two long periods of military rule, most recently from 1964 to 1985.

The return to civilian rule in 1985, the result of a controlled, six-year transition transacted by the military with opposition political parties, culminated in the January 1985 electoral college balloting won by opposition candidate Tancredo Neves. Neves, however, died before taking office. His vice presidential running mate, Jose Sarney, became the first civilian president in twenty-one years. By prior arrangement, the military was given the key cabinet posts involving defense and internal security. Direct elections for a bicameral National Congress were held in 1986. The Senate and the Chamber of Deputies formed a constituent assembly that produced a new, democratic constitution that was promulgated in October 1988.

The 1988 constitution, Brazil's eighth in 167 years, provided for a president to be directly elected on 15 November 1989 for a five-year term, the first direct presidential election in nearly three decades. The bicameral Congress was retained, with a 72-member Senate directly elected for eight years and a 487-member Chamber of Deputies directly elected for four years. The next congressional elections are scheduled for November 1990.

Brazil is divided into twenty-three states, three federal territories, and the Federal District of Brasilia. State governors and legislatures are elected, as are municipal governments. The constitution also provides for a national plebiscite in 1993 to decide whether to keep the presidential system, move to a parliamentary or return to a monarchical system.

The campaign for the 15 November 1989 presidential election was underway by the end of 1988. The early top contenders were Leonel Brizola of the social democratic Democratic Labor Party (PDT), and Luis da Silva of the Marxist-oriented Workers' Party (PT) that had won the mayoralty of Sao Paulo in the November 1988 municipal elections. There was concern that the military might not accept the election of either leftist candidate. By midyear, however, Fernando Collor de Mello, a political newcomer and candidate of the newly formed center-right National Reconstruction Party (PRN), had surged ahead in the numerous national opinion polls on the strength of an anti-corruption platform and heavy television coverage. Other campaign issues were Brazil's massive foreign debt, impending hyperinflation, urban crime and the deteriorating living conditions of the nation's poor, who make up roughly two-thirds of the population.

By October, Collor de Mello had slipped in the polls from over 40 percent to an average of 30 percent. Brizola and da Silva were running in second with approximately 15 percent each. There were twenty-two presidential candidates in all. Three weeks before the vote, Brazilian television entertainer and media mogul Silvio Santos announced his candidacy. Before he was disqualified polls showed Santos leading Collor de Mello 29 percent to 19 percent.

On 15 November, Collor obtained 28 percent of the vote. Da Silva, with 16 percent, edged out Brizola for second. A runoff election between Collor and Da Silva was scheduled for 17 December. The winner was to be inaugurated on 15 March 1990.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Constitutional guarantees regarding free expression, freedom of religion and the right to organize political parties, labor unions and civic organizations are respected. All political parties, including the Brazilian Communist party (PCB), were legalized by 1986. In 1989, the PCB ran its first presidential candidate since 1945. The nearly two dozen other candidates reflected the country's wide range of political diversity.

Virtually all forms of media constraints were removed by the 1988 constitution. The press is privately owned, vigorous and uncensored. There are daily newspapers in most major cities and many other publications throughout the country. Radio is mostly commercial. Although overseen by a government agency, television is independent and politically very powerful; roughly two-thirds of the population is illiterate. The power of television was evident in the 1989 campaign with the sudden popularity of the telegenic Collor de Mello and the tumult caused by the attempted candidacy of television star Silvio Santos.

Labor unions are well organized and politically influential. The right to strike is permitted by the 1988 constitution, but unions have protested subsequent legislation as vague and restrictive. Nonetheless, there were frequent strikes protesting government economic policies in the first half of 1989, often accompanied by violence initiated by both left and right extremist groups and allegations that some paramilitary rightist groups were linked to the military.

There has also been violence associated with the energetic land reform movement. Activists have been killed by paramilitary groups hired by large landowners. Rubber tappers and Indians involved in environmental movements have also been targets of violence, including assassination, associated with the huge Amazon basin development projects initiated under military rule.

The judicial system is headed by a Supreme Court whose members must be approved by the Senate. It was granted substantial administrative and financial autonomy by the 1988 constitution. There are federal courts in the state capitals and states have their own judicial systems. There are also special labor and electoral courts.

Numerous independent human rights organizations are active. Despite the constitutional guarantees against torture and inhuman treatment during confinement, rights groups report extensive abuses in police detention centers and in the prisons which are overflowing because of an ongoing urban crime wave. Also, vigilante groups that rights monitors link to the police have been responsible for hundreds of extra-judicial killings

in the poor neighborhoods that ring the major industrial cities. The courts have only recently acted against extra-legal operations and police abuses.

Brunei

Polity: Traditional monarchy

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 247,000

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: NA

Ethnic groups: Multi-ethnic state—Malay (65 percent), Chinese (20 percent)

Political rights: 6

Civil Liberties: 6

Status: Not Free

Overview:

This tiny, oil-rich Islamic monarchy on the north coast of Borneo was proclaimed an independent sultanate on 1 January 1984 and is ruled by Sultan Muda Hassanal Bolkiah, who took over from his father on 5 October 1967. He assumed the office of prime minister at independence and formed a cabinet dominated by the royal family, which has ruled the area for some 500 years. In 1959, while under a British protectorate, a constitution was adopted that created the framework for internal self-government, and in 1962 the left-wing Brunei People's Party (PRB) won all ten of the elective seats in a twenty-one-member Legislative Council. Later that year, a rebellion was launched by the PRB-backed North Borneo Liberation Army. The revolt was put down, the sultan invoked emergency powers, and by 1971 he and the British reached an agreement that left him in total internal control, the British overseeing external affairs until full independence.

Since 1962, the 1959 constitution, though still in force, has been amended to permit the sultan to override decisions of the legislative and executive bodies. Emergency powers are still in force. After the 1962 rebellion, political parties have been all but inactive, and two parties sanctioned after independence are not functioning. The Chinese minority are noncitizens, but few have emigrated. Political and social unrest is largely nonexistent, primarily because the country enjoys economic prosperity unparalleled in the region. The per capita income is over \$20,000, government workers get generous salaries and low- or no-interest loans to purchase homes, automobiles and appliances. There is free medical care, schools and university training for all citizens. Brunei has no income tax. Brunei Shell, the second-largest employer, provides generous salaries and benefits, and the government provides substantial low-cost housing plans to help the poor and landless.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Although freedom of the press and speech is not restricted by law, the government-owned television, radio and a major newspaper steer clear of controversial issues. Since there is no political opposition, it is impossible to gauge government tolerance of political criticism. Foreign media are widely available. Suspects may be detained without trial for renewable two-year periods under the Internal Security Act (ISA), and it is believed that some participants of the 1962 uprising remain jailed. The judiciary is derived from the British system and is generally independent. Islam is the official state religion, but the constitution provides protection for Christian and

Buddhist minorities. There are no travel restrictions for citizens, permanent residents or expatriates, although the latter face some restrictions on overseas travel. Trade unions are legal, but must be registered with the government. Total membership is less than five percent of the workforce. There have been no strikes in recent memory.

Bulgaria

Polity: Communist one-party

Economy: Statist

Population: 8,997,000

Conflict: Ethnic tensions

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 68 male, 74 female

Ethnic groups: Bulgarian (Slavic) (85 percent), Turkish (9 percent), Gypsy (3 percent), Macedonian (3 percent)

Political Rights: 7

Civil Liberties: 7

Status: Not Free

Overview:

The People's Republic of Bulgaria was established in December 1947. A one-party, Communist dictatorship, the country had been ruled since 1954 by Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BKP). But on 10 November 1989, in an unexpected development, the seventy-eight-year-old Zhivkov resigned at a hastily convened Central Committee plenum. He was replaced by Petar Mladenov, the fifty-three-year-old foreign minister. The resignation of Zhivkov, the longest reigning of the old-line Stalinist rulers who resisted reforms, came one day after East Germany announced it was dismantling parts of the Berlin Wall as part of its new policy of unrestricted travel. It was widely believed that Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev was dissatisfied with Zhivkov's anti-reformist stance. On 16 November the Central Committee retired three Zhivkov loyalists from the Politburo.

As in other Communist regimes, there is an umbrella Fatherland Front controlled by the Communists that encompasses all mass organizations, unions and other groups. The Party maintains a firm grip on virtually all facets of life. The unicameral, 400-member National Assembly has 99 representatives of the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union (firmly allied with the BKP) and twenty-five non-Party elements. It serves merely to ratify decisions made by the Party-state apparatus.

In 1989, the regime began expelling ethnic Turks from the country. Over the last several years, the long-suffering 1.5 million Turkish minority has been forced by the government to adopt Bulgarian (Slavic) surnames and been barred from openly practicing Islamic customs. By 28 June, Turkey was flooded with some 70,000 refugees, and by August the number had jumped to over 250,000. By late August, Turkey closed its borders to more refugees. Many were forced to abandon their property and belongings. On 21 July, 121 Bulgarian intellectuals sent a letter to the National Assembly protesting the government's treatment of the Turks. In August, the Discussion Club for the Support of Glasnost and Perestroika (formed in November 1988) sent a sharply worded protest warning that the expulsions would lead to a "general crisis" and destabilize the economy. Earlier in the year, authorities cracked down on the Discussion Club and the twenty-five member Independent Association of Human Rights, arresting and jailing

several members for "anti-state" activities. Both groups have been severely attacked in the state-run media.

In mid-August, diplomats reported that at least fifteen people were killed in a dozen villages in southern Bulgaria in clashes between tank-reinforced troops and members of the the 200,000-strong Pomak minority, ethnic Bulgarians who are Muslims.

Despite paying lip-service to economic reform, the Zhivkov regime did little to translate rhetoric into practice. Promises to lease land, make banks independent and give factory managers a freer hand have not been fulfilled. In July, Zhivkov appointed reliable political allies to senior positions in the media and the propaganda department, and named his son to head a new central committee department on culture. Some private agriculture and small-scale businesses have been allowed.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Bulgarians do not have the right to change their government through democratic means. The state security apparatus effectively controls and monitors any anti-government activities. The judiciary is tied to the security forces and the state-Party apparatus. Prison conditions are harsh, and it is believed that Turks have been subject to arbitrary arrest, detention and brutal treatment. The media are controlled by the government, freedom of assembly is severely restricted, and religion is discouraged as incompatible with Party membership and the avowed policies of atheism. The predominant Orthodox church is tolerated, as are Roman Catholic, Uniate and Protestant churches, but all are regulated by the government. Muslims (who are mostly Turks) face bans on certain religious practices and mosques have been closed. Jews in Bulgaria have not suffered religious persecution. Internal passports and identity cards are required, and travel and place of residence are controlled by the regime. The Party controls all unions and workers are not allowed to strike.

Burkina Faso

Polity: Military

Economy: Mixed statist

Population: 8,596,000

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 44 male, 47 female

Ethnic groups: Mossi, Fulani, Lobi, Malinke, Bobo, Sehufo and Gurunsi

Political Rights: 6

Civil Liberties: 5

Status: Not Free

Overview:

Formerly known as Upper Volta, this land-locked, arid, extremely poor country has been ruled since 15 October 1987 by Capt. Blaise Compaore, who overthrew a Libyan-style system led by Thomas Sankara. It was the nation's fourth coup since 1980. Political parties are banned, and the regime has organized a broad-based "popular front" to run the government. A loose network of Revolutionary Committees (CRs) exercise "popular and insurrectional power" on a regional and local level. A unicameral National Assembly has been suspended since 1980.

On 18 September the government announced that it had foiled a coup attempt by a clique of young officers who came to power during the Sankara regime. Four leaders were executed, among them two deputies to

President Compaore: Maj. Jean-Baptiste Lingani and Capt. Henri Zongo, the second- and third-ranking men in the Popular Front military government. Both were summarily executed.

Reports indicate some improvements under the Compaore regime. Political prisoners were released on 4 August. Despite the ban on political parties, there are several political groups, among them the leftist Patriotic League for Development.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The people of Burkina Faso cannot democratically change their government, Arbitrary arrests continue, and revolutionary courts try corruption cases. Criminal and civil cases are handled by a judiciary based on the French model and are generally fair. The press is overseen by a government Written Press Board, and the regime controls radio and television. Journalists critical of the government can be replaced. Nonpolitical business, social, cultural and religious organizations are generally free to function. There are no significant restrictions of freedom of religion; foreign travel is usually unencumbered, though military checkpoints are common inside the country. There are four labor federations, and though the unions enjoy limited independence, antigovernment activities are not permitted. Unions have the legal right to strike, but under the previous Sankara regime labor leaders were arrested and strikes forbidden. The government has cooperated with international human rights organizations and a functioning human rights organization is allowed to hold seminars and petition the government.

Burma

Polity: One-party (military)

Political rights: 7

Economy: Mixed statist

Civil liberties: 7

Population: 41,860,000

Status: Not Free

Conflict: Several ethnic insurgencies

PPP: \$752

Life Expectancy: 56 male, 59 female

Ethnic groups: Burman (75 percent), Karens (7 percent), Shans (6 percent), as well as Chins, Kachins, Mons and Arkanese totalling 1 million

Overview:

Burma, ruled by the army following a military coup led by Gen. Ne Win in 1962, was rocked by prodemocracy student demonstrations in July-August 1988 protesting continued military dictatorship and severe economic crisis. Martial law was declared on 18 September after thousands of students and supporters were killed and thousands more fled to neighboring Thailand or into rural areas controlled by some of the ten non-Burman insurgency groups. Although the seventy-seven-year old Ne Win officially ended his twenty-six year rule in July by stepping down as head of the ruling Burma Socialist Program Party (BSPP), he is widely believed to be the power behind the ruling nine-member State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) junta nominally headed by army Chief of Staff Gen. Saw Maung. The SLORC was set up after two civilian presidents hand-picked by Ne Win resigned.

In October 1988, the government allowed for the registration of political parties, scrapping a 1974 constitutional provision establishing the BSPP as the only legal party in the country. In December, the BSPP changed its

name to the National Unity Party (NUP), and subsequently the junta promised multi-party elections for May 1990. Thus far, over 200 political parties have registered with the Election Commission. The leading opposition party is the National League of Democracy (NLD), led by Aung San Suu Kyi, the widely popular daughter of the late Aung San, the man who led Burma to independence before he was assassinated in 1947. Other major opposition parties include the League for Democracy and Peace (LDP) led by former Premier U Nu.

Despite the government's promise of free elections, campaign laws place severe restrictions on political activity. A provision excluding those who have enjoyed the rights of another country seems to be directed specifically at NLD leader Aung San Suu Kyi, who is married to an Englishman and resided in Britain before returning to Burma during the uprising. On 20 July 1989, Ms. Suu Kyi and her deputy, Tin Oo, were placed under house arrest, and hundreds of NLD members have been jailed. Also in mid-July, all phone links and telex lines to the outside world were shut down. On 8 August, the anniversary of the start of last year's demonstrations, students defied martial law and rallied in Rangoon; five were arrested. As of November Burma's jails have been emptied of common criminals to make room for political detainees.

The country continues to face about a dozen ethnic insurgencies. The largest rebel group is the Karen National Union (KUN), which has been fighting the government for forty years. Others include the Kachin Independence Army (KIA), smaller groups of ethnic Mons, Shans and Chins, and Communists. In 1986-87, the non-Communist ethnic secessionist insurgents, estimated to total 20,000 fighters, formed the National Democratic Front (NDF), and declared that they would accept limited autonomy within a federated Burma rather than independent homeland-nations. The KNU suffered several military setbacks in 1988. Following the unrest and the declaration of martial law, prodemocracy students who fled into the countryside joined with a rebel coalition to form the twenty-three member Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB), which has called for an interim government and international supervision of the elections.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Even before martial law, Burma's citizens endured a brutal, oppressive regime. The government controls all media, including Burma's only newspaper. The dozen or so independent newspapers that sprung up during last summer's uprising were squelched by the government. Under current martial law, military tribunals, operating in complete secrecy, have been set up which need not call witnesses, do not provide for defense, and the minimum sentence they can impose is three years' imprisonment with hard-labor; the maximum is death. All that is required before execution is the approval of a local military commander. All religious groups must register with the government. Most civil liberties and rights have been suspended under martial law.

Security services monitor some religious communities, and the government has infringed on the practice of minority Muslims. There are no genuine trade unions or an independent labor movement in Burma. During the demonstrations and general strike in August and September, workers did try to organize independent labor unions and strike committees, but these were quickly suppressed after martial law.

Burundi

Polity: One-party (military)

Economy: Mixed capitalist

Population: 5,200,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$450

Life Expectancy: 45 male, 48 female

Ethnic groups: Hutu (84 percent), Tutsi (15 percent), Twa pygmies (1 percent)

Political Rights: 7

Civil Liberties: 6

status: Not Free

Overview:

The Republic of Burundi became an independent state in 1962. A densely populated, poor country bordering Rwanda, Zaire, Tanzania and Lake Tanganyika, Burundi has long been wracked by tribal violence between the majority Hutu tribe and the minority Tutsis who control the government. The last major outbreak of violence in August 1988 killed thousands, mostly Hutus, in the country's two northern provinces.

Burundi has been ruled since September 1987 by Maj. Pierre Buyoya, who overthrew the regime of Jean-Baptiste Bagaza, whose tenure was marked by repressive measures against the Catholic church in this predominantly Roman Catholic former Belgian colony. The country is governed by a thirty-one-member Military Committee for National Salvation (CMSN), and the Unity for National Progress (Uprona) is the country's only political party. President Buyoya has promised to restore the dissolved National Assembly.

In March 1989, there were reports from Burundi about an abortive coup attempt by officers in the CMSN that resulted in the arrest of several military leaders, among them Major Jean Niyongabo of the CMSN.

The Buyoya regime has repeatedly asserted that it is committed to national reconciliation in the context of tribal rivalries. In January, the CMSN announced the release of six Hutu activists who had signed an open letter protesting the 1988 ethnic massacres. (Exiled Burundians claim that seventeen out of the twenty-seven signatories were arrested and that eleven remained in detention). A government-appointed twenty-four-member National Unity Committee issued a 165-page report in May recommending steps for safeguarding and consolidating national unity, although details of the report were not announced. President Buyoya has included Hutus in all levels of government.

In April, Burundi expelled all Libyans from the country, accusing them of "destabilizing activities." In May, almost all of the 63,000 Burundian refugees who fled to Rwanda to escape ethnic violence were repatriated. The spread of AIDS and its impact on the economy is another key issue of concern to the government.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Burundi is a militarily dominated one-party state in which the people cannot change their government through democratic means. The judiciary is not independent of the government and the ruling CMSN. Police and state security police can make arrests without warrants. Separate courts deal with state security, military and criminal (civil) cases. Several Hutu activists are believed to be held as political prisoners. The government controls all media, and political debate is generally limited to Uprona meetings. Nonpolitical associations are permitted but must be registered with the government, political parties are banned and freedom of assembly is restricted.

The Buyoya regime has abandoned the repressive religious policies of its predecessor, but all religious associations must register with the government and cannot engage in political activities. There are regulations on domestic travel, but emigration and foreign travel are generally free. The majority Hutu tribe still faces de facto discrimination in many levels of society. The national Trade Union Confederation is controlled by Uprona, and worker rights are curtailed.

Cambodia

Polity: Communist one-party

Political Rights: 7

Economy: Statist

Civil Liberties: 7

Population: 6,760,000

status: Not Free

Conflict: Insurgencies

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 42 male, 45 female

Ethnic Groups: Khmer (90 percent), Chinese (5 percent)

Overview:

Torn by war and civil strife for decades, this southeast Asian country was part of French Indochina until 1953, when it gained independence as the Kingdom of Cambodia under Prince Norodom Sihanouk. In 1955, Sihanouk abdicated in favor of his father and organized the People's Socialist Community, whose candidates won over 80 percent of the vote and all seats in the National Assembly in 1955. In 1966, after the People's Socialist Community again won a huge majority, conservative (then) Lt. Col. Lon Nol took over as premier. Meanwhile, Sihanouk set up a shadow government made up of moderates and leftists. In 1967, as the conflict between conservatives and moderates intensified and Communist-led social unrest increased, Sihanouk assumed special powers as head of a provisional government. However, in 1969, Gen. Lon Nol, backed by the U.S. (which was mired in the Vietnam War), returned to power, and a year later Sihanouk was deposed (and fled to China) and the monarchy abolished.

Lon Nol was narrowly returned to power in the 1972 elections, and had to face escalating guerrilla activity by the Communist Khmer Rouge. In 1974, President Nol offered to negotiate with the Communist-backed National United Front of Cambodia (FUNC), nominally headed by Sihanouk, who rejected the proposal. In 1975, as the U.S. was disengaging from Vietnam and Communist forces were advancing, Lon Nol fled to Indonesia at the request of the prime minister. On 12 April the government was evacuated along with U.S. embassy personnel from Phnom Penh.

On 17 April 1975, the Khmer Rouge took over the government, and in January 1976 Sihanouk formally resigned as head of state and the Democratic Republic of Kampuchea was declared under a new constitution. The Khmer Rouge, under Pol Pot, launched a brutal social restructuring campaign, forcibly removing people from large cities and resettling them in rural areas. Between 1976 and 1978, when the Vietnamese invaded Cambodia, an estimated 2-4 million Cambodians perished at the hands of the Pol Pot regime.

In 1979, the Vietnamese occupying forces renamed the country the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK), and established a government under Heng Samrin. In 1982, three anti-Vietnamese factions meeting in Malaysia

formed the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK), with Sihanouk as president. The three were the Khmer Rouge, officially known as the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea (NADK), with an estimated 40,000 armed fighters; the non-Communist Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF), heir of the Khmer Serei, (Free Cambodians), with about 10,000-12,000 troops; and the Armee Nationale Sihanoukienne (ANS), led by the prince, with a reported 20,000 troops.

In 1985, Hun Sen became chairman of the Kampuchean Council of Ministers. As Khmer Rouge guerrilla activity intensified, Prince Sihanouk announced in 1987 that he was taking a leave of absence from the CGDK presidency. After negotiations with Hun Sen in early 1988, he resigned as head of the three-group anti-Vietnamese coalition, although he changed his mind on 29 February, stating that his yearlong leave would stay in effect. He resigned again on 10 July. In mid-1988, Vietnam removed 50,000 of its estimated 120-140,000 troops to Vietnam. Later, representatives of all factions, as well as regional representatives, met in Indonesia to discuss the future of Cambodia.

On 24 July, talks got under way in Paris between the various factions. Included on the agenda were the negotiation of an interim government based on power-sharing by all factions, the verification of the troop withdrawal, suspension of foreign military aid to guerrilla forces, and the establishment of a groundwork for an international conference on Cambodia scheduled for the end of the month, which would include the ASEAN countries, the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, plus representatives from India, Japan, Canada and Australia.

A major stumbling block during the talks was the future roles of the Khmer Rouge and the U.N. peace-keeping force. Hun Sen rejected any role for the Khmer Rouge and did not agree on a U.N. force. On 30 July the international conference began with the Cambodian factions still in disagreement over several issues. Among those in attendance was Secretary of State James Baker. The U.S. and China has backed the CGDK. On 1 August the conference reached an agreement on a detailed program of committee negotiations which were to draft a cease-fire agreement and set a framework for a provisional government. The various factions could not reach agreement on the terms of the cease-fire, however, and the talks broke down on 30 August.

With the removal of the Vietnamese troops by 26 September guerrilla groups launched offensives. Sihanouk's forces attacked in the north, the KPNLF attacked a vital highway and the town of Sisophon, and the Khmer Rouge attacked the former provincial capital of Pailin in the south. The CGDK had hoped to force the Vietnamese-installed government back to the negotiating table. The Phnom Pehn regime announced multi-candidate elections for a 145-member National Assembly in February or March 1990.

By the fall, the guerrilla groups, particularly the battle-hardened Khmer Rouge, had made impressive gains against a weak and demoralized Cambodian army, raising fears that Pol Pot may yet return to run the country.

The PRK is governed by a Council of State, whose chairman, Heng Samrin, is head of state. The prime minister is Hun Sen. A Council of Ministers acts as the chairman's cabinet. The current National Assembly has 117 members, and acts as a rubber stamp for the ruling Cambodian People's Revolutionary Party, the only legal party.

Hundreds of thousands of Cambodians live in refugee camps along the Thai-Cambodian border. Some of the camps have become Khmer Rouge strongholds.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The people of Cambodia live in a one-party state under a regime imposed by the Vietnamese, and do not have the right to democratically change their government. Political killings, torture, disappearances and executions by the regime are common in this war-torn country. The Khmer Rouge are blamed for many atrocities against civilians in so-called "liberated" areas in Cambodia and in refugee camps they control. There have been some killings attributed to the KPNLF forces, due in most part to banditry and black market activities. Arbitrary arrest is common, and suspects have no legal rights and generally receive brutal treatment. The judiciary and security apparatus is controlled by the regime. All media are strictly controlled by the government and reflect official policy. Cambodians cannot openly criticize the government or guerrilla groups without fear of reprisals. There is no freedom of association or assembly. In 1989, Buddhism was declared the state religion, a move viewed as a PRK attempt to mobilize the masses against the Khmer Rouge. Christian communities are not authorized to meet. The Khmer Rouge has ruthlessly repressed Christianity and Islam in the areas they control, and Buddhism is discouraged. In one Khmer-Rouge controlled refugee camp, a Buddhist temple has been allowed to stand only as a showpiece to placate the international community. Government policy and the realities of the guerrilla war have restricted domestic travel. The Khmer Rouge executes anyone trying to escape from areas and camps under their control. They have also been forcibly moving refugees back into Cambodia. Freedom of movement is less restricted, though difficult, in camps controlled by the ANS and the KPNLF. Unions are controlled by the regime, and workers do not have the right to strike.

Cameroon

Polity: One-party	Political Rights: 6
Economy: Capitalist	Civil Liberties: 6
Population: 11,495,000	Status: Not Free
Conflict: None	
PPP: \$1,381	
Life Expectancy: 50 male, 53 female	
Ethnic groups: Over 100 tribes and 24 languages	

Overview:

Present-day Republic of Cameroon (called the United Republic of Cameroon until 1984), located on the Gulf of Guinea in west-central Africa, was formed in 1961 with the merger of former French and English territories. Until 1965-66, the country was governed under a loose federal structure and separate regional governments to accommodate its tribal, linguistic and religious diversity. The merger of regional political organizations into the Cameroon National Union (UNC) under President Ahmadou Babatoura Ahidjo was formalized in 1972 under a new constitution adopted by referendum.

Under the unitary system, which calls for a strong presidency directly elected by universal suffrage, President Ahidjo was reelected to a fifth term

in 1980. Legislative authority is vested in the 150-member National Assembly. Provincial officials are appointed by the president.

After President Ahidjo's unexpected retirement in 1982, Prime Minister Paul Biya assumed the presidency. An attempted coup in 1983 by Biya's prime minister was unsuccessful. Biya was elected in 1984, and the National Assembly voted to drop the post of prime minister. The following year, the UNC was renamed the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM), the only functioning party inside the country.

In the 1988 national elections, President Biya, running unopposed, was returned to office, and individual seats for the National Assembly were contested under a 1987 law allowing multi-candidacy elections. All candidates, however, were members of the ruling CPDM.

The government's primary concern in 1989 continued to be the country's economic decline, precipitated partly by depressed oil and commodity prices. President Biya, unlike other African leaders, has resisted assistance from the International Monetary Fund, and has embarked on an austerity program that has involved reducing the bureaucracy, privatizing some enterprises and weeding out corruption.

In March 1989, the government announced that permanent police checkpoints along roads and highways had been abolished. Two months later, the director general of the Cameroonian National Security Department warned nationals and foreigners against "the overuse and abuse" of freedom of expression, reminding the country that the 1962 ordinances on the repression of subversion were still in force. On 5 May writer Albert Mukong, jailed since June 1988 for criticizing the voting system in a BBC interview, was released on the request of the president.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Although there was some liberalization in the political process, Cameroon remains a one-party state in which citizens cannot change the party in power. Decisions of judicial magistrates are generally not subject to government interference, and trials are usually conducted fairly. However, there are no limitations on preventive detention for defendants formally indicted. Prison conditions are poor and reports indicate the prisoners are often mistreated. The 1962 subversion statutes proscribe casting "a slur on the respect of public authorities" and inciting "hatred against the government." Those found guilty face one to five years' imprisonment and fines. Writer Albert Mukong was held under this ordinance for eleven months before his release in May. These laws limit freedom of expression and the ability of citizens to openly criticize their government. The independent press is subject to censorship, and journalists have been arrested and jailed in the past for articles critical of state policies. The government publishes two newspapers and controls television and radio. All organizations must register with the government, and public meetings and demonstrations must have government approval. Freedom of religion is generally unrestricted, except for some small sects, and travel inside the country is generally unrestricted. Regulations on foreign travel can be used by the government to prevent someone from going abroad. The umbrella Organization of United Cameroonian Workers (OCWU) is controlled by the ruling party; strikes are illegal.

Canada

Polity: Federal parliamentary democracy

Political Rights: 1

Economy: Capitalist

Civil Liberties: 1

Population: 25,895,000

Status: Free

Conflict: None

PPP: \$16,375

Life Expectancy: 72 male, 79 female

Ethnic groups: British, French, other European, Asian, Caribbean black, native American (Indian and Inuit) and others

Overview:

The French and British colonized Canada in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Following the Treaty of Paris in 1763, Britain governed both the French and English-speaking areas until it granted home rule with the British North America Act in 1867. The British monarch remains the titular head of state, acting through the largely ceremonial Canadian Governor-General. Britain retained a theoretical right to overrule the Canadian Parliament until 1981, when the Canadians established complete control over their own constitution. Canada adopted a revised constitution in 1982 and added a charter of rights and freedoms. The largely French-speaking province of Quebec agreed to accept the new constitution in 1987 in return for a recognition by the federal government and the other provinces that it constitutes a distinct society within Canada. Toward the end of 1989, three predominantly English-speaking provinces were considering rejecting the constitutional agreement, threatening a crisis before the 1990 deadline for approval of the compact.

The head of government is Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, whose Progressive Conservative Party has won the last two federal elections held in 1984 and 1988. He campaigned in the latter election, supporting a free trade agreement with the U.S. The opposition parties, the Liberals and the socialist New Democrats, had opposed the deal as detrimental to Canada's economic and cultural interests. Under the pact with the U.S., tariffs between the two countries will disappear by 1999.

The two-house Canadian Parliament consists of an appointed Senate and a House of Commons, which is elected from single-member districts (ridings) for a maximum term of five years.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Canada is one of the most free countries in the world. Its people have the right to change governments by democratic means. At the federal level, there is a strong multi-party system. Some purely regional parties exist at the provincial level. The most notable regional group is Parti Quebecois, which advocates sovereignty for Quebec. Due to canvassing by government census-takers, Canada has nearly 100 percent effective voter registration.

Although there is a government-related broadcasting system, the media are free. A generous welfare system supplements a largely open, competitive economy. Trade unions and business associations are well-organized. Religious expression is free and diverse. The judiciary is independent, and has the right of constitutional review. In general, civil liberties are very strong and protected by the charter of rights and freedoms in the constitution. However, legislation allows liberties to be curtailed in the event of national emergencies. Rights may also be limited to some extent by laws which prohibit some forms of pornography and hate literature and

by measures which allow some censorship by provincial film boards. The provisions against hate literature gave the government a legal basis to restrict the importation of Salman Rushdie's book, *The Satanic Verses*. Controversy continues about Quebec's language laws, which promote French and limit the use of English in signs, advertisements and education. Non-English-speaking immigrants may not send their children to Anglophone schools in Quebec.

Cape Verde

Polity: One-party

Political Rights: 6

Economy: Mixed-statist

Civil Liberties: 5

Population: 359,000

Status: Not Free

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 61 male and female

Ethnic groups: Creole (Mulatto, 71 percent); African, (28 percent); European, (1 percent)

Overview:

This cluster of ten islands and smaller islets off the coast of west-central Africa is a former Portuguese dependency that gained independence in 1975. The initial plan was for a formal unification with mainland Guinea-Bissau under the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau (PAIGC), but in 1981 all references to unification were expunged from the 1980 constitution after the mainland government was overthrown. The constitution established Cape Verde as a single-party state, with legislative authority vested in a unicameral National People's Assembly charged with electing a president for a five-year term.

The country is led by President Aristides Pereira, general secretary of the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde (PAICV), which replaced the PAIGC as the sole legal party after unification plans were put on hold. He was reelected in January 1986. National Assembly was directly elected in 1985 from PAICV-approved candidates, with some independents. Only about four percent of the population belong to the PAICV.

In 1989, the main issue confronting the government was the economy, adversely effected by a twenty-year drought that ended in 1987-88. The current economic plan (1986-1990) calls for reforms in education, agriculture and the civil service.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The citizens of Cape Verde cannot change the one-party system enshrined in the constitution. Defendants in state security cases can be detained without trial for five months. Criminal and civil cases are adjudicated fairly and expeditiously, and there are no known political prisoners. The media are government owned and reflect government policy. A Catholic newspaper often provides social criticism. Public criticism of the government by citizens is not generally tolerated. Private associations are limited to religious and sports organizations that need government authorization. Freedom of religion is respected by the government, and there are no significant restrictions on freedom of movement. All unions must belong to the Workers' Union of Cape Verde, which is affiliated with the PAICV. The right to strike is not explicitly prohibited, and there have been work stoppages.

Central African Republic

Polity: One-party (military)

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 3,089,000

Conflict: Rebel activity

PPP: \$591

Life Expectancy: 41 male, 45 female

Ethnic groups: Baya (34 percent), Banda (27 percent),

Mandja (21 percent), Sara (10 percent)

Political Rights: 6

Civil Liberties: 6

Status: Not Free

Overview:

Since gaining independence in 1960 this mineral-rich, largely agricultural country in central Africa has had a turbulent political history. It became a one-party military state in 1966 after a coup by Col. Jean-Bedel Bokassa who, before being ousted in 1979, had crowned himself emperor in a lavish ceremony that depleted the national treasury, and who was responsible for widespread human rights abuses, including the murder of school children who had complained about wearing uniforms manufactured by his family.

The country has been led since 1981 by Gen. Andre Kolingba, who suspended the constitution and banned political party activity. In 1986, the Central African Democratic Assembly (RDC) was launched as the country's only legal political party and a single-party constitution was adopted, under which Gen. Kolingba was retained in office for a six-year term. Elections for the unicameral National Assembly were held in 1987, with 142 RDC candidates running for fifty-two seats. The legislative sessions have been marked by vigorous debate of government economic policy. Nationwide municipal elections brought a degree of self-determination to local government

Key issues facing the government in 1989 were continued calls by the International Monetary Fund for the CAR to cut government spending drastically, and continued armed guerrilla activity. In May, the IMF and the World Bank pressed Gen. Kolingba to push through an economic restructuring program and cut civil service staff. Several dissidents and students opposed to IMF austerity in Africa were arrested. In June, a rebel group, the Zarguina, launched attacks in several cities, causing the president to cancel a trip to Dakar for a Francophone Summit. The armed and well-organized group has raided diamond companies and has exacted ransoms from truck drivers and merchants. It is unclear if the Zarguina have specific political demands or are merely bandits.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The CAR remains a one-party state and the people do not have the power to change their government democratically. Several dissidents and students were reportedly arrested in 1989, though the exact number of political prisoners is not known. Civil and criminal cases are adjudicated by a court system based on the French model and trials are generally fair. A special High Court of Justice tries political cases. The media are controlled by the government and reflect official policy. Freedom of association and assembly is circumscribed, and nonpolitical groups must register with the government. Government interference in religion is minimal, and freedom of movement is generally unrestricted. In May 1988, a law restored the rights of trade unions, though none has yet formed.

Chad

Polity: Military
Economy: Capitalist
Population: 4,845,000
Conflict: Ethnic; international
PPP: NA
Life Expectancy: 41 male, 45 female
Ethnic Groups: Arab, Sara and other African
Political Rights: 7
Civil Liberties: 6
Status: Not Free

Overview:

Located in north-central Africa, Chad was a French colony for most of this century until gaining independence in 1960. Upon the withdrawal of French troops in 1965, domestic factions began to struggle for control of the country, presaging an on-again, off-again civil war. After years of conflict, two main factions emerged, Hissein Habre's Armed Forces of the North (FAN) and the People's Armed Forces (FAP), led by Goukhoumi Oueddei. Both groups cooperated in the formation of a government in 1979 with Oueddei serving as president and Habre as defense minister. A rift and then confrontation between the two groups broke out. This time the FAP began to receive assistance from Libya's Col. Qadhafi. In 1980 Libyan forces moved into northern Chad from the mineral-rich Aouzou Strip, which they had occupied since 1973. By the end of 1980, the FAP had succeeded in forcing Habre to withdraw from the capital of N'Djamena. Fighting continued for many years, with French troops helping Habre who became president in 1983, following the overthrow of Oueddei's regime.

The turning point in the Fighting occurred in March 1987, when Habre's forces overran Libyan forces in northern Chad and pursued them into southern Libya. By October 1988 Qadhafi formally terminated the war. In August 1989 Chad and Libya agreed to find a political solution to their dispute over the Aouzou Strip and, if none is found within a year, to take the dispute to the World Court. The accord also paves the way for the return of Libyan prisoners of war. Fifteen hundred French troops will remain in Chad. Libyan troops continue to occupy the Aouzou strip.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Citizens of Chad are unable to freely choose their representatives; they are governed by a strong centralized bureaucracy under the charismatic President Habre. Until the adoption of a new and permanent constitution, the Malloum Charter of 1982 assigns overwhelming powers to the president. At present a new draft constitution is being prepared to be submitted to a national referendum. The constitution would provide for a republican governmental structure, a popularly elected president with broad powers who could select and dismiss his own ministers, and traditional tribal prerogatives. Basic human rights would also be guaranteed.

Strongly backed by the armed forces, Habre rules alongside a National Consultative Council and the Council of Ministers, both of which he appoints. The only recognized political party in Chad is the government-sponsored National Union for Independence and Revolution (UNIR). Habre has continued to call for national unity and appealed to former President Oueddei and his supporters to return to Chad and accept reconciliation. To a large extent he has succeeded, although Oueddei remains in exile. No effective military factions can be said to exist.

In April a coup attempt against Habre by the commander of the armed

forces was thwarted. The coup was initiated by top ministers of the Zagawa clan who were apparently disenchanted with Habre's reaching out to former opposition groups and giving them government positions.

The government deploys a large internal security force to control anti-Habre forces reportedly backed by Libya. It continues to detain hundreds of people who express viewpoints critical of Habre's rule, although 140 prisoners were given a presidential pardon early in 1989. Political or security offenders—the term applies liberally—have in practice little or no legal protections from arbitrary arrest. Detention without trial, incommunicado detention, and abuse of detainees are commonplace. The number of Libyan prisoners of war is estimated to be 2,000. Habre refuses to negotiate the release of these men until the remaining Libyan forces have fully withdrawn from the Aouzou strip. (Since the August accord a group of Libyans has been freed.) The Chadian judiciary is not independent of the executive branch. There is no guarantee of a speedy, fair or public trial. Freedom of speech and the press in Chad is guaranteed by law, but criticism of the government is rare and has led to arrest. The media are controlled by and supportive of the government. The government sometimes denies foreign correspondents entry into the country, while at other times they are given free access to government officials. Freedom of religion is respected. All faiths practice without governmental restrictions. Christian missionaries are allowed to enter the country and proselytize. Chadians can move freely through the country, except in designated northern security areas, and may emigrate. Only a minuscule proportion of the workforce is unionized. All unions are required to belong to the party-affiliated, government-controlled National Union of Chadian Trade Unions. The right to strike is severely constrained. The right to assemble is recognized only so long as the purpose is not to express anti-government views.

Chile

Polity: Military transitional

Political Rights: 4

Economy: Capitalist

Civil Liberties: 3

Population: 12,925,000

Status: Partly Free

Conflict: Left-wing urban guerrilla organizations

PPP: \$4,862

Life Expectancy: 67 male, 73 female

Ethnic Groups: Relatively homogeneous

Overview.

The Republic of Chile was established after independence from Spain was achieved in 1818. Democratic governance predominated in this century until the overthrow of the socialist government of Salvador Allende by the military in 1973. In 1974, Gen. Augusto Pinochet became head of state and since that time has presided over a four-man ruling junta, each member representing a branch of the armed forces. The Pinochet regime dissolved the National Congress, banned Marxist parties, placed all other parties in indefinite recess and prohibited all political activities. Until August 1988, the government operated under either a state of siege or a somewhat less restrictive state of emergency.

After a controversial, state-controlled plebiscite in 1980, the government

announced the electorate had approved a new constitution. The profoundly undemocratic 1980 constitution established a permanent tutelary role for the military in a protracted transition to a "protected" democracy. It also provided for a second plebiscite in which voters would confirm or reject another eight-year presidential term for a government candidate.

In October 1988, 55 percent of 7 million voters said "no" to a second term for Gen. Pinochet. They did so despite the enormous advantage exercised by the government in the five-week campaign. Although non-Marxist political parties were legalized in 1988, the democratic opposition remained subject to a web of laws restricting political rights and civil liberties that remained in place after the lifting of the states of exception. The "no" victory meant the government was then constitutionally bound to hold competitive presidential and legislative elections by the end of 1989, with a new president and bicameral Congress taking office in March 1990.

The successful 1988 campaign of the sixteen-party Command for the No was based on the democratic opposition's determination to reform the constitution through negotiations with the government. After the Command maintained its unity and agreed in early 1989 to run a single candidate for president, Pinochet was urged by key right-wing supporters to negotiate with the opposition. Talks took place during the spring and ended with an agreement on fifty-four constitutional changes that were easily passed in another plebiscite in July 1989.

The key reform was the addition of one civilian to the National Security Council, giving civilians equal representation with the military on this powerful body that will be able to veto any policy which "compromises national security." Other changes included increasing the number of elected senators in the Congress from twenty-six to thirty-eight (nine will still be appointed by the Pinochet government); the elimination of the article banning Marxist parties; and the reduction in length of the coming presidential term from eight years to four. However, further constitutional reform, essential for a fully democratic system, will require approval by two-thirds of the bicameral Congress as well as by a constitutional tribunal, a majority of whose members are appointed by the Pinochet government.

By the start of the campaign for the first presidential elections in nineteen years, scheduled for 14 December, there were three presidential candidates. The seventeen-party, center-left Coalition for Democracy (formerly the Command for the No) had nominated Christian Democratic leader Patricio Aylwin, the former head of the Command. After months of dispute, a majority of right-wing parties opted to back Pinochet's former finance minister, Hernan Buchi, while the remainder supported businessman Francisco Errazuriz. One month before the vote, opinion polls showed Aylwin leading with about 50 percent. There will be a second-round runoff on 7 February 1990 if no candidate wins a clear majority.

Because Aylwin and the Coalition vowed not to make major changes in the free-market, free-trade thrust of the economy, the future of civil-military relations emerged as the main campaign issue. According to the constitution, Pinochet can remain until 1997 as commander of the army, the most powerful branch of the armed forces, and will therefore occupy a seat on the National Security Council. He will also be a senator for life. The Coalition stated it would seek to diminish the role of the military under civilian rule and that Pinochet should retire in 1990. Pinochet rejected the idea and

threatened military intervention in the event of a disruption in the current constitutional order. He also restructured his officer corps, removing generals that leaned toward a more professional role for the 60,000-man military. The Coalition was therefore campaigning hard to win the two-thirds majority in the Senate and the 120-member Chamber of Deputies required to amend the constitution.

The other potentially explosive issue was human rights violations committed under military rule. Pinochet vowed there would be no revision in the 1978 amnesty law barring prosecution of anybody accused of violations in the years after the 1973 coup. The Coalition appeared squeezed between the military's intransigence on the issue and the demands for justice from victims and their families, a dilemma that has dogged the return to democracy in numerous Latin American countries.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

All political parties are able to achieve legal status following the constitutional reforms made in mid-1989, although the registration process remains cumbersome. A number of Marxist parties registered before the 1989 campaign. The Communist Party (PCCh) refused, saying the process was discriminatory. However, the PCCh, as well as other unregistered Marxist parties, were able to run legislative candidates under the umbrella of a registered coalition, the Broad Party of the Socialist Left (PAIS).

While political activity is now relatively free, there was a surge in campaign-related violence in the months before the election. Nearly two dozen attacks against the offices of both the opposition Coalition and rightist parties were recorded, as well as close to a thousand arrests by police during confrontational political demonstrations. Charges of provocation were exchanged by the leading candidates, Aylwin and Buchi, but the intense campaign was not interrupted. In the first ten months of the year, there were eleven political killings: nine policemen and an army officer, allegedly by still active left-wing guerrillas, and the spokesman for a guerrilla group now engaged in political activities, the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR).

Although some laws remain that restrict political expression, many were eliminated by the constitutional reforms and the opposition was able to run a free-wheeling campaign. Labor activities, however, are still significantly curbed. While unions are legal, labor federations are not because of a law banning "federated entities." And although the labor code allows the right to strike, employers are allowed to fire strikers after sixty days. All labor demonstrations must be approved by the government. An unauthorized strike in 1987 led to a sentence of 541 days of internal exile for two leaders of the Unified Labor Confederation (CUT). They were freed in October 1989 before completing their sentences because Pinochet wanted to avoid a visit from Polish labor leader Lech Walesa who was seeking their release. However, prosecutions were initiated against other CUT leaders for calling another unauthorized strike in April 1989.

The Pinochet regime did not dissolve the Supreme Court but was able to exert enormous influence on it, pressuring it to suspend lower court justices who attempted to indict members of the security forces because of human rights violations. The official line has been that accusations of abuses can be investigated, but no inquiry has ever led to the conviction of a member of the armed forces. The power of military courts was greatly expanded as

they became the regime's legal arm against political opposition, violent or otherwise. The civil courts have displayed greater independence in recent years, but the strength of the judicial system will be determined by the outcome of the looming tug-of-war between the military and a civilian government. Chile's professionally staffed and very effective human rights organizations, secular as well as Catholic church-sponsored, will play a major role.

In 1989, numerous advances were made in freedom of the press. With the elimination of Transitory Article 24 of the constitution, any person or group can now start, edit, operate and distribute newspapers or magazines without prior permission. Many publications closed by the regime are publishing again, including the newspapers of the PCCh and the MIR. They join the myriad opposition newsweeklies and two daily newspapers that have been operating since before the plebiscite. A number of laws restricting the press, however, remain in effect; journalists can still be indicted for being overly critical of Pinochet or the military.

There is freedom of religion, although human rights activists operating under religious inspiration have been harassed.

Radio is both private and public. Independent radio played a key role in the 1988 plebiscite with extensive coverage of the Command for the No's parallel vote count

The national television network is controlled by the state. There are three noncommercial television stations run by universities that are now able to address political as well as cultural issues. During the 1988 and 1989 campaigns, opposition parties were allotted time on the state-run network. The television campaign carefully crafted by the Command for the No was a key component in defeating Pinochet in the 1988 plebiscite. An early 1989 campaign highlight was a nationally televised debate between Aylwin and Buchi. All three presidential candidates expressed support for full freedom of information and the media.

China

Polity: Communist one-party

Economy: Statist

Population: 1,0984,700,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$2,124

Life Expectancy: 67 male, 69 female

Ethnic groups: Han Chinese (93 percent), Azhuang, Hui, Uygur, Yi, Miao, Manchu, Tibetan, others

Political Rights: 7

Civil Liberties: 7

Status: Not Free

Overview:

The People's Republic of China (PRC) was established as a one-party Communist state in 1949 after Mao Zedong's victory over the Nationalists, led by Chiang Kai-shek, who fled to the island of Formosa (Taiwan). In 1950-51, Chinese troops seized Tibet, which was incorporated as an Autonomous Region of the PRC in 1965.

The dominant political force in the country is the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), although eight smaller parties are allowed to exist under a CCP umbrella, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC). The unicameral National People's Congress (NPC), indirectly

elected for five years, serves as the legislative body, though it is subservient to the CCP. The NPC confirms the president, vice-president and premier of the State Council. In 1982, a new constitution reinstated the post of head of state, with the title of president rather than chairman. It is currently held by Yang Shangkun, named in 1988, although genuine authority is in the hands of the CCP.

Following Chairman Mao's death in late 1976, a power struggle ensued between radicals—led by his widow, Jiang Qing, Vice-Premier Zhang Chunqiao, Wang Hongwen and Yao Wenyuan—and acting Premier Hua Guofeng. The radicals, branded as the "Gang of Four," were arrested and later tried for trying to overthrow the government. In October 1976, Hua was designated as chairman of the CCP Central Committee. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the government began purging Maoist elements in the CCP-government apparatus and dismantling some of Mao's programs, including the commune agricultural system, and returning land to the peasants. During this time, Deng Xiaoping, a former CCP general secretary who was disgraced during the Cultural Revolution in the late 1960s but was renamed CCP deputy chairman, vice-premier of the State Council and chief of the Armed Forces in 1977, began to consolidate greater influence in the CCP. In 1980, several Deng opponents were removed from the Politburo, and Hua Guofeng was replaced as premier by Deng ally and reformer Zhao Ziyang. The Party Secretariat was revived and Deng ally Hu Yaobang was named general secretary, and in 1981 replaced Hua as CCP chairman. Deng, who had resigned as vice-chairman the year before, replaced Hua as chairman of the Party's Military Commission (CMC), considered to be the most powerful position in China.

In 1982, a new Party constitution abolished the posts of chairman and vice-chairman and reinstated that of general secretary, to which former chairman Hu was named.

Deng's reformist faction oversaw the restructuring of the upper echelon of the CCP, and in 1983 the Central Committee approved a program to reform China's economic structure, which introduced market mechanisms, reliance on capitalist management methods, decentralization, price reform and the principle of supply-and-demand. In April 1985, general secretary Hu Yaobang announced a wide purge in CCP national, regional, provincial and municipal ranks. Later in the year, 40 percent of the ruling Politburo were forced to resign.

In the mid-1980s, Hu oversaw a policy of limited political liberalization. In 1987, however, student disturbances led to Hu's removal as Party leader, and he was replaced by Premier Zhao. Hard-liner Li Peng was later named premier.

Hu Yaobang's death on 15 April 1989 sparked further unrest as hundreds of thousands of students laid siege to Tiananmen Square demanding greater democracy to accompany a decade of economic reforms. As the protests spread to Shanghai and other cities, a power struggle continued between old-guard, hard-liners and reformers in an increasingly divided CCP. On 20 May Li Peng announced martial law in parts of Beijing, a move opposed by Zhao, whose ouster as Party leader was pressed by Deng, who called Zhao a counter-revolutionary. As the crisis worsened and elements of the military seemed unwilling to clear the square of students and workers, Deng left the capital, returning with pledges of support for martial law from six of China's seven regional military commanders. By

early June, the number of students and workers in the square had dwindled to under 10,000.

On the weekend of 4 June, troops of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) launched an all-out assault on the demonstrators using tanks and heavy armor against unarmed students. In the clashes that followed, anywhere from 2,000 to 5,000 civilians were reportedly killed in Beijing, although the exact number will likely never be known. Three hundred were killed in the southern city of Chengdu. Hundreds were rounded up and jailed as "criminals" and "counterrevolutionaries." Chinese state television, reaching an audience of 500 million, immediately began broadcasting images of students burning army vehicles and blamed student counter-revolutionaries for killing soldiers; there was no mention of a massacre. Within a week of the crackdown over 1,600 had been arrested, many paraded before television cameras declaring their guilt. Other protest leaders fled into the countryside and some managed to get out of the country. By the end of June, eleven death sentences were announced and carried out, and more were to follow. In a three-day sweep in July, more than 3,000 "counterrevolutionaries" were arrested. The Party moved to head off further unrest by launching a nationwide mandatory indoctrination and reeducation campaign in factories, schools and government offices.

The aftermath of the massacre saw an intense crisis within the CCP, as economic reformer Deng allied himself with aging political conservatives (often called the "gerontocracy") and military leaders who had long opposed his program. A National People's Congress Standing Committee session scheduled for 20 June was indefinitely postponed as the behind-the-scenes power struggle continued. An indication of the uncertainty was that no replacement for Party leader Zhao had been announced.

On 24 June, Zhao was formally replaced as Party chief by Jiang Zemin and put under house arrest. Hard-line central planners such as eighty-seven-year-old Peng Zhen, eighty-two-year-old Chen Yun and seventy-three-year-old ideologue Deng Liqun were brought back into political life. The new conservative influence was reflected in Party restructuring and an effort to reestablish Party cells in government bodies, in contradiction to the 1987 decision to "separate Party and government." By August, Deng's economic reforms were attacked and rolled back. An anti-corruption drive launched that month was seen as an assault on free markets, as plans were announced to shut down some private businesses. Purges were also launched in the Culture Ministry. In September, novelist Wang Meng, who supported the rights of artists and creative freedom, was ousted as head of the ministry. The campaign to ferret out democracy movement sympathizers reached into every newspaper office, radio station, television network and journalism school across the country.

In September, the Li government decided to wage war on the centerpiece of economic reform and Deng's "open-door policy" in the mid-1980s, the coastal zones opened by former CCP general secretary Zhao as an experiment with freer markets aimed at drawing foreign investment. Central planners replaced more liberal officials in several key provinces. In mid-October entrepreneurs were barred from CCP membership, thus shut out of decision-making councils.

The ongoing changes set the stage for the battle over the succession to the eighty-five-year-old Deng. In mid-September, it was reported that Deng had anointed the sixty-three-year-old Party leader Jiang to succeed him, and

suggested he would step down as chairman of the powerful CMC, the only position he still held. He did so in November and named Jiang to take his place, though Deng remained the most powerful man in China.

China's leadership confronts other problems, including a deteriorating economy and continued unrest in Tibet, which was rocked by anti-Chinese violence in the spring. By September, industrial output had shrunk and inflation was running at 22 percent. Rising prices and falling output, a decline in the number of workers in the private sector, and an increase in the number of state-owned enterprises operating at a loss and needing subsidies indicate that the economy is in serious trouble. The government's austerity program did little to alleviate the problems, and most analysts feel that the return of central planning mechanisms in the wake of the political upheaval will only exacerbate matters. Britain and China resumed talks in the fall over the future of Hong Kong, due to be turned over to China in 1997.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The PRC is a one-party, Communist state whose citizens do not have the means to democratically change their government. The judiciary is not independent of government-Party interference. Thousands of people were arrested following the crackdown in Tiananmen Square, untold numbers were sent to reeducation camps and scores were believed executed, many in secret. Western estimates put the number of political prisoners anywhere from 600,000 to 1 million, most of them held in camps in the remote western province of Qinghai. Security and intelligence forces are intrusive and pervasive in society, and "neighborhood committees" are used for surveillance and as informants. Defendants are presumed guilty by courts.

Public expression is severely limited and the media are controlled by the government and reflect official policies. Western journalists faced new restrictions after the crackdown, and several were expelled. A new law announced in November put even tougher curbs on assembly, requiring anyone wishing to demonstrate to have written permission from the police, who were given virtually unlimited authority to crush "unlawful" gatherings. In Tibet, freedom of assembly is severely restricted. Freedom of association is also circumscribed. Nonpolitical groups are permitted, but are under CCP control. Religious rights are strictly regulated, and Tibetan Buddhists as well as Chinese Christians are persecuted. There were reports in 1989 of several incidents in which Roman Catholics were killed for holding unauthorized worship services. There are restrictions on domestic and foreign travel, and regulations regarding personal and family life in such areas as employment, residence and size of family. Trade unions are closely controlled by the CCP and belong to the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. Free trade union advocates were among the first to be arrested in the June crackdown and, significantly, workers—not students—were among the first to be executed.

Colombia

Polity: Presidential-congressional democracy

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 30,465,000

Conflict: Left-wing guerrilla insurgencies

PPP: \$3,524

Life Expectancy: 61 male, 66 female

Ethnic Groups: Relatively homogeneous population, scattered minorities

Political Rights: 3

Civil Liberties: 4

Status: Partly Free

Overview:

Colombia achieved independence from Spain in 1819. The Republic of Colombia was formally established under the constitution adopted in 1886. Since then, the Liberal and Conservative parties have dominated the political system. A long period of relative stability ended with a decade (1948-1958) of violent upheaval and interparty warfare. In 1957, the Liberals and Conservatives agreed to a constitutional amendment establishing a National Front under which they participated equally in government until 1974.

Since 1974, the president and the bicameral Congress have been directly elected for four-year terms. According to the revised constitution, the party losing the presidential election is entitled to cabinet representation, but following the victory of Liberal candidate Virgilio Barco in 1986 the Conservative party leadership opted to move into formal opposition. At each of the last four elections, the Liberals won a majority in both the Senate and the Chamber of Representatives. The governors of the country's twenty-three departments are appointed by the executive branch. In March 1988, mayoral elections were held for the first time in Colombia's history. The next presidential election was scheduled for May 1990, with elections for the 114-member Senate and 199-member Chamber slated for March.

Throughout the 1980s, Colombian governments have been under attack by an array of loosely allied left-wing guerrilla movements: Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC), National Liberation Army (ELN), People's Liberation Army (ELP), April 19 Movement (M-19). The four organizations and allied splinter groups have been loosely associated in a National Guerrilla Coordinating Board (CNG). M-19 agreed to cease fire and form a political party in 1989. There are also numerous right-wing paramilitary groups with links to drug-traffickers and/or the military. The country has also been besieged by the hemisphere's two major cocaine-trafficking cartels based in the Colombian cities of Medellin and Cali.

The Conservative government of President Belisario Betancur negotiated unstable ceasefires with some of the guerrilla groups in 1984. In 1985, the Patriotic Union (UP) was formed as the political arm of the Moscow-line FARC that had been fighting for three decades. The UP ran in the 1986 congressional elections and obtained one seat in the Senate and ten in the Chamber. When the truce with the FARC broke down in 1987, the UP came under attack by right-wing paramilitary groups linked with the military and/or the drug traffickers. Hundreds of its members have been killed, including dozens of UP candidates in the 1988 municipal elections.

The Barco government also sought to negotiate with the guerrilla groups. Talks with the M-19 in 1989 led to an agreement whereby M-19 would lay down its arms and form a political party in exchange for electoral guarantees regarding representation in Congress and constitutional

reform initiatives. In November, M-19 leader Carlos Pizarro announced that he would be a presidential candidate in 1990. However, continuing attacks against the UP remained an obstacle to an agreement with the FARC, and the other two main groups mounted new offensives.

The far greater threat to the state is the power and ruthlessness of the drug cartels. After a series of assassinations of high government officials in 1988, the Barco government attempted a major crackdown against them, the fourth since 1984. In the first six months of 1989, the military and security forces destroyed hundreds of laboratories and seized tons of cocaine. The effort was fully supported by the enormously popular Luis Carlos Galan, the leader of the PL's up-and-coming younger generation. As the odds-on favorite in the PL primary election scheduled for early 1990, Galan had emerged as the leading candidate for the 1990 presidential election. After the Medellin cartel had him assassinated on 18 August, however, the drug war he had vowed to continue escalated to unprecedented heights.

Fueled by billions of dollars in profits, the drug cartels have become in less than a decade a political and military force that challenges the existence of the state. Through bribery and force, the cartels have penetrated nearly every branch of government including the Congress, the judicial system, the military and security forces. Before Galan, the cartels had killed two cabinet ministers, a dozen Supreme Court justices, the editor of Colombia's second largest newspaper, and more than fifty judges.

After Galan's murder, President Barco struck back. Under emergency measures, thousands of suspects were detained and millions of dollars in cartel property and assets were seized. More significantly, Barco reinstated extradition procedures for traffickers wanted in the U.S. Reversing itself from earlier years, the Supreme Court upheld the extradition measure in October. But by that time the Medellin cartel had already unleashed a wave of lethal shootings and bombings unprecedented even by 1980s standards. The principal cartel leaders, in hiding after having escaped the dragnet, offered several times during the fall to negotiate a truce in exchange for impunity. The Barco administration rejected the offer and the cartels began to make good on their threat to kill ten judges for every trafficker extradited.

In November, the entire Colombian judicial system went on strike, raising the specter of wholesale institutional collapse. Candidates for the 1990s elections were practically suffocated by the security measures required for appearing in public. According to opinion polls, the country was divided over whether the government should accept the cartels' offer to negotiate. Barco argued that giving in to the traffickers would mean forfeiting the nation's sovereignty. The mayor of Medellin and the president of the Chamber of Representatives, among other prominent politicians, argued that the drug war was futile. M-19, a group that has intermittently allied with drug traffickers in the past, also urged the government to negotiate with the traffickers.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Constitutional rights regarding free expression, freedom of religion and the freedom to organize political parties, civic groups and labor unions are limited by the government's increasing inability to guarantee the security of democratic institutions and the media. Because Colombian politicians traditionally depend on frequent public appearances throughout the country,

the murder of Galan and subsequent threats by the cartels against other candidates severely restricted the campaign for the 1990 elections.

Prior to the escalation of the drug war following Galan's murder, left-wing political organizations and peasant, student and labor groups were the targets of rightist paramilitary groups. These groups are linked to midlevel military officers or sponsored by the drug cartels, with probable overlap. Over 400 members of the Popular Unity party alone have been killed since 1986. Judges who conducted inquiries into the connections of these groups were subject to death threats, a number of which were carried out. The Barco administration has tried to clean up the military. In April 1989, it took steps to outlaw these groups, including the creation of a special police force, but the government effort lost steam after it declared total war on the cartels in August.

There are a number of independent human rights organizations that have reported, under duress and intimidation, on disappearances, on the hundreds of killings by rightist paramilitary groups, and on the abuses of the military and security forces in the counterinsurgency war against left-wing guerrilla groups. After the August crackdown, rights monitors expressed concern that emergency measures that limit personal rights would renew a sense of impunity within the military and the police.

The constitution provides for an independent judiciary headed by a Supreme Court that has the power to declare legislative acts unconstitutional. However, the entire judicial system has been weakened by the decade-long onslaught of the drug cartels. Much of the system has been compromised through bribery. Those who refused to be bribed have been murdered; in the last ten years over 50 judges, 170 judicial employees, a justice minister, and an attorney general have been killed. The Supreme Court decision in October to approve Barco's extradition decree showed renewed courage, but led to the assassination of two district judges. In November, the Court backed the 14,000-member judicial workers union in a national strike to demand that the government provide security.

The media are both public and private. Radio includes both government and independent stations. Television is a government monopoly. The press, including several major daily newspapers, is privately owned and uncensored. In April 1989, the Supreme Court ruled that not even during states of emergency can the government take actions that restrict the full freedom of the press in a general way.

Along with the judicial sector, the press has been the hardest hit by the cartel's campaign of bombings and killings. Since 1980, nearly fifty journalists have been murdered, eight between the time of the government's August crackdown, which was roundly supported by the press, and the first week in November. In August, the cartels issued a communique declaring "all-out war" against the press. The offices of two major newspapers and several independent radio stations were severely damaged by bomb attacks. Nearly every newspaper, radio station and television news program has been repeatedly threatened. However, much of the press continued to support the government and its refusal to negotiate with the cartels.

Comoros

Polity: One-party
Economy: Capitalist
Population: 436,000
Conflict: None
PPP: NA
Life Expectancy: 48 male, 52 female
Ethnic groups: African-Arab

Political Rights: 6
Civil Liberties: 5
Status: Not Free

Overview:

The Republic of the Comoros, consisting of three main islands (Njazidja, Nzwani and Mwali), is an Islamic state in the Indian Ocean off Madagascar. A former French dependency, it proclaimed independence in 1975.

President Ahmed Abdallah, who seized power in a 1978 coup, was killed on 27 November by a disgruntled senior officer. The government reported that Supreme Court president Haribou Chebani took over in accordance with the constitution. However, a gang of mercenaries under Bob Denard appeared to have effective power in early December 1989. Abdallah had been head of state and prime minister between 1975-78. The constitution of 1 October 1978 provides for a federal Islamic state headed by a president elected by universal suffrage every six years. President Abdallah was elected unopposed in 1984. A forty-two-member unicameral Federal Assembly serves as a legislature. In the 1987 elections, all candidates were members of the ruling Union of Comoron Progress (UPC), which was launched in 1982, three years after the Assembly established a single-party system. Some twenty opposition candidates ran on Njazidja, none of whom won. Several opposition parties function in exile.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The one-party system does not allow citizens to change their government freely and democratically. The court system is based on Islamic law and the French legal code. In civil and criminal cases, the judiciary is independent, but security provisions allow for indefinite detention. Public criticism of the government is tolerated and there are many discussion groups that cover a diverse range of subjects. The government-controlled media follow the government line, and there are no independent newspapers. However, foreign publications generally enter the country unimpeded. Private cultural and community associations exist. Although Islam is the state religion, other faiths are allowed to worship freely. There are no serious restrictions on freedom of movement. Trade unions and strikes are permitted, but the lack of industry and wage labor has hindered union organizing. There is a teachers' association and workers in some sectors have formed temporary worker groupings.

Congo

Polity: One-party (military dominated)
Economy: Mixed statist
Population: 2,191,000
Conflict: None
PPP: \$756
Life Expectancy: 45 male, 48 female
Ethnic groups: Bakongo, Mateke, M'bochi, Vili, pygmies

Political Rights: 7
Civil Liberties: 6
Status: Not Free

Overview:

Independent since August 1960, **in 1970 the central-west** African People's Republic of the Congo became a one-party state dominated by the Marxist-Leninist Congolese Labor Party (PCT). The country has been ruled since 1979 by President Gen. Denis Sassou-Nguesso, chairman of the PCT. The unicameral People's National Assembly is controlled by the PCT.

At the fourth party congress of the PCT held in Brazzaville in July 1989, President Sassou-Nguesso was reconfirmed as party chairman and head of state. The congress featured changes in the supreme policy-making body, the Political Bureau, and in the seventy-five-member Central Committee, reflecting President Sassou-Nguesso's apparent determination to replace hard-line Marxist-Leninists with more "moderate" elements to implement austerity measures and other changes launched in 1986 to solve the country's grave economic crisis. Twenty-five members were dropped from the Central Committee and replaced by younger members. The changes were meant to reassure international economic circles at a time when negotiations were going on with the International Monetary Fund, which recommended liberalization of the economic system and loaned the country \$87 million in 1987-88.

President Sassou-Nguesso announced in February that all persons arrested in the wake of an August 1987 coup attempt would be charged and tried some time in 1989. About twenty persons involved in the incident were said to be detained. The leader of the coup attempt, Captain Pierre Anga, was killed by security forces in July 1988. His co-conspirators have been held without charge for over two years. In February, students went on strike in several universities over the nonpayment of scholarships, and tensions continue between southern Congolese and northerners in whose hands real power is concentrated.

The key issue facing the regime is a deteriorating economy, caused largely by the drop in the price of oil, the country's main export, as well as mismanagement and corruption.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The Congo is a one-party state dominated by the military in which citizens do not have democratic freedoms to change the political system. The internal security apparatus, modelled after those in Eastern Europe, is pervasive and intrusive. Warrants are not required for arrests and prisoners are often maltreated. Several political detainees are held without charge. The judiciary is subservient to the party and the state. Freedom to criticize the government is restricted, the media is controlled by the state and censored. Only the PCT can hold political meetings, but government permission is not required for social or political meetings unless they use official facilities. Professional organizations need government approval. Some restrictions apply to certain religious sects, but the government and party do not generally interfere with the practice of religion; the Roman Catholic Church publishes the only independent publication. The government maintains some control over internal movement and Congolese wishing to travel abroad need permission from the security apparatus. The umbrella Congolese Trade Union Confederation is controlled by the PCT. Independent unions are prohibited, and workers do not have the right to strike, though strikes have occurred.

Costs Rica

Polity: Presidential-legislative democracy

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 2,990,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$3,760

Life Expectancy: 71 male, 76 female

Ethnic Groups: Relatively homogeneous

Political Rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 1

Status: Free

Overview:

The Republic of Costa Rica achieved independence from Spain in 1821, formally declaring itself a republic in 1848. Democratic constitutional government was instituted in 1899 and briefly interrupted in 1917 and 1948. The 1949 constitution, which proscribes the formation of a national army, has provided the framework for democratic governance ever since.

The constitution provides for three independent branches of government. The president and the fifty-seven-member Legislative Assembly are directly elected for four years. The Assembly has coequal power including the ability to override presidential vetoes. Members of the judicial branch are elected by the Assembly.

In the February 1986 elections, Oscar Arias Sanchez of the social democratic National Liberation Party (PLN) was elected president over Rafael Angel Calderon of the more conservative Social Christian Unity Party (PUSC) by a 52 to 46 percent margin. In the Assembly, the PLN saw its majority reduced from 33 seats to 29. Of the remaining seats, 25 were won by the PUSC, one each by two left-wing coalitions and one by an independent candidate.

The campaign for the February 1990 elections began in late 1987 with primary campaigns in both major parties. At party conventions following primary elections in early 1988, the PLN elected Carlos Manuel Castillo as its presidential candidate, and the PUSC again elected Calderon as its nominee. By September 1989, eighteen political parties were registered by the independent electoral tribunal. Among the eight nationally recognized parties was a new entry, a left-leaning coalition called the Progress Party (PdP) that sought to break the PLN-PUSC two-party monopoly. For the tenth time in forty years, the executive branch turned control of the nation's police over to the electoral tribunal for the duration of the election process.

In the fall of 1989, Calderon and the PUSC led in the polls as the PLN tried to recover from widespread publicity surrounding charges of drug trade connections among high party officials. A number of PLN leaders, including former President Daniel Oduber, were forced to resign party positions in the wake of damaging reports of involvement issued by a special Assembly commission. If the PLN were to win in 1990, it would be the first time a party had occupied the presidency for three successive terms.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Constitutional guarantees regarding freedom of expression, freedom of religion and the right to organize political parties, civic organizations and labor unions are fully respected.

Labor unions are active and permitted to strike. There were a series of stoppages in 1989 by various federations over wages, benefits and government austerity policies. A major strike in the Caribbean coastal region was

successfully mediated by the local Catholic bishop. In 1989 there was also a confrontation between the independent labor movement and the government over the so-called *Solidarismo* movement. The unions, with support of the International Labor organization (ILO), charged that *Solidarismo* was a private sector instrument for coopting workers. In April, days before a scheduled general strike, the government agreed to submit to the Assembly a union-sponsored bill guaranteeing independent labor rights.

Press, radio and television are free of censorship. There are a number of independent dailies and assorted weeklies serving a society that is ninety percent literate. Television and radio stations are commercial, with television providing an increasingly influential forum for public debate. Freedom of expression, however, is marred by the existence of a particularly onerous, twenty-year-old licensing requirement for journalists. In September 1989, a sports commentator was sentenced in criminal court to seven months in prison for practicing journalism without a license. The case has been ongoing for three years and was expected to go to the Supreme Court. A 1985 Inter-American Human Rights Court ruling determined that licensing of journalists is incompatible with the American Convention on Human Rights.

The judicial branch is fully independent, its members elected for eight-year terms by the Legislative Assembly. There is a Supreme Court which has the power to rule on the constitutionality of legislation, as well as four courts of appeal and a network of district courts. The members of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal are elected by the Supreme Court.

In 1989, the judiciary was preparing to undertake investigations of numerous and unprecedented charges of human rights violations made by the four-year-old, independent Costa Rican Human Rights Commission and other rights activists. Fourteen cases, including accusations of brutality and torture committed in secret jails, were made against the Costa Rican Special Police. The Arias administration expressed willingness to investigate the activities of the security forces.

Cuba

Polity: Communist one-party

Economy: Statist

Population: 10,440,000

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 72 male, 75 female

Ethnic Groups: Relatively homogeneous admixture of Caucasian and black

Political Rights: 7

Civil Liberties: 7

Status: Not Free

Overview:

Cuba achieved independence from Spain in 1898 as a result of the Spanish-American War. The Republic of Cuba was established in 1902, remaining subject to U.S. tutelage under the Platt Amendment until 1934. On 1 January 1959 left-wing revolutionary forces under Fidel Castro overthrew the right-wing dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista, who had ruled for eighteen of the preceding twenty-five years.

Since 1959, Castro has dominated the Cuban political system. Under his direction, Cuba has been transformed into a one-party, Marxist-Leninist state. Communist structures were formally institutionalized by the 1975 constitution approved at the first congress of the Cuban Communist Party (PCC).

The constitution provides for a National Assembly whose members emerge from an indirect electoral process totally controlled by the PCC leadership. Theoretically, the Assembly designates a Council of State which appoints a Council of Ministers in consultation with its president who serves as head of state and chief of government. In reality, Castro is responsible for every appointment. As president of the Council of Ministers, chairman of the Council of State, commander-in-chief of the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR) and the first secretary of the PCC, Fidel Castro controls every lever of power in Cuba. The PCC is the only political party authorized by the constitution; it controls all governmental entities from the national to the municipal level. All political activity outside the PCC is outlawed.

It has been obvious in recent years that Castro has no intention of subscribing to Soviet-style *perestroika*. On numerous occasions he has clearly stated that Cuba would never adopt market economy measures, that the PCC's power would remain absolute. Since 1986, the PCC has been implementing a "rectification" program designed to eradicate any semblance of capitalist behavior in society, and any political behavior, either inside or outside the PCC, that appears to take its cue from Soviet programs under Mikhail Gorbachev. In 1989, the distribution of two Soviet publications that commonly address the issues of *perestroika* and *glasnost* was suspended.

A major crisis shook the Castro regime in mid-1989. A drug trafficking scandal involving senior officers in the FAR and the Ministry of Interior (MININT) led to a series of show trials, four executions and long jail sentences for nearly a dozen other individuals. The trial and execution of Gen. Arnaldo Ochoa, one of only five recipients of the "Hero of the Republic" award and the former commander of Cuban military advisors in Nicaragua and troops in Ethiopia and Angola, evinced undercurrents of an incipient power struggle within the regime. Hints of fissures in the Castro monolith were underscored as he rushed to purge the leadership of the MININT, the backbone of state security, in the wake of the executions.

Because of the hermetic nature of Cuba under Castro, however, it remains difficult to assess any damage incurred by his regime as a result of the crisis; approximately a dozen foreign journalists were denied visas to Cuba to cover the trials. At least one resident foreign journalist was expelled for filing "false reports."

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

All political and civic organization outside the confines of the PCC is illegal. Political dissent, spoken or written, is also a punishable offense. With the possible exception of South Africa, Indonesia and China, Cuba under Castro has had more political prisoners per capita for longer periods than any other country. The educational system, the judicial system, labor unions, professional organizations, cultural groups and all media are tightly controlled by the state; outside of the Catholic church, whose scope remains severely limited by the government, there is no semblance of independent civil society.

Freedom of movement and freedom to choose one's residence, education or job are greatly restricted. People who practice religion are formally discriminated against. It is illegal to leave the country. In mid-1987, after agreeing to schedule a September 1988 visit from the United Nations Human Rights Commission, the government appeared to soften its position

on human rights. A small group of human rights activists was allowed to be interviewed by foreign journalists, hold indoor meetings and gather testimony. International organizations were permitted for the first time to inspect Cuban prisons. Castro, who had denied the existence of political prisoners for three decades, admitted in 1988 to holding 429, a number of whom were released.

Following the visit of the U.N. delegation, however, the narrow opening was closed. A number of human rights activists who had tested the waters by organizing tiny quasi-political groups were arrested. During Mikhail Gorbachev's April 1989 visit, a month after the U.N. decided to downgrade its monitoring of Cuba, about two dozen individuals were arrested for planning a demonstration seeking the Soviet leader's support for free expression in Cuba. Then, as Castro reverted to full-scale Communist fundamentalism in the wake of the summer crisis, the small human rights movement was decimated as over three dozen dissidents were jailed pending trial. Of the eighty-seven individuals interviewed by the U.N. Commission in September 1988, twenty-two were in jail twelve months later.

There are continued allegations of torture in the prisons and incarceration in psychiatric institutions. One of the dissidents arrested in the 1989 sweep was reportedly placed in a psychiatric hospital in October. As was evident during the summer show trials of officers charged with drug-trafficking, due process is alien to the Cuban judicial system; the job of defense attorneys accepted by the courts is clearly to guide the defendant in his confession. The human rights activists arrested in 1989 were charged with "slander" for talking to foreign journalists and faced up to four years in jail. Their request for defense witnesses and international monitors at their pending trials was denied by the government.

Cyprus (Greek)

Polity: Presidential-legislative democracy

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 540,000 (est.)

Conflict: Ethnic

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 72 male, 76 female

Ethnic Groups: Greek, Turk

Political Rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 1

Status: Free

Cyprus (Turkish)

Polity: Presidential-parliamentary democracy

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 150,000 (est.)

Conflict: Ethnic

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: NA

Ethnic Groups: Greek, Turk

Political Rights: 2

Civil Liberties: 2

Status: Free

Overview:

An island nation in the Eastern Mediterranean, Cyprus is divided into a southern Greek sector and a northern Turkish zone. A U.N. mediation effort to reintegrate the two zones is ongoing. The island had been marked by

communal tensions and violence before and after Cypriot independence in 1960. Since 1974, however, when Greek fascists staged a coup in Nicosia and Turkish paratroopers secured the northern third of the island, Turkish and Greek Cypriots have been physically and politically separate. A Green Line running through Nicosia marks the boundaries between the two communities. In 1983, the Turkish government proclaimed an independent Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), a state supported by the Turkish government in Ankara, but not recognized internationally.

Greek Cypriot leader George Vassiliou and Turkish Cypriot President Rauf Denktash have been meeting with U.N. special representative Oscar Camillion since September 1988 to negotiate a settlement to the conflict. The differences between the two, however, are formidable. Forty thousand Turkish troops are now stationed in the northern sector of the country. (There are 14,000 Greek and Greek Cypriot troops.) Denktash wants at least 10,000 Turkish soldiers to remain to protect the Turkish community, whereas Vassiliou wants all Turkish soldiers to leave. Greek Cypriots should not be able to live or own property in the Turkish zone, according to Denktash, for eighteen years, while Vassiliou would have the Green Line and exclusive property arrangements abolished. One hundred and sixty thousand Greeks—a greater number than the total Turk population on the island—left the northern sector in 1975, and a good number of these wish to return. While the Greek leader envisions Turkish and Greek provinces subordinate to a central government, Denktash sees two autonomous zones superordinate to any central structure.

Hardliners from both sides are reinforcing each other. In July, the "Pan-Hellenic" women's society, together with a thousand others, marched across the Green Line into Turkish-controlled Cyprus. Their aim was to scuttle the U.N.-sponsored talks, which is the goal, many believe, of Turkish leader Denktash.

The TRNC operates as a presidential-parliamentary system. The popularly elected president serves a five year term and appoints a prime minister. A unicameral, fifty-member Assembly also sits for five years. Under the Republic of Cyprus's 1960 constitution, a popularly elected Greek president serves a five-year term and appoints his own cabinet. A House of Representatives is vested with legislative authority. Both systems are multiparty democracies marked by vigorous debate. Elections have been considered free and fair, and are held by secret ballot. There is universal suffrage. Parties range from the far left to the far right. The 1,000 Greek Cypriots and Maronites living in the north may vote in elections in Greek Cyprus.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Trade unions in both Greek and Turkish Cyprus are independent and function freely, though reports indicate that the northern unions, like the press and demonstrators, are harassed by the authorities. A majority of the labor force belongs to unions. Workers have the right to strike, save those in government-specified essential sectors. Child labor laws and health and safety provisions are effectively enforced in both areas. All Cypriots and foreign residents are free to practice their own religion. This includes Sunni Muslim Turks in the republic and Greeks and Christians in the north. Proselytizing is also permitted. Turkish authorities do not permit entrance into the north by Greek Cypriots, nor do they allow Turks to visit the south, except in extreme circumstances. Greeks living in the north may

apply to visit the south, but if they do not return within a specified time, they risk forfeiting their right of return and their property. Although the two governments control radio and television, the printed press is uncensored and critical. Private rights are respected. Fair public trials are the norm, and there were no reports of indefinite or incommunicado detention. There is no evidence of torture by officials and no suspected disappearances.

Czechoslovakia

Polity: Communist one-party
(transitional)

Economy: Statist

Population: 15,605,000

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 68 male, 75 female

Ethnic groups: Czechs (65 percent), Slovaks (30 percent), Magyars

Political Rights: 6

Civil Liberties: 6

Status: Not Free

Overview:

Established in 1948 as the Communist People's Republic and renamed the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in 1960, this one-party state continued the repressive policies instituted after Soviet tanks crushed the Dubcek-led reform movement ("Prague Spring") in 1968 until the fall of 1989. After several days of massive demonstrations in Prague demanding political reform, Communist party General Secretary Milos Jakes, who succeeded hardliner Gustav Husak in 1987, resigned along with his cabinet and several members of the Politburo on 24 November. He was replaced by Karel Urbanek. Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec began negotiations with the opposition Civil Forum, a new group led by playwright and former political prisoner Vaclav Havel and consisting of members of the long-persecuted Charter 77 human rights group. On 28 November, one day after a nationwide two hour work stoppage, the government announced that it would give up its forty-one year monopoly on political power and allow non-Communist ministers into the new cabinet. By the close of the year Adamec had resigned and negotiations between the government and the opposition continued.

The bicameral Federal Assembly (the 150-member House of Nations and the 200-member House of the People) is subservient to the Communist party, despite its nominal role of selecting the prime minister and electing a largely ceremonial president. The two regional governments, the Czech Socialist Republic (Bohemia, Moravia) and the Slovak Socialist Republic (Slovakia) have their own executive and national councils with limited autonomy. In December, Communist leaders in the Czech Republic agreed to accept a minority role in the regional government.

Before the monumental upheavals in November, there were some indications of an internal rift in the Czech Communist Party between older hardliners and younger Gorbachev-type reformers over political and economic reforms. Moreover, members of the Czechoslovak People's Party (CPSS), a member of the umbrella National Front of the Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic and long subservient to the Communist party, had complained about the lack of democracy in their party and in the country. Nevertheless, the Party continued its repressive policies toward dissident activity. In a nine-page letter to the Czech party leadership in late July, Alexander

Dubcek, who later was allowed to address several mass rallies, called for radical political changes and a return of the democratic ideals of the Prague Spring he helped launch.

Ignoring changes in Poland and Hungary, the Czech leadership continued to take a hard-line on dissent. It attempted to ban plays, films and television programs in which dissident artists were featured, a tactic that failed. On 21 August, the anniversary of the Soviet invasion, security forces arrested 370 people at a demonstration in Prague, including some fifty foreigners. Shops and offices were closed in Prague near the site of 1988's huge demonstrations. Charter 77 activists were earlier told to leave Prague in August or suffer the consequences.

In January, baton-wielding police used water cannon and tear gas to break up a demonstration commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the self-immolation of a student. Scores were arrested. In February, several participants and activists were sentenced for their participation in the rally. Social unrest continued to escalate throughout the summer, with the government responding with arrests and repression. However, by November, after dramatic political changes in East Germany and growing demonstrations at home, the Party leadership realized it was in an untenable position.

The old Czech leadership had done little more than pay lip service to economic restructuring. Although the centrally planned economy was better than in neighboring countries, there were signs of stagnation in 1989. While some cosmetic plans for decentralization were offered, no currency reform, nor price reform, and no closures of inefficient industries were planned.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Despite the dramatic changes begun in November, Czechs in 1989 did not have the mechanisms to democratically change their government. Until November, political arrests and detentions marked the worst crackdown on dissent in a decade. There are numerous political prisoners. The judiciary is not independent of the regime, and several "political" statutes were used to squelch independent activities. The state controls the media and does not allow for unofficial views. The Interior Ministry controls all photocopying and printing equipment and typewriters cannot be obtained by ordinary citizens. Freedom of assembly is strictly limited. The regime discourages religious activity, and churches are subject to a maze of restrictions. Last year (1988), some 500,000 signed a petition for greater religious freedom; Augustin Navratil, who organized the petition, was detained in a mental hospital. The Czech and Slovak republics, in an overture to the Vatican, allowed the appointment of four bishops to long-vacant bishoprics. Restrictions to travel abroad were eased in May. Workers cannot form labor unions or strike, and only official trade unions are allowed.

Denmark

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Economy: Mixed capitalist

Population: 5,135,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$15,119

Life Expectancy: 72 male, 78 female

Ethnic groups: Overwhelmingly Danish, a small German minority, various small immigrant groups

Political Rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 1

Status: Free

A constitutional monarchy since 1849, Denmark has a well-established system of parliamentary democracy. The largely ceremonial head of state is Queen Margrethe II, who appoints the head of government from the party or coalition commanding the broadest parliamentary support. Conservative Prime Minister Poul Schlüter has headed center-right coalition governments since 1982. The country's unicameral parliament, the Folketing, has 179 members, of whom 135 are elected in 17 districts. Forty additional seats are allocated to parties that have received at least 2 percent of the vote in order to bring the results more into line with proportional representation. There are also two representatives each for the related territories of Greenland and the Faeroe Islands. The parliament has a maximum term of four years.

The most recent elections (May 1988) yielded a minority coalition government consisting of the Conservative People's Party, the Liberal Party and the Radical Liberal Party. Opposition parties in the Folketing include the Social Democratic Party, the right-wing Progress Party, the Center Democrats and the Christian People's Party. There are several other Danish parties, but none has parliamentary representation. The current government is reducing high taxes and welfare state benefits. Recent controversial issues have included Denmark's roles in NATO and the European Community. Denmark's anti-nuclear weapons policies have caused tensions within the Western Alliance. Although the country voted to remain in the European Community in a 1986 referendum, anti-Community parties hold five of Denmark's sixteen seats in the European Parliament.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Danes have the right to change their government by democratic means. They also have the right to settle issues through national referenda. Denmark has granted home rule to Greenland and the Faeroe Islands. Any citizen who feels mistreated by the national government or local authorities has the right to protest to the Ombudsman, an independent watchdog appointed by the Folketing. There is freedom of expression and no censorship. Newspapers are private, but radio and television belong to a public corporation.

There is freedom of political association for groups ranging from left to right, including pro-Albanian Communists and supporters of the nineteenth-century American economist, Henry George. Unions and management recognized each other's right to organize in 1960. The overwhelming majority of workers are union members. Religion is free, but churches are state-subsidized. Although the Evangelical Lutheran Church is the established church, there is no religious discrimination allowed by law. While the current government is scaling down government programs, the state retains a major role in the country's mixed economy. There are some tensions between Danes and recent immigrants from Asia. A small German minority lives near the West German border.

Djibouti

Polity: One-party

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 324,000

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: NA

Ethnic Groups: Somali, Afar

Political Rights: 6

Civil Liberties: 5

Status: Not Free

This East African republic has been dominated since independence from France in 1977 by the Popular Rally for Progress (RPP) and its leader and president of the Republic, Hassan Gouled. The latter, a member of the single largest tribe, the Somali-oriented Issa, was unanimously and indirectly elected president by Chamber of Deputies in 1977. He has been popularly reelected twice since then and has consistently named a member of the rival more nomadic Afar tribe, oriented toward Ethiopia, as prime minister. Issas control the ruling party, the army and the government. Although the constitution allows the president to serve two terms only, Gouled ran in 1987 because he was initially appointed by the Council, not popularly elected. An opposition party, the Djibouti People Party (PPD), consisting mainly of resentful Afars, was formed in August 1981 after presidential elections in which Gouled was the sole candidate. Soon after, however, party leaders were arrested and a National Mobilization law approved a one-party system. Since that time, all candidates for elections have been RPP members, with voters voting for or against the approved candidate in parliamentary and presidential elections in the 1980s. A new opposition group formed in 1987, the National Djibouti Movement for the Installation of Democracy (MNDID). It is led by a former Gouled associate and RPP member who is in exile. Voters in the country have to place their ballots in separate boxes, one "for" the candidate, one "against." A benign secret balloting cannot be said to exist, nor is the election fair. There is a French garrison of 3,800 military and naval personnel in Djibouti that serves to protect the country from external aggression.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Freedom of speech and press is severely constrained. All media are government controlled, and thus there is no reported criticism of the regime, the party and its policies. Permits are required for public demonstrations or assembly. Nonparty meetings are denied authorization or participants face detention without charge. Private cultural and commercial associations are allowed. Djibouti is not an Islamic state, although it is predominantly Sunni Muslim. Expatriates worship freely, and there is no official pressure to abide by Muslim diet and dress regulations. Freedom of travel inside and outside the country is respected, save for trips to South Africa or Israel. The country has a large refugee population, and there is doubt about the voluntary repatriation it has carried out of many Ethiopian refugees. There have been no reports of arbitrary detention or police brutality. Court decisions are appealable, except for State Security Court decisions. The judiciary is probably influenced by the government in politically sensitive cases. No political prisoners have been reported. Unions and strikes are permitted, though unions are few and striking is rare. A government-controlled labor federation to which individual unions belong inhibits union independence.

Dominica

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Political rights: 2

Economy: Capitalist

Civil Liberties: 1

Population: 100,000

Status: Free

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life expectancy: 57 male, 59 female

Overview:

The Commonwealth of Dominica has been an independent republic within the British Commonwealth since 1978. It became internally self-governing in 1967. Dominica is a parliamentary democracy headed by a prime minister and a House of Assembly with twenty-one members elected to five-year terms. Nine senators are usually appointed, five by the prime minister and four by the leader of the opposition in the House.

Prime Minister Eugenia Charles has been in office since 1980 when her right-of-center Dominica Freedom Party (DFP) won seventeen seats in the House. In the 1985 elections, the DFP took fifteen seats, with the Labour Party of Dominica (LPD), a coalition of three opposition parties, taking five seats. The DFP upped its majority to sixteen in a 1986 by-election, and to seventeen a year later when an LPD representative crossed the aisle to join the DFP.

The Dominica Defense Force (DDF) was disbanded in 1981 following attempts to overthrow the government by supporters of former Prime Minister Patrick John with the assistance of the military. John subsequently won a seat in the House in the 1985 election, but was forced to resign in 1986 following conviction for involvement in the 1981 coup attempt, leading to the 1986 by-election.

New general elections are due by mid-1990. In the interim, there has been controversy over municipal elections. Elections for the city council of Roseau, the capital of the country, were postponed for a year at the end of 1988, the prime minister stating that polling would interfere with ongoing sanitation and environmental projects. Opposition parties denounced the move as political and accused Charles of authoritarian behavior. There were also charges by the opposition of DFP gerrymandering in the 1987 municipal elections in Portsmouth, the other town governed locally by a city council.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

There are no restrictions on the right to organize political, labor or civic organizations. Freedom of religion is recognized. A new opposition party, the Dominica United Workers' Party (DUWP) was formed in late 1988 by delegates from eighteen of the country's twenty-one constituencies. The main opposition remains the LPD led by Michael Douglas.

The press is generally free, varied and critical. Radio, both public and private, is open to views from across the political spectrum. There is an independent judiciary and the effectiveness of the rule of law is enhanced by the court system's embrace of the inter-island Eastern Caribbean Supreme Court. There are no political prisoners. The government has criticized the attendance of citizens at conferences in Cuba and Libya, but does not restrict travel to these countries.

Dominican Republic

Polity: Presidential-legislative democracy

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 7,069,000

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 61 male, 65 female

Ethnic Groups: Mixed ancestry, mestizo and mulatto (about 70 percent), Caucasian (Spanish, 15 percent) and black (15 percent)

Political Rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 3

Status: Free

Overview:

Since achieving independence from Spain in 1821 and Haiti in 1844, the Dominican Republic has endured recurrent domestic conflict. The assassination of Gen. Rafael Trujillo in 1961 ended thirty years of dictatorial rule but led to renewed turmoil. The military overthrow of the elected government of Marxist Juan Bosch in 1963 led to civil war and U.S.-Organization of American States military intervention in 1965. A truce was imposed and in 1966, under a new constitution, civilian rule was restored with the election of Joaquin Balaguer of the right-of-center Social Christian Reformist Party (PRSC).

The 1966 constitution provides for a president directly elected for four years and a Congress consisting of a 120-member Chamber of Deputies and a thirty-member Senate also directly elected for four years. The Senate elects the judges of the Supreme Court. The governors of the twenty-six provinces are appointed by the president. Municipalities are governed by elected mayors and municipal councils.

Balaguer was reelected in 1970 and 1974 but defeated in 1978 by Silvestre Antonio Guzman of the social democratic Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD). Guzman's inauguration marked the first time in the country's history that a democratically elected president had transferred power to an elected successor. The PRD repeated in 1982 with the election of President Salvador Jorge Blanco, but Balaguer was reelected in 1986, as the PRD was stricken with factional strife.

The campaign for the May 1990 election was well underway in 1989. By fall it appeared that the eighty-two-year-old Balaguer would run for a fifth term, but there remained key sectors in his party that were against it. The main challenger looked to be former President Juan Bosch of the Dominican Liberation Party (PLD). The eighty-year-old Bosch had moderated his radical image and was slightly ahead in the polls over Balaguer. Two candidates, Jose Pena Gomez and Jacobo Majluta, emerged from the PRD after the party suffered an acrimonious split in the first half of the year. The main issues in the campaign were the country's strapped economy, alleviating poverty, use of government funds in the incumbent's campaign, and the increasingly violent climate in the country.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Constitutional guarantees regarding free expression, freedom of religion and the right to organize political parties, labor unions and civic groups are generally respected. However, political expression is often restricted by an atmosphere of violence associated with political campaigns and government-labor clashes, and by the activities of security forces.

There are over a dozen political parties that occupy a wide spectrum and

the social democratic Democratic Left (ID) and Abdala Bucaram of the populist Ecuadorian Roldosist Party (PRE). Borja defeated Bucaram in the May run-off and was inaugurated in August, succeeding the PSC's Leon Febres Cordero. Febres' term had been marked by clashes between the executive and legislative branches over Supreme Court nominations and other constitutional issues, as well as two abortive rebellions by nationalist military officers. Borja became the third democratically elected president since the return to civilian rule in 1979.

Borja took office with majority support in the Chamber thanks to a governing alliance with the Christian democratic Popular Democracy (DP); Borja's ID had won thirty-one seats in January and the DP eight. The other thirty-two seats were divided among nine other parties, a number of which supported Borja's candidacy but later joined the divided opposition. In August 1989 the ID-DP alliance nearly fell apart before a new agreement was reached to maintain the parliamentary majority.

The ID and DP seemed compelled to maintain the alliance in response to signs of cooperation between rightist and populist parties, particularly in coastal Guayaquil, the country's largest city and traditional base of right-wing political forces. The first year of Borja's presidency was marked by mounting labor pressure against the government's economic measures. The major unions had backed Borja's candidacy but called a series of strikes against the government's IMF-inspired policies.

In spring 1989, the Borja government reached an agreement "to restore peace and consolidate democracy" with the Alfaro Vive Carajo (AVC) guerrilla group. The left-wing AVC, with links to Cuba and Nicaragua, had been active against the Febres government, but had renounced military tactics in early 1989. The Montoneros Patria Libre (MPL), a tiny AVC splinter, vowed to continue armed action.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Constitutional guarantees regarding freedom of expression, freedom of religion and the right to organize political parties, labor unions and civic organizations are generally respected. Dozens of political parties occupy the political spectrum from radical right to radical left and are highly competitive.

Labor unions are well organized and permitted to strike. There have been two general strikes led by the Marxist-dominated United Workers Front (FUT), the country's largest labor federation, in response to government policies for bringing down inflation, still running at 100 percent annually in March.

Newspapers, including at least six dailies, are privately owned or sponsored by political parties. They are free of censorship and generally outspoken. Radio and television are privately owned and supervised by two independent associations. There are nearly a dozen television stations, most of which are commercial.

Under the 1978 constitution, the judiciary is independent, headed by a Supreme Court appointed by the legislature. During the Febres administration, however, the Court was caught in a tug-of-war between the executive and legislative branches. Under Borja, who, unlike Febres, maintains a majority in the legislature, questions of judicial impartiality remain, particularly on issues involving party nominations and allegations of government corruption. The Supreme Court supervises the superior courts which in turn supervise the lower court system.

regularly run candidates in elections. However, the activities of small leftist parties, including the Dominican Communist Party (PCD) which was legalized in 1977, are occasionally curbed.

Labor and peasant unions are well organized. While legally permitted to strike, they are often subject to government restraints and repression. They have become more militant with the deterioration of the economy and public utilities in recent years, and the government has increasingly responded with force to break up labor actions. A strike by government workers and other unions in June 1989 resulted in three deaths and hundreds of injuries. Government-labor clashes in October were accompanied by sporadic bomb-throwing.

Human rights groups are independent and active. There have been some reports of disappearances, and increasing allegations of arbitrary arrests at the hands of security forces and police brutality. There are no political prisoners.

The press, radio and television are mostly privately owned. Newspapers are independent and diverse but occasionally subject to government pressure through denial of advertising revenues. There are dozens of radio stations and at least six commercial television stations, but broadcasts are subject to government review. In September 1989 the Supreme Court ruled that the licensing of journalists was unconstitutional.

The Supreme Court, whose members are elected by the Senate, operates in a generally independent manner. The court appoints lower court judges and is also empowered to participate in the legislative process by introducing bills in the Congress.

Ecuador

Polity: Presidential-congressional democracy

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 10,345,000

Conflict: Two left-wing guerrilla organizations

PPP: \$2,687

Life Expectancy: 62 male, 66 female

Ethnic Groups: Ethnically complex, Indian (approximately 25 percent), mestizo (55 percent), Caucasian (10 percent) and black (10 percent)

Political Rights: 2

Civil Liberties: 2

Status: Free

Overview:

The Republic of Ecuador was established in 1930 after achieving independence from Spain in 1822. The nation's history has been marked by interrupted presidencies and periods of military rule. The most recent military government paved the way for a return to civilian rule with a new democratic constitution approved by referendum in 1978.

The 1978 constitution provides for a president elected for a four-year term by universal adult suffrage. If no candidate wins a majority in the first round of voting, the two top finishers compete in a second round. There is a seventy-one-member unicameral National Chamber of Deputies with fifty-nine members elected on a provincial basis every two years, and twelve elected on a national basis every four years.

In the January 1988 general election, the candidate of the ruling, right-of-center Social Christian Party (PSC) ran a poor third to Rodrigo Borja of

Independent human rights organizations operate freely and there have been occasional allegations of police brutality and torture by security forces. Such allegations appeared to diminish after the AVC renounced armed activities in spring 1989. There are no political prisoners.

Egypt

Polity: Dominant party (military dominated)
Economy: Mixed statist
Population: 52,490,000
Conflict: None
PPP: \$1,357
Life Expectancy: 57 male, 60 female
Ethnic Groups: Eastern Hamitic (90 percent), Greek, Syro-Lebanese

Political Rights: 5
Civil Liberties: 4
Status: Partly Free

Overview

Ostensibly a multi-party democracy, Egypt remains dominated by Hosni Mubarak, its duly elected president since 1981, and his ruling National Democratic Party (NDP), which controls both houses of Parliament. In June elections to the *Shura*, or upper house, of Parliament, the NDP won all 172 electable seats. Both the rightist New Wafd party and the leftist National Progressivist Union Party boycotted the election because of anticipated fraud, while the Islamic alliance—comprising the Socialist Labor Party, Liberal Party, and illegal but tolerated Moslem Brotherhood (MB)—chose to participate. Voter turn-out was low and allegations of vote fixing were made. Like the 1987 elections to the lower house, or People's Assembly, the June elections were called because of a successful constitutional challenge by the opposition to previous elections, from which parties not legally recognized, like the MB, were excluded. In spite of opposition demands, however, the June elections were not supervised by Egypt's independent judiciary. The Shura meets once a year in an advisory capacity.

President Mubarak is both head of state and NDP chairman. He is elected not by direct popular vote but by a two-thirds majority of the People's Assembly, whose members are elected every five years. The president is empowered to appoint and dismiss the prime minister and other cabinet ministers and is also commander-in-chief. In essence, the president formulates and articulates policy, with the People's Assembly approving it. In addition, Mubarak has been successful at keeping the army a subordinate, professionalized institution—more successfully than his predecessors. At the end of April 1989, when it appeared Defense Minister Abu Ghazaleh was growing increasingly popular and assertive, Mubarak dismissed him and replaced him with a loyalist who had not been active in the military since 1980. Thus, Egypt's polity remains one of presidential predominance, although Egyptian politics have become increasingly liberalized under Mubarak's tenure.

The Islamic opposition poses the greatest political challenge to the regime, a challenge that dates back ten years. The Moslem Brotherhood, a fundamentalist group, is the single largest opposition group in the People's Assembly. It is linked with scholars who reject violence in the effort to make Egypt an Islamic state or assassinating its apostate political elite. They are being superceded in political and generational appeal, however, by

the more militant Jamaat Islamic, which is linked to the underground Jihad, or Holy War, the group believed responsible for the assassination of President Sadat in 1981. In December 1988, following the stabbing of a police officer reportedly by Muslim extremists, the unpopular Interior Minister Zaki Badr arrested a hundred members of Jihad in Ein Shams, a suburb where they ran a parallel government. Now several towns are under siege, and several militants reportedly have been tortured, as Badr has liberally construed the emergency law in effect since 1981. In April police clashed with fundamentalists in Fayoum. The allegations of torture and the hard-line taken by the administration in general against the 3,000 or so extremists are embarrassing and alienating secular and moderate Muslim opposition.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Political prisoners were estimated at 900 at the beginning of 1989. Its special emergency law, in effect since 1981 and renewed for three years in 1988, allows for prolonged detention without trial and without charge—up to thirty days. During this period Islamic fundamentalist detainees have reportedly been tortured, and the perpetrators of such torture are not prosecuted. Egypt's courts are relatively independent and refuse to admit evidence obtained under torture. A new law prescribes capital punishment for drug smuggling. Under the ordinary criminal law, the judiciary's judgments of habeas corpus have been complied with. According to reports, telephone taps and mail screening by the government are frequent and need no authorization under the emergency law. The printed press is open and critical of the government. Government-owned weeklies and dailies receive some government guidance and thus practice self-censorship. Islam, Christianity and Judaism are recognized religions. The government has taken over some mosques believed to foment fundamentalist agitation. Freedom of movement is generally respected, although the emergency law could impose limitations. Outdoor meeting and demonstrations require prior government authorization. The Communist party is banned. Two human rights groups function in Egypt, though they are unrecognized associations.

El Salvador

Polity: Presidential-legislative democracy

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 5,122,000

Conflict: Left-wing guerrilla insurgency; the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN), composed of five Marxist guerrilla organizations

PPP: \$1,733

Life Expectancy: 63 male, 67 female

Ethnic Groups: Relatively homogeneous with small Indian minority

Political Rights: 3

Civil Liberties: 4

Status: Partly Free

Overview:

El Salvador declared independence from the Captaincy General of Guatemala in 1841. The Republic of El Salvador was established in 1859. Decades of turbulence and military rule followed. A new constitution in 1962 became the instrument for a succession of unfairly elected military presidents. Massive electoral irregularities and repression of opposition parties led to escalating conflict between right- and left-wing groups.

In 1979, there was a coup by junior military officers, the first substantial

breach in the historical ruling alliance between the military and the landed oligarchy. The new ruling junta of reform-minded officers and long-denied, democratic political leaders attempted to institute a partial democratic opening. The new alignment, however, led to polarization and civil war between right-wing forces and the military on one side, and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN), a Marxist-Leninist guerrilla organization seeking to overthrow the government.

Despite the continuing conflict, a majority of Salvadorans turned out for constituent assembly elections in 1982. The drafting of a democratic constitution in 1983, and the election of President Jose Napoleon Duarte in 1984, transformed a military-dominated political system into a civilian-led democracy. The 1983 constitution provides for a president and a vice president elected by direct popular vote for five-year terms, and a unicameral, sixty-member National Assembly elected for a three-year term. Municipal elections are held every three years. The country's fourteen departments are administered by governors appointed by the executive.

After 1984, the military gradually became a more professionalized institution. However, talks in 1984 between the Duarte administration and the FMLN failed to end the war and the military continues to exert considerable influence on the civilian government. Despite the failed negotiations, Duarte's ruling Christian Democratic party (PDC) defeated the right-wing National Republican Alliance (ARENA) in the 1985 legislative and municipal elections. ARENA was founded in 1981 by Roberto d'Aubuisson, a cashiered army officer linked to right-wing death squads who lost the 1984 presidential election to Duarte in a second-round runoff.

Three democratic elections in four years led to the political marginalization of the FMLN and a weakening of its forces. The guerrillas resorted to bombings, civilian assassinations and sustained attacks on the country's economic infrastructure in a failed attempt to destroy the democratic system. The military, increasingly frustrated by the FMLN's hit-and-run terror tactics, frequently crossed the parameters of humane counter-insurgency warfare. However, it rejected the call of the extreme right to throw out the civilian government. The FMLN's failure to disrupt the democratic system was manifest in 1987 when the leadership of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), exiled political leaders allied with the FMLN since 1980, accepted President Duarte's standing invitation to return to El Salvador. In 1988, the FDR combined with a small social democratic party to form the Democratic Convergence (CD).

The marginalization of the extreme right was evident in the emergence of a more moderate ARENA leadership after election defeats in 1984 and 1985. Businessman Alfredo Cristiani replaced d'Aubuisson as ARENA'S president in 1986. He initiated a process of internal party democratization, and led the party to majority victories in the 1988 legislative and municipal elections. D'Aubuisson won a seat in the Assembly. The next legislative elections are scheduled for March 1991.

The twelve-month campaign for the 19 March 1989 election was hotly contested in rallies and in the media. The electorate was offered the widest array of choices in the country's history as eight parties, ranging from left to right, nominated candidates. The main contenders were ARENA'S Cristiani, the PDC's Fidel Chavez Mena, and Guillermo Ungo of the leftist Democratic Convergence. The FMLN mounted a renewed campaign of

terror and sabotage, threatening to kill all of the nation's 262 elected mayors unless they resigned. Eight were killed, along with one provincial governor, and over 100 resigned, but the electoral process was not interrupted.

At the end of January 1989, seven weeks before the vote, the FMLN offered to recognize the democratic process in exchange for a six-month postponement of the election and the military remaining in barracks on election day. Formal talks took place in Mexico but broke down when the FMLN rejected Duarte's counter offer to postpone the vote until April 30, so that a second round, if necessary, could be completed prior to the 1 June expiration of his five-year term.

The election, overseen by an independent electoral commission, took place as scheduled on 19 March despite another FMLN offensive to disrupt it. Voting took place in over 90 percent of the country and the military was generally unobtrusive in securing the polling stations. With 54 percent of the vote, Cristiani won a first round victory over Chavez Mena who obtained 36 percent. Guillermo Ungo, who later acknowledged that his candidacy was badly damaged by the FMLN's election week offensive, came in fourth with less than 4 percent.

President Cristiani was inaugurated on 1 June. ARENA hard-liners were not included in his cabinet, although Vice-President Francisco Merino is a close d'Aubuisson associate. In his inaugural speech, Cristiani outlined a plan for a negotiated ceasefire and the FMLN's integration into the political system. The FMLN rejected the plan and proceeded to mount a series of summer offensives in a continuing effort to provoke a repressive government backlash. In the first eight months of 1989 the FMLN was responsible for the killing of at least six high-ranking government officials, including the country's attorney general.

In mid-September, however, after failed summer offensives and political isolation, the FMLN announced a ten-day ceasefire and agreed to meet with government negotiators in Mexico. The talks led to an agreement that both sides would meet in Costa Rica in mid-October, and that neither side would unilaterally break off the negotiations. The FMLN then initiated a new offensive.

In Costa Rica, the FMLN offered to negotiate a ceasefire, but only after the government agreed to wide political and economic reforms and a purge of human rights violators from the military. The government countered with an offer to safeguard the entry of a demobilized FMLN into the political system, and held open the possibility of reducing the size of the 57,000-man armed forces.

The two sides remained far apart, but agreed to meet again on 20 November in Venezuela. However, the unclaimed murder of the daughter of a military officer in El Salvador during the October talks set off a cycle of tit-for-tat attacks. Violence in El Salvador continued to be the symbiotic link between a small minority of left and right extremists who share the objective of ending the democratic system.

On 30 October, the FMLN carried out a mortar attack on the main army base in the capital of San Salvador, killing one civilian and wounding fifteen others. The next day, an unclaimed bomb attack killed eleven people at the San Salvador headquarters of a militant labor union that supports FMLN positions. The FMLN attributed the attack to the Cristiani government and pulled out of the talks, declaring, "the fascist dictatorship has

been unmasked." However, Tutela Legal, the Catholic Church human rights office, blamed the attack on right-wing death squads and urged that violence not overtake the negotiations.

President Cristiani condemned the bombing, promised an investigation, and said the government would not withdraw from negotiations. In the second week of November, however, the FMLN mounted its largest offensive in nine years. The government declared a state of siege and suspended civil liberties. The Catholic church condemned the FMLN offensive, but its calls for a ceasefire were ignored by both sides. As the fighting continued into a second week, the murders of six Jesuit priests, possibly by members of the military, threatened to polarize the country further.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Until the declaration of a state of siege in November, constitutional guarantees regarding free expression, freedom of religion and the right to organize political parties, civic groups and labor unions were generally respected. However, political expression remained restricted by the terrorist activities of the FMLN guerrillas and right-wing death squads, and by repressive measures of the military and security forces against labor, peasant, university and rights organizations.

Political space had widened significantly since the lifting of the state of emergency and the administration of an amnesty in 1987. The return of political allies of the FMLN to run in the 1989 election presented the electorate with the widest choice and most open campaign in the country's history. There are currently eight legal political parties ranging from social democratic on the left to conservative on the right. Five other parties lost their official status for failing to obtain 0.5 percent of the vote in 1989. However, they are allowed to function and are free to reapply for the 1991 legislative and municipal elections. Also allowed to operate is the National Democratic Union (UDN). The UDN is associated with the Communist Party of El Salvador, a member of the FMLN, but its leaders were permitted to return from exile in late 1988 and open an office.

The wider political space was reflected in the press, radio and television. Most media are in private hands, but the limited, rightist perspective has opened considerably. The 1989 campaign featured televised interviews with all candidates and unprecedented debates between left- and right-wing politicians. All parties and opinion poll results were given extensive news coverage, as were both sides in the on-and-off negotiations between the government and the FMLN. New publications appeared, including a centrist daily newspaper and a number of political party organs. Leftist literature is freely published by university presses and mass organizations. Violence remains a problem; several journalists, both domestic and international, were killed in 1989 and a number of others have been subject to intimidation by the military and security forces.

The limits of political space, however, were still marked by murder at both ends of the political spectrum, although at considerably reduced rates. Political killings committed by the military and right-wing death squads reached 800 per month in 1980-82. According to Tutela Legal, the Catholic Church's human rights office, the rate had dropped to 8 per month in 1987. The rate rose to 12 per month in 1988, and 14 per month in the first four

months of 1989. Preliminary reports for the remainder of the year pointed to further increase, particularly during the tit-for-tat revenge cycle that began during the government-FMLN negotiations. Three Democratic Convergence organizers were reported killed by the military in early November, the first attacks against this group since their return from exile.

Assassinations by the FMLN, according to Tutela Legal, rose from 33 in 1987 to 41 in 1988. Civilian deaths caused by land mines of unknown origin, but widely used by the FMLN, rose from 29 in 1987 to 65 in 1988. In September 1989, the FMLN vowed to discontinue using land mines. The FMLN's systematic use of urban car bombs beginning in November 1988 resulted in the death of at least five civilians by mid-1989. While both the military and the guerrillas have killed suspected collaborators, FMLN assassinations have been the stated policy of the guerrilla high command.

In recent years, the FMLN has also exceeded the military and right-wing extremists in killing prominent figures. Until the unclaimed October 1989 bombing which killed a FENASTRAS labor union official and ten other people, no major leftist leader had been killed since early in the decade. Prominent figures killed by the FMLN between 1988 and mid-1989 included nine mayors, one provincial governor, four conservative intellectuals, the attorney general and a cabinet minister in the Cristiani administration. The FMLN was also implicated in the killing of the wife of a right-wing journalist and the daughter of a ranking military officer, as well as in a series of attacks against homes and families of ranking military officers in the second half of 1989.

Underlying all rights abuses, however, is the absence of an effective system of justice. The judicial system remains the weakest link in the democratic system. In early 1989, however, in unprecedented procedures, two officers and seven soldiers were turned over to a civilian court, indicted and jailed pending trial for killing ten peasants in an incident in 1988. The Cristiani government, vowing to make judicial reforms, introduced legislation in mid-1989 that would establish an independent commission for selecting judges, increase the number of civil courts, and cut back the number of military courts. Nonetheless, the understaffed, resource-strapped judiciary continued to be constrained by politics and intimidation, and no officer had been tried and convicted as of fall 1989.

During the Duarte years, labor, peasant and university organizations reestablished themselves after being decimated in 1980-82. Strikes, as well as marches and other forms of assembly, are permitted and occur frequently. However, in the context of renewed urban terror tactics by the FMLN and government crackdown, these events frequently resulted in clashes with police. In the first half of 1989, approximately two thousand members of leftist unions and other organizations were detained.

In response to pressure from the military and security forces for a more radical line against the FMLN's urban offensives, the Cristiani government introduced in mid-1989 tough reforms to existing anti-terrorist laws. The reforms significantly restrict civil liberties and press freedom, but were shelved because of sustained domestic and international protest. During the summer and fall there was a sharp increase in the number of detentions and incidents of torture and disappearance reported by Tutela Legal and other local rights monitors. There was also an increase in the attacks by right-wing extremist groups against universities and labor union offices. During

the FMLN offensive in November, the anti-terrorist laws were passed by the National Assembly.

Equatorial Guinea

Polity: Military

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 438,000

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 42 male, 46 female

Ethnic groups: Fang, Bubi and others

Political Rights: 7

Civil Liberties: 7

Status: Not Free

Overview:

This former Spanish colony in west-central Africa consisting of mainland Rio Muni and the islands of Bioko (formerly Fernando Poo), Elobey Chico, Corisco and Elobey Grande became an independent republic in 1968. Macias (later Macie) Nguema Biyogo of the Popular Idea of Equatorial Guinea (IPGE) was elected president, defeating Bonifacio Ondo Edu of the Movement for the National Unity of Equatorial Guinea (MUNGE).

In 1969, amid tribal and political conflict, President Macie seized emergency powers and unleashed a decade-long reign of terror. President Macie, who declared himself president for life in 1972, decimated virtually every segment of society: suppressing the Roman Catholic Church; shutting the school system; expelling Nigerian contract workers who harvested coca, the mainstay of the economy; sinking the fishing fleet to prevent people from escaping; forcing the exodus of most remaining Spaniards and skilled and educated citizens; and murdering and publicly crucifying opponents.

On 3 August 1979, President Macie was overthrown by his nephew Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo in a military coup. Macie was hunted down and eventually executed for crimes that included treason and genocide. On assuming power, Col. Obiang banned political parties and oversaw the drafting of a new constitution, adopted in 1982, which provides for a president elected for seven years and a Council of State. A unicameral House of People's Representatives consists of elected members hand-picked by the president. In 1987, President Obiang launched the Democratic Party of Equatorial Guinea (PDGE), the only legal party. There have reportedly been four coup attempts since 1983, the last in September 1988.

On 25 June 1989 President Obiang, running unopposed, was elected in the first presidential elections since the coup. With the assistance of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, the regime is trying to rebuild an economic structure almost completely eradicated during the Macie years.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Citizens of Equatorial Guinea do not have the power to democratically chose or change their government. Arbitrary arrests and detentions are common. The judicial system is weak and cannot effectively review executive policies. Laws are enacted by decree. Citizens are not free to criticize the government and all media are government owned. Political association and assembly are banned, and nonpolitical groups must register with the government. Freedom of religion in this largely Roman Catholic country faces certain restrictions, and Protestant sects have been harassed or perse-

cuted. Internal travel is generally free. There are no labor unions, and the right to strike is prohibited. Unemployed citizens can be subject to periods of forced labor.

Ethiopia

Polity: Communist one-party
(military dominated)

Economy: Statist

Population: 48,470,000

Conflict: Secessionist-ethnic

PPP: \$454

Life Expectancy: 39 male, 43 female

Ethnic Groups: Oromo, Amhara, Tigrean, Sidamo, Shankella, Somali

Political Rights: 7

Civil Liberties: 7

Status: Not Free

Overview:

The regime of Lt. Col. Mengistu, who took power from long-time Emperor Haile Selassie in a 1974 coup and set up a Communist dictatorship, appears increasingly embattled. In 1989 his forces suffered embarrassing defeats by the Marxist Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), which has been fighting a separatist war in Eritrea province since 1961, and by the Marxist Tigre People's Liberation Front (TPLF), which has fought for Mengistu's removal since 1974. Before the regime and EPLF agreed on a cease fire, perhaps 40,000 government troops were killed, wounded or captured by the Tigrean rebels in 1989, and the army's best trained unit, the 102nd Airborne Division, was defeated in an TPLF offensive at Welo. Tigre province is now totally controlled by the 30,000 strong TPLF, which is in a position to cut the northern army's access to the Red Sea. In November 1989 Mengistu began to engage in peace-talks with the Tigrean rebels for the first time ever—which is regarded as a sign of his desperation. At the same time, he called for a national mobilization. Reports indicate that urban neighborhood groups have been ordered to produce sixty persons each for the war effort, and government officials have been undergoing special weapons training.

In May a coup attempt launched by key military figures wanting a negotiated end to the northern wars was snuffed out. According to one of the coup's planners, 680 officers have been arrested or executed since the attempt. This depletion of the officer corps has severely weakened the army and the war effort. Replacements are poorly trained, and the youths forcibly recruited to guard Addis Ababa are scared and tired of fighting. (Some youth resisting service have reportedly been executed.) In addition, the army is short on foreign support Cuban troops that helped counter-attack the Somali invasion of the Ogaden in 1977 are no longer stationed in Ethiopia. Twelve hundred Soviet advisors have pulled out of the country, and Moscow is hinting at reducing military aid after the current agreement expires next year. (Since 1977 the Soviets have supplied some \$11 billion in military aid.) A famine is expected in the north in early 1990. Famines occurred in 1984 and 1987—disasters caused as much by Stalinist agricultural policies and deliberate obstruction of relief supplies as by drought.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The constitution provides for freedom of speech, press, assembly and peaceful demonstration, but in reality these freedoms are not respected.

Public pronouncements by individuals are carefully monitored; several persons have been imprisoned for expressing antigovernment views. Books and journals have been confiscated when found to deviate from the government line. All media are government-owned and operated and serve as a mouthpiece for government policy. Assembly is allowed only with the government's permission, a policy backed up with stiff sanctions. Almost all demonstrations are government-organized, with many events calling for mandatory participation—again, a policy reinforced with stiff penalties. Some private associations are allowed to organize under close government watch. Academic freedom is curtailed; education is heavily politicized. In other areas, rights are also circumscribed. Government forces have been charged with bombing civilians in its war against Eritrean rebels. Torture, against which there are no specific constitutional protections, is a frequent post-arrest, anti-opposition tool. The constitutional provisions for lawful arrest and detention do not apply in practice, at least with regard to political dissidents. These persons are detained incommunicado, without charge or judicial review, and indefinitely, sometimes without even a pro forma trial. The judiciary is not independent in political cases. In 1988, political prisoners numbered between 2,000-3000. In a general amnesty, however, eighty-four political prisoners, along with the last three imprisoned royal family members and 820 common criminals, were released. A state of emergency in Tigre and Eritrea has, in effect, meant authorities can arrest and detain suspects at their whim.

Fiji

Polity: Military

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 749,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$3,558

Life Expectancy: 67 male, 71 female

Ethnic groups: Multinational state—Fiji Indians (49 percent), Fijians (46 percent), Pacific islanders, Europeans, Chinese (6 percent)

Political rights: 6

Civil liberties: 4

status: Partly Free

Overview:

This Pacific nation of some 830 islands and islets is currently run by a interim government following two coups in 1987 by then Lt. Col. and current army head Major Gen. Sitiveni Rabuka, who overthrew the elected Indian-dominated government of Prime Minister Timoci Bavadra. The present nonelected civilian government is led by Prime Minister Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara who, as head of the Alliance Party which ruled the island since independence in 1970, lost the 1987 election to a combined coalition of the Indian-backed National Federation Party (NFP) and the trade union supported Fiji Labor Party. The loss led to the military coup, as most Fijians, who are Protestant, and the powerful Great Council of Chiefs opposed a government dominated by Indian Hindus. Maj. Gen. Rabuka remains the power behind the interim government he appointed. Political party activities were formally suspended after the coup but have since been restored, and the post of governor-general, the representative of the British Crown, remains vacant.

The key political issue is a proposed constitution that will restrict

Indian representation in the unicameral Parliament to twenty-two out of seventy-one seats, thus guaranteeing the native Melanesians a permanent majority. In November 1988, the influential 270-member Great Council of Chiefs accepted the new constitution in principle, which could pave the way to a return to a parliamentary democracy that would restrict Indian participation. Many Indians have left the country as a result. Elections were expected before the end of 1989.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

In November 1988, Fiji suspended the Internal Security Decree (ISD), imposed five months earlier after a cache of arms was found. The ISD granted the government broad powers of search and detention. Although the government acknowledged "excesses" during the decree, its use was mostly confined to the investigation of the smuggled arms cache.

Another rights issue concerns the National Land Trust Board which administers four-fifths of the nation's land and restricts the rights of Indians to own and lease land.

In addition to lifting the ISD, the interim government suspended the ban on political meetings and demonstrations, and by the end of 1988, no one remained in jail without charge. Free trade unions and strikes are legal, and the Fiji Trades Union Congress (FTUC) is a member of the ICFTU and the ILO. The media operate freely, with a measure of self-restraint. Freedom of religion is guaranteed and honored in practice, although some tensions exist between Christians and Hindus over the ban on commercial activities on Sunday and occasional remarks (not taken seriously) by Maj. Gen. Rabuka, a devout Methodist, about "Christianizing" the Indian community.

Finland

Polity: Presidential-parliamentary democracy

Economy: Mixed capitalist

Population: 4,949,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$12,795

Life Expectancy: 70 male, 78 female

Ethnic groups: Finns, Swedes, Lapps

Political Rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 1

Status: Free

Overview:

Located in Northern Europe, Finland lived under Swedish and Danish domination for centuries until it became a Russian territory in 1809. The country achieved independence in 1917. The Finns and Soviets fought each other during World War II, resulting in a loss of Finnish territory to the Soviet Union. Following the war, two strong Presidents dominated Finnish politics: J.K. Paaskivi (1946-56) and Uhro Kekkonen (1956-81). Social Democrat Mauno Koivisto has been President since 1981. The voters elect an electoral college that chooses the president for a six-year term. The head of state is responsible for foreign affairs and can initiate and veto legislation. The president appoints a prime minister from the party or coalition commanding the confidence of the parliament. The parliament has 200 members, elected by proportional representation, who serve for a maximum term of four years. The first governing coalition to rule without the Communists took office in 1972. In the 1987 parliamentary election, the conservative National Coalition (53 MPs) came within three seats of the Social

Democrats, the largest party. Other parties represented include: the leftist People's Democratic League, the Rural Party, the Swedish People's Party, the Christian League, and the Greens. After inter-party negotiations, a center-right coalition took control of government under Prime Minister Harri Holkeri. The ruling parties support private enterprise interests. The Soviet Union remains influential, but Soviet President Gorbachev visited Finland in 1989 and assured the country that it is free to make its own policy.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The people of Finland have the right to change their government by democratic means. However, the Soviet Union interfered in past presidential elections and cabinet selection. The law guarantees freedom of speech and the press, but Finns have tended to avoid issues that would create tensions with the Soviet Union. Broadcast journalism is split between private and government control. Religious practice is free, but the Lutheran and Orthodox churches are state religions. The government provides subsidies to both faiths, and allows both to teach their beliefs in the public schools. There is no religious discrimination. Association is free. The overwhelming majority of workers belongs to trade unions. The Swedish-speaking minority has autonomy, cultural rights, and a political party.

France

Polity: Presidential-parliamentary democracy

Economy: Mixed capitalist

Population: 55,970,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$13,961

Life Expectancy: 71 male, 79 female

Ethnic Groups: French, (mixed Celtic, Latin and Teutonic)

Political Rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 2

Status: Free

Overview:

Modern French political history dates from the French Revolution in 1789. Since then, the country has had various republican, imperial, and monarchical regimes. The current system of government, the Fifth Republic, dates from 1958. As designed by Charles De Gaulle, the presidency is the dominant institution in this mixed presidential-parliamentary system. The people elect the president directly through a two-round system. In the first round, candidates of all parties appear on the ballot. If no candidate reaches a majority, then a run-off takes place between the two top finishers from round one. The two parliamentary bodies are the 577-member National Assembly, which the people elect directly, and the 318-member Senate, which is chosen by an electoral college of local elected officials.

Socialist President Francois Mitterrand has been in power since 1981, having won reelection in 1988. During the first term, Mitterrand's policies included the nationalization of several major industrial groups and banks. As the economy weakened in the mid-1980s, the Socialists abandoned many of their statist policies. After the Socialists lost the 1986 National Assembly elections to a Center-Right coalition, Mitterrand appointed Gaullist leader Jacques Chirac prime minister. During this period of so-called ideological cohabitation in government, France denationalized many previously nationalized enterprises. After the National Assembly elections of 1988, the Social-

ists and their Left Radical allies regained power. Mitterrand appointed moderate Socialist Michel Rocard prime minister.

There are numerous political parties and inter-party coalitions in France. Aside from the Socialists and their Left Radical partners, the major groupings include the conservative Gaullist Rally for the Republic, led by Jacques Chirac; the center-right, multi-party Union for French Democracy, which includes former President Giscard d'Estaing; the shrinking Communist Party; and the ultra-right National Front. The Greens have gained ground, having captured 11 percent of the vote in France's Euro-election. The Center-Right won the largest number of seats in the European Parliament.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The French have the right to change their government by democratic means. The electoral system allows the French to elect a new president every seven years and a new National Assembly at least once every five years. Under the Fifth Republic constitution, the President has significant emergency powers and the right to rule by decree under certain circumstances. These represent potential threats to democracy. Reacting against the weak executives of earlier forms of government, De Gaulle insisted on a strong presidency when he supervised the creation of the Fifth Republic in 1958.

France's anti-terrorist policy includes the expulsion of suspected Basque terrorists, a procedure that is also applied to foreigners believed to be assisting Middle Eastern terrorist organizations.

There is free religious expression. Religious schools receive financial assistance from the national government. In general, the press is free, but there is government involvement in subsidizing journalism and registering journalists. The state is secretive, and limits criticism of the president. The broadcast media have become increasingly free and competitive in the 1980s. There is no government monopoly; private radio stations are growing.

Business, agricultural, and labor groups have freedom of association. The labor movement has competing Communist and non-Communist federations. There is a significant government sector in the economy. France has a long tradition of state direction under governments of all ideological stripes. After the experimentation with nationalization in the early 1980s, France has developed a more market-oriented economy. Prime Minister Rocard identifies with moderate social democracy and with American liberalism rather than with the more doctrinaire elements of the French left.

Gabon

Polity: One-party

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 1,056,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$2,068

Life Expectancy: 47 male, 51 female

Ethnic groups: Fang, Eshira, Bapounou, Teke

Political Rights: 6

Civil Liberties: 5

Status: Not Free

Overview:

The Gabonese Republic, established in 1960 after gaining independence from France, is a small, sparsely populated central-west African nation on the Gulf of Guinea bordered by Equatorial Guinea, Cameroon and the

Congo. It is rich in such minerals as uranium, magnesium and oil, and boasts one of the highest per capita incomes in black Africa.

The country has been ruled since 1967 by Omar Bongo, who assumed power after the death of President Leon M'Ba and in 1968 declared a one-party state dominated by the nationwide Gabon Democratic Party (PDG). He ran unopposed and was reelected to a fourth term in November 1986. The unicameral National Assembly, controlled by the PDG, appoints a prime minister and a Council of Ministers, who must resign after a no-confidence vote; no legislator has ever called for such a vote. An illegal opposition group, the Movement for National Renewal (MORENA, organized in 1981), operates clandestinely in the country.

In 1989, President Bongo appeared to seek a rapprochement with MORENA. On 14 May Father Paul M'Ba Abesselo, a senior MORENA leader, returned to Gabon after a twelve-year exile, and met with President Bongo to discuss the possibility of the implementation of a multi-party system. However, in September, the government decided against a multi-party system. One month later, there was an alleged coup attempt by several government officials, and the government closed several newspapers. In November, President Bongo announced another coup attempt had been discovered among the military. At the end of the year the plotters were put on trial.

Despite recent discoveries of substantial off-shore oil reserves, the drop in oil prices compelled President Bongo to institute austerity programs and budget cuts and to propose expanding privatization of state-owned companies. Due to an underdeveloped transportation system and bad soil, the country's commercial agricultural and industrial sectors are poorly developed, and food and manufactured goods must be imported.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The Gabonese Republic is a one-party state and citizens cannot freely change their government through democratic processes. The constitution stipulates that acts against state security and the advocacy of a multi-party system are a crime. Criminal cases are generally handled fairly by the courts, but the government can interfere in security cases, and suspects in such cases can be held indefinitely without charge. The media are controlled by the government, but in April 1989 the satirical periodical *Le Patriote* published strong attacks against government officials accused of embezzlement, prompting President Bongo to warn journalists about sensationalism. Freedoms of assembly and association are restricted, and only meetings and rallies organized by the ruling party are permitted. Freedom of religion is generally respected in this overwhelmingly Christian nation. Domestic travel is generally unrestricted, but civil servants must get permission to travel abroad. The 200,000 non-Gabonese residents, mostly from neighboring countries, require documentation and face restrictions. Unions must be affiliated with the PDG-controlled Labor Confederation of Gabon, and the right to strike is severely restricted. Government employees cannot join unions.

Gambia

Polity: Presidential-legislative
democracy

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 789,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$736

Life Expectancy: 34 male, 37 female

Ethnic groups: Mandingo (40 percent), Fulani (19 percent)

Wolof (15 percent), Jola (10 percent) Serahuli (8 percent)

Political Rights: 2

Civil Liberties: 2

Status: Free

Overview:

The West African Republic of The Gambia is a narrow strip of land on the Atlantic coast and is surrounded on three sides by Senegal. An independent member of the Commonwealth since February 1965, it became a republican regime in April 1970. The Gambia has been ruled since independence by President Sir Dawda Jawara of the People's Progressive Party (PPP), who has been directly elected since 1982. He was reelected to a five-year term in 1987. The unicameral, directly elected thirty-six-member House of Representatives serves for five years, and is currently controlled by the PPP, which won thirty-one seats in 1987. The official opposition is the National Convention Party, with five seats. Other legal parties include the Gambian People's Party (GPP) and the leftist People's Democratic Organization for Independence and Socialism. Illegal parties are the National Liberation Party (NLP), the Gambian Socialist Revolutionary Party, and the Movement for Justice in Africa. Local districts are government by chiefs and village leaders, and regional commissioners are presidentially appointed.

In 1981, while President Jawara was out of the country attending the wedding of Britain's Prince Charles, a left-wing coup attempt was crushed with the aid of some 1,800 Senegalese troops. In 1982, the two countries signed a merger agreement establishing the Confederation of Senegambia. Under the agreement, armed and security forces were to be merged, economic and foreign policy coordinated, a common currency adopted while each state would remain a politically independent entity. The president of the confederation was Senegalese President Addou Diouf, with Jawara serving as vice-president.

Opposition to the merger grew among the English-speaking Gambians, who feared that their country would be swallowed up by its larger Franco-phone neighbor. Gambia also resisted both the adoption of the franc as a common union of exchange and Senegalese attempts to end the lucrative smuggling of illegal contraband into Senegal by Gambian businessmen.

In August 1989, President Jawara wrote a letter to President Diouf complaining about the confederation arrangement, and the Senegalese countered by threatening to remove their troops, later insisting that the troops may be needed to deal with domestic unrest and a festering border disagreement with Mauritania (which murdered and expelled Senegalese in the summer of 1989). Some 300 Senegalese soldiers left Gambia, effectively ending the confederation.

In 1989, the Gambia, whose agricultural economy is based on rice and peanut exports, continued its program of economic reforms which have led to a rescheduling of its debt and new loans.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Despite the PPP's dominance, the Gambia is a multi-party, pluralistic system in which citizens over eighteen can vote by secret ballot. The judiciary is independent of government interference, and the court and general law system is based on the English model. Muslim law governs marriages, and customary law covers marriage and divorce for non-Muslims, local tribal government and traditional social and civil relations. Gambians can exercise free speech, and although there are no major newspapers, political party newsletters and other publications can and do criticize the government. The radio is government-run. There are generally no restrictions on freedom of association and assembly, and the secular state protects religious expression. Gambians are free to emigrate and travel is generally unrestricted. There are two main labor federations, and workers have the right to strike.

Germany, East

Polity: Communist one-party (transitional) **Political Rights: 6**
Economy: Statist **Civil Liberties: 6**
Population: 16,582,000 **Status:** Not Free
Conflicts: None
PPP: NA
Life Expectancy: 68 male, 74 female
Ethnic groups: Predominantly German

Overview:

The Soviet-backed German Democratic Republic (GDR) was established on 7 October 1949, four years after the defeat of Nazi Germany led to the division of Germany between the victorious Allies. In late October and early November 1989, after a mass exodus of citizens in the summer and continued civil unrest, the country experienced dramatic and extraordinarily rapid political and social changes. Erich Honecker, the seventy-seven-year-old first secretary of the ruling Socialist Unity Party (SED) since succeeding Walter Ulbricht in 1971, was replaced on 18 October by Egon Krenz. In the continuing upheaval Krenz was himself removed and a non-Communist, Manfred Gerlach, was named interim head of state. Further important shifts were expected. Free elections were scheduled for May 1990.

After massive demonstrations in Leipzig and East Berlin, the government lifted travel bans, thousands of East Germans crowded into the West German Embassy in Prague, and within six days 60,000 East Germans had left the country. In the first week of November, the entire Cabinet resigned; the Politburo was reduced from eighteen to eleven, purged of fourteen hardliners and reconstituted with a few prominent reformers; the government announced a commitment to free elections and on 9 November lifted all travel restrictions to the West and announced that the opposition group, the New Forum, had been granted legal status. Tens of thousands of East Germans streamed through the Berlin Wall, many just to visit a part of the city that had been closed to them since the wall went up in 1961. The following day, the government announced plans for dismantling parts of the wall. Shortly thereafter, Hans Modrow, a reformist SED leader from Dresden, was named prime minister.

The political crisis began in the summer with the exodus of thousands of East Germans through Hungary, which had earlier opened its frontier with Austria. Hundreds more lined up in front of the West German Embassy in

Budapest, forcing Bonn to briefly close the facility. Between January and August 1989, more than 55,000 East Germans, most of them well educated and skilled, crossed into West Germany by legal and illegal means. Despite the relative success of the country's centrally planned economy (due largely to its relationship with West Germany), the mostly young refugees attributed their decision to leave to growing discontent over the regime's resistance to democratic reform and social liberalization, and uncertainty about their future in a closed society.

Until 1989, dissident activity in the GDR had largely been limited to several hundred ecological, pacifist, anti-nuclear groups, most centered in the Evangelical Lutheran Church, whose periodical, *Die Kirche* (The Church), had limited freedom to tackle subjects taboo in the state-run media. But as the political crisis intensified, an independent political group, the New Forum, was created, and demanded political reforms. Though illegal, by October it had tens of thousands of members nationwide. When Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev visited the besieged Honecker to mark the fortieth anniversary of the GDR on 7 October, tens of thousands marched in Leipzig demanding Soviet-style reforms and dialogue. Within the next several days, rallies in East Berlin, Dresden and Leipzig were broken up by police, with many arrests. By mid-October, East Germany's tiny, coalition parties—the Liberal Democrats and the Christian Democrats—became more assertive, urging the authorities to be more receptive to new ideas. On 7 October, a group of reformers demanding the establishment of a multi-party democracy and an "ecology-oriented social market economy" announced they were founding a Social Democratic Party. On 13 October Honecker, in what was to prove one of his last acts as leader, announced the release of nearly all demonstrators arrested during anti-government protests the weekend before. Some ten days after Honecker's ouster, 500,000 prodemocracy demonstrators marched in East Berlin, and 100,000 gathered in Dresden for a reform debate. Demonstrations were also held in Leipzig and other cities. New SED leader Krenz met with representatives of the New Forum and other groups on 26 October. On 30 October, 300,000 protesters marched in Leipzig. To quell the unrest and the impact of the mass exodus, Krenz quickly presented a series of political reforms in early November that culminated with the dramatic announcement that the Berlin Wall was open.

The SED remains the main organization in the umbrella National Front of the GDR, which embraces four minority parties and other mass organizations. The 500-member unicameral People's Chamber, whose members are directly elected from a list of candidates compiled by the Front, is subservient to the SED. The GDR in 1989 was a nation experiencing a profound political transition. That will continue well into 1990.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Despite the dramatic events in November, East Germans in 1989 did not have the right to change their government through democratic means. The judiciary is not independent, courts are controlled by the SED and defendants in political trials are denied due process. There are restrictive laws regarding free expression and the state-run press rarely deviates from the Party line and only recently have articles appeared on such sensitive issues as industrial pollution and social problems. Church newspapers were heavily censored in 1989. Under law, freedom of assembly is limited to churches, though by the late fall, hundreds of thousands of Germans demonstrated

without police interference. The independent New Forum opposition group was legalized, and the GDR has hundreds of independent groups, many centered around the church. Although nominally an atheistic state, the GDR provides the Lutheran Church with some financial support, although believers have faced discrimination in employment and Party membership. Foreign travel restrictions were loosened by the end of 1989. Workers do not have the right to form unions, and the official unions are controlled by the SED. But in late 1989 there were reports that the countries first free trade union was being organized

Germany, West

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 61,380,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$14,730

Life Expectancy: 70 male, 77 female

Ethnic Groups: German (Teutonic), Danish

Civil Liberties: 1

Status: Free

Political Rights: 1

Overview:

Formed out of the ruins of the Third Reich, the Federal Republic of Germany began in 1949. Its form of government is a deliberate reaction against the failures of the Weimar Republic, the system which preceded Hitler's dictatorship. To reduce the chances for concentrated power and dictatorship, West Germany has assigned many powers and functions to its Laender (states), and has a largely ceremonial, indirectly elected President, who has no popular base to compete with the Bundestag, the democratically elected lower house of parliament. State governments check federal power by choosing the members of the upper house, the Bundesrat. As head of government, the Chancellor holds the most powerful political office, and heads the majority in the Bundestag. Christian Democrat Helmut Kohl became Chancellor in 1982 when the liberal Free Democrats withdrew from their coalition with the Social Democrats.

The Kohl government has faced several social and economic problems. Liberalized emigration policies in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have sent thousands of ethnic German refugees to West Germany, which accepted 400,000 in 1989 alone. This has strained social service and housing budgets in some urban areas, and reduced the popularity of the Christian Democrats. These factors, coupled with persistent unemployment, have increased support for the small neo-Nazi Republican Party. In 1989, West Germany has also received 200,000 refugees fleeing the oppressive East German regime. Under West German law, German refugees receive automatic citizenship, because the government recognizes only one unified German citizenship. East Germany's opening of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 was the most significant development in German politics in a generation. This will have profound effects on West Germany in the 1990s.

On the political left, the Social Democratic Party (SPD) faces competition from the Greens, a pro-ecology and anti-nuclear movement. The Greens entered the Bundestag in 1983 and have representation in many state parliaments and city councils.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

West Germans have the right to change their government by democratic means. The electoral system for the Bundestag allows the voters to choose half the 496 members by plurality from single-member districts and half by a modified proportional system from statewide lists. Even if small parties elect no one from the districts, they are entitled to Bundestag seats if they receive at least 5 percent of the list vote. This qualified proportional system prevents a proliferation of parties in the lower house, but it also provides the Greens and the Free Democrats with their only chance for national representation.

As a consequence of the Nazi period, the West German Basic Law requires political parties to be democratic. Using this provision, the Federal Constitutional Court outlawed the Communist party and the neo-Nazi Socialist Reich Party in the 1950s. However, the Communist party reorganized, and new neo-Nazi parties have formed since then, and function freely. In general, West Germans have the full range of personal social freedoms, but federal law allows the civil service to discriminate against political extremists in their hiring practices. There are serious questions about who qualifies as an extremist. West Germans have freedom of expression, but the use of Nazi symbols is illegal.

The country has generous policies of political and humanitarian asylum. There was a growing problem in 1989 of the so-called airport children, individual Third World children who land in West Germany with neither visas nor return airfare. The Bundestag may take steps to close the loophole in the travel laws which allows such children to enter the country without visas.

The judiciary is independent. The accused have free access to their lawyers. The only exceptions have been a few terrorists who have used this access to carry on terrorism. There is freedom of religion. The federal government collects a tax from all self-identified Catholics and Protestants to support their religious institutions. The press is free. Broadcast media are operated by independent public corporations, and offer pluralistic points of view. Business, labor, and farming groups are free, highly organized, and influential lobbies. Under West Germany's codetermination law, management and labor have equal representation on the boards of major companies.

Ghana

Polity: Military

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 14,575,000

Conflicts: None

PPP: \$481

Life Expectancy: 50 male, 54 female

Ehnic groups: Some fifty ethnic groups, the majority being the Akans (including the Fanti), followed by the Ashanti, Ga, Ewe and the Moshi-Dagomba.

Political Rights: 6

Civil Liberties: 5

Status: Not Free

Overview:

The Republic of Ghana was established in March 1957 with the consolidation of British Togoland and the Gold Coast, becoming the first West African country to achieve independence after World War II. The struggle for independence was spearheaded by Kwame N. Nkrumah, who led the country until his ouster by the military in 1966.

In 1981, amid a deteriorating economy and widespread corruption, Flt. Lt. Jerry Rawlings, who had seized power briefly in 1979, led a coup that toppled the elected government of Dr. Hilla Limann. As chairman of the ruling Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC), Rawlings suspended the constitution, dissolved the unicameral National Assembly and outlawed political parties, which were legalized in 1979 after being banned in 1972.

One year after seizing power, Rawlings disbanded local governments and established a national network of "people's defense committees" (PDCs), later renamed Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs), to implement government policies on the local level. In September 1989, Flt. Lt. Rawlings survived a coup attempt involving eight officers.

In 1983, faced with a severe drought, food shortages, a bloated civil service and high unemployment exacerbated by Nigeria's forced repatriation of 1.2 million Ghanaian workers, the Rawlings regime launched a free-market oriented Economic Recovery Program (ERP) that ended price controls, dropped import restrictions, devalued the currency, tripled prices paid to growers of cocoa (the nation's leading export), and laid off 50,000 civil servants from the country's bureaucracy. In cooperation with the World Bank and the IMF, Ghana's economy has grown an average of 6 percent a year, the highest consistent growth rate in Africa. Nevertheless, malnutrition remains a serious concern, as does the flight of Ghana's educated elite because of low salaries.

In December 1988, elections were held for District Assemblies, which are supposed to gradually replace the CDRs. The elections were generally free, with a 60 percent turnout. One-third of the seats were reserved for government appointees from a broad range of Ghanaian society, including representatives of traditional chiefs and politicians from the last civilian government

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Ghana remains a military dictatorship and citizens are not empowered to change the government. Two small opposition groups, the Kwame Nkrumah Revolutionary Guards (KNRG) and the New Democratic Movement, have been suppressed and some leaders remain in detention. The security apparatus and military tribunals are controlled by the PNDC, and laws provide for indefinite detentions without trial for political crimes deemed a threat to national security. Ordinary criminal cases are handled by courts based on the British system. Since Ghana has no constitution, such rights as freedom of speech, press, assembly and association are not guaranteed, but granted at the discretion of the ruling junta. The government-owned press never criticizes government foreign or domestic policies, but some of the few remaining private newspapers have on occasion attacked government economic and foreign initiatives. Nonpolitical groups are allowed to exist. In June, the government banned four Christian religious groups, and in September all forms of Islamic preaching were banned in Wa region. Ghanaians are generally free to emigrate and travel inside and outside the country. The junta does not interfere with labor, and the independent Trade Union Congress, with sixteen affiliates, is well organized and active. Its paper often criticizes economic policy. Unions have and exercise the right to strike. Ghana has not acceded to the U.N. International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights or the Organization of African Unity's African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights.

Greece

Polity: Parliamentary democracy **Political Rights: 1**
Economy: Mixed capitalist **Civil Liberties: 2**
Population: 10,030,000 **Status:** Free
Conflict: None
PPP: NA
Life Expectancy: 72 male, 76 female
Ethnic groups: Greek (98 percent), Turkish (1 percent)

Overview:

Located on the southern tip of the Balkan peninsula, Greece fought for independence from the Turkish Ottoman Empire in the 1820s and 1830s. After its victory, Greece became a monarchy in 1835. In a series of wars in the early twentieth century, the country increased its territory in Europe, and took in Greek refugees from Turkey. After Axis occupation during World War II, civil war broke out between Communist and royalist forces. With Western aid, the constitutional monarchy prevailed. In 1967, a military junta took control, and held power until 1974. Then the country turned to parliamentary democracy.

The Parliament has 300 members, who serve for a maximum term of four years. There is a largely ceremonial president, who is elected by a two-thirds vote of Parliament. The conservative New Democracy Party controlled the government from 1974 until 1981, when the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) took control. Under prime minister Andreas Papandreou, PASOK renewed agreements for U.S. bases in Greece and reversed its anti-NATO and anti-EEC positions. After winning reelection in 1985, Papandreou carried out austerity measures that caused strikes and friction between PASOK and the Greek Communists. Charges of scandal mounted against Papandreou in 1987-88. The prime minister was accused of improper financial dealings, and he left his wife for an airline stewardess.

In the June 1989 elections, no party won a majority, but New Democracy and the Communist-led Left Coalition formed a temporary coalition government to deal with the corruption of the PASOK administration. New Democracy leader Constantine Mitsotakis became prime minister. A new general election in November 1989 produced inconclusive results. With 46.2 percent of the vote, New Democracy won 148 seats, making it the largest party. PASOK came in second with 40.6 percent and 128 seats. The Left Coalition came in third with 10.9 percent and 21 seats.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The Greeks have the right to change their government democratically. The media are generally free, but there are some restrictions on expression in the libel laws. The television stations are owned and operated by the government, but they allocate time to all the major political parties. There is freedom of association. The trade unions are divided by political party affiliation. Greek Orthodoxy is the state religion. Religious freedom is limited in the following ways: Proselytizing is forbidden. There is some discrimination against non-Orthodox religions in building church facilities. The Turkish Moslem minority also experiences various kinds of discrimination. The government picks the mufti, the leader of the Moslem community, after consulting with the Turkish minority. Under the PASOK government, the state sector expanded considerably and is now the largest employer. The country experienced a great deal of corruption during the Papandreou

government. This issue cannot be resolved fully until Greece solves the current political stalemate.

Grenada

Polity: Parliamentary democracy **Political Rights:** 2
Economy: Capitalist-statist **Civil Liberties:** 2
Population: 95,000 **Status:** Free
Conflict: None
PPP: NA
Life Expectancy: 60 male, 66 female
Ethnic Groups: Relatively homogeneous

Overview:

Grenada is a member of the British Commonwealth. The British monarchy is represented by a governor-general who acts as ceremonial head of state. Grenada became self-governing in 1958 and gained its independence in 1974 as a parliamentary democracy. The state also includes the islands of Carriacou and Petit Martinique.

The increasingly authoritarian government of Prime Minister Eric Gairy was overthrown in a 1979 coup d'etat by the revolutionary Marxist New Jewel Movement of Maurice Bishop. In October 1983, Prime Minister Bishop was murdered by New Jewel hard-liners during a factional fight. Bernard Coard and Gen. Hudson Austin took control of the country and declared martial law. Sir Paul Scoon, the governor-general and only duly constituted executive authority in the country, formally asked for international assistance. Coard and Austin were removed within days as a result of the joint U.S.-Caribbean military intervention. Scoon then formed an advisory council to act as an interim administration pending general elections.

In free and fair elections held in late 1984, the New National Party (NNP) of Herbert Blaize defeated Gairy's Grenada United Labour Party (GULP). The NNP, a coalition of three parties, won an overwhelming parliamentary majority, taking fourteen of the fifteen seats in the House of Representatives. The bicameral parliament also consists of an appointed Senate, with ten members appointed by the prime minister and three by the leader of the parliamentary opposition.

By mid-1989 the NNP coalition had unraveled, leaving Prime Minister Blaize with the support of only six representatives in the House. At the January NNP convention, Blaize had lost the NNP leadership in a delegate vote to Keith Mitchell who was subsequently dismissed by Blaize from his cabinet post. In order to stave off an imminent no-confidence vote, Blaize put parliament into recess in August. Opposition parties protested but acknowledged that under the constitution, the prime minister is entitled to suspend parliamentary sittings for up to six months. Blaize was not expected to reconvene the House of Representatives before the 28 December deadline for the dissolution of parliament and the calling of new elections.

In September, Blaize formed The National Party (TNP) from among his six remaining supporters in the House. Opposition parties questioned the constitutionality of Blaize remaining in office without a parliamentary majority, but continued to jockey for position in preparation for elections to be held no later than March 1990.

Blaize's new TNP raised to seven the number of political parties in Gre-

nada, including the New Democratic Congress (NDC), formerly a member of the NNP coalition, Gairy's rightist GULP, and the leftist Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM) led by Cuban-trained medical doctor Terry Marryshow. The NDC, founded by George Brizan, is currently led by Nicholas Brathwaite, who headed the 1983-84 interim government Advisory Council.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

All constitutional guarantees were reinstated in 1984 and there are few restrictions on the right to organize political, labor or civic groups. The exercise of religion and the right of free expression are also generally respected, although some imported leftist publications were banned by the government in early 1989.

The MBPM, founded by former members of the New Jewel Movement after the return to democratic governance, held a three-day conference and rally to mark the tenth anniversary of the 1979 revolution. The events took place without government interference, although invited guests from the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of the United States were expelled from the country before they could attend, and publications of the SWP-operated Pathfinder Press were confiscated. The MBPM also complained that some of its representatives were detained for questioning after returning from conferences in Libya. The MBPM, while freely participating in democratic politics, did not rule out armed struggle as an instrument for winning power. Following the conference, the government banned eighty-six publications, primarily Pathfinder books and periodicals and other imported books by Marxist authors.

There are numerous labor unions and they are permitted to strike. In June, government employee unions went on strike to demand renegotiation of recent pay settlements.

Newspapers, many of which are weekly political party organs, are independent. Radio is operated by the government but open to independent voices. There were complaints that the government had impeded the establishment of independently operated radio. Grenada's Discovery Television-Channel 11 is the Eastern Caribbean's only independent, privately owned TV station, although it was reportedly being sold to a consortium of government and business interests in late 1989.

There is an independent, nondiscriminatory judiciary which is generally respected by the police. There are no political prisoners. After five years of legal proceedings and trials, thirteen men and one woman, including Bernard Coard and Gen. Hudson Austin, were found guilty of the 1983 murder of Maurice Bishop and sentenced to death. The proceedings continued in late 1989 as the defendants, as well as others who received lesser sentences for involvement in the murder, appealed their sentences.

Guatemala

Polity: Presidential-legislative democracy (military influenced)

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 8,818,000

Conflict: Guerrilla insurgency

PPP: \$1,957

Life Expectancy: 57 male, 61 female

Ethnic Groups: Ethnically complex, more than 50 percent Mayan and other Indian

Political Rights: 3

Civil Liberties: 3

Status: Partly Free

Overview:

The Republic of Guatemala was established in 1839, eighteen years after independence from Spain, and following the breakup of the United Provinces of Central America (1824-1838). The nation has endured a history of prolonged military dictatorships, *coups d'etat*, and left-wing guerrilla insurgency, with only intermittent democratic rule. After more than thirty years of almost uninterrupted and repressive military rule, Guatemala returned to elected civilian government in January 1986 with the inauguration of President Vinicio Cerezo of the centrist Christian Democratic Party.

In August 1984, seventeen political parties participated in balloting for a constituent assembly. The assembly drafted a democratic constitution that was promulgated in May 1985. The presidential elections of November 1985 were held under the provisions of the new constitution and won by Cerezo after a runoff ballot in December. The constitution provides for a five-year presidential term.

The constitution also provides for a 100-member, unicameral National Congress, with 75 members directly elected, also for five years, and the remaining 25 selected on the basis of proportional representation. In concurrent legislative elections in November 1985, the Christian Democrats gained 51 seats, with the remaining 49 divided among eight other parties. The governors of twenty-two departments and the municipality of Guatemala City are appointed by the president

According to the constitution, the president is responsible for national defense and security. The military, however, exerts significant influence on the Cerezo government, more so since defending it against at least two coup attempts by disgruntled junior officers, the most recent in May 1989. The defense minister, Gen. Hector Gramajo, has overseen the transformation of the army into a more professional institution and is a proponent of democracy. However, Cerezo's dependence on the support of Gramajo and a core group of high-ranking officers has lessened his executive authority.

The army, which directs the counterinsurgency effort against the guerrilla forces of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG), also controls much of the country's rural administration. The left-wing guerrillas have been fighting for three decades, but were weakened by the fierce repression of the early 1980s and lost further support after the return to civilian rule. In late 1988 and 1989, however, the URNG intensified its military activities, while demanding negotiations with the government. The government, backed by the military high command, has offered participation in the political process if the dwindling force of the URNG lays down its arms.

Although national elections are not scheduled until November 1990, campaign activities were underway in 1989. In the country's first-ever

primary, the ruling Christian Democrats went to the polls in August to choose a candidate to succeed Cerezo, who under the constitution is bound to a single term. The winner was Alfonso Cabrera, a close Cerezo associate. However, amid charges of fraud and allegations of corruption and involvement in drug-trafficking against Cabrera, party patriarch Rene de Leon Schlotter continued to make claim to the nomination.

In the fall, as Cerezo sought to mend the rift among Christian Democrats, who remain the favorite for 1990 because of superior party organization, a dozen other parties jockeyed to form alliances and select candidates. According to fall opinion polls, one possible contender was Gen. Efraim Rios Montt, the former dictator associated with some of the worst brutality of the early 1980s. His political rejuvenation stemmed from the promise of law and order amid the dramatic increase in political and criminal violence in 1989. However, he did not have a party, and could be constitutionally barred from running for having previously obtained the presidency through force.

Amid new coup rumors in the fall, some lightest political parties nostalgic for military rule, backed by staunchly conservative segments of the private sector, appeared to be fomenting social unrest. If Cerezo hands over power to another freely elected civilian in January 1991 it would be the first such transfer in Guatemala's history.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Constitutional guarantees regarding the right to organize political parties, civic organizations and labor unions are generally respected. There are approximately a dozen legally registered political parties from social democratic left to radical right.

Political expression has been restricted, however, by a dramatic increase in criminal and political violence including disappearances, murder, bombings and death threats. Student organizations, peasant groups, labor unions, and human rights organizations have been targeted, particularly after the aborted 9 May coup. There were nearly three dozen deaths attributed to political violence reported in August, over twice that many in September. Public threats by the "White Hand" death squad appeared for the first time in over five years. Two new organizations also distributed death threat lists.

Many of the targeted groups blamed the military and security forces. The government and army high command alleged that hard-line junior officers, failed coup plotters and extremists in the private sector were behind the violence. In September, a number of individuals were arrested and accused of terroristic activities. The police, however, are not independent of the military, are poorly trained, and have inadequate resources.

There are a number of independent human rights groups. The Mutual Support Group (GAM) has held numerous large protest demonstrations against continued abuses. However, GAM itself has been targeted; its offices were bombed in August 1989 and several of its members have been murdered. A group which advocates the rights of Mayan Indians, the Runujel Junam Council of Ethnic Communities (CERJ), has also been targeted. The group has exposed violations of a constitutional article that states no individual can be forced to join any type of civil-defense organizations against his will; the rural civil-defense network is a key component of the military's counter-insurgency program. Some military officers allege the Indian rights group is linked with the URNG guerrillas. The group reported

in 1989 that its members receive death threats and that several of its members have disappeared.

The judiciary is headed by a seven-member Supreme Court selected by Congress, with the president of the court supervising the judiciary throughout the country. While theoretically independent, the judicial system remains weak and subject to the influence of security forces; no member of the military has been convicted of human rights abuses since the return to civilian rule. There is a congressional human rights commission that has shown a degree of independence in pressing the Cerezo administration for a response to its recommendations.

Labor unions have successfully reestablished themselves since the return to civilian rule and have often exercised their right to strike. There have been more labor actions in the last three years than in the last three decades. In 1989, a number of union leaders were subject to attacks and death threats; several fled into exile, as have a number of human rights activists.

The press and a large portion of the broadcast media are privately owned and uncensored by the government. There are several independent daily and weekly newspapers offering pluralistic points of view. There are approximately ninety radio stations, only a half-dozen run by the government. Five of the six television stations are commercially operated. In 1989, however, a number of newly established, left-leaning magazines and periodicals have been subject to bombing attacks and death threats. A number of journalists associated with these and other publications went into exile and at least one weekly was forced to shut down when its staff resigned. A number of radio stations have also closed because of threats.

Guinea

Polity: Military

Economy: Mixed capitalist

Population: 6,999,000

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 39 male, 42 female

Ethnic groups: Fulani, Malinke, Susu, others

Political Rights: 7

Civil Liberties: 6

Status: Not Free

Overview:

Located on the Atlantic coast of west-central Africa, the Republic of Guinea gained independence from France in 1958 and has been ruled by a military dictatorship since 1984 following a bloodless coup led by current President Brig. Gen. Lansana Conte. In 1985, he survived a coup attempt by his former prime minister, Col. Diarra Traore, who is presumed to have been executed.

Following the 1984 coup, President Conte suspended the 1982 constitution, outlawed political parties, and dissolved the 210-member unicameral National Assembly, which had been dominated by the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG) under a one-party system. The country is governed by the Military Committee for National Recovery (CMRN), headed by President Conte, and a Council of Ministers designated by the CMRN.

The Conte regime inherited a country rife with bureaucratic corruption, mismanagement, human rights abuses, and the absence of the rule of law entrenched during the twenty-six-year rule of Ahmed Sekou Toure, who

died in 1984 and was briefly succeeded by Lansana Beavogui. To repair the economy, based on the export of such mineral resources as bauxite and diamonds, the government has undertaken a program of restructuring and reform which includes cutting back the civil service, stimulating private enterprise by creating producers' cooperatives and promoting foreign investment. In early January, the government announced that it had obtained financial aid from the European Economic Community (EEC) worth about 12.5 million European Currency Units to help implement an import program for the private and public business sector. In March, several officials were arrested in an anti-corruption drive. Unemployment remains a problem and in late April unemployed students planned a demonstration in the capital of Conakry.

In mid-April, the government announced plans to draft a new constitution to replace the one suspended in 1982. Authorities also vowed throughout the year to return to a government of laws and to improve human rights and civil liberties, although no significant action has been taken to liberalize the political system.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The country is a military dictatorship and citizens do not enjoy the right to change their government using democratic means. The judicial system includes civilian and military courts, and local civil cases are often handled by village chiefs or councils. A Court of State Security handles "crimes against the state." The government operates the media and journalists are civil servants. Self-censorship is practiced, and criticism of government policies is rare. There are legal restrictions on free expression by individuals. The government must approve all public gatherings. Private, professional associations do exist. Religious freedom is respected in a country where 85 percent of the population is Muslim. In 1989, the government was concerned about a increase in Islamic fundamentalism. There are some restrictions on domestic travel, and the right to travel abroad has been denied for political reasons. The Guinean National Labor Confederation (CNTG) is the only recognized labor federation and is closely associated with the government. Workers need CNTG permission to legally strike.

Guinea-Bissau

Polity: One-party (military dominant)	Political Rights: 6
Economy: Statist	Civil Liberties: 6
Population: 962,000	Status: Not Free
Conflict: None	
PPP: NA	
Life Expectancy: 41 male, 45 female	
Ethnic groups: Balanta, Fulani, Manjaca, Malinke, Papel	

Overview:

The Republic of Guinea-Bissau, located on the Atlantic coast of west-central Africa between Guinea and Senegal, gained independence from Portugal in 1974. Luis de Almeida Cabral, as a leader of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), led an armed struggle against the Portuguese since the early 1960s before assuming the presidency of the newly formed country. The current president, Brig. Gen.

Joao Bernardo Vieira, came to power in 1980 by overthrowing Cabral. One factor that led to the ouster of President Cabral was a planned unification of the island of Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau, a move opposed by many black mainlanders.

The 1984 constitution codified the supremacy of the PAIGC and reconstituted the unicameral, 150-member National Assembly that was dissolved by the Revolutionary Council after the 1980 coup. The Assembly, whose members are designated by eight popularly elected regional councils, elects a Council of State, whose president is also head of state. President Vieira survived a 1985 coup attempt.

In his 1989 New Year's address, President Vieira announced legislative and presidential elections, which were held in mid-June. The sole party, the PAIGC, won all the seats, and President Vieira was designated to another term.

The key issue for this underdeveloped country in 1989 was the economic restructuring begun two years earlier. In January, the president announced the reorganization of the banking sector, which will include a central bank, a commercial bank, and an institution of credit and development. The same month, the government adopted a draft \$104.6 million investment program for 1989 characterized by austerity and budget discipline. The investment program gave priority to development projects as part of the general program of structural readjustment adopted in 1987 with the aid of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The president also announced his intention to privatize the country's industry, and confirmed that the areas of priority in the Guinean economy will continue to be agriculture and fishing.

In February, it was revealed that the government created a special commission to revise the constitution in line with the economic restructuring that will replace the state monopoly system.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The citizens of Guinea-Bissau cannot change their government through democratic processes. The judicial system offers some safeguards, but the government has the power to arbitrarily detain individuals suspected of anti-state activities. The judiciary is part of the executive branch, and security cases are tried in secret by military tribunals. The government controls all media, and journalists are civil servants who practice self-censorship. Permission is not required for nonpolitical assemblies, but all existing organizations and associations are affiliated in some way with the ruling PAIGC. Religious freedom is respected, and travel, both foreign and domestic, is not generally restricted. The only union, the National Union of Guinea-Bissau (UNTG), is effectively controlled by the party. Strikes are not forbidden but rarely occur.

Guyana

Polity: Dominantparty
Economy: Mixed statist
Population: 765,000
Conflict: None
PPP: \$1,654

Political Rights: 5
Civil Liberties: 4
Status: Partly Free

Life Expectancy: 66 male, 71 female

Ethnic Groups: Ethnically complex, approximately 50 percent of East Indian origin, black (31 percent), mixed (12 percent), Amerindian (4 percent), and the remainder European

Overview:

The Cooperative Republic of Guyana is a member of the British Commonwealth. Since independence in 1966, the nation has been ruled by the black-based People's National Congress (PNC). The 1966 constitution established Guyana as a parliamentary member of the Commonwealth, but the monarchical structure was abandoned in 1970 in favor of a titular president elected by the National Assembly. Under President Forbes Burnham, Guyana was redesignated as a "cooperative republic" in 1970, attesting to the PNC's increased commitment to socialism. In the 1970s, the PNC retained power through increasingly fraudulent elections.

In 1980, two years after a controversial referendum, the PNC installed a new constitution which formalized the "paramountcy" of the PNC in all government spheres. It provides for a popularly elected executive president with virtually unlimited powers including the right to veto all legislative enactments. There is a first vice-president appointed by the president who is also prime minister. There is a National Assembly with fifty-three members directly elected for five years, plus twelve members designated indirectly to represent regional and local interests.

In 1980, Burnham was reelected president in elections that were fraudulent in nearly every respect. After his death in 1985, he was succeeded by Desmond Hoyte who was elected for a full term in a similarly fraudulent exercise. In 1986, the opposition formed a coalition, the Patriotic Coalition for Democracy (PCD), composed of the East Indian-based, Moscow-line People's Progressive Party (PPP), the social democratic Working People's Alliance (WPA), and three small centrist parties.

For the last three years the Hoyte government has stonewalled a PCD request for negotiated electoral reform. The PCD's principal demands are the establishment of an independent electoral commission, the counting of votes at the place of polling, and international monitoring. In summer 1989, these demands were formally backed in a statement signed by the Anglican and Catholic churches, independent unions, the independent media, and segments of the business and professional communities. General elections are not due until December 1990.

As in the past, the government dismissed the initiative. In September, Hoyte announced that municipal elections would be held in November. The PCD stated that without electoral reform, it would boycott the vote as it had during the 1986 local elections. The ideologically diverse PCD remains subject to internal disputes, but it has maintained its unity on the electoral issue. At the same time, the right-wing United Republican Party (URP) led by Robert Gangadeen announced that it was preparing its electoral campaign.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The constitution grants the right of free expression, freedom of religion and the right to organize political parties, civic organizations and labor unions. Although the pervading fear and intimidation that existed under Burnham no longer exist, official policies under Hoyte still place certain restrictions on political expression.

Political parties remain subject to harassment and brutality by police and armed gangs reportedly linked to the security forces. Opposition leaders are often arrested during demonstrations, even if permission to demonstrate has been granted. The right of habeas corpus is not consistently respected. The judicial system is nominally independent but subject to the influence of the government, which often ignores the courts on the infrequent occasions they rule against it.

There is an independent and well-respected Guyana Human Rights Association which is backed by independent civic and religious groups. In 1989, however, the government sought to impede its activity by a series of libel actions. There are no political prisoners but the threat of internal exile remains.

Under Burnham, labor unions were either coopted through the Trade Union Council (TUC) or subject to repression. However, in 1988, the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Guyana (FITUG) was formed when the TUC split over the government's IMF-inspired economic austerity program. In 1989, the FITUG held a series of successful demonstrations and strikes that gripped the vital bauxite and sugar industries. FITUG leaders were frequently arrested but the government did not resort to the systematic repression exercised under Burnham.

In 1986, the Hoyte administration permitted a new independent newspaper, the *Stabroek News*. But the government, in the Burnham tradition, continues to make excessive use of libel suits and controlled access to newsprint and hard currency to curb the independent press. Political party publications are similarly affected. Public radio is primarily an instrument of the ruling party. There is no television.

Haiti

Polity: Military

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 6,346,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$775

Life Expectancy: 51 male, 54 female

Ethnic Groups: Relatively homogeneous

Political Rights: 7

Civil Liberties: 5

Status: Not Free

Overview:

Since becoming independent following a slave revolt in 1804, the Republic of Haiti has endured a history of violence, instability and dictatorship. A February 1986 military coup ended twenty-nine years of rule by the Duvalier family, but it did not end the corruption, repression and terror. The new government of Gen. Henri Namphy, which included many Duvalierists, held an election for a constituent assembly that drafted Haiti's twenty-third constitution. The document was overwhelmingly approved in a March 1987 referendum. By mid-1987, however, it was apparent the Namphy regime was unable or unwilling to curb a mounting campaign of terror by former

Tontons Macoutes, a campaign that culminated in a bloodbath that aborted November presidential and legislative elections.

Leslie Manigat became president in a second election in January 1988 that was controlled by the military and boycotted by the most of the opposition. Manigat was ousted and the constitution suspended six months later when he attempted to remove Namphy as army commander. In September 1988, Namphy was overthrown by a group of young officers and replaced by Gen. Prosper Avril.

Since coming to power, Avril has promised new elections and the transfer of power to a civilian government. However, he remains opposed by older military officers and a still powerful network of Duvalierists, and hamstrung by a disintegrating economy and continued government corruption. By the fall of 1989, he had fended off at least four coup attempts, two of which nearly succeeded. At the same time, he has attempted to mollify a broad if disunited opposition by restoring parts of the 1987 constitution and establishing a provisional electoral council which announced in September a timetable for elections in 1990. The schedule calls for local elections in April, legislative elections in two rounds in July and August, and presidential elections in two rounds in October and November.

The 1987 constitution provides for a directly elected president, a prime minister responsible to a legislature composed of a Senate and a House of Representatives, and an independent judiciary. It bans Duvalierists from public office for ten years and authorizes an independent commission to supervise elections. However, the partial restoration of the constitution in 1989 omitted 36 articles that restrict the powers of the army, and left in limbo the article barring Duvalierists from running for office.

The political opposition remained divided in response to the announcement of elections. The left, including Communists, militant unions and radical Catholic groups, denounced the government for ignoring economic insecurity and continuing violence and lawlessness. Moderate parties appeared to accept the electoral calendar but remained skeptical of Avril's commitment to transition and fearful of a repetition of the events of November 1987. Rumbling on the right and within the military led to speculation of another coup attempt.

By October, centrists and moderate conservatives were working to form a coalition to contest the elections. The left formed a Front Against Repression for the purpose of pressuring the government for immediate change. The nine-member electoral council announced that it would set up offices throughout the country in preparation for registering voters during the first three months of 1990.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The partial restoration of the constitution meant the nominal reinstatement of guarantees regarding the right of free expression, freedom of religion and the right to organize political parties, civic organizations and labor unions. These rights are respected to some degree in the capital of Port-au-Prince, where there has been a liberalization of the media and where dozens of opposition organizations are active. However, general insecurity due to the government's failure to end violent abuses by soldiers and paramilitary groups, including a spate of urban killings, significantly restricts political and civic expression.

Nonetheless, leftist labor unions are well organized and have made

effective use of the right to strike. A twenty-four-hour general strike called by thirty-two groups representing fanners, workers, opposition parties and other civic organizations halted nearly all public transportation and economic activity at the end of September. While there have been clashes, troops have not opened fire and killed demonstrators as they did under Namphy.

There are a number of newspapers but opposition publications are self-censored in varying degrees because of continuing intimidation. There are approximately three dozen government, commercial and religious radio stations. Opposition radio is critical of the government and influential. A private commercial television company broadcasts over two channels.

In the countryside, near anarchy prevails. Army officers in charge of particular regions have carved out virtual fiefdoms, ruling through violence and repression with impunity. Most of the rural organizations formed after the fall of Duvalier have collapsed. Under these circumstances, administering a registration and electoral process outside of Port-au-Prince and the other coastal cities could prove impossible.

While nominally independent, the judicial system is weak and ineffective, and irrelevant in rural areas. The Port-au-Prince bar association appears to be under the influence of Duvalierist sympathizers. Arbitrary arrests occur regularly, either condoned or ignored by the government. Political assassinations are common. There are independent human rights organizations, but they operate at risk and depend on international support. In September, the government announced that an Office for the Protection of the Citizenry would be created, as per the constitution. However, the office is to operate under the Ministry of Justice and is unlikely to be effective without an overhaul of the ministry itself.

Honduras

Polity: Presidential-congressional-democracy (military influenced)

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 5,047,000

Conflict: Left-wing guerrilla movements

PPP: \$1,119

Life Expectancy: 58 male, 62 female

Ethnic Groups: Relatively homogeneous, approximately 7 percent Indian

Political Rights: 2

Civil Liberties: 3

Status: Free

Overview:

After achieving independence from Spain in 1821, and after the breakup of the United Provinces of Central America (1824-1838), the Republic of Honduras was established in 1939. Its history has been marked by armed rebellions, *coups d'etat*, military rule and only intermittent democratic rule. A process of democratization began with the election of a constituent assembly in 1980, the election of President Roberto Suazo of the Liberal Party (PL) in 1981, and the promulgation of a democratic constitution at the time of his inauguration in January 1982.

The 1982 constitution, the seventeenth in the nation's history, provides for a president and a 134-member, unicameral National Congress directly

elected for four years. In the 1981 and 1985 presidential races, parties could nominate more than one candidate; the winner was the leading candidate of the party with the highest total aggregate vote. Thus, Jose Azcona, one of three PLH candidates, was elected to succeed President Suazo in the November 1985 vote with only 27 percent of the vote, less than the 43 percent received by Rafael Callejas of the National Party (PN), the country's other major political party. Smaller parties received collectively less than five percent.

At the end of 1988, however, the independent electoral tribunal instructed the parties to hold primaries to determine presidential nominations. In December balloting, Roberto Flores won a four-way race to become the PL candidate. Rafael Callejas was selected to run again for the PN. Two smaller, left-leaning parties also nominated candidates. With the approach of the 26 November 1989 election, the central issues were government corruption and the struggling economy. However, in early November parties were issuing complaints to the electoral tribunal about irregularities in voter registration lists. Nonetheless, the election took place as scheduled and was won by Callejas with nearly 50 percent of the vote. His inauguration would be the third consecutive peaceful transfer of government to an elected civilian administration since 1982.

The governors of the country's eighteen departments are appointed by the executive. Departments are subdivided into 283 municipalities, including the capital city of Tegucigalpa, each with an elected mayor and local assembly.

Since the return to civilian rule, the military continues to have influence over the government on security issues, as has the U.S. because of the presence of Nicaraguan contra rebel bases in southern Honduras. Theoretically, the National Congress elects the chief of the armed forces, who commands for a three-year period, from a list of nominees provided by the military. In reality, however, the military's first choice is routinely approved.

The influence of the military appeared to be enhanced in 1989 because of the stepped-up activities of guerrillas of the Cinchonero Popular Liberation Movement (MPL) and the Morazanista Patriotic Front (FPM). These groups have less than five hundred members between them, but have attacked high-profile targets including government offices and U.S. servicemen. The attacks in 1989 came amid an increase in other forms of political violence that might endanger fragile civilian institutions.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Constitutional guarantees regarding free expression, freedom of religion and the right to form political parties, labor unions and civic organizations are generally respected. There are a half dozen legal political parties ranging from the right to social democratic left. The Honduran Communist Party (PCH) gained legal status in 1981, but since 1983 has been operating clandestinely after declaring support for the PLM and FPM guerrilla movements.

Political expression was restricted, however, by an increase in political violence since 1988. The stepped-up actions by guerrilla movements, including the murders of at least one right-wing politician and a retired armed forces chief, were accompanied by several political killings carried out by right-wing extremist groups. Several of these groups issued public death

threats. There were also reports from independent human rights organizations of extra-judicial killings and torture committed by security forces, raising concern that the military's Battalion 316 unit, responsible for numerous killings in the early 1980s, had been reestablished. Independent rights monitors, in turn, have been subject to threats and violent intimidation.

The government human rights office acknowledged a pattern of abuses by police, but stated the policy of the government and armed forces was to stem the violence. In 1988, the government cooperated on a case brought against Honduras at the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. It agreed to pay monetary damages assessed by the Court for two killings committed by security forces earlier in the decade. However, the Honduran judicial system, headed by a Supreme Court, remains weak and subject to pressure by the military. Investigations of human rights charges against the military and security forces are short-lived, and the military does not make public its own internal investigations.

Labor unions are well organized and permitted to strike. A thirteen-day banana workers strike against a U.S. firm in October ended in a new collective bargaining agreement. The 100,000-strong Confederation of Honduran Workers and other federations held a massive May Day march to demand higher wages and new jobs, and condemn the presence of U.S. troops and Nicaraguan contras. Labor leaders, however, as well as the leaders of a number of peasant unions pressing for land reform, have been subject to official intimidation. Independent rights monitors have reported illegal detentions and torture in rural areas.

The press and broadcast media are largely private. There are several daily newspapers representing various political points of view. In 1989, however, several of the approximately one hundred radio stations were threatened with suspension by the government for interviewing independent human rights monitors and labor leaders.

Hungary

Polity: Multiparty transitional

Economy: Statist

Population: 10,580,000

Conflicts: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 67 male, 74 female

Ethnic groups: Hungarians (95 percent), Slovak, German, Romanian minorities

Political Rights: 4

Civil Liberties: 3

Status: Partly Free

Overview:

Along with Poland, Hungary in 1989 made the most dramatic inroads toward political reform and pluralism in Eastern Europe. In October, the ruling Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (HSWP) changed its name to the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP), and the Hungarian People's Republic became the Republic of Hungary. Later that month, parliament passed constitutional amendments designed to turn the country into a multiparty democracy. Free elections were tentatively scheduled for June 1990, and a new office of president was created. An entirely new constitution, without reference to the leading role of any specific ideology or party, is to be finalized after the national elections.

Hungary's gradual transformation began in January 1989, when the unicameral National Assembly adopted a law of association and codified the right to form political parties. In June, the reformist wing of the fragmented HSWP gained dominance by adopting a four-man ruling presidium that included: State Secretary Imre Pozsgay, Premier Miklos Nemeth, Party Chairman Rezso Nyers, and General Secretary Karoly Grosz, who took over in May 1988 after the ouster of long-time leader Janos Kadar. The four-man arrangement severely undermined Mr. Grosz's authority, and on 22 August he said that he was planning to step down, but without specifying when.

Also in June, the government began round-table negotiations with Hungary's burgeoning civil opposition groups, the main one's being the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), the Alliance of Free Democrats, and FIDESZ, a student group whose recall petitions led to the resignation of several members of parliament. Talks broke off in July when the government and opposition could not agree on the electoral law, the timing of the elections and the power of a newly envisioned presidency.

Over the last year, Hungary saw the revitalization of several prewar parties, the Smallholders' Party, Social Democrats, and a new Christian Democratic Party, as well as the emergence of a free trade union federation consisting of five unions, the largest being the Democratic Union of Scientific Workers (TDDSZ), and a loose but active environmental movement known generally as the Danube Circle. Other independent groups include several organizations of lawyers and legal scholars.

Four key parliamentary by-elections on 22 July gave Hungarians their first chance to vote freely for an opposition since 1947. The opposition won one seat outright by gaining 70 percent of the vote, and in the subsequent second round, two candidates backed by the populist MDF defeated Communists by a margin of about 3 to 1. In the fourth race, the turnout fell short of the necessary 50 percent and the seat was declared vacant until national elections in 1990.

In another indication of rapid political changes, the government sanctioned and took part in the official reburial of former leader Imre Nagy, who was deposed in 1956 when Soviet tanks crushed a popular uprising. The Party also openly debated the issue of the 1956 revolt, with reformers publicly calling it a popular uprising and not, as has been the case in the past, a counter-revolution. On 11 August, a party spokesman acknowledged that the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia was wrong.

Prior to President George Bush's visit to Hungary, authorities began dismantling the security installations along the border with Austria, thus opening the frontier. Thousands of East Germans used Hungary as an escape route to the West. Hungary's reforms put a strain on relations with such hard-line states as East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Romania, whose mistreatment of its Hungarian minority has further exacerbated tensions. For its part, the Soviet Union in March began reducing its military forces in Hungary, promising to withdraw one-quarter of the estimated 40,000 troops by the end of the year.

In the fall, events took a dramatic turn when the HSWP reconstituted itself as the HSP head by Rezso Nyers. Parliament passed a party and election law and disbanded the 60,000-member Workers' Militia, an armed group created after the 1956 revolt to protect the Communist government.

On the 23 October, over 100,000 Hungarians marked the thirty-third anniversary of the 1956 uprising in Budapest as the country scrapped the "socialist people's" label and proclaimed itself a republic.

Yet, obstacles to a completely smooth transition remained. Presidential elections scheduled for 26 November were put on hold as the Alliance of Free Democrats and FIDESZ presented the government with a petition, signed by 200,000, demanding a national referendum to decide whether the president will be picked directly by the voters or by the next freely elected parliament. The issue was critical because of the extensive powers of the president, who would be the commander-in-chief of the armed forces and have the authority to dissolve parliament and call national and regional elections.

In early November, parliament decided that voters will choose the president in two rounds, on 7 and 14 January, following a 26 November referendum on the *issue*. On 27 November, the government announced that over 53 percent of eligible voters turned out for the referendum, and voted to hold presidential elections after next years' national election. Several candidates emerged as possible contenders. Pozsgay was the declared candidate of the HSP. Acting President Matyas Szuros said he was ready to run. Reformist Justice Minister Kalman Kulcsar, who oversaw the rewriting of the constitution, was nominated by the umbrella Patriotic People's Front, an independent body closely allied to the ruling party. The largest opposition group, the MDF, nominated Lajos Fur, a historian, and the Social Democrats named Sandor Racz, chairman of the Budapest Workers' Committees, which resisted the invading Soviets in 1956.

Although hard-line communism appeared discredited, several orthodox communist groups were formed after the dissolution of the HSWP, among them the Hungarian Workers' Party (which hoped to represent industrial workers and members of the army and police), the Ferenc Munnich Society (a hard-line Stalinist group), the Janos Kadar Society (named for the deposed party leader who died in 1989), the Grouping for Socialism Movement, the Marxist-Leninist Party of the Workers, and the Party of Hungarian Communists.

Despite accelerated political reform, the sputtering Hungarian economy remained a problem, with the highest per capita foreign debt in Eastern Europe, an inefficient industrial sector, and other problems. During the year, Hungary instituted several reforms and sought to expand economic ties and joint ventures with the West. On 18 August, a San Francisco conglomerate became the first U.S. business to buy out a Hungarian company. As yet, however, the government has resisted wholesale structural changes that would close inefficient, government-subsidized industries.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Although constitutional amendments have allowed for multiparty elections in 1990, in 1989 Hungarians had yet to exercise the right to democratically change their government. The judiciary is still tied to the party-state apparatus, but the number of overtly political offenses has been reduced and the government has undertaken legal reforms with the aim of an independent judiciary. Independent legal groups were told that a draft law, to be ready by 1991, will allow for private practice. These groups have been permitted to offer services to clients and focus on three areas in which legal rights were being violated: fundamental human rights; the denial of legal

redress by state authorities; and discrimination based on political, ethnic or religious views. In 1989, communist censorship and monopoly of the press ended, and more than 100 new publications have appeared, ranging from political tracts to entertainment. The government-controlled press has openly discussed the changing political situation. In January, the parliament passed a law of association and assembly, and several demonstrations took place without government interference. Independent political and other associations are active. Freedom of religion is guaranteed, but subject to government regulation. Hungarians are free to travel abroad and there are no restrictions on internal travel. Emigration laws have been relaxed. An independent trade union federation exists, consisting mostly of professional and technical workers. Efforts were under way in 1989 to organize blue-collar workers using Poland's Solidarity as a model. On 22 March the National Assembly gave workers the right to strike for the first time in postwar history, and on 18 August the official trade union council, SZOT, called for a brief nationwide strike to protest rising food prices.

Iceland

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 248,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$13,324

Life Expectancy: 74 male, 80 female

Ethnic groups: Icelander (mixed Norwegian and Celtic)

Civil liberties: 1

Status: Free

Political Rights: 1

Overview:

Located far north in the Atlantic Ocean, Iceland **has a parliamentary** tradition dating back to the tenth century. Ruled by Denmark for over 500 years, Iceland won home rule in 1918 and complete independence in 1944. Since independence, coalition governments have been the norm. The country's proportional voting system encourages multi-party representation in the sixty-three-member, bicameral parliament, the Althing. The voters elect forty-nine Althing members by proportional representation from eight election districts. The remaining members are chosen according to the parties' national voting strength. After the election, the Althing members elect twenty-one of their number to form the upper house. The remaining forty-two form the lower house. For some legislative matters, the two houses sit jointly. The Althing has a maximum term of four years. Every four years, the voters choose the largely ceremonial president, who appoints a prime minister from the majority party or coalition in the Althing.

Six parties won seats in the 1987 elections. With eighteen seats, the Independence Party supports moderate and conservative policies. The Progressive Party has thirteen seats, and represents primarily agricultural interests. The Social Democratic People's Party advocates policies of the democratic left, and has ten members in the Althing. The People's Alliance, composed of Communists and left-wing socialists, won eight seats. A break-away group from the Independence Party, the Citizens' Party, captured seven places in parliament. The feminist Women's Alliance won six seats. A former Progressive Party member won the remaining seat. The government of 1987-88 was a coalition of the Independence and Progressive parties.

This arrangement broke up in September 1988. The current governing coalition consists of the Progressive Party, the Social Democratic People's Party, and the People's Alliance. Steingrímur Hermannsson is prime minister. Iceland's defense relationship with the United States and Icelandic fishing rights remain major political issues.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Icelanders have the right to change their government democratically. The Lutheran Church is the established denomination, but there is complete freedom for other religions. There is complete freedom of expression and association. An autonomous board runs the state radio and television. The overwhelming majority of workers are represented by the unions of the Federation of Labor. Businesses belong to the Federation of Employers.

India

Polity: Parliamentary-democracy
Economy: Capitalist-statist
Population: 825,000,000
Conflict: Separatist movements
PPP: \$1,053
Life Expectancy: 56 male, 55 female
Ethnic groups: Indo-Aryan (72 percent), Dravidian (25 percent), other

Political Rights: 2
Civil Liberties: 3
Status: Free

Overview:

India gained independence from Great Britain in 1947. India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal al Nehru of the Indian National Congress (INC), guided the fledgling nation through several early crises, including conflict with Pakistan over disputed territories. In 1950, India adopted a republican form of parliamentary government. The government is headed by a president chosen by an electoral college composed of elected members of the bicameral parliament. Executive power is vested in a prime minister, elected by members of the majority party in parliament.

Nehru's daughter, Indira Gandhi, took over as prime minister in 1966 following the sudden death of Bahadur Shastri, who had succeeded Nehru after his death in 1964. She led the country through a third war with Pakistan in 1971, which resulted in East Pakistan becoming the independent nation of Bangladesh. In June 1975, a political crisis arose when the High Court ruled that Mrs. Gandhi's election to the House of the People, the lower house of the bicameral parliament, was null and void because of election irregularities. On 26 June, a state of emergency was declared pending Mrs. Gandhi's appeal to the Supreme Court. Some 1,000 opposition leaders were subsequently arrested and press censorship was introduced.

The political crisis, the state of emergency and other issues led to Mrs. Gandhi's electoral defeat in March 1977 at the hands of a united coalition led by Morarji Desai, who was named prime minister and lifted the state of emergency. Mrs. Gandhi organized a new India National Congress-Indira (INC-I) faction, and was elected to parliament in a November by-election, but was later stripped of her seat and imprisoned for the rest of the parliamentary term. In January 1980, Mrs. Gandhi returned to power. In the early 1980s, the country was plagued by growing domestic violence between Muslims and Hindus and by Sikhs seeking autonomy in the Punjab.

Sikh militancy reached a peak in 1984, when followers of fundamentalist leader Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale engaged in a series of assassinations. On 5-6 June, Indian troops attacked the Golden Temple of Amritsar, killing some 1,000 Sikhs who had sanctuary there, including Bhindranwale. Sikh resentment led to the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi by two Sikh bodyguards on 31 October.

Mrs. Gandhi was succeeded by her son, Rajiv Gandhi, who was elected in December 1984. In 1986, Sikh separatism in the Punjab escalated. Unrest also flared up in several of India's twenty-five ethnically and religiously diverse states and seven territories. Several states continue to be marred by Hindu-Muslim conflicts, and Gurkhas are demanding a separate territory for the Nepali-speaking minority. In July 1987, India agreed to send 50,000 India troops to Sri Lanka as a peacekeeping force to help quell Sinhalese-Tamil violence.

The key political issue in India in 1989 was the national election. On 17 October, shortly after the upper house of parliament defeated a constitutional amendment bill to increase the powers of local urban authorities over financial, Prime Minister Gandhi surprised the opposition by announcing elections for 22 and 24 November. After the 1987 elections, the ruling INC-I held 412 seats, with the rest divided between some dozen smaller parties. Subsequently, the Congress-I party lost several by-elections and has been steadily losing popularity.

The opposition consisted of a diverse group of six national and regional parties united to oust Gandhi. The key leader is V.P. Singh, Gandhi's former finance minister and head of the Janata Dal (People's Party), formed in 1988 through the merger of three national parties with strong bases in northern India and the southern state of Karnataka. It is allied, in a National Front, with three powerful regional parties. One is the Telugu Desam (Teugu Homeland), which rules the large southern state of Andhra Pradesh and is led by N.T. Rama Rao, a former movie actor. The second is Dravida Munneytra Kazhagam, which beat the INC-I in state elections in Tamil Nadu. Third is the Assam People's Party.

Parties outside the National Front include the Communist Party of India, which shares power in the state Kerala and has ruled West Bengal for twelve years, and the right-wing Hindu revivalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP).

In mid-October, renewed Muslim and Hindu violence claimed hundreds of lives in Bhagalpur in eastern India. Opposition leader Singh blamed the bloodshed on the INC-I, accusing the government party of fanning communal violence in a number of cities. In late October, Rajmohan Gandhi, the grandson of Mahatma Gandhi, declared that he would run against the prime minister in the Amethi constituency in Uttar Pradesh. The administration also suffered a setback when K.C. Pant, the minister of defense and a senior cabinet member, announced on 30 October that he would not stand as a candidate for the ruling party in the general election.

The key issues in the elections were corruption, government mismanagement and persistent allegations that the prime minister was involved in a three-year-old financial scandal involving bribes by the Bofors company of Sweden in a \$1.4 billion arms deal with the Indian military. On 24 of July, seventy-three opposition members resigned from parliament to draw atten-

tion to the Bofors scandal. In late August, at least eleven were killed during a nationwide strike called by the opposition.

After a three-day national election in late November, the most bitter and violent in the nation's forty-two-year history, the prime minister's Congress Party lost its huge parliamentary majority, and although it captured 143 of 336 seats and the opposition alliance 74, Gandhi was unable to form a government. The new minority coalition government headed by Mr. Singh began important Cabinet assignments in early December.

A key factor in the election was the economy. Under Gandhi's liberalization of 1985-86, the economy improved dramatically. Nevertheless, rising prices, a high deficit and a worsening trade imbalance have left many voters concerned about the future.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Indians have the democratic means to change their system of government. Although political killings are not sanctioned by the government, sectarian and separatist unrest has resulted in massacres, murders, kidnapping and torture. A National Security Act permits detention of security risks. The judiciary is independent, and civil and criminal procedures are fair and generally open. Police brutality remains a problem, although cases brought to court against the police have been won by plaintiffs, and several policemen have been prosecuted for murder. In the troubled Punjab province, police are armed with special powers to combat terrorism, and there have been cases of innocent civilian casualties.

Free speech is protected and generally respected, and India has a lively private press that publishes diverse opinions often at variance with the government. There have been allegations that state-run television and radio have reflected progovernment positions at the expense of the opposition in this election year. Peaceful protests and demonstrations are generally allowed, though they sometimes require permits. India is a secular state, but often violent tensions between religious groups has led to massacres and injuries. There are some restrictions preventing Sikhs from using places of worship for political purposes. Domestic travel is generally free, except in some security areas. Emigration and foreign travel are allowed. Workers can join free trade unions, but cannot strike certain essential industries.

Indonesia

Polity: Dominant party (military dominated)

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 185,860,000

Conflict: Insurgencies in annexed territories

PPP: \$1,660

Life Expectancy: 51 male, 54 female

Ethnic groups: A multi-ethnic state—Javanese (45 percent), Sundanese (14 percent), Madurese (7.5 percent), Coastal Malays (7.5 percent), other (26 percent)

Political rights: 5

Civil liberties: 5

Status: Partly Free

Overview:

The most populous nation in Southeast Asia, the Republic of Indonesia is an archipelago of over 13,000 islands. Executive power is vested in President Gen. (Ret). Suharto, who assumed emergency power from President

Sukarno in 1966. Named acting president in 1967, he was elected in 1968 by the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR), the highest state body which meets at least every five years, elects the president and vice president, and is the sole arbiter of the constitution. The MPR is made up of 500 members of the nation's other legislative body, the People's Representative Council (DPR) and 500 members from the military and Golkar, a government-sponsored coalition that, though technically not a party, represents a loose alliance of varied interests groups and military figures. The DPR consists of 400 elected and 100 appointed members, and is dominated by Golkar. Suharto was elected to a fifth, five-year term in March 1988. Other parties include the United Development Party (PPP), a merger of Islamic groups, and the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), an amalgam of five parties. Both are funded by the government and support the president, and are thus not true opposition parties. All parties must accept the *pancasila*, the state ideology based on monotheism, national unity, humanitarianism, social justice and democracy by consensus. The DPR and the political parties are weak, with little power to make law or policy. The president, civilian technocrats and the armed forces (Arbi) are the dominant political forces.

The political process is essentially controlled by the government and the military. Despite recent denials from the powerful Home Ministry, civil servants are obliged to vote for Golkar, all candidates require government approval, and the opposition is barred from organizing in rural areas.

There have been indications of some strains in the rigidly controlled, consensual political arrangement. In late 1988 and early 1989, Golkar was embroiled in an internal conflict over perceived leftist connections. In March 1989, university students staged modest anti-government demonstrations. Rice farmers in central Java protested government compensation for damaged crops. In February 1989, Indonesian soldiers fought with fundamentalist Muslim Commando Warriors of God in southern Sumatra, which reportedly left over 100 dead. Problems persist in the annexed territories of Irian Jaya and East Timor (*see below*). Another issue that emerged in 1989 is who will succeed Suharto if he does not stand for election in 1993. In July frank and direct discussion in the DPR and the press focused on the need for "political openness" and for freer political dialogue in the regulated and self-censored press. Other suggestions included a need to strengthen the DPR, end "feudalism" in government, and have the MPR meet more often than every five years. There were even some indications of nascent "reformist" tendencies in the Arbi, which now dominates Golkar. However, Suharto warned against succession speculation, and since a new DPR will be elected in 1992 (likely with a dominant Golkar), imminent and meaningful political changes appear unlikely.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Although the Suharto regime has taken steps to expand the rights of criminal defendants under a revised Criminal Procedure Code, there continue to be persistent allegations about the use of coercion and torture. The judiciary system is plagued by corruption, and the Supreme Court provides only legal supervision and opinion; there is no judicial review of constitutional issues so the court system has no power over the executive. The press practices self-censorship, and virtually all independent organizations need government approval to meet, though such approval is usually granted. Though the country is predominantly Muslim, there is generally a high

degree of religious tolerance; fundamentalist Muslims have been arrested and imprisoned for advocating an Islamic state. Some travel restrictions exist, particularly within East Timor. Labor unions belong to the All-Indonesian Workers Union (SPSI), but the government forbids civil servants from joining and bars unions from forming in companies involved in steel, aircraft, manufacturing, chemicals, oils and banking. Legal strikes are virtually impossible, but there have been a number of wildcat strikes through August 1989, including at least ten in Tangerang involving some 9,000 workers.

Annexed territories:

Irian Jaya: Comprising the western half of the island of New Guinea, the area has been administered by Indonesia under a U.N. agreement since 1963. The estimated 1.4 inhabitants are mainly Papuan. Opposition to Indonesian rule coalesced with the formation in 1971 of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of West Papua New Guinea, established by insurgents. In 1984, the Indonesian Army launched an offensive against the Free Papua Organization (OPM), which resulted in the flight of refugees into Papua New Guinea and the murder of Irian intellectual Arnold Ap. In 1985, tensions were exacerbated with the influx of Javanese settlers into the region.

East Timor: Occupying half the island of Timor, the area was ruled for 400 years by Portugal, which in 1974 called for the Timorese to decide their fate. The Timorese People's Association (Apodeti) advocated an autonomous status within Indonesia, while the Democratic Union of Timor (UDT) campaigned for independence. In August 1975, the UDT and leftist Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (Fretilin) staged separate insurrections, with the Fretilin declaring a republic in late November. Less than a week later, Indonesia invaded and annexed East Timor in July 1976. Fretilin guerrilla resistance continued in remote areas, and it is believed that between 1975 and 1979, 100,000-200,000 starved to death, allegedly after Indonesia destroyed croplands. In 1983, Indonesia launched another anti-Fretilin offensive, and periodic skirmishes continue today.

Iran

Polity: Parliamentary (clergy dominated)

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 52,760,000

Conflict: Ethnic; international

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 57 male, 57 female

Ethnic Groups: Persian, Turkish, Kurdish

Political Rights: 6

Civil Liberties: 5

Status: Not Free

Overview.

Despite Ayatollah Khomeini's death on 4 June the theocracy he erected in 1979 continues. Iran is now coping with the contentious succession process, vast personnel changes, and the tail-end of a war with Iraq that impoverished, if at times united, the country. Hojaloteham Ali Khameni, the previous president, was appointed to the position of supreme spiritual leader, Khomeini's position. Ayatollah Montazeri, Khomeini's original

successor-designate, had been purged for criticizing the regime for its repression. Khomeini's son Ahmad was also passed over by the Assembly of Experts, the popularly elected body charged with selecting a supreme leader. He was encouraged to run for a *Majlis* (Parliament) seat in by-elections and to win the speaker's position. More significant, former Parliament speaker Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani was elected 25 July to the presidency. The same day voters approved constitutional changes submitted by a Constitutional Review Council appointed by Khomeini before his death. The result is that the presidency is now greatly strengthened, with control over the budget, security, armed forces, and the cabinet; the post of prime minister has been abolished; and the position of supreme leader no longer requires an ayatollah, but allows for a theologian of lesser status. In August, Parliament elected a new speaker, Mehdi Karrubi, former deputy speaker and founder of the Tehran Militant Clerics Association.

The presidential elections served more to ratify and legitimize Rafsanjani's expected accession to power than to put the issue to a real vote. The Council of Guardians screened more than eighty contestants seeking the presidency and approved a powerless "liberal," Abbas Sheibani, who did little campaigning. Rafsanjani took about 94 percent of the vote, but 30 percent of eligible voters did not vote. Those reluctant to vote were threatened with being labelled "counter-revolutionary," and reports indicate a pattern of multiple voting by individuals.

Two prominent figures have been removed from the Cabinet by Rafsanjani: Ali Akbar Mohtashemi, the Interior Minister and original promoter of the pro-Iranian Hizbollah in Lebanon and Mohammed Reyshahri, the former intelligence minister. Their replacements, however, are considered equally "radical." Mohtashemi and Khomeini's son are now considered the focus of radicalism within the country, along with an influential Parliamentary minority, the Revolutionary Guards and the universities. They received a boost by three incidents this year: the death threat issued by Khomeini to Salmon Rushdie for his novel, *Satanic Verses*; the Israeli kidnapping of a leading Shiite cleric in Lebanon; and the celebration and reaffirmation of the 1979 hostage-taking of American diplomatic personnel. These "radicals" are seen as blocking the effort of "pragmatist" President Rafsanjani to reinvigorate and privatize an ailing economy and to normalize relations with the West.

Repression remained the hallmark of the revolution in 1989. At least three political opponents in exile were assassinated with probable approval by Iranian authorities: the chief intelligence officer of the Paris-based Flag of Freedom; the leader of the Kurdistan Democratic Party of Iran; Bahmani Javedi, a member of the Komeleh Kurdish rebels and the Communist party. Komeleh has staged several attacks on Iranian revolutionary guard targets.

Inside Iran, the regime had executed 896 persons by early August 1989, 713 of whom were put to death ostensibly for drug-related offenses, frequently a code-word for political dissent. In April naval officers accused of being part of a CIA-controlled spy ring were arrested and executed and anti-Khomeini demonstrators, including doctors and clergymen, were shot and killed. Internal opposition to the regime remains weak and fragmented. The opposition Freedom Movement of Iran, led by former Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, is one of the few legal parties outside of the Islamic Republic Party and associated religious groups. A nationalist Islamic group,

the People's Mojahedin, operates as a guerrilla group from Iraq, though its military capacity has been recently reduced. Two ethnic autonomy movements, the Komeleh and the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, presently exercise little military control.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Criticism of the regime, Islam or Islamic government or treatment of minority groups is not tolerated. Independent journalists or publications face shutdown, censorship, and arrest for disseminating such information or views. Books are sent to the Information Ministry for scrutiny and censorship before publication. A handful of independent publications survive despite government coercion. The state owns all television and radio. In its effort to enforce an Islamic way of life upon civil society, the regime trespasses upon the ordinary private and personal sphere of citizens. Women must be clothed in Islamic garb and a vast informer network by the Revolutionary Guards ensures compliance. Anti-government demonstrations or non-Islamic assemblies are usually suppressed, and private, independent organizations are rare. Religious groups other than Shiite Muslims operate in a hostile environment. The Bahai in particular have been persecuted and are treated as "criminals," although in recent times, the persecution has diminished. Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrian groups are permitted to worship, but are socially suspect. The Labor Ministry runs a trade union confederation, called the Islamic Union. Revolutionary courts, which try all political defendants, offer few protections under the law; summary executions persist. Physical and psychological torture are common in prisons and are believed to be officially sanctioned. Arbitrary and indefinite, incommunicado detentions are also frequent and not protected against under the law. Trials by revolutionary courts take place, and these courts may overrule decisions by civilian courts.

Iraq

Polity: One-party

Economy: Statist

Population: 17,900,000

Conflict: Ethnic insurgency

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 62 male, 63 female

Ethnic Groups: Arab, Kurdish

Political Rights: 7

Civil Liberties: 6

Status: Not Free

Overview:

Formerly a British mandate under the League of Nations and then later ruled until 1958 under a Hashemite monarchy, Iraq is today run by strongman Saddam Hussein. He is president, prime minister, chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC)—Iraq's top executive body—and head of the ruling Baath Socialist Party. The Baath party has been in power since a 1968 coup; Hussein rose in party ranks to take over as head of state in 1979. Nominally, the Baath rules in a National Progressive Front, along with the subservient Kurdistan Revolutionary Party and the Kurdish Democratic Party. These parties have little support, and the parties that could challenge Hussein, the Democratic Party of Kurdistan (DPK) and the Communist party, are outlawed. Hussein was elected not by universal suffrage but by fellow members of the RCC. The RCC serves as both legislator and

executor. A 250-member unicameral National Assembly rubber stamps RCC decisions. Hussein has fended off several attempts at his position, including coup attempts by senior army officers and an assassination attempt by Iraq's radical fundamentalist group, al-Da'wa. One such attempt led to the execution of 200 Iraqis, including several dozen senior officers and members of the president's guard and the Baath party.

On 1 April 1989 elections were held for the National Assembly in which, for the first time, Baath candidates faced nonparty rivals. One hundred and sixty Baathists won seats, and the remaining 90 were taken by "independents," candidates who had been prescreened by the government for their pro-regime loyalties. To round up non-Baath contestants, the regime had to postpone the elections twice. Analysts predict the National Assembly, despite the new format of the elections, will continue to serve as a rubber-stamp. Others say the new election was a concession to a population that can no longer accept the sacrifices and rigidities brought on by the Iran-Iraq war, now suspended for over a year. In fact, the April elections are part of a broader series of economic and political "reforms" begun in late 1987 that critics see as cosmetic. In addition to the vote, Hussein has promised to draft a new constitution that enshrines the new pluralism and allows for new parties and competitive elections, but no action has been taken. Economically, the regime has privatized state food processing plants, eased import and currency controls, and backed off its avowed commitment to socialism. Iraq's external debt is approximately \$80 billion.

A predominantly Arab country, Iraq is home to about 3.5 million Kurds as well. A Kurdish insurgency has been operating on and off since 1961, often with Iranian backing. The central resistance groups are the DPK and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK). After Iran joined Iraq in accepting a U.N.-supervised ceasefire to the eight-year war last summer, Iraq moved to crush Kurdish rebel tribesman in an attack which included poison gas and which sent 60,000 Kurds fleeing into Turkey, where 36,000 Kurds remain, unwilling to accept Baghdad's amnesty offers. A previous gas attack in March 1988 killed 5,000 Kurds. In a move that caused considerable international outrage, the regime began a massive summer relocation of 400,000 agriculturally oriented Kurds along its Iranian border, transferring them to inland towns closely supervised by security forces. The purpose of the relocation is to create a security zone that will deny the DPK and PUK their popular base and access to Iranian aid. Several Kurds taking up a September amnesty offer were reportedly stoned to death by government forces; others died of starvation. Ten thousand Kurds who surrendered just prior to the amnesty were taken to a prison in Mosul and have not been heard from since.

The government set up a semi-autonomous Kurdish region in 1974. The area has a fifty-member legislative council and a thirty-member executive council. Elections for the legislature were held in September 1989 and witnessed by international observers. Reports indicate the central government had great influence over the candidates, who were prescreened, and over the Kurdish press.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The Iraqi General Federation of Trade Unions links all trade union committees and promotes the Baath party. Although striking is lawful, no strikes have taken place over the last twenty years. The approximately 2 million

Egyptian workers in Iraq have had their remittance allowances cut back, and thousands of Egyptians have allegedly been persecuted. All media are state-owned and operated, and no criticism of the government is expressed. Freedom of assembly is not respected: government permission is required to hold meetings. No political opposition groups are allowed in Iraq. The government and party pay the salaries of religious leaders and control religious appointments and literature. Iraqi Christians, numbering 500,000 can practice their faith but may not proselytize. Iraqis enjoy freedom of travel within Iraq, with the exception of security zones, but as noted above, the regime has dislocated hundreds of thousands of Kurds forcibly. Emigration is difficult due to currency controls and general government disapproval. The Kurdish language is one of the country's official languages. Iraqis of Iranian origin are often discriminated against. There are no indications that Iraq has ceased executing supposed enemies of the regime or killing dissidents abroad. Reports continue of thousands of political prisoners and the disappearance of detainees. Torture is practiced with probable government knowledge and security forces frequently and arbitrarily arrest and detain suspected opposition. Revolutionary courts in charge of security cases afford none of the rights of the accused. Searches of Kurdish homes have been widespread. Confessions extracted by torture have been admitted at trial.

Ireland

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 3,524,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$8,566

Life Expectancy: 70 male, 76 female

Ethnic Groups: Irish (Celtic), English

Political Rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 1

Status: Free

Overview:

Following centuries of British domination and occupation, twenty-six of Ireland's thirty-two counties won home rule within the British Commonwealth in 1921. The six counties of Northern Ireland have remained part of the United Kingdom. In 1949 Ireland proclaimed itself a republic independent of the Commonwealth.

The head of government is Prime Minister (Taoiseach) Charles Haughey, the leader of the Fianna Fail (Soldiers of Destiny) party. Haughey failed to secure a majority in the Dail (lower house of parliament) in the general election on 15 June 1989. Consequently, he was forced to form a coalition government with the small Progressive Democrats Party. The largest opposition groups are the Fine Gael (Family of the Gaels) and the Labour Party. The Dail has 166 members elected by proportional representation for a maximum term of five years.

The upper house of parliament, the Senate, consists of sixty members, who serve the same term as the Dail. The prime minister fills eleven seats, universities name six senators, and occupational panels elect the remaining forty-three. The Senate is relatively powerless, but it can delay Dail legislation.

The Haughey cabinet has instituted austerity measures to deal with Ireland's severe economic problems. Unemployment stands at 17 percent,

causing thousands of young people to emigrate. The long-running troubles in Northern Ireland remain a concern of the Irish government, but the republic's economy holds greater importance in daily politics.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Irish voters can change their government democratically, and respect for civil liberties is generally very high. Due to occasional spillovers from the violence in Northern Ireland, the police have special powers to detain and question suspected terrorists. Some terrorist organizations, such as the Provisional IRA, are illegal, but their political fronts have freedom of organization and expression. There is no legal divorce. The voters rejected it in a 1986 national referendum. The influence of the Roman Catholic Church remains strong, but there is freedom of religion for other faiths. There have been Protestant presidents and a Jewish mayor of Dublin. The press is free and independent. An autonomous public corporation, RTE, operates radio and television. British broadcasting is also available by air and cable. The state plans to open up radio to private local stations. There is some censorship on moral grounds, affecting pornography, for example, but no censorship of political expression. Business is generally free, and free trade unions and farming groups are influential.

Israel

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Economy: Mixed capitalist

Population: 4,374,000

Conflict: International; ethnic uprising

PPP: \$9,182

Life Expectancy: 73 male, 76 female

Ethnic Groups: Jewish, Arab

Political Rights: 2

Civil Liberties: 2

Status: Free

Overview:

The state of Israel was established in 1948 out of what had been part of Mandate Palestine. Israel is a parliamentary democracy consisting of over one dozen different political parties. The prime minister, who chooses the cabinet, has executive authority, while his government is accountable to the 120-member, unicameral parliament, the Knesset. While Israel does have a president, he serves a mainly symbolic role as head-of-state. There is no formal constitution. Rather, fundamental laws specify the governmental structure.

From 1948 the government and its institutions had been dominated by the center-left Labor Party. In 1977, as a result of the conservative Likud party's electoral victory, the political system began to evolve toward a two-party system where small, religious parties hold the balance of power. (In order to reduce the impact of the small parties, a joint Likud-Labor committee has recently drafted a revised electoral law raising the vote threshold needed for a seat in Parliament.) In the last national elections, held in 1988, neither Labor nor Likud was able to obtain the majority of Knesset seats that would allow it to form a government on its own. Both parties were thereby forced to seek support from ultra-orthodox religious parties. Following a lengthy stalemate, both parties decided to forego further negotiation attempts with the religious parties and form a National Unity government, with Labor as junior partner. Likud's Yitzhak Shamir and Moshe Arens

hold the post of prime minister and foreign minister, respectively, and Labor's Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Rabin hold the posts of finance minister and defense minister, respectively. Likud made further advances in municipal elections held in February 1989, which also produced surprising gains for Muslim fundamentalist parties. Both general and municipal elections were considered free and fair, and voter turn-out was relatively large.

In light of the Palestinian uprising, the most salient issue in the 1988 general elections and subsequently has been how to deal with the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Labor and Likud differ on the issue, a split which resulted in at least two cabinet crises this year. This spring Shamir proposed holding elections in the West Bank and Gaza to choose a Palestinian delegation to administer the area autonomously and to negotiate later a final settlement with the Israeli government. In July the Likud's "hawks," led by Ariel Sharon, attached pre-conditions to the Shamir plan, including a ban on outside supervision of elections and a pledge of both continued Israeli settlements in the territories and possession of the territories. These riders alienated Labor members and almost brought down the government, but the crisis was resolved in August when Shamir declared he was bound only by the original (and vague) plan approved by the cabinet. In September Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak tried to bridge the gap between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which claims to represent all Palestinians and which had its own objections to the Shamir proposal. Mubarak sought to do this in part by inviting Israeli and Palestinian delegations to Cairo, with the Palestinian delegation to be made up of residents of the occupied territories plus Palestinians deported from the territories, who could represent the 2.5 million Palestinians outside the territories. Labor ministers led by Defense Minister Rabin were generally satisfied with the Mubarak plan but Likud rejected it. After Likud's half of the inner cabinet voted against, and thereby defeated Mubarak's plan, the cabinet conditionally approved a plan by U.S. Secretary of State Baker to hold Israeli-Palestinian talks in Cairo on the original Shamir plan, forestalling another Likud-Labor crisis.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Freedom of speech and press is generally respected. All media are privately managed. The independent Israel Broadcast Authority (IBA), which runs radio and TV, receives government funding and has a government-appointed board, but controls its own programming. Freedom of speech and press is, however, subject to certain security-based constraints. The Prevention of Terrorism Act of 1948 makes it illegal, for example, to display Palestinian nationalist symbols or to openly express support for the PLO. It is also illegal to distribute material hostile to Israel for the purposes of inciting support for "terrorist" organizations. The same law similarly constrains the right to free association, which is otherwise fully protected: association with the PLO or other organizations classified as "terrorist" remains illegal and has resulted in recent times in the conviction and punishment of Israelis. Freedom of religion is guaranteed by law. Jews, who make up over 80 percent of the population, enjoy certain advantages with respect to employment, security clearances, citizenship, and immigration. In late July the Supreme Court ruled that persons converted to Judaism by non-orthodox rabbis were entitled to be registered as Jews on their identity cards, thus

availing them of these privileges. The Interior Ministry, a long-time bastion of the Orthodox, complied with the Court's order.

Israeli Arabs have not attained the same socio-economic status as Jewish citizens, though there is little evidence this is the result of systematic discrimination. Arab citizens volunteering for the Israeli army are usually rejected on security grounds, and therefore they do not have the same access to services for which prior military service is considered necessary. Sex discrimination is forbidden by the Equal Opportunity Law. A very high percentage of Israeli workers belong to unions. The General Confederation of Labor in Israel (Histadrut), to which most workers belong, also is an employer, owning and operating a quarter of Israeli industry. Palestinians who live in the occupied territories and work in Israel and temporary foreign workers are barred from being Histadrut members, but may enjoy union representation. Striking, legally protected, occurs frequently. Political killings and disappearance are outlawed, and there is no evidence of this in practice. Shin Bet, the domestic security service, has reportedly resorted in the past to psychological and physical punishment to extract confessions. There is habeus corpus, and the judiciary is independent. Israeli law protects against arbitrary arrest and provides for fair open trials with right to counsel. Private rights are fully respected.

Italy

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 57,500,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$10,682

Life Expectancy: 71 male, 78 female

Ethnic Groups: Italian (Latin)

Political Rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 1

Status: Free

Overview:

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Italy is a boot-shaped peninsula located in southern Europe. Modern Italian history dates from the nineteenth-century movement for national unification. Most of Italy had merged into one kingdom by 1870. Italy began World War I on the side of Germany and Austria-Hungary, but switched to the Allied side. As a consequence, Italy won territory that had belonged to Austria. The country lived under the Fascist dictatorship of Benito Mussolini from 1922 to 1943. A referendum in 1946 ended the monarchy and brought in a republican form of government.

The head of state is the president, who is elected for a seven-year term by an assembly of members of Parliament and delegates from the Regional Councils. The president chooses the prime minister, who is often, but not always, a member of the largest party in the Chamber of Deputies, the lower house of the Parliament. Members of the 630-member Chamber are elected directly by proportional representation for a term of up to five years. There are 315 Senators elected regionally for five-year terms. The President can appoint five Senators for life and becomes one himself upon leaving office.

Most prime ministers since World War II have been Christian Democrats, and have headed multi-party governments of short duration. Ideologi-

cally, the Christian Democrats are a catch-all party. Although cabinets come and go frequently, many of the same Christian Democrats and their coalition partners are back in government repeatedly. For example, after the fall of Ciriaco De Mita as prime minister in May 1989, five-time Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti replaced him. Andreotti has held a senior cabinet post in twenty-eight of Italy's forty-nine postwar governments. The De Mita government had fallen because the Socialist Party leader, Bettino Craxi, had withdrawn his support for De Mita. Craxi had hoped to make Socialist gains in the European elections in June. However, both the Communists and the Greens increased their votes in the Euro-election, causing concern for the Socialists. The Communists have formed a shadow cabinet to criticize the government, and hope to make themselves a credible alternative to the Christian Democrats.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Italians have the right to change their government by democratic means, However, Italy often gets a new cabinet between elections as a result of the shifting pattern of political deals rather than as a consequence of changing public opinion. There is freedom of religion in this predominantly Roman Catholic country, in which the church has been disestablished.

The commitment to civil liberties is strong. However, terrorist organizations and organized crime activities remain a threat to many freedoms.

Ivory Coast (Cote D'Ivoire)

Polity: One-party
Economy: Capitalist
Population: 11,400,000
Conflict: None
PPP: \$1,123

Life Expectancy: 49 male, 52 female
Ethnic groups: Baule (23 percent), Bete (18 percent), Senoufou (15 percent), Malinke (11 percent), other African; 100,000 Lebanese, 60,000 French

Political Rights: 6
Civil Liberties: 5
status: Partly Free

Overview:

Since gaining independence from France in August 1960, this central-west African country on the Gulf of Guinea coast has been ruled by Felix Houphouet-Boigny, now eighty-five years old, who was elected by universal suffrage to a sixth five-year term in October 1985. A 175-member unicameral National Assembly was chosen in multi-candidacy elections in 1985, with all candidates belonging to the Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast (PDCI), the only party.

Although other parties are not proscribed by law, the regime has resisted attempts at a multiparty system and has persecuted members of the unofficial opposition. In September 1988, Laurent Gbago, head of the Ivorian Popular Front (founded in 1982), returned from six years of exile in France to work for a democratic system. He was detained in November, and in 1989 was under constant surveillance and had his telephone tapped. In February, Kobina Anaki, a leading businessman and Popular Front supporter went on trial on tax and customs fraud charges widely believed to have been politically motivated. And in April, the vice speaker of the National Assembly, Bamba Morifere, was ousted from his post after his arrest for possessing Popular Front documents calling for a multiparty system.

In 1989, the country experienced mounting social tensions because of a floundering economy caused by a drop in the prices of coffee and cocoa exports. Friction rose between Ivorians and guest workers, mostly from Burkina Faso, Ghana and Mali. In September, the president was told by representatives from the United Teachers Union that the one-party system had brought fear, corruption, and tribalism, and urged a genuinely liberal multiparty democracy. There was also increased restiveness among the country's young and college-educated sector because of corruption in the civil service and the lack of job openings. And while the country is facing a \$10 billion foreign debt (the highest per capita in Africa), work is being completed on a \$300 million Catholic basilica (only 13 percent of the population is Christian) in the president's hometown 150 miles from the capital of Abidjan.

On 17 October, the government—responding to demands by foreign donors and the World Bank to reduce government spending—abolished ten ministries.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Ivorians cannot democratically change the one-party system. Though alternative parties to the PDCI are not banned by law, attempts to form opposition groups have been met with persecution and harassment. The judiciary is generally independent from executive interference, except in cases of national security. Freedom of expression is constrained, and the government-controlled and party-controlled media follow government policy. There are some private periodic pamphlets and publications. Freedom of assembly is restricted and political association is limited to the PDCI and its affiliated groups. Apolitical, professional and social groups are permitted. Criticism by professional groups has been allowed as part of a "national dialogues." Freedom of religion is respected by the government, and there is minimal interference with domestic travel. Foreign travel and emigration is permitted with some restrictions. Almost all unions are part of the government-sponsored General Union of Cote d' Ivorie Workers (UGTCI), whose leader is a senior PDCI functionary. Strikes are permitted under the law, but the work stoppages that do occur rarely have UGTCI authorization.

Jamaica

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 2,470,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$2,506

Life Expectancy: 70 male, 76 female

Ethnic Groups: Relatively homogeneous

Political Rights: 2

Civil Liberties: 2

Status: Free

Overview:

Jamaica, a member of the British Commonwealth, achieved independence in 1962. It is a parliamentary democracy, with the British monarchy represented by a governor-general. The bicameral parliament consists of a sixty-member House of Representatives elected for five years, and a twenty-one-member Senate, with thirteen senators appointed by the prime minister and the remaining eight by the leader of the parliamentary opposition. Executive

authority is invested in the prime minister, who is the leader of the political party commanding a majority in the House.

Since independence, power has alternated between the democratic socialist People's National Party (PNP) and the conservative Jamaica Labour Party (JLP). The PNP is led by Michael Manley, who was prime minister from 1972 to 1980. The JLP is led by Edward Seaga, who was prime minister from 1980 until February 1989 when the JLP was defeated by the PNP in general elections, with Manley returning as prime minister.

The PNP boycotted the 1983 elections, charging that the JLP had called snap elections without completing a revision of the electoral register. With minimal opposition from smaller parties, the JLP took all sixty seats in the House. In local elections in mid-1986, a resurgent PNP keyed on the country's economic woes and won in eleven of thirteen parishes, presaging its 1989 victory.

The 1989 campaign was marked by a significant reduction in political violence, owing in large part to an Agreement and Declaration on Political Conduct signed by Seaga and Manley, and supported by civic and religious organizations. More than 750 people died in election-related violence in 1980, thirteen in 1989. Overseen by an independent electoral commission, and with security provided by the police and military, voting proceeded for the most part in orderly fashion. With 57 percent of the popular vote, the PNP won forty-four seats in the House, with the JLP taking the remaining sixteen. The PNP's success was attributed to the more moderate, social democratic program fashioned by Manley, and popular discontent among workers and lower classes with the economic austerity measures applied by the JLP. General elections are due again in 1994.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Constitutional guarantees regarding the right to free expression, freedom of religion and the right to organize political parties, civic organizations, and labor unions are respected. While the JLP and PNP dominate the political scene, there are a number of small parties ranging from radical left to radical right. Labor unions are politically and economically influential and have the right to strike.

Newspapers are independent and free of censorship and government control. Broadcast media are largely public but open to pluralistic points of view. For over a decade, public opinion polls have been an integral part of the political process. The incoming PNP government announced that it would scrap the Seaga's administration's plans to divest the functions of the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation (JBC). The JBC was to retain its television station and two national radio stations, while private interests would be allowed to operate a national television channel and a national radio station.

An independent judicial system is headed by a Supreme Court and includes a Court of Appeal and several magistrates' courts. However, the legal system remains slow in responding to charges of police brutality and severe prison conditions. In 1989, there was a mounting backlog of cases due to a court staff shortage at all levels of the system and a general lack of resources.

Japan

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 123,010,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$13,135

Life Expectancy: 74 male, 80 female

Ethnic groups: Japanese (99 percent), Korean

Political Rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 1

Status: Free

Overview:

A populous archipelago of some 3,000 islands, Japan was established as a constitutional monarchy in 1947, two years after its defeat in World War II. Although the nominal leader is Emperor Tsugunomiya Akihito, who succeeded his father, wartime Emperor Hirohito, after the latter's death in January 1989, Japan is a multiparty parliamentary democracy. For most of the post-war period, the government has been controlled by the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). The bicameral parliament, or Diet, consists of an upper house (the House of Councillors) and a lower house (House of Representatives). The prime minister is leader of the majority party and must resign on a nonconfidence vote in the lower house unless the house is dissolved for new elections.

In 1989, the ruling LDP was rocked by several corruption and sex scandals that brought down two prime ministers, contributed to the party's losses in elections for the House of Councillors, and cast doubt on the party's ability to retain power in elections scheduled for July 1990.

In the spring, Prime Minister Noburu Takeshita announced his resignation after several members of his cabinet and other high officials were forced to resign for their role in an ongoing money-for-favors scandal involving Recruit, a Japanese company. The scandal also highlighted the LDP's complex faction system, in which the party runs multi-candidacy races in districts, compelling candidates to raise large amounts of money, part of which is used for gifts and donations to constituents.

After a month-long political vacuum, the LDP chose Sosuke Uno as prime minister on 2 June. Barely two weeks later, he admitted that he had a long-time liaison with a "geisha." In early July, the LDP was soundly defeated in Tokyo municipal elections, garnering only 30 percent of the vote and losing 20 seats (from 63 to 43), with the opposition Japan Socialist Party (JSP) and JSP-backed independents winning 36 seats. On 23 July the LDP suffered a serious setback in elections for half the seats in the 252-member upper house. Needing 54 seats to retain its majority, the LDP managed to win only 28, with 37 going to the JSP, chaired by Takako Doi, one of a few high-ranking women in Japan's male-dominated political system. Although the loss in the less powerful upper house did not bring down the government, Prime Minister Uno resigned the day after the election. In addition to the corruption and sex scandals, an unpopular three percent consumption tax adopted in April and the liberalization of agricultural imports that disgruntled farmers also hurt the LDP.

The Uno resignation created another leadership crisis, and the LDP factions haggled over a successor. On 9 August, the party chose little-known former education minister Toshiki Kaifu, fifty-eight, a close associate of former prime minister Takeo Miki, who introduced some reforms following the Lockheed scandal of the 1970s. Kaifu, largely untouched by

the Recruit scandal, promised to redraft the consumption tax law. Less than a month later, Tokuo Yamashita, chief cabinet secretary in the new Kaifu government, confirmed press reports that he had conducted a three-year affair with a young bar hostess; he was replaced by Mayuni Moriyama, a woman, in a move designed to placate female voters, who have become an increasingly vocal and active voting bloc as a result of the consumption tax and the sex scandals.

Despite the LDP's problems, things began to look up in October when the party won an Upper House seat over a JSP opponent. Moreover, polls in the fall indicated the LDP gaining support and that public anger over the sales tax and the political corruption scandals had begun to fade. Another contributing factor was the opposition's inability to unite and the JSP's long-time opposition to the U.S.-Japanese alliance, which is supported by a large majority of Japanese voters. At the end of October, the JSP was attacked by the opposition Komeito, the Clean Government Party, for being Marxist-Leninist and opposing an alliance with the U.S. The LDP was further bolstered by Japan's continued economic prosperity.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Despite years of one-party dominance, the Japanese have the right to democratically change their government. The independent judiciary and criminal justice system are fair, the rights of defendants are guaranteed and protected by law. Free public expression is safeguarded and exercised, and there is a lively private free press. Freedom of association, assembly and movement is unrestricted. Freedom of religion is respected. Unions are free from government control, and roughly 30 percent of the workforce is unionized. The right to strike is implicitly guaranteed.

Jordan

Polity: Monarchy and limited parliament

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 2,904,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$3,161

Life Expectancy: 62 male, 66 female

Ethnic Groups: Arab

Political Rights: 5

Civil Liberties: 5

Status: Partly Free

Overview.

Traditionally one of the most stable, pro-Western regimes in the Arab world, Jordan's sixty-year old monarchy was rocked by riots in April 1989 when the government announced a government austerity package and food and other prices shot up by 10 to 50 percent. The rioting, the first in decades not instigated or abetted by outside sources (like the 1972 strife), belied deep public alienation with the regime and a demand on the part of many sectors, particularly professional groups and former ministers, for more political rights. It is notable that the rioting, in which eleven persons were killed, took place not among Jordan's large, restive Palestinian population of 1.5 million, but in areas of southern Jordan, an area traditionally supportive of the Hashemite monarchy and the army. A crackdown of leftists followed the April riots, but as of mid-September sixty-seven of these activists had been released. They belonged to the Jordanian wing of

the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, now the Jordanian Popular Democratic Party; the Baath party; and the Moslem Brotherhood.

In response to the riots, King Hussein, who has ruled Jordan since 1953 and holds virtually absolute power, dismissed the unpopular and allegedly corrupt government of Prime Minister Zaid Rifai and also announced elections for Jordan's eighty-member lower house of Parliament. Last July, Hussein dissolved the lower house after renouncing Jordan's claims to the West Bank, occupied by Israeli forces since the end of the 1967 six-day war. The new elections, held 8 November, were the first general election in over twenty-two years. The West Bank was unrepresented in the election. The election issues included economic reform and a five-year austerity package. Ninety percent of the 1.2 million eligible voters registered, and voter turnout was reported to be extremely strong. Women ran and voted in an election for the first time, though at segregated polling places.

Six hundred and forty-seven candidates contested the lower-house seats. Technically, they ran as independents, not as party members. Despite this, de facto party groupings formed, and there were political debates, seminars, and banquets, as well as postings of advertisements, leaflets, and banners. Only six or seven candidates were rejected by the government, but this on procedural, not political grounds. A 1986 electoral law barring committed activists or members of illegal organizations from running for office seems to have been sidestepped. Several prominent figures from previous governments ran in order to counter an opposition victory, but some of them lost. The big winner was the Moslem Brotherhood and allied fundamentalists, obtaining at least thirty-four seats. Leftists reportedly picked up fourteen seats and centrists and pro-government figures got about twenty seats. Seven percent of those applying to run were Palestinian—none from the PLO. Although all Palestinians were eligible to vote and stand for office, they were underrepresented since the electoral law assigned a disproportionately low number of seats in areas of high Palestinian concentration, such as Amman, and a relatively greater number in rural areas supportive of the King. Prime Minister Zeid bin Shaker, who took office in April, forming a transitional government to prepare for the elections, was replaced by Mudar Badran in early December.

A reconstituted Parliament may not change the constitutional political monopoly exercised by King Hussein. Assisted by a Council of Ministers whom he appoints, the King retains legislative and executive powers. He may dissolve Parliament, call for and postpone parliamentary elections, and appoint a Senate (the other branch of Parliament). Since 1957, political parties have been proscribed in Jordan, and martial law has been in force for more than two decades. The Baath party, the Communist party, and certain Palestinian parties are all banned. Hussein is working on a *mittaqa*, or national charter, that will be submitted to the Parliament for approval and added to the constitution. The charter is expected to clarify the role of political parties and the relationship of Parliament to the monarchy.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Freedom of press and public expression is limited. By law the cabinet can suspend or abolish the licence to publish, and it can ban any journalist critical of the government. Self-censorship is often practiced. The government controls the three Arabic dailies, having dissolved their board of directors and replaced the editors. Under Prime Minister Zaid bin Shaker,

the ban on five journalists was lifted and greater government criticism was tolerated. Though the restrictive press and publications laws remain on the books, the press was bold during the electoral campaign. TV and radio are government controlled. Martial law has been in effect in Jordan since the end of the 1967 war, when Israel occupied the West Bank. There is no clear pattern of government tolerance of torture and prison abuse, but occasional reports of torture by the General Intelligence Directorate have been received. For designated security crimes, indefinite, incommunicado detention is not unusual. Trials by martial courts cannot be considered fair. Possibly as many as twenty political dissidents have been detained and prosecuted under the martial court system. The interior minister must permit public meetings, which rarely occur, and all associations require government approval. Freedom of worship is generally respected in Jordan, which is 90 percent Muslim, save with regard to the Jehovah's Witnesses, and freedom of movement is also respected. Palestinians on the East Bank have been granted Jordanian citizenship and may obtain Jordanian passports. Twenty percent of the labor force is unionized; most unions are part of the Jordanian Federation of Trade Unions. Bargaining between labor and management is not hotly politicized. Fifty percent of the labor force works in the public sector, where striking is prohibited.

Kenya

Polity: One-party

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 25,825,000

Conflict: Border disputes

PPP: \$794

Life Expectancy: 51 male, 55 female

Ethnic groups: Kikuyu (21 percent), Luhya (14 percent), Luo (13 percent), Kalenjin (11 percent), Kamba (11 percent), Kisii (6 percent), Meru (5 percent), other

Political Rights: 6

Civil Liberties: 6

Status: Not Free

Overview:

Bordering on the Indian Ocean and Lake Victoria, the Republic of Kenya was established in 1964, one year after becoming an independent member of the Commonwealth. Jomo Kenyatta, leader of the Mau Mau rebellion, led the country as head of the Kenya African National Union (KANU) until his death in 1978. He was succeeded by Daniel Teroitich arap Moi, who served out Kenyatta's term. A 1982 constitutional amendment legally established a one-party system, which had been in existence since 1969, with the banning of the Kenya People's Union (KPU). President Moi was redesignated to five-year terms by the unicameral, KANU-dominated National Assembly in 1983 and February 1988. In March 1988, the National Assembly was elected by open queuing, a system where voters must stand behind photographs of nominees approved by KANU. President Moi, whose executive powers have been strengthened in the last several years, has argued that a secret ballot is unnecessary, while opponents maintain that the open queuing system is undemocratic. The president's political power is also based on alliances with the country's various provincial barons and an inner circle members consisting of his own Kelenjin tribe. In mid-April, Vice President Josephat Karanja, who was appointed by the president last year and was considered a close ally, was purged from the National

Assembly and was replaced by George Saitoti, also the minister of finance. The main illegal opposition group is the socialist Union of Nationalists to Liberate Kenya, known as Mwakenya.

Key issues in 1989 included restructuring the economy and continued border clashes with Somalia and Uganda. The government also sought to squelch public debate by shutting down several publications and harassing others, and tensions continued between the government and the Anglican Church, which was accused of criticizing the government and the ruling party.

Restructuring the economy has included attempts to increase state revenue and curb the budget deficit. Cutting government spending and either privatizing state corporations or putting them on a commercial footing are part of the plan. In July, the government implemented a tax reform program by widening the tax base to include most farmers. The move came on the heels of the government's trade liberalization program that would encourage manufacturers to shift away from import-substitution industries toward markets in the region and beyond. Licensing restrictions were also lifted to bolster the manufacturing sector. The economic situation led to several strikes. In January, 2,000 municipal workers went out in Mombasa, and three workers were injured during a violent paper mill strike in March.

The government also clamped down on public criticism. In the spring, *The Financial Review* was shut down when its coverage of the economy and political issues irritated the government. *Development Agenda* was banned in August after two issues, apparently because of its political connections. In June, the nation's largest selling daily, *The Nation*, was barred from reporting on the National Assembly. There was also growing concern about human rights abuses. In March, Daniel John Mwangi Theuri was sentenced to twenty months' imprisonment, allegedly for belonging to the Kenya Patriotic Front (KPF) and plotting a coup to overthrow the government. In April, dissident and former political prisoner Kamau Kuria was awarded the Robert Kennedy Memorial human rights award for his 1987 role in defending political detainees. In June, the government announced the release of four political prisoners.

Border incidents continued to flare up throughout the year. In March, Ugandan planes bombed Kenyan territory, killing and injuring civilians. In September, Somali soldiers killed four Kenyan policemen and injured four others in a border incursion. The border region is used by Somali rebels and also by game poachers, including Somali army forces that have killed elephants for ivory. In January, Sudan laid claim to a portion of Kenya's northern-most territory.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Kenya's one-party system does not allow for citizens to change the system through democratic, electoral means. In 1988 and 1989, the executive has been given increased power that has undermined the independence of the judiciary. Security provisions allow for unlimited detention for suspects in political cases. Sedition laws restrict public criticism of the president and the party, and in 1989 the government shut down several publications. Television and radio are controlled by the government and reflect official positions and policy. Freedom of assembly, particularly for political purposes, is curtailed, but several professional associations do exist. Religious denominations need government approval to operate in the country, and

authorities have frequently harassed, criticized and restricted the activities of Protestant churches critical of the government. Domestic travel is generally unrestricted, but there are some regulations on foreign travel. Except for civil servants, workers can unionize. The Central Organization of Trade Unions (COTU) is the only legally recognized federation. In the past, the government has deregistered several unions. Workers nominally have the right to strike, but a host of laws makes it virtually impossible to do so legally.

Kiribati

Polity: Parliamentary democracy
Economy: Capitalist-statist
Population: 69,000
Conflict: None
PPP: NA
Life Expectancy: NA
Ethnic groups: Kiribatian (Micronesian) (84 percent),
 Polynesian (14 percent), other (2 percent)

Political rights: 1
Civil Liberties: 2
Status: Free

Overview:

An independent member of the Commonwealth since 12 July 1979, Kiribati comprises thirty-three Pacific islands in three main groups: the Gilbert Islands, the Phoenix Islands, and the Line Islands.

The government is headed by President Ieremia Tabai, who was elected to a four-year term on 12 May 1987, though he was accused of stretching the three-term limit provided in the constitution. (He responded by indicating that his second term was less than a year.) The 1979 constitution provides for a parliamentary government, with the competitively elected president needing the support of a legislative majority. The unicameral House of Assembly, elected by universal suffrage, consists of thirty-five members representing twenty-three electoral districts, an additional member of the Banaban Rabi Council of Leaders, and the attorney general, ex officio if he is not an elected member. Traditionally, there were no formally organized parties; instead, ad hoc opposition groups tended to coalesce around specific issues. The only recognizable party is the opposition Christian Democratic Party (CDP).

In the last several years, perhaps the key issue has been the extension of fishing rights to the Soviet Union. In 1986, after an initial agreement had lapsed, negotiations with the USSR to extend the treaty broke down. In 1987, the U.S. agreed to underwrite a five-year \$60 million tuna pact with South Pacific islands, and Kiribati decided not to renew a treaty with the Soviet Union.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The right to a fair trial is assured by law and observed in practice, and Kiribati has no political prisoners. Kiribati's radio station and only newspaper are government owned, but offer a variety of views. There are no significant restrictions on assembly and association, and there is complete freedom of religion and travel. Workers can form unions and the right to strike is provided by law. There is a strong and effective labor movement. The 2,500-member Kiribati Trade Union Congress is affiliated with the ICFTU.

Korea, North

Polity: Communist one-party

Economy: Statist

Population: 22,250,000

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 65 male, 72 female

Ethnic groups: Ethnically homogeneous—Korean

Political Rights: 7

Civil Liberties: 7

Status: Not Free

Overview:

The secretive, increasingly isolated Democratic People's Republic of Korea, established 9 September 1948, is a one-party totalitarian Communist dictatorship ruled for some forty-four years by seventy-seven year old Marshal Kim II Sung, general secretary of the Korean Workers' (Communist) Party. His forty-seven year old son, Kim Jong II, currently in charge of ideology and propaganda and known as "Dear Leader," is being groomed as a successor, although he is reportedly opposed by elements in the military, including Defense Minister O Jin U, a hardliner and the third most powerful figure in the ruling hierarchy. In 1986 and 1987, attempts were reportedly made by members of the military to assassinate Kim II Sung, resulting in five officers fleeing across the border to China, where they were granted asylum. It is believed that more moderate elements in the KWP oppose Marshal Kim's orthodox views that stress his personal "self-reliance" ideology over practical economics, particularly in light of reforms in the Communist world instigated by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and the economic successes of neighboring South Korea and other nations in the region.

North Koreans live under one of the most brutally oppressive regimes in the world. Since 1958, all citizens are subject to security ratings that determine access to employment, Party membership, food, health care, and higher education. The state and the KWP (along with sixteen authorized mass organizations and auxiliary parties), backed by an extensive internal intelligence network, control every facet of political life. Internationally, North Korea has been responsible for several acts of terrorism (including the bombing of a crowded South Korean airliner on the eve of the 1988 Seoul Olympics) and there are persistent reports that it is developing nuclear weapons.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The judiciary is subservient to the state-party apparatus. The penal code outlines various "political" crimes and prescribes the death penalty for forty-five different crimes. The number of political prisoners is believed to number between 115,000 and 150,000, housed in detention centers, reeducation centers, labor camps and in at least a dozen maximum security prisons. Deaths from torture, malnutrition and disease are common. The media are strictly controlled by the government, external publications are excluded, and the right to travel internally and externally are severely curtailed. Freedom of assembly is non-existent, and all private associations, even apolitical ones, are banned. Religious believers suffer official discrimination, and Christians and Buddhists have been persecuted for over forty years. The government interferes with family life by forcing children and young adults to attend indoctrination camps, and babies as young as three months are placed in state nurseries so mothers may be allowed to work. Trade unions

are not allowed. There were unconfirmed reports of two strikes last year, both of which ended when troops opened fire on the workers.

Korea, South

Polity: Presidential and legislative democracy
Economy: Capitalist-statist
Population: 42,840,000
Conflict: None
PPP: \$4,832
Life Expectancy: 65 male, 71 female
Ethnic groups: Ethnically homogeneous—Korean

Political Rights: 2
Civil Liberties: 3
Status: Free

Overview:

The economically prosperous Republic of Korea was established in August 1948. Intermittent, unpopular martial-law regimes and popular unrest led to amendments in the 1948 constitution in 1987 and the acceptance of sweeping political reforms. Today, full executive power is vested in a president, directly elected for a single five-year term, who appoints a prime minister and cabinet. Three-quarters of the 299-member, unicameral National Assembly are directly elected, 38 seats are allocated to the party winning the largest number of elections, with 37 divided among all other parties in proportion to seats gained. Until 1981, the country was essentially a two-party system; today, following elections in April 1988, the opposition, which controls the National Assembly, consists of the Party for Peace and Democracy (PPD), 70 seats; the Reunification Democratic Party (RDP), 59; the New Democratic Republican Party (NDRP), 35; independents, 8. There are several other smaller parties.

The current president is Roh Tae Koo of the Democratic Justice Party (DJP), who in December 1987 became the first president elected directly by the people since 1971. He succeeded the much-reviled Chun Doo Hwan, who was named president in 1980 by the martial law regime, and whose tenure was marked by intense civic unrest and student demonstrations.

Even though his party does not have a parliamentary majority, President Roh has thus far managed to capitalize on divisiveness among opposition leaders, the so-called "three Kims": Kim Dae Jung (PPD), Kim Young Sam (RDP) and Kim Jon Phil (NDRP). In March 1989, President Roh reneged on his promise to hold a mid-term referendum on his presidency, a move surprisingly supported by Kim Dae Jung, the former radical who of late has sought to work within the system to win broader support for political reform. Only Kim Young Sam vehemently protested the decision.

There were indications in midsummer that President Roh was taking a hardline following violent student demonstrations in May that left six policemen dead. In July, he reshuffled the cabinet; of six new appointees, five had links with the authoritarian regime of former President Chun Doo Hwan. About the same time, Suh Kyung Won, an opposition member of parliament, was arrested as an alleged spy for North Korea. On 2 August, Kim Dae Jung was interrogated for twenty hours by the Agency for National Security Planning (formerly the Korean CIA) for alleged contacts with North Korea. On 25 August, the country was rocked by the clashes between police and 1,400 students hurling firebombs and shouting anti-

American and anti-government slogans in the worst violence on the country's campuses in months. Meanwhile, Kim Dae Jung and two other members of his party were indicted by government prosecutors on charges connected to Mr. Suh's secret trip to North Korea. Because changes in political freedom have not been institutionalized, key questions remain about the government's commitment to local decentralization and to reform. In February 1989, talks between South and North Korea collapsed.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Elections in 1988 were based on a secret ballot and universal suffrage. Although the amended 1987 Constitution provides for defendants' rights and safeguards, some forty political prisoners are still being held under the Social Stability Law and the Social Protection Law, security provisions which curtail legal rights and civil liberties and which allow the government to indefinitely detain both criminals and political prisoners by renewing their sentences for two years at a time. Security forces remain pervasive despite increased public criticism. On 12 July 1989, security forces, under a court-issued warrant, raided the offices of *One Nation Daily*, to search for pictures and notes relating to the Suh Kyung Won spy case. Although the private press is more open in its political coverage, there are some restrictions on coverage of North Korea. About twenty new newspapers have been started since 1987, and the *Hankyoreh Shinmun* often takes stridently anti-government and anti-American positions. Government influence on radio and television remains strong. Assemblies that "undermine the public order" are forbidden, and all demonstrations must be reported in advance to authorities. Although freedom of religion is guaranteed, politically active churches have run into difficulties with authorities. Freedom of movement and employment is generally unrestricted. Until late 1988, there was only one trade union federation, the conservative Federation of Korean Trade Unions, when the government allowed for additional registration. Strikes are forbidden in defense industries and the civil service, and other restrictions apply as to the number of unions at each workplace. Industrial workers have gone out on strike.

Kuwait

Polity: Traditional monarchy

Political Rights: 6

Economy: Mixed capitalist-statist

Civil Liberties: 4

Population: 2,002,000

Status: Partly Free

Conflicts: None

PPP: 13,843

Life Expectancy: 70 male, 74 female

Ethnic Groups: Kuwaiti, other Arab, South Asian, Iranian

Overview:

Ruled by the Sabah family since 1956, Kuwait became fully independent from Great Britain in 1961. Under the 1962 constitution, the emir shares legislative authority with a National Assembly consisting of fifty elected members and several ex-officio government members. In the past the Assembly served as a meaningful check on sovereign powers, but it has also been duly dissolved by the emir, once in 1976 and most recently in 1986. To date, no balloting for a new Assembly has taken place. Both dissolutions

were followed by tightened press restrictions. Executive power resides with the emir and with a Council of Ministers headed by a Crown Prince also serving as prime minister.

Custom has limited the emir's absolute rule. Traditionally, the emir has been expected to rule by consensus, to govern in consultation with community leaders. Adult male Kuwaitis may affect policy through *diwaniyyas*, family-based discussion groups. In addition, in 1987 an appointive consultative body was named that included members of the dissolved Assembly. Still, political participation remains limited. Political parties are proscribed. Women cannot vote (though they are less socially restricted than in other Arab countries). Only men who resided in Kuwait before 1959, and their adult male descendants, can vote. Only in 1996 will long-time residents not meeting this requirement be granted voting rights. Naturalized Kuwaiti citizens must wait thirty years to be eligible to vote. Immigrants, who constitute 60 percent of the population, are excluded from political life. Between 30,000 and 40,000 persons, a majority of the registered electorate, apparently signed a secret petition in February 1989 to reinstate Parliament; senior officials were reported to have initiated the petition effort.

Kuwait's Shiites are a small, dissatisfied minority. Many terrorist incidents since 1983, including the 1985 car bomb attack on the emir and other government officials and the 1987 oil-field explosions, are attributed to extremist Shiite groups. The country's pro-Iraqi leanings during the Gulf War increased tension within this minority as well.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Press restrictions were tightened after the 1986 dissolution of the Assembly and remain in effect. Prior censorship of the press occurs and stiff penalties, including fines, prison terms, and two-year suspensions may apply to those found publishing alleged anti-Kuwaiti or anti-regime material. Senior government officials meet periodically with editors to monitor their compliance. Radio and television are government controlled. Permission is required from the the Ministry of Interior to hold a public meeting with over three people. Private rights are generally respected, although in an effort to Kuwaitize, the government requires Kuwait males to receive approval before marrying foreign women.

A tiny expatriate Christian community is allowed to practice its faith freely in churches; Hindus, Sikhs, and Buddhists, whose faith is not recognized by Islam, may practice but not build places of worship. The movement to Islamicize the country has found expression in prohibitions on alcohol imports, denial of citizenship to non-Muslims, and extension of Islamic law. Representatives of professional organizations wishing to attend international meetings must receive government permission. Non-Kuwaitis are less free than Kuwaitis to leave and enter the country. Unions are independent; strikes are rare. Security forces have been suspected of using torture and physical abuse in the past, although the country's independent judiciary does not recognize torture-extracted confessions. Reports of arbitrary or indefinite detention are unusual. Trials are generally considered to be fair, though the State Security Court conducts trials in closed session and its decisions are nonappealable.

Laos

Polity: Communist one-party

Economy: Statist

Population: 3,892,000

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 48 male, 51 female

Ethnic Groups: Multi-ethnic, Lao (50 percent), Thai (20 percent), Phouthoung (15 percent), Miao, Hmong, Yao and others (15 percent)

Political Rights: 6

Civil Liberties: 7

Status: Not Free

Overview:

The Lao People's Democratic Republic, an extremely poor, landlocked nation in Indochina, was established in December 1975 by a bloodless Pathet Lao (Communist) coup after years of civil war. All national and local political power is vested in the Lao People's Revolutionary (Communist) Party (LPRP) headed by Kaysone Phomviham. Laos has had neither an elected parliament nor a constitution since 1975. An umbrella organization, the Lao Front for National Reconstruction (LFNR) consists of the LPRP and various social and political groups. On 26 March 1989, general elections were held for the first time since 1975, with the LPRP winning sixty-five of the seventy-nine seats in the Supreme People's Assembly, which replaces an assembly named in 1975. Laos did not say who won the other fourteen seats, but they are presumably non-Party. Prior to the national vote, there were reports of government workers being asked who they would vote for and being asked to support certain candidates. In district and provincial elections last year, some non-Party members were elected despite the fact that the LFNR had to approve candidates. Some corrupt Party members were defeated. However, most experts agree that the new Assembly will be little more than a rubber stamp for state-party policies.

In 1986, the Party's crucial fourth congress set in motion an economic reform program which included the replacement of cooperatives by family farms, the introduction of market mechanisms over centralized planning to revive struggling state-owned enterprises, joint-ventures, and relaxation of controls on foreign trade, which dropped the inflation rate from one-hundred percent a few years ago to ten percent in 1988. *Chin tanakan may*, or new thinking, has become a popular LPRP slogan, and markets in the capital city of Vientiane are well-stocked with consumer goods from Thailand. Private service and enterprises are also on the rise.

Vietnam has greatly reduced the number of its armed forces in Laos, but it is unclear how many troops remain.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Although Laos has been steadily releasing some political prisoners (many held since 1975), hundreds more remain incarcerated. Severe restrictions remain on freedom of assembly, association and movement. No code of law exists, there is no guarantee of due process and there is no independent judiciary. The security apparatus remains an intrusive and repressive presence in society. Mail is tampered with, phone calls monitored. Media are controlled by the government, academic freedom is nonexistent and antigovernment views are not tolerated. Most Laos are Buddhist, but the government has continually undermined religion. Other churches are monitored. The government has eased some internal travel restrictions, but

foreign travel is carefully regulated. The Party and its cadres control all aspects of political life. Labor laws do not exist in this predominantly agricultural country, and the small government-controlled unions do not have the right to strike.

Lebanon

Polity: Parliamentary (military and foreign influenced)

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 3,351,000

Conflict: Politico-religious; international

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 63 male, 67 female

Ethnic Groups: Arab, Armenian

Political Rights: 6

Civil Liberties: 5

Status: Not Free

Overview:

1989 was the bloodiest in the country's fourteen year-old civil war. In January 150 people were killed due to fighting between the pro-Syrian Amal and the pro-Iranian Hezbollah, two Shiite militias competing for the allegiance of the country's 1.5 million Shiite Muslims. The more central conflict—that between the Christian minority and Syrian-backed Muslim groups fighting for increased power in a Christian-favored polity—erupted anew in early March. General Michel Aoun's mostly Christian army forces blockaded ports illegally operated by Muslim militias. Syria came to the militias' aid, whereupon Aoun launched a "crusade" to oust 40,000 Syrian troops that occupy two-thirds of Lebanon. (Syrian forces originally entered the country in 1976 as part of a peacekeeping force to restrain Muslim forces.) The result, however, was that Beirut, divided between Christian east and Muslim west, became the site of intense artillery barrages and shelling for the next six months. The city was destroyed, over 830 persons, mainly civilians, were killed, and over 3,000 wounded. Well over a million persons fled Beirut during the fighting. Faced with a land blockade by Syrian troops, Christians fled the city nightly by boat under shell fire. With Iraq, Syria's mortal enemy, supplying Aoun's Christian forces, the conflict became as much a proxy war as an intercommunal one. To date, over 150,000 persons have been killed in the fourteen-year old conflict.

Early efforts to stop this year's fighting failed, largely due to Syria's unwillingness to withdraw its forces either prior to or concomitant with proposed new power-sharing arrangements between Christian and Muslim groups. In September, however, a temporary cease-fire was reached that continues to hold. Algeria, Morocco, and Saudi Arabia, the threesome appointed by the Arab League to mediate the conflict, submitted a draft national reconciliation charter that was debated by thirty-one Muslim and thirty-one Christian parliamentarians meeting in session in Taif, Saudi Arabia. After three weeks the deputies, who were last elected in 1972, agreed upon a new arrangement that gives more power to the country's more numerous Muslim population and terminates the French-brokered arrangement of 1943 that had ensured Christian domination. Under the latter, the presidency and top army and judicial posts went to Christians. Under the new draft charter, the presidency would remain in Christian hands, but the office would be far less powerful than before. Command of the armed

forces would be shared, for example, by the president and the prime minister. A Muslim would continue in the prime minister's position, leading a strengthened cabinet divided equally between Christians and Muslims. The Assembly would be expanded to 108 members with seats equally divided between Muslims and Christians. Under the Arab League accord, Syrian forces will leave West Beirut and retire to the Bekaa valley within two years after the new political arrangement is established. At that point, they would be expected to negotiate a complete withdrawal from the country with the current government. The lack of an explicit guarantee of Syrian withdrawal, as well as the two-year lag, led some Christian legislators, under pressure from General Aoun, to withhold support for the plan. Algerian and Saudi leaders' verbal guarantees about eventual Syrian withdrawal eventually helped assuage their doubts about the package deal. Syria has said it will continue to maintain troops there as long as Israeli forces occupy a security zone in a slice of southern Lebanon along with its client militia, the South Lebanon Army.

Whether the new accord will take hold is uncertain, depending in large measure upon its acceptability to Lebanon's politico-religious militias. Though leading Christian figures such as Lebanon Forces head Samir Geagea endorsed the pact, General Aoun vowed to continue to fight any agreement that takes effect prior to complete Syrian withdrawal. He denounced the pact as "heresy" and threatened Christian legislators who ratified the pact and selected (unconstitutionally, he believes) as president, Rene Moawad who was subsequently assassinated. Lebanon had been without a president since Amin Gemayel stepped down in 1988 and legislators proved unable to agree on a successor. Subsequently, two administrations formed, one led by Aoun and one by Muslim leader Salim Ahmad al-Huss. Thousands of Aoun supporters harassed the Maronite Catholic patriarch and carried out a strike in Christian parts of Lebanon. From the other side, Walid Jumblat, head of the Druse militia, has rejected the plan, charging Syria with capitulation. The Hezbollah (Party of God) also rejected the arrangement. Amal is disappointed because it hoped the Assembly would have a greater number of seats reserved for Shiites and because the pact says nothing about Israeli withdrawal.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Once an Arab bastion of civility and law, Lebanon still protects freedom of press, speech, religion and assembly. On the other hand, anarchy and extremism have severely circumscribed other basic rights for some time. The country's civil war, with its plethora of rival armed factions and terroristic violence, has resulted in the deaths and injury of hundreds of innocent non-combatants. This is in addition to the intentional killings and assassination of prominent figures by rival militias. The central government has been unable to curb the carnage and in some cases may be responsible for various attacks. Both Lebanese and, more prominently, foreign nationals have been kidnapped by local forces. Both the government and private armies detain suspects indefinitely and arbitrarily; private groups hold detainees incommunicado and fail to turn suspects over to legal authorities. The breakdown in public security has resulted in a vastly debilitated (though still independent) legal system: trials are delayed, investigations postponed. Private rights are not respected by militias or by the Lebanese army. Lebanese freedom of movement is limited by sectarian violence and physical control of various

areas. Crossing the Green Line dividing east and west Beirut is hazardous; traveling abroad by using the airport in west Beirut is similarly dangerous. Sometimes militia groups forcibly resettle groups not to their religious liking. Discrimination based on religion is institutionalized, once favoring the Christians politically and now favoring the larger Muslim population. Palestinian inhabitants, denied work permits, find gainful employment difficult. Women do not take part in politics and the women's movement is extremely limited. Public education is underfunded, providing the poor little opportunity to receive a decent education. Unions independent of the government are allowed to operate and go on strike.

Lesotho

Polity: Military

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 1,689,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$1,585

Life Expectancy: 46 male, 52 female

Ethnic Groups: Sotho

Political Rights: 6

Civil Liberties: 5

Status: Not Free

Overview

This tiny, traditional monarchy surrounded on all sides by South Africa gained independence from Great Britain in 1966. The head of state is King Moshoeshoe II, who became Paramount Chief in 1960 and king in 1966 after independence. The current government is led by Maj. Gen. Justin Metsing Lekhanya, who overthrew Prime Minister Chief Leabua Jonathan of the Basotho National Party (BNP) in 1986 after years of instability marked by coup attempts and guerrilla activity by the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA). The liberation army is affiliated with the outlawed external wing of the Basotho Congress Party (BCP), which appeared to have won the 1970 election but was squelched when a state of emergency was declared. After the coup, widely believed to have been engineered by South Africa, the ruling Military Council dissolved the Parliament, which had been appointed by Chief Jonathan in 1983 and consisted exclusively of BNP members after none of the opposition parties nominated candidates. All political activity was banned, and legislative and executive power was conferred by the Military Council on the king. Both the king and the Military Council rule by decree.

President Lekhanya has worked closely with South African security and intelligence forces and expelled the African National Congress (ANC) from the country, long a haven for anti-apartheid guerrillas. In 1988, the government twice imposed a State of Emergency (SOE) in the face of increased criminal violence. The SOE gave the government broad police powers. A number of political parties continue to function, although the current system precludes their participation in the political process.

In late June 1989, the president faced his biggest challenge when allegations surfaced accusing him of corruption and the murder of a college student in late 1988. Reports indicate that the president admitted shooting the student, after first insisting that his bodyguard did it. The corruption allegations stem from the president's dealings with Taiwanese businessmen in a mining venture.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Citizens cannot democratically change their government and are excluded from the political process. The judiciary is generally independent of executive interference in civil and criminal cases, but the 1984 Internal Security Act allows the government to hold individuals without charge. Customary courts exist in rural areas. The religious press frequently publishes opposition views, as do small, private papers. The government media mirror official policy. Public political assemblies are prohibited, but nonpolitical professional associations are free to meet. Freedom of religion is respected by authorities. Domestic and foreign travel is generally unrestricted, except in political cases. There are two labor federations, the Lesotho Confederation of Free Trade Unions (LCFTU) and the Lesotho Federation of Trade Unions (LFTU), the latter supported by the government. Workers have the right to strike, but laws and regulations make it difficult to exercise that right.

Liberia

Polity: Dominant-party, (military dominated)

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 2,553,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$696

Life Expectancy: 47 male, 51 female

Ethnic groups: Sixteen principal tribes

Political Rights: 6

Civil Liberties: 5

Status: Not Free

Overview:

Liberia, located on the northwestern coast of Africa, was established as a refuge for freed American slaves who settled there between 1822 and 1840, and declared itself an independent republic in 1847. Its system of government was adapted from the American Congressional model. Political and social life was dominated for nearly 140 years by a small, Americo-Liberian elite with roots to the first settlers whose power was maintained by the True Whig Party, which dominated political power from 1878 to 1980.

In the mid-1970s, corruption, economic stagnation and insensitivity to indigenous Liberians led to strikes and growing unrest that forced the government, led by William Tolbert, to invoke emergency powers granted by Congress and eventually to recognize in January 1980 the People's Progressive Party (PPP), the first formal opposition in the nation's history. After President Tolbert arrested PPP leaders in April 1980, a bloody coup overthrew the government, President Tolbert being among those killed. A People's Redemption Council (PRC) was established, chaired by Master Sgt. Samuel K. Doe, and thirteen former government and Whig officials were subsequently tried and executed.

Since seizing power, Sgt. Doe, (the first indigenous African to rule the country) promoted himself to general (eventually resigning his commission), and consolidated power by liquidating the PRC, forming a hand-picked Interim Assembly that elected him president, and winning what was widely believed to be a rigged election in 1985 as head of the National Democratic Party of Liberia (NDPL) which he created. In 1986 the Second Republic of Liberia was formally established. President Doe has survived several coup attempts.

The bicameral National Assembly, established by the 1984 constitution, consists of a popularly elected twenty-six-member Senate and a sixty-four-member House of Representatives. After the 1985 elections, the NDPL was awarded twenty-two Senate seats and has an overwhelming majority in the House. The president is limited to serving two four-year terms. Although there are some six opposition parties, only three were permitted to run in the 1985 elections (although two called for a boycott) and have representatives in the Assembly: Liberia Action Party (LAP), Liberia Unification Party (LUP) and the Unity Party (UP). All parties are barred from activities deemed by the government to be inimical to "the free and democratic society of Liberia."

In August 1989, President Doe's former defense minister, Gen. Gray Allison, (who oversaw executions and reported military atrocities) was tried and sentenced to death for allegedly plotting to overthrow the government. A once healthy economy is a shambles, burdened by a crushing debt, mismanagement, corruption, and a shortage of foreign exchange. Educated Liberians have fled the country leaving a shortage of skilled workers and officials.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Although nominally a multi-party, pluralistic democracy modelled on the American system, Liberia's politics are dominated by the NDPL and the executive branch. The Elections Commission is controlled by President Doe's lifetime appointees, and the rights of the opposition parties are restricted. The army has been accused by the independent media of political killings and torture. The judicial system, though nominally independent, is subject to political pressure and manipulation (e.g., in 1987 President Doe overstepped his constitutional authority by dismissing four Supreme Court Justices). The Liberian independent press is lively, although journalists have been subject to harassment and detention and papers are periodically shut down. The government controls television and radio. There are restrictions on freedom of assembly, particularly in rural areas. Freedom of religion is guaranteed and respected, and travel is generally unrestricted. Ten of twenty unions belong to the Liberian Federation of Labor Unions (LFLU), the civil servants and workers in public corporations cannot unionize. The constitution bars labor unions from participation in party politics.

Libya

Polity: Military

Economy: Mixed statist

Population: 4,019,000

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life expectancy: 57 male, 60 female

Ethnic Groups: Arab-Berber

Political Rights: 7

Civil Liberties: 7

Status: Not Free

Overview:

The year of 1989 marks the twentieth anniversary of the coup that brought Col. Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi to power. Heading a group of young army officers at the time, Qadhafi overthrew the monarchy of King Idris and began to institute policies based on the principles of Islam and radical

Nasserism. In 1977, Col. Qadhafi proclaimed that Libya was no longer a republic but a socialist *Jamahariya*, a community based on mass support. Despite the elaborate, new and confusing governing apparatus, Qadhafi has remained as "the revolutionary leader" or "guide." He and a few associates make effective decisions in Libya. No political parties are allowed. Nominally, power lies with the General Secretary of the General People's Congress (GPC) and his cabinet, the General Secretariat. The GPC is indirectly elected by municipal committees (People's Committees), which are in turn popularly elected. The Revolutionary Committees, Col. Qadhafi's personal "shock troops," oversee the People's Committees. They also screen all People's Committee candidates.

In an effort to assuage popular discontent and what was a growing anti-war lobby over the Chad conflict, Qadhafi began to loosen his economic and political grip on Libyan society in March 1988. This move was concomitant with a foreign policy of reduced adventurism and aggrandizement. He released political prisoners; abolished the revolutionary committees' court system and harnessed their power to arrest; invited exiles to return to Libya; allowed Libyans greater freedom to travel abroad; abolished the religious police; and restored to private ownership shops and small stores, which began to multiply. A "Great Green Charter of Human Rights in the Age of the Masses" codified these and other new liberties. In August 1989 the Colonel vowed to do away with the army and police and in January 1989 promised to dismantle internal security, although neither of these has occurred.

During 1989 there was an anti-government upheaval, and the state reneged on promised liberalization. Fundamentalists who consider Qadhafi a religious deviant have rejected his rule and demonstrated with shouts of "There is no God but God, and Qadhafi is the enemy of God." Clashes are said to have broken out between fundamentalist students and revolutionary committees. In February, troops opened fire on a group of fundamentalists demonstrating against Qadhafi's cult of power. Five thousand persons were arrested in the crackdown, many without trial, and twenty-one were executed in May. Currency controls have been reinstated, making foreign travel difficult. Revolutionary committees have been ordered not to dissolve, but rather to enforce revolutionary justice. According to some reports, clashes have also taken place between security forces and the university students, with hundreds of students arrested. A National Front for the Salvation of Libya (NFSL), an exile opposition group, called for Qadhafi's resignation in May and threatened to invade if he did not abdicate. The NFSL is led by former Libyan ambassador to India Mohammed al Maghariaf, who recruited 1,500 POWs in Chad to form an anti-Qadhafi strike force. Army support for Qadhafi is rumored to have waned, with several coup attempts having taken place. Qadhafi has made enemies in the army by talking about recruiting an "armed populace" to replace the army.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Only groups supportive of the Libyan regime are allowed to organize and demonstrate. Independent trade unions and vocational organizations are banned. Libyan workers do not have the right to strike and in practice there have been no strikes for some time. The Libyan press lauds the regime; press criticism is all but impossible. The revolutionary committees have their own publications. Citizens shy from expressing their political views for

fear of discovery by the revolutionary committees. Debate within the People's Committees, however, was reported to be bold. Political prisoners in Libya possibly number some few thousand. They are often held incommunicado and indefinitely, and sometimes sentenced to life in prison or execution. In the past political dissidents abroad have been assassinated by the regime; none has been reported this year. The revolutionary and people's courts provide arbitrary forums for trials, and sometimes security forces sentence prisoners without a trial. Police beatings of detainees is common. Libya is predominantly Sunni Muslim and rejects Islamic fundamentalism; the state has exercised control over all independent mosques suspected of anti-regime sentiment. Libyan students returning from abroad are often interrogated. Though Libya has promised to compensate Egyptian workers who, among other foreign workers, were expelled in 1985, foreign workers have been drafted into the Libyan military against their wishes. Travel abroad is reportedly easier now that borders to the east and west have been reopened.

Luxembourg

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Political Rights: 1

Economy: Capitalist

Civil Liberties: 1

Population: 368,000

Status: Free

Conflict: None

PPP: \$15,247

Life Expectancy: 68 male, 74 female

Ethnic groups: French, German, and other European

Overview:

The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg received international recognition as an independent neutral country in 1867. However, Germany occupied the country during both world wars. Since World War II, Luxembourg has been a major advocate of European unity. Grand Duke Jean is the head of state. He appoints the prime minister from the party or coalition able to command a majority in the sixty-member Chamber of Deputies. Voters elect deputies by proportional representation for a maximum term of five years. There is also an appointive Council of State, whose twenty-one members have life terms. The Chamber can overturn the Council's decisions. In the general election held 18 June 1989, the center-right Christian Social Party won twenty-two seats, the Socialist Workers' Party eighteen, and the liberal Democratic Party eleven. The growing Green Alternative won four seats, and the Communists captured one. Winning four seats, a new single-issue force, the Five-Sixths Party, advocates pensions worth five-sixths of the final salaries for all workers, and not just for the civil service. The prime minister, Jacques Santer, heads a Christian Social-Socialist coalition government. The future of NATO and the decline of the steel industry are major concerns in Luxembourg.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Luxembourgers have the right to change their government by democratic means. About one-quarter of the residents are foreign. Non-Luxembourgers have no right to vote in national elections, but they are free otherwise. There is freedom of speech and of the press. Print journalism is private and uncensored, except for restrictions on pornography. Broadcast media are

state-chartered and free. The country has freedom of association. The steel industry, agricultural interests, and small businesses have lobbying groups. Affiliated with the Socialist and Christian Social parties, two competing labor federations organize workers. The population is mostly Catholic; there is religious freedom and no state church. The productive economy is largely private.

Madagascar

Polity: Dominant-party (military dominated)

Economy: Mixed statist

Population: 11,250,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$634

Life Expectancy: 49 male, 50 female

Ethnic groups: Merina, Betsimisaraka, Tsimihety, Antaisaka, other tribes

Political Rights: 5

Civil Liberties: 4

Status: Partly Free

Overview:

Independent since 1960, the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, consisting one of large island and five small island dependencies, was constituted in 1975.

The country has been led since 1975 by President Adm. Didier Ratsiraka, who was reelected to a seven-year term by universal suffrage on 12 March 1989. The president is head of the Vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution (Arema), one of the political "associations" that make up the loosely knit and ideologically diverse National Front for the Defense of the Malagasy Revolution (FNDR), the country's only official party. In the last election, President Ratsiraka received 62.7 percent of the votes in defeating two other candidates, Mandafy Rokotonirina of the center right Proletarian Power Movement (MFM) and Jerome Razanabahiny on the moderate Drive for National Unity (VONJY). Both parties were once formally part of the FNDR, and the presidential and subsequent legislative elections indicate a possible disintegration of the FNDR. The Council of Christian Churches in Madagascar cited "irregularities" in the polling.

Just over a month after the elections, President Ratsiraka ousted his presidential rivals and four others from the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC), the highest policy-making body and a watchdog charged under the constitution with safeguarding the "Malagasy Socialist Revolution."

The political opposition is centered in the Democratic Alliance of Madagascar, formed in January and consisting of MFM and the Militants for the Realization of the Revolution (MFT), the VONJY and the Socialist Monima (VSM). On 1 April it was announced that a new opposition party, the Reform Congress for Malagasy Independence (Reform AKM), was being launched by the Rev. Richard Andriamanjato, who resigned from the pro-Soviet AKM and was later ousted from the SRC. President Ratsiraka announced that he favors lifting the ban on political parties.

In the May legislative direct elections for the 137-member unicameral Popular National Assembly, Arema captured 87 percent of the vote and 120 seats; the MFM-MFT, 7 seats; the VONJY, 4 seats; the AKFM, 3 seats; AKFM/KDRSM (Congress Party for Malagasy Independence/Democratic

Committee to Support the Malagasy Socialist Revolution), 2 seats; Monima, 1 seat. About 40 percent of eligible voters did not go to the polls.

In April, several anti-government demonstrations were held in the capital city of Antananarivo. Foreign journalists estimated that three people were killed and sixty injured at a public rally held by the opposition.

In January, the president announced that the International Monetary Fund and Madagascar had reached an agreement on assistance in the social field aimed at softening the consequences of restructuring. The government has been working with the IMF in trying to implement an austerity program since 1982. In a deal worked out in Washington in August, Madagascar will repay some of its foreign debt up to a ceiling of \$3 million by spending local currency in several conservation projects and national parks.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The electoral system does offer citizen an opportunity to choose between candidates with diverse viewpoints and in 1989 several opposition groupings were formed. An independent judiciary functions without government interference. Citizens can criticize government policies, with some limitations. The private press publishes diverse views, but is subject to censorship. In the past, blank spaces were shown where censored articles would have appeared. Radio and television are government controlled. Freedom of association and assembly is circumscribed, particularly for political groups not affiliated with the FNDR. However, opposition groups did hold rallies in 1989. Religious freedom is respected, and there are some restrictions on domestic travel. Workers have the right to join unions and to strike. There are nine national labor organizations, most affiliated with political associations.

Malawi

Polity: One-party

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 8,440,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$476

Life Expectancy: 44 male, 46 female

Ethnic groups: Chewa, Nyanja, Tumbuka, Yao, Lomwe, others

Political Rights: 7

Civil Liberties: 6

Status: Not Free

Overview:

A small, densely populated land-locked sliver on Lake Malawi in southeast Africa, the Republic of Malawi became an independent member of the Commonwealth in 1964 and a one-party presidential state in 1966. Prime Minister H. Kamuzu Banda, president of the ruling Malawi Congress Party (MCP) has ruled the country since independence, and was designated president for life in 1971. The unicameral National Assembly is elected, but all candidates are MCP-approved. The external opposition consists of the Malawi Freedom Movement (Mafremo), whose leader, Orton Chira, has been imprisoned since 1981, after his death sentence was commuted; the Socialist League of Malawi (Lesoma), whose leader, Attai Mpakati was assassinated in Zimbabwe in 1983; and the Tanzania-based Congress for the Second Republic.

Malawi has become the home of some 650,000 refugees from Mozam-

bique, and Mozambicans now make up 9 percent of the population. The refugees have already put a serious strain on an economy that is among the poorest in Africa. Traditionally good farmers, Malawians were able to feed themselves and export maize until last year when drought and feeding refugees depleted the maize stock and pests spoiled the cassava crop, forcing Malawi to import food. Local villagers lost cultivable land to refugee huts and received no compensation. Malawians are reportedly setting near refugee camps because services provided by international aid are better.

To improve the economy, Malawi has undertaken ambitious steps to privatize key parts of the economy by making them available to foreign investors and Malawians. A U.S.-based multinational company purchased the National Seed Company of Malawi, and private buyers have taken control of the only large-scale commercial fishing company on Lake Malawi, an engineering company, and others. Efforts are currently under way to sell off parts of the Agricultural Development and Marketing Corporation (Admarc), the state-run crop marketing board, which over the years built up a vast investment portfolio.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Political power is firmly centralized in President Banda and the MCP, and Malawians have no real power to change their government. The security apparatus is pervasive and intrusive. The MCP legislature is a rubber stamp for the presidency. The judicial system is divided between a modern system and traditional courts, which deal with most capital offenses. The president appoints most justices. The government maintains the right to revoke the property rights of those suspected of economic crimes, but this right is often used in political cases. It is a crime to criticize the government publicly, and the press is restricted in its coverage of domestic affairs. Journalists have been jailed. Only the MCP can hold political meetings. Nonpolitical organizations generally can organize and associate freely. Religious groups must register with the government. There are few restrictions on domestic travel, but government employees and civil servants must obtain written permission to travel outside the country. The independent Trade Union Congress of Malawi is small, and unions are weak.

Malaysia

Polity: Dominant-party

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 17,255,000

Conflict: Sporadic ethnic; leftist insurgencies

PPP: \$3,849

Life Expectancy: 68 male, 73 female

Ethnic Groups: Multi-ethnic state—Malays, Chinese, non-Malay tribals, Indians, Pakistani and others

Political rights: 5

Civil liberties: 4

Status: Partly Free

Overview.

Present-day Malaysia was established on 16 September 1963, with the merger of the Independent Federation of Malaya (formed in 1957) and the states of Sarawak and Sabah, which border Indonesia on the island of Borneo. (Singapore was included but withdrew in 1965.) A constitutional-

monarchy, the country is nominally ruled by King Azlan Muhibuddin Shah, who was elected 2 March by the nine hereditary sultans of Malaysia. Executive power rests in the hands of Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, head of the United Malays National Organization-Baru (UMNO-Baru). This is the largest party in a National Front (NF) coalition that includes some thirteen largely ethnically based parties, and that has won two-thirds or better majorities in the Dewan Rakyat (lower house of Parliament) in all seven general elections since 1957. The Senate (upper house) is partially appointed and has little power. The other major parties in the NF coalition include the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) and the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC). Of the twenty-one legal opposition parties, the predominantly Chinese Democratic Action Party (DAP) and the Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party (Pas) are the most powerful and significant. Although they hold few seats, opposition parties occasionally hold power on the state level. States enjoy guarantees of autonomy with regard to immigration, civil service, and customs matters. The predominantly Chinese Communist Party of Malaysia (CPM), which carries out sporadic paramilitary operations, and the urban-based Malaysian Communist Party (MCP) formed in 1983, are illegal and peripheral.

One key crisis facing the government in 1988 was a lingering split in the UMNO. Dissenters, led by former Trade and Industry Minister Tunku Razaleigh Hamzah, filed for a recognition of a new party (UMNO-Malaysia) after the country's High Court ruled in 4 February 1988, that the UMNO had contravened the Societies Act and was therefore illegal. On 13 February, however, Prime Minister Mahathir managed to legally reconstitute his party as the UMNO-Baru. In addition, Mahathir asked the king to suspend the head of the Supreme Court before it could rule on the High Court's 4 February decision. Razaleigh has since formed a small opposition party after trying to forge an alliance with the DAP and Pas. Despite political infighting, in January 1989 the ruling National Front overwhelmingly won two important by-elections; a general election must be called by 1991. Out of the seven by-elections held since the parties split, Dr. Mahathir's party has won five.

Another key issue involves the renewal of Malaysia's New Economic Policy, which was set up in 1971 and expires this year. The NEP was set up to breach the economic gap between the Malays and the better-off Chinese. It gives Malays special advantages in education, and proposed that Malays should own thirty percent of the country's corporate equity. Chinese businessmen have to take Malay partners if they want government contracts or licenses. A 150-member government appointed National Economic Consultative Council, half of which is Malay, was established to review and redesign the NEP. It is widely believed that some revisions are likely to be made to accommodate the MCA, UMNO-Baru's key ally in the government.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Malaysians have the ability to democratically change their government. The main issue centers on Parliament's July 1988 amendment of the 1960 Internal Security Act (ISA), which placed additional limits on judicial review of detentions and extended the period of detention without trial beyond the previous maximum of two years. The ISA was adopted by the British during Communist insurgencies and was aimed at controlling internal subversion. Two other acts, the Emergency Essential Powers Ordinance (1969)

and the Dangerous Drugs Act (1985) allow the government to detain suspects without benefit of judicial review. In November 1987, 106 people, including opposition members of Parliament, union leaders, religious activists, and social critics, were detained under the ISA allegedly to prevent Malay-Chinese clashes, and three newspapers were shut down. Most were released by the fall of 1988, and by January 1989 only two remained imprisoned. In 1989 a national human rights commission was established to investigate human rights abuses resulting from the ISA.

The media are generally free from government intrusion, although all domestic and foreign publications must apply annually to the government for a permit under a 1984 law. Moreover, the law and subsequent amendments proscribe "malicious news" and publications that "alarm public opinion." Despite self-censorship, publications freely print views critical of the government. Government interference in the practice of religion is minimal in this predominantly Muslim country, and the rights of Hindu, Buddhist, Sikh and Christian minorities are respected. The government has resisted pressure for the imposition of Islamic law beyond the Muslim community. In 1989 a new religious law allowed for the conversion to Islam of children reaching puberty, a measure opposed by the Buddhist and Hindu communities. Workers have the right to form unions, with some restrictions, and there is an active labor movement.

Maldives

Polity: Nonparty presidential and legislative (elite clan dominated)

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 209,000

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 46 male and female

Ethnic Groups: Mixed Sinhalese, Dravidian, Arab and black

Political rights: 6

Civil Liberties: 5

Status: Not Free

Overview:

The Republic of Maldives is a five-hundred-mile-long chain of some 1,200 mostly uninhabited islands in the Indian Ocean. It gained full independence from Britain in 1965, and a republican regime replaced a sultanate in 1968 after a national referendum. The 1968 constitution calls for a unicameral Citizens' Assembly (*Majlis*), controlled by an elected majority, which designates the president for a five-year term, who must be confirmed by popular referendum (though no alternative candidate is offered). There are no political parties, and the government is essentially controlled by members of a small, hereditary, educated elite whose role is generally accepted by the population. The nineteen main atoll groups are administered by a presidentially appointed chief, and each island is run by a headman (*kateeb*) and his assistants, as well as a mosque functionary.

In September 1988, President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom was reelected to a third term following his nomination by the *Majlis* and a subsequent ninety-five percent of the vote in the referendum.

In November 1988, the country was invaded by Tamil mercenaries from Sri Lanka, who attempted to overthrow the government. The ringleader was Abdullah Luthufi, a Maldivian businessman. President Gayoom asked India

for assistance, and 1,600 troops were airlifted to squelch the invasion. The bungled takeover left some twenty-four dead. Sixty-eight Sri Lankans went on trial for their part in the raid. Mr. Luthifi's motive apparently centered on his objection to restrictions on alcohol and dancing in this Islamic state. The Tamils were apparently promised a tourist resort in the Maldives for their assistance.

On 10 August 1989, thirteen Sri Lankans were sentenced for their role in the coup attempt, receiving sentences ranging from fifteen to twenty-one years each. Previously, twelve invaders were sentenced to death and await execution. Mr. Luthifi's trial continues.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Maldivians are prohibited by law from agitating against the government. There are no known political prisoners. The three private newspapers practice self-censorship in light of the law prohibiting anti-government agitation. The government owns a newspaper, and controls television and radio. Clubs and private associations are permitted as long as they do not contravene Islamic and civil laws. Islam is the official religion, non-Muslim missionaries are not allowed to proselytize, and conversions to other religions lead to a loss of citizenship. There are restrictions on residency and travel, particularly in the overcrowded main island of Male; there are no curbs on foreign travel or emigration. There are no unions, and no right to form them or to strike.

Mali

Polity: One-party (military dominated) **Political Rights:** 6

Economy: Mixed statist

Civil Liberties: 6

Population: 9,039,000

Status: Not Free

Conflict: None

PPP: \$543

Life Expectancy: 40 male, 44 female

Ethnic groups: Malinke (50 percent), Fulani (17 percent), Voltaic (12 percent), Songhai (6 percent), other

Overview:

The arid, land-locked Republic of Mali in west-central Africa proclaimed independence in 1960. The country is headed by President Gen. Moussa Traore, who in 1968 ousted leftist Modibo Keita in a bloodless coup. The Mali People's Democratic Union (UDPM), established in 1979, is the only legal party. President Traore was reelected to a second six-year term in 1985. All deputies in the unicameral eighty-two-member National Assembly are members of the UDPM. Regional officials are appointed, and municipalities have elected councils.

In 1989, the crucial issue for the government was the economy, based on animal husbandry and subsistence agriculture, which has suffered due to years of drought. In August, the government announced its plan to privatize fourteen nonstrategic state corporations that have not been making a profit. The companies are involved in textile, food and agricultural sectors. The government has also been working with the World Bank, the African Development Bank, the Saudi Fund and the Japanese Fund for International Economic Cooperation in an effort to modernize the debt-ridden economy.

In July, there were reports that several students associated with the Association of Malian School and University Students were detained and tortured following a demonstration. The notorious Djikoronni military camp, which was used to hold and torture students and teachers in 1980, is again being used for recent political detainees.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Malians do not have the means to democratically change their government. The rights of political detainees are circumscribed, and the judiciary is not independent. A Special Court of State Security hears cases of corruption. Citizens are not explicitly barred from criticizing the government, but free expression is discouraged and usually limited to UPDM councils. The government controls all major media. Two private publications, *Concorde* (a periodical in French and Arabic), and *Jamana*, a cultural magazine, circulate freely and occasionally offer political commentary. There are no significant restrictions on freedom of religion or on foreign and domestic travel. The twelve-member National Union of Malian Workers is the only recognized workers' organization, but it is heavily influenced by the UPDM. Strikes have occurred, with workers subjected to government reprisals.

Malta

Polity: Parliamentary democracy	Political Rights: 1
Economy: Mixed capitalist-statist	Civil Liberties: 1
Population: 370,000	Status: Free
Conflict: None	
PPP: \$7,775	
Life Expectancy: 69 male, 74 female	
Ethnic groups: Maltese (mixed Arab, Sicilian, Norman, Spanish, Italian and English)	

Overview:

Located in the central Mediterranean, Malta was under foreign rule for most of its history. The British occupied the island in 1800, and it later became a British colony. It gained its independence from Britain in 1964. The Malta Labor Party gained power in 1971, and held it until 1987. In office, Labor followed left-of-center economic policies and a neutral foreign policy. However, the Labor government turned to Libya for aid and support in the early 1980s. Labor lost control to the Nationalist Party in the 1987 general elections. Nationalist Prime Minister Edward Fenech Adami advocates a more Europe-oriented foreign policy while maintaining Malta's neutrality. The parliament, called the House of Representatives, has sixty-five seats, and has a maximum term of five years. Voters choose the representatives by proportional representation. Elected by parliament, the largely ceremonial president serves for five years, and appoints the prime minister from the parliamentary majority party. Under a constitutional amendment adopted in 1987, a party getting a majority of the popular vote obtains a majority of the seats in parliament. In the previous elections, it was possible for a party to receive a majority of votes while winning only a minority of seats.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The Maltese have the right to change their government democratically, and power alternates between the two major parties. Malta's constitution guarantees freedoms of speech and press. The only exception is a law passed in 1987 which forbids foreign involvement in Maltese election campaigns. Radio and television are state-controlled, but opposition views receive adequate air time. The press is free, but many newspapers are politically affiliated. Religion is free for both the Catholic majority and religious minorities. There is freedom of association for all groups. Many trade unions belong to the Labor Party's General Union of Workers, but others are independent.

Mauritania

Polity: Military

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 1,948,000

Conflict: Ethnic; racial

PPP: \$840

Life Expectancy: 42 male, 46 female

Ethnic Groups: Arab-Berber, black African

Political Rights: 7

Civil Liberties: 6

Status: Not Free

Overview:

Mauritania, an Islamic republic, has been under military rule since 1978, when officers ousted President Daddah and established a Committee for National Recovery, later renamed the Military Committee for National Salvation (CMSN). Daddah and his Mauritanian People's Party (PPM), supported by the white Arab-Berber elite, had run the country since independence from France in 1960 as a constitutional one-party state. Upon taking power, the military suspended this constitutional arrangement and abolished the PPM, but has since failed to introduce democratic institutions at the national level and to act on a proposed constitution that calls for multi-party democracy. A brief attempt to return to civilian rule in 1981 was aborted. Col. Muawiya Ould Sidi Ahmad Taya currently is the country's president, prime minister and head of the CMSN. There are no legal opposition parties and no scheduled national elections, although municipal elections have taken place since 1986.

Mauritania has been beset by severe animosity between its southern black African tribes, which practice Christianity, and its economically and politically dominant Moors of the north, about two-thirds of the population. The white officers of the CMSN, as part of a general effort at Arabizing the country, imposed Islamic law (*shari'a*) and established Islamic courts in 1980. Tensions between blacks and whites flared in 1986 and in 1987, when the government cracked down following an apparent coup attempt led by black Toucouleur officers.

Beginning in May of 1989, the government forcibly expelled 40,000-50,000 of its own citizens, mostly native blacks, into Senegal. Reports from those expelled, independent refugee officials, and Amnesty International indicate the victims have often been falsely denounced by informers as Senegalese, have had their shops looted, property confiscated, and identity cards destroyed before being driven to the Senegalese border. Some of those refusing expulsion have apparently been tortured or executed. The

government denies it is expelling Mauritanian citizens. The forced expulsions followed a border quarrel between Mauritanian herdsmen and Senegalese farmers—a quarrel which spilled over into attacks on the vast Mauritanian shop-keeper population in Senegal and on Senegalese laborers in Mauritania. It is not known to what extent authorities in either country participated or acquiesced in the violence. Thousands of Mauritians and Senegalese have been airlifted back safely to their homelands, but the policy of expelling native black Africans continues. Some reports suggest the hostility is exacerbated by claims by northern whites to land cultivated by black farmers. Diplomatic relations between Senegal and Mauritania were broken in late August.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

There is no free press in Mauritania. The one daily newspaper is owned and operated by the government. The government also owns and runs television and radio. Two privately owned publications have received government authorization, but refrain from criticism. To criticize the government publicly is to risk arrest. Political parties are proscribed and any association requires government approval. The Mauritanian League for Human Rights began in 1986, and has held conferences on rights issues. Torture has reportedly been employed against prisoners, as well as lengthy detention without charge. Some dissident officers remain in internal exile, held without charge or trial. In trying political dissidents, the courts are not independent. Decisions by the State Security Court may not be appealed. Islam is Mauritania's official and only recognized religion. Conversion to a non-Muslim faith is prohibited. Elections for city councils took place in 1986 and 1989, with the debate limited to municipal issues. Some observers reported the elections to be unfair. Mauritania outlawed slavery in 1980, but the United Nations Human Rights Commission estimates there to be 100,000 slaves. All labor unions must belong to the general labor confederation, the UTM, and they are free to elect their boards, but must stay clear of political issues. Strikes are discouraged by the government.

Mauritius

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 1,057,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$2,617

Life Expectancy: 64 male, 69 female

Ethnic groups: Indo-Mauritian (68 percent), Creole (27 percent), Sino-Mauritian (3 percent), Franco-Mauritian (2 percent)

Political Rights: 2

Civil Liberties: 2

Status: Free

Overview:

This small, multi-ethnic island nation east of Madagascar gained independence from Britain in 1968. It is currently led by Prime Minister Aneerood Jugnauth of the Mauritian Socialist Movement (MSM), elected in 1987, and whose coalition controls 41 of 62 elected seats in the 70-member, unicameral Legislative Assembly. In addition to the MSM, the governing alliance consists of the Mauritius Labor Party (MLP), the Mauritian Social Democratic Party (PMSD) and the Rodriguan People's Organization (OPR). The main opposition party is the Mauritian Militant Movement (MMM), and

there are five smaller parties. A governor general representing the Crown is the titular head of state.

In 1989, the government faced growing opposition, particularly from the PMSD and the MMM, following disclosures of South African intelligence infiltration of a holding company and the prime minister's handling of a drug trafficking case. In June, PMSD leader Gaetan Duval was arrested in connection with a 1970 political murder after being implicated by two men accused in the case. He was released on bail.

The country has prospered in the 1980s, with real GDP growth of 7 percent a year, unemployment down from 23 percent in 1980 to 2.7 percent, and a balance of payment surplus. The economy, long dependent on labor-intensive textiles, sugar and tourism, is being diversified, and in July the government was completing plans to encourage offshore banking.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Citizens have the right to freely and fairly choose their government through a democratic process. The judiciary, modelled after the British system, is independent of government and political control. Some sixteen privately owned newspapers are free to print diverse viewpoints. Freedom of assembly and association is guaranteed and upheld, and there are no restrictions of religious freedom. Travel, both foreign and domestic, is unrestricted. There are nine trade union federations encompassing 300 unions. Labor leaders are represented in the National Assembly, and workers have the right to strike. In January 1989, policemen of the Special Support Unit were used to disperse workers demonstrating for back wages in front of government buildings in the capital city of Port Louis.

Mexico

Polity: Dominant party

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 85,300,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$4,624

Life Expectancy: 64 male, 68 female

Ethnic Groups: Mestizo (60 percent), Indian (30 percent), white (9 percent), other (1 percent)

Political Rights: 4

Civil Liberties: 3

Status: Partly Free

Overview:

Mexico achieved independence from Spain in 1810 and established a republic in 1822. Following the Revolution of 1910, a new constitution was promulgated. Under the 1917 constitution, the United Mexican States is a federal republic consisting of thirty-one states and a Federal District (Mexico City). Each state has its own constitution and elected governors and legislatures. The governor of the Federal District is appointed by the president. The president is directly elected for a six-year term. There is a bicameral Congress consisting of a 64-member Senate directly elected for six years, and a 500-member Chamber of Deputies elected for three years under a mixed direct and proportional system. Municipal governments are elected.

The near-total dominance of the executive, the Congress and the state governments by the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) since 1929 has been increasingly challenged in recent years. Despite continued widespread

electoral fraud and manipulation, the PRI's presidential vote has declined by nearly half since 1976.

According to official results, PRI candidate Carlos Salinas de Gortari won with 50.36 percent of the vote in July 1988, taking only one of every four votes in Mexico City. The main challengers were the rightist National Action Party (PAN) led by Manuel Clouthier (17 percent) and a broad coalition of leftist parties and former PRI leaders including candidate Cuauhtemoc Cardenas (31.29 percent). With many observers in Mexico believing that Cardenas had done much better, Salinas was inaugurated in December with the weakest mandate of any PRI president. Also, the PRI failed for the first time to win a two-thirds legislative majority required to amend the constitution.

In 1989, however, Salinas's ability to balance economic restructuring and liberalization with a tough anti-corruption campaign led to increased popularity. He also promised cleaner elections and electoral reform. However, the results of state elections held during the summer were mixed. In Baja California Norte, the PRI conceded defeat in a gubernatorial race for the first time. There was evidence of fraud in that state's legislative contest, as well as in the legislative and municipal contests in four other states where the PRI claimed victory. Although the Cardenas-led coalition began to unravel in 1989, his newly formed Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD) appeared to have won a clear victory in legislative races in Michoacan.

In August, an extraordinary legislative session was initiated for the purpose of revising the electoral laws. In October, however, the PRI managed to pass constitutional changes that did little to lessen its grip on the political system. In fact, the most controversial reform awards an absolute majority in the Chamber (and therefore control of the electoral system) to the party that wins only 35 percent of the vote. The PRI's package would not have passed in Congress without the surprising support of the PAN, previously a staunch advocate of sweeping electoral reform, whose sudden reversal left many observers believing a secret deal had been made.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Constitutional guarantees regarding the right to organize political parties and civic organizations are generally respected. There are over a dozen political parties occupying the spectrum from right to left. However, toward the end of Salinas's first year in office, opposition parties were expressing alarm over his increased use of the military to deal with political, labor and crime problems. Since the Revolution, freedom of religion in this predominantly Catholic country has been restricted in a number of ways. Most recently, the Salinas government has shown itself open to relaxing some of the most irksome restrictions.

Labor unions are powerful, well-organized, notoriously corrupt, and traditionally allied with the ruling PRI. In 1989, however, as part of the anti-corruption campaign, Salinas utilized the armed forces to remove the leader of the mighty oil workers union. With economic recovery still uncertain, increased tension over economic liberalization was expected between the Salinas administration and the umbrella Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM) which threatened to make greater use of its right to strike. In August, steelworkers struck and the mineworkers went out after the government shut down a major, money-losing mining operation.

Political expression is often restricted by violence associated with elec-

toral campaigns and corruption involving the police and security forces. In 1989, demonstrations against electoral fraud in various state elections were often repressed with force. There were allegations of violence provoked by plainclothes police and arbitrary arrests of opposition members.

The judiciary is headed by a Supreme Court whose members are appointed for life by the president with the approval of the Senate. Although it is nominally independent, and the Supreme Court is empowered to rule on certain constitutional issues, the judicial system is weak. In many rural areas, security forces ignore the rule of law. Lower courts and law enforcement in general are undermined by widespread bribery, as is the state bureaucracy. Drug-related corruption remains evident within the military, police and security forces, as well as in a number of state governments despite federal efforts to curb it.

There are a number of active, independent human rights organizations. Allegations of abuses including torture and disappearances continue, but have diminished since a peak period in the first half of the decade. Most charges dating to that period remain unaddressed by the government. In February 1989, Salinas ordered approximately 400 previously unacknowledged political prisoners to be freed, and promised reform of the penal code.

The press and broadcasting media, mainly private and free of overt censorship, operate under a number of direct and indirect government controls. Newspapers and magazines depend on subsidies, normally deriving over half of advertising revenues from official sources; materials prepared by public officials are often published without attribution. The PRI government has also exerted influence on the press through the state-controlled monopoly on newsprint. During the October meeting in Mexico of the Inter-American Press Association, however, Salinas announced the state-owned newsprint enterprise, PIPSA, would be privatized. Radio and television operate under a number of government regulatory bodies and tend to favor government positions, particularly during elections. In fall 1989, however, it was announced that Multivision, the nation's second private television network, would soon be competing with the giant Televisa system.

Journalists in Mexico also have been targets of violence; four were killed in 1988, at least one in the first half of 1989. In June 1989, however, the Salinas administration arrested a former Federal Security Police director, charging him in the slaying five years ago of well-known columnist Manuel Buendia.

Mongolia

Polity: Communist one-party

Economy: Statist

Population: 2,097,000

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 60 male, 64 female

Ethnic Groups: Khalkha Mongols (76 percent), other Mongols (13 percent), Turkic (7 percent), Chinese, Russian, Tungusic (4 percent)

Political Rights: 7

Civil Liberties: 7

Status: Not Free

Overview:

The Communist Mongolian People's Republic was established on 26 November 1924, following the death of Jebtsun Damba Khutukhtu, who ruled

briefly as a constitutional monarch. It was the first Communist state after the Soviet Union. The country is a Soviet-styled, one-party dictatorship ruled by Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) since the ouster in 1984 of Yumjaagiyn Tsendenbal (head of the MPRP since 1958). The MPRP dominates all facets of political life, including the unicameral legislature (People's Great Hural), which meets for only three days a year and is a rubber stamp for policies determined by the Party Politburo; no other parties are permitted.

Though publicly extolling the virtues of *glasnost* and *perestroika*, the government has made only cosmetic changes, such as encouraging the revival of certain Mongolian cultural traditions, customs and dress. There have been moves to revive the traditional Mongolian script, abandoned for the Russian Cyrillic alphabet after 1945. In March 1989, the USSR announced that it was to withdraw three-quarters of its estimated 15,000 troops there, largely as a concession to China.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Because Mongolia remains largely an isolated and closed society, information about political disappearances, deaths and torture are unavailable. The criminal code includes statutes dealing with "political" crimes against the state and "closed" trials are permitted. The government retains strict control of the media, which are closed to oppositionist viewpoints; public criticism of the government is not tolerated and is punishable under law. Freedom of assembly and association is severely restricted. Strict government control of religious activity has vitiated a once vibrant Buddhist tradition, and no monasteries exist for the Islam Kazakh minority in the western part of the country. Freedom of movement and residence is tightly controlled by the government. Professional and labor organizations and associations are regulated and controlled by the government.

Morocco

Polity: Monarchy and multi-party parliament

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 25,600,000

Conflict: Territorial, ethnic insurgency

PPP: \$1,761

Life Expectancy: 57 male, 60 female

Ethnic Groups: Arab-Berber

Political Rights: 4

Civil Liberties: 4

Status: Partly Free

Overview:

King Hassan II, Morocco's pro-Western monarch, is the center of authority in Morocco. He appoints his own prime minister and cabinet and may dismiss them at his pleasure. In addition, he may dissolve the unicameral National Assembly and postpone or call elections and rule by decree or royal proclamation. No change in the constitution can be made without his approval. In addition, the king must approve the introduction of all legislation. The 306-member National Assembly carries little weight and is often bypassed or ignored. Two-thirds of its members are directly elected, and the other third are indirectly voted upon by an electoral college. Legislative elections last took place in 1984; they had been postponed twice by King Hassan because of rioting stirred up by Islamic fundamentalists. During the

elections, the King gave amnesties to various political prisoners, while some were staging hunger strikes.

Hassan's legitimacy rests in part from his place in a 350-year dynasty and from alleged descent from the prophet Mohammad. Though 99 percent of the population are Muslims, his hold over the people has limits. With 30 percent unemployment and a high per capita foreign debt, Hassan faces latent revolt. Strikes and riots at universities broke out in the spring of 1989. Sensing the danger and remembering the bread riots of 1984 that prompted talk of revolution, Hassan moved to privatize hundreds of state companies. In June he called a national conference to discuss decentralization of the government. He has coveted a more fundamentalist image of late to meet the growing religious fundamentalism at the universities and has elevated his personal stature by taking a higher profile in foreign affairs by instigating the formation of the recently announced Maghreb Economic Union, and by playing host to this year's emergency Arab League summit.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Torture has reportedly been practiced on ordinary criminals and political offenders, of which there are believed several hundred. Prison conditions are widely believed to be horrendous. Numerous cases of prolonged, incommunicado detention have been and continue to be reported, and arrests are often made without probable cause. The Moroccan legal system has no habeas corpus provisions. Judges have allowed for convictions based on torture-extracted confessions and, in political cases, the independence of the judiciary is limited. Despite limited criticism of the government or particular ministers, criticism of the monarchy, of its foreign policy, and of Islam are off limits. Journalists frequently practice self-censorship based on government harassment and occasional seizures of publications. Television and radio are government owned, while several dailies and weeklies are privately run.

The government has the authority to ban public assemblies, however peaceful. Nonpolitical vocational associations thrive in Morocco, while politically suspect or radical organizations, such as the National Union of Moroccan Students (UNEM), have been outlawed. Religious proselytizing is prohibited. The minority Jewish population of 10,000 is free to worship, though the Bahai are not free to do so. Mosques are monitored by the authorities for radical fundamentalism. Freedom of movement inside the country is generally respected, and passport issuance for travel abroad is notoriously slow and difficult. Thirteen percent of the labor force is unionized, belonging to one of three independent labor confederations. Workers have the right under the law to organize, strike and bargain collectively but the government may ban striking on national security grounds. There is a ban on picketing.

Mozambique

Polity: Communist (one-party)

Economy: Statist

Population: 17,660,000

Conflict: Armed insurgencies

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 44 male, 46 female

Ethnic groups: Makua, Lomwe, Thonga, others

Political Rights: 6

Civil Liberties: 7

Status: Not Free

Overview:

After more than two decades of fighting colonial occupation, the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) was successful. The People's Republic of Mozambique, a former Portuguese colony on the southeast coast of Africa, was declared in 1975. The Marxist, one-party state was led by Samora Machel, who was killed in an airplane crash in 1986. He was succeeded by Joaquim Alberto Chissano. Frelimo controls all government and political activity. A 250-member unicameral People's Assembly is indirectly elected by provincial assemblies, with all candidates approved by Frelimo.

Almost since its inception, the country has been torn by civil war. The primary armed insurgency group is the Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo), which was formed in the early 1970s. Since 1980, its 20,000-member army, supported by ordinary peasants and by traditional social and economic groups disenfranchised by Marxist rule, has carried on extensive guerrilla activities throughout the country, controlling large areas of rural territory. In 1984, South Africa and Mozambique signed the Nkomati Accord in which the former promised to stop supporting Renamo, but allegations persist that Pretoria continues to supply the anti-Frelimo rebels covertly.

The civil war has cut vital roads and railroad links, killed an estimated 600,000 Mozambicans, and caused another 1.2 million to flee as refugees. The economy, always among Africa's poorest, is a shambles as communication, transportation and production facilities have been paralyzed by the war. Hundreds of thousands have died of starvation and disease, and hunger is pervasive. Some 40 percent of the national budget is spent on defense and the military, though soldiers often go hungry and are short of weapons.

The most significant political development in 1989 was the beginning of indirect talks between the government and Renamo. In August, church leaders representing the government met with Renamo representatives, including its leader, Afonso Dhlakama, in Nairobi to launch a process of reconciliation. Renamo released a sixteen-point peace plan that included a call for free, competitive elections, a change in the constitution, a joint Frelimo-Renamo government, and the withdrawal of pro-government Zimbabwean troops. President Chissano issued a twelve-point plan calling for Renamo to renounce violence as a prerequisite for negotiations. The dialogue has continued amid sporadic fighting.

In other developments, the government announced in June that the estimated 700-1,500 Soviet advisers would leave the country by 1991. In late August, the government made an urgent appeal to the international community for pledges of 184,000 tons of food aid to relieve critical shortages and the threat of famine.

Economically, Frelimo has backed off somewhat from strict adherence to scientific socialism and centralized planning in the face of continued

economic deterioration. Since 1987, the country has undertaken a program of structural readjustment and austerity under classic International Monetary Fund guidelines. Despite its opposition to apartheid, Mozambique has forged close economic relations with South Africa, its third-biggest trading partner after the United States and Japan. South Africa currently has several major commercial development projects in Mozambique. In July, a number of Mozambican goods exported to South Africa and Botswana were made exempt from any import surcharges at the point of entry on the South African border. All told, the country receives \$800 million in foreign aid.

Politically, Frelimo has sought to broaden its base of support by opening party membership to property owners, businessmen, religious leaders and other groups previously excluded.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

In this one-party state, citizens are not able to change their government through democratic means. The judiciary and court system, which includes military tribunals, are not independent of government interference, and the military-security apparatus is an intrusive force in society. Due process and individual rights are not generally respected, particularly in political and security cases. Nonpolitical trials are usually fair and public. Freedom of speech and the press is restricted. Government controlled media reflect official policy, with occasional criticism. Religious publications discuss sensitive issues and foreign radio and TV broadcasts from South Africa are received without interference. Local authorities control non-political gatherings, but opposition political demonstrations are not permitted. Business and professional associations are allowed.

Church-state relations improved somewhat in 1989 after the government returned Catholic church property and, in July, the Justice Minister implied that the government was prepared to implement a law regarding religious freedom. Religious leaders represented the government in the Nairobi talks with Renamo. Largely because of the civil law, domestic travel is restricted and controlled by the security apparatus. Some restrictions are also imposed on foreign travel. Some 1.5 million Mozambicans have fled the country as refugees. All trade unions must belong to the Frelimo-controlled Organization of Mozambican Workers (OTM), which is barred from striking.

Namibia

Polity: Multiparty transitional

Economy: Capitalist-traditionalist

Population: 1.3 million

Conflict: Ethnic insurgency

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 47 male, 50 female

Ethnic groups: Multi-tribal and heterogeneous state: Ovambo (49 percent), Kavango (9 percent), Herero (7 percent), Damara (8 percent), Nama (5 percent), White (7 percent), mixed race (7 percent).

Political Rights: 4

Civil Liberties: 3

Status: Partly Free

Overview:

On 22 December 1988, South Africa, Angola, and Cuba, with U.S. mediation, signed an agreement in New York requiring South Africa, which had administered Namibia in contravention of a U.N. resolution since 1966, to

implement the 1978 U.N. Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 435 in the context of Cuba withdrawing its 35,000 troops from neighboring Angola by 1 July 1991. The resolution called for a cease-fire, the phased withdrawal of South African forces, and free elections—which were held in November 1989. Preliminary results indicated that the Southwest African People's Organization (SWAPO), which had been fighting for independence since 1966, did not get the two-thirds majority in the Constituent Assembly needed to approve the constitution alone. It will now have to negotiate with the other parties to finalize a constitution and form of government.

On the eve of the 1 April implementation and the deployment of a U.N. peacekeeping observer force (UNTAG), Angolan-based SWAPO guerrillas, mainly northern Ovambo tribesman, launched a military incursion of 1,600 troops in violation of an August 1988 Geneva agreement. The agreement, which SWAPO alone did not accept, restricted the presence of SWAPO units south of the 16th parallel. By the time of a May cease-fire, 315 SWAPO fighters were killed by South African Security Forces, who were given permission by U.N. General Secretary Perez De Cuellar to assist the Southwest African Police (SWAPOL).

Since February 1989, under the provisions of the agreement, Namibia had been administered by Louis Pienaar, Administrator-General (AG), after the dissolution of the largely ineffectual, unpopular South African-controlled Transitional Government of National Unity (TGNU), which was installed by Pretoria in 1985 with a cabinet, sixty-two-member legislature, and six parties of the Multi-Party Conference (MPC): the nine-member Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), which included the National United Democratic Organization (NUDO) and the white Republican Party (RP), as well as the white National Party of Southwest Africa (SWANP), the Labour Party, the Afrikaner Rehoboth Free Democratic Party (RFDP), the SWAPO-Democrats (a dissident group opposing the parent organization), and the South West Africa National Union (SWANU).

In June, South African President P.W. Botha granted amnesty to Namibian nationalist guerrillas and repealed apartheid legislation, paving the way for 41,000 refugees and political exiles to return. On 23 June South African Defense Forces pulled out of Namibia, a week ahead of the 30 June deadline, leaving just 1,500 SA troops in the country.

The transition process in Namibia was structured around the 1978 and 1982 U.N.-adopted constitutional principles that would guarantee freedom of conscience, speech, press and assembly, call for a multiparty democracy, separation of powers, locally elected councils and no "deprivation of property without just compensation."

The election campaign began in late June and voter-registration on 1 July. There were an estimated 750,000 eligible voters. SWAPO tried to assuage voters and business interests by toning down Marxist rhetoric and talking about a mixed economy and bridging the black-white gap. The DTA, appealing to liberal and white voters, campaigned to prevent a two-thirds SWAPO majority. The U.N. expressed concern that South African counterinsurgency forces, including the notorious *Koevoet* (Crowbar), which was supposed to have been disbanded, had been incorporated into the local police in northern SWAPO strongholds, and had intimidated SWAPO supporters.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

In 1989 Namibians went to the polls to elect representatives who will form an independent government. The South African Security Forces, the South-west Africa Territorial Forces (SWAFT) and SWAPO were involved in political killings, kidnappings, rape and torture. The *Koevoet* was accused of beatings of civilians in the northern regions. In 1988, security laws, such as the Terrorism Act, led to numerous abuses and detentions. The Supreme Court, though respected for its integrity, was, presumably until the agreement, limited by South African legislative restrictions. Namibian newspapers have been subjected to South African press laws, but papers freely published articles critical of the government and security forces. Namibians, almost all of whom are Christian, can freely practice their religion. The right to form unions was extended to blacks in 1978, and these are well organized and have grown steadily.

Nauru

Polity: Parliamentary democracy
Economy: Mixed capitalist-statist
Population: 9,000
Conflict: None
PPP: NA
Life Expectancy: NA
Ethnic groups: Indigenous Nauruans (mixture of Polynesian, Melanesian, Micronesian) (58 percent), other Pacific islanders (26 percent), Chinese (8 percent), European (8 percent)

Political rights: 1
Civil Liberties: 2
Status: Free

Overview:

This tiny phosphate-rich island nation of less than nine square miles located in the Central Pacific gained independence in January 1968. Executive power is vested in a president elected by an eighteen-member, popularly elected, unicameral parliament to a three-year term. There is also a directly elected Nauru Local Government Council (NLGC), which acts as a local government, is responsible for public services, and is the principal importer. There are no genuine political parties. Hammer DeRoburt, who was elected to a ninth term in January 1987, was replaced as president in a parliamentary vote of nonconfidence in September 1989.

The key political issue is Nauru's \$72 million claim against its former administrators—Australia, New Zealand and Great Britain—who control mining interests. Nauru demands compensation for devastation to topsoil caused by mining. The three nations gained control of the island after World War I and mined it as a joint authority, the British Phosphate Company, removing a third of the nation's available phosphate reserves by 1968. The three nations claim that a 1967 agreement under which the Nauru Local Government Council purchased the physical assets of the BPC absolves them of further payments. It is believed that 80 percent of Nauru's land surface will have been rendered useless by 1990.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Citizens have the means to democratically change their government. Although there are no political parties, diverse viewpoints are represented in the parliament and the NLGC, and opposition figures have been elected president on several occasions since independence. An opposition grouping

in parliament was formed after the 1987 elections. The judiciary, based on British common law, is free of government interference. Freedom of expression is provided in the constitution; the government owns a radio station and a weekly newspaper. A small independent press exists. Opposition viewpoints are often not covered by the state-owned media. Foreign publications are freely available. There is freedom of assembly, religion and travel, both domestic and international. Trade unions have been discouraged from forming by the government, though there are no laws proscribing them. In 1988, Air Nauru pilots struck to gain legal recognition as a union, but the government refused to recognize their claim.

Nepal

Polity: Monarchy and limited parliament
Economy: Capitalist
Population: 18,415,000
Conflict: None
PPP: \$722
Life expectancy: 47 male, 45 female
Ethnic groups: Newar, Indian, Tibetan, Gurung, Magar, Tamang, Bhotia, others

Political Rights: 4
Civil Liberties: 5
Status: Partly Free

Overview:

The Himalayan Kingdom of Nepal is a landlocked country between India and China. It was founded in 1769 by the Gurkha ruler Prithvi Narayan Shah. In the 1840s, the Rana family established a hereditary prime ministership with autocratic powers. In 1950, the monarchy was restored by King Tribhuvan, who initiated a period of quasi-constitutional rule that continued after 1955 under his son, King Mahendra. After a brief period of democratic rule under a 1959 constitution, the king discharged the government, suspended the constitution, and banned political parties. A new constitution adopted in 1962 and later amended set up an assembly system of representative bodies. Today, the National Assembly consists of 140 members.

The current ruler, King Birendra, ascended the throne in 1972 amid renewed calls for political liberalization by students and supporters of the Nepali Congress Party (NCP), which held power briefly in 1959. Constitutional changes in 1980 provided for direct elections to the National Assembly and the designation of a prime minister by the Assembly, rather than by the king. In 1986, Marich Man Singh Shrestha was elected prime minister by the National Assembly. Although political parties were banned in 1960, several groupings do exist, including the NCP and several worker, Marxist and pro-Chinese groups.

In 1989, deteriorating relations with India caused a serious crisis. When new trade and transit negotiations broke down in March, India ordered a blockade of Nepal. Thirteen of fifteen border crossings were closed and essential goods such as fuel and medicines could not get through, causing severe shortages. Nepal was forced to rely on emergency fuel airlifts from Bangladesh and China. The government began felling trees to provide citizens with firewood. At the root of the dispute is Nepal's decision in 1988 to buy arms from China in violation of a 1965 agreement to purchase arms exclusively from India, the U.S., or Britain.

Emergency measures to counter shortages put in effect on 30 March

caused massive student unrest. In April, seventy-five students were arrested by riot police, as were two journalists, in anti-Indian demonstrations protesting the government's handling of the crisis and demanding education reform, transportation concessions and hostel facilities. The university in Kathmandu was closed for two months, ostensibly because of the fuel shortage. In May, the NPC treasurer was arrested, along with former foreign minister and Chairman of the Nepalese Human rights Committee Rishikesh Shah (later released on bail) for criticizing the government's relations with India. On 14 August, more than 4,000 students rallied in Kathmandu to denounce India. On 24 August, the king suspended the National Assembly session forty days early due to increased political pressure on Prime Minister Shrestha, who was under fire from the opposition over his handling of the blockade crisis.

On 10 September, over 1,400 people were arrested following a nationwide crackdown initiated to prevent NCP party workers from attending a week-long program highlighting the failure of government policies. The following day, twenty pro-democracy NCP activists were arrested. The blockade and subsequent unrest had a severe impact on Nepal's economy, particularly the critical tourism industry.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

There is no legal mechanism for the people of Nepal to change the political system. In 1989, the government cracked down on the NCP which, though formally banned, had been allowed to function openly along with other de facto parties. The legal system provides the right to counsel, protection from double jeopardy and open trials, rights which are generally respected. State security provisions provide for closed trials and preventive detention. On 21 August, the Assembly adopted amendments abolishing the death sentence for crimes against the state and curtailing district authorities' powers of arrest and detention. In 1989, freedom of expression was curtailed, as the government launched a crackdown on students and NCP activists critical of the government.

The country's sole radio and television station reflects government policy and positions. Freedom of assembly and association is circumscribed, as evinced by official reaction to peaceful student protests and repressions against the NCP and its leaders. Freedom of religion is granted, but proselytizing is forbidden. Domestic travel is unrestricted for Nepalese, and on 9 May the government lifted travel restrictions in eighteen areas of the remote northwest closed to foreigners for two decades. Emigration and foreign travel are generally unrestricted. Trade unions have been banned since 1960, but worker interests are represented in the official Nepal Labor Organization (NLO). Strikes must be authorized by the NLO.

Netherlands

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Economy: Mixed capitalist

Population: 14,815,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$12,661

Life Expectancy: 73 male, 80 female

Ethnic Groups: Dutch: mixed Scandinavian, French and Celtic (99 percent), Indonesian and others (1 percent)

Status: Free

Political Rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 1

Overview:

The independence of the Netherlands dates from the late sixteenth century, when the Dutch provinces rebelled against Spanish rule. The country has long-established traditions of representative government and constitutional monarchy. A formerly dominant maritime country, the Netherlands has reclaimed much of its land from the sea.

The Netherlands held a parliamentary general election on 6 September 1989. Christian Democratic Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers called the election after his right-wing Liberal coalition partners objected to his tough environmental proposals. The issues in the campaign were the environment, the economy, and the welfare state. The Christian Democrats emerged the leading party in the lower house with fifty-four seats. They formed a center-left coalition with the Labor Party, led by Wim Kok. The coalition's governing accord calls for limiting defense spending, increasing expenditures on social welfare and the environment, and cutting the value-added tax rate. The public seems ready for higher social spending after years of austerity under the Christian Democratic-Liberal coalition.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The people have the right to change their government democratically. It shifts back and forth between center-left and center-right coalitions with the Christian Democrats playing the pivotal role. The bicameral parliament, the States General, is divided into a seventy-five-member First Chamber, which the eleven provincial councils elect indirectly for four-year terms, and a more powerful 150-member Second Chamber, which the voters elect by proportional representation for a maximum term of four years. Due to the electoral system, the Second Chamber includes many parties from right to left.

Civil liberties are strong. The press is free, but it generally observes unofficial limits in writing about the royal family. Broadcasting is state-owned but autonomously operated, and offers pluralistic points of view on social and political issues. The Netherlands has accepted immigrants from its former colonies, Suriname and Indonesia, and granted asylum to various Third World refugees. However, the newcomers have encountered some discrimination in housing and employment. Religion is free. The state subsidizes church-affiliated schools based on the number of registered students. The extensive public sector regulates the private economy, and provides generous social welfare benefits. Organized labor is free. Only civil servants lack the right to strike, but they strike sometimes anyway.

New Zealand

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Political Rights: 1

Economy: Capitalist

Civil Liberties: 1

Population: 3,391,000

Status: Free

Conflict: None

PPP: \$10,541

Life Expectancy: 71 male, 77 female

Ethnic groups: Predominantly Anglo-Saxon; Maori and Polynesians (12 percent)

Overview:

Established as a dominion in 1907 and consisting of two main islands, New Zealand has a multi-party parliamentary democracy patterned after the British model. The ninety-seven member unicameral House of Representatives is, after elections in 1987, controlled by the Labor Party (fifty-eight seats), with the National Party (thirty-nine) in opposition. Four seats are reserved for Maori representatives. There are four smaller parties and several tiny political groupings. The judicial system is independent.

A major political development in 1989 was the resignation on 7 August of Prime Minister David Lange after a bitter two-year leadership feud within the Labor Party between the prime minister and former finance minister Roger Douglas, whose free-market, deregulation and privatization policies helped spur the New Zealand economy in the mid-1980s. In December, Lange fired Douglas for advocating user-pay policies in health and education and a reassessment of social welfare policies. In June, Lange had survived two leadership challenges by Douglas supporters in the Labor Party. On 2 August, Douglas was voted back into the Cabinet, setting the stage for Lange's resignation.

Deputy Prime Minister Geoffrey Palmer assumed the leadership on 8 August and promised to uphold the Lange government's 1985 decision to ban nuclear ships from entering New Zealand ports, a policy that angered the U.S. Lange went so far as to suggest that New Zealand withdraw from the ANZUS alliance, its security treaty with the U.S. and Australia. A federal election is scheduled for October 1990. The key issue will likely be the economy (which was stagnant in 1989 with high unemployment) with debate between advocates of more free-market reform and supporters of increased government management of the economy.

Another, long-standing issue facing the government is land claims by the aboriginal Maoris. The claims are based on the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, and a government commission set up in 1985, the Waitangi Tribunal, has been investigating native claims. The largest compensation claim before the tribunal was due to be reviewed late this year and involves some 50 percent of the land area of the country's southern island. Claims against alienation of fisheries have been declared valid by the tribunal, and could end up costing the government NZ\$500 million.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

New Zealanders enjoy a broad range of civil and human rights. The judiciary is independent of government interference, freedom of assembly, association, and religion are guaranteed and honored in practice. New Zealanders are free to emigrate and travel both inside and outside the country. The large private press represents divergent views and opinions. Unions are independent, but public sector unions are not allowed to strike if

such an action endangers public safety. The government has sought to address the plight of the indigenous Maori, who are disproportionately represented among the disadvantaged and who have demanded compensation for, or the return of, government-owned lands.

Nicaragua

Polity: Dominant party
Economy: Mixed statist
Population: 3,689,000
Conflict: Guerrilla insurgencies
PPP: \$2,209
Life Expectancy: 59 male, 61 female
Ethnic Groups: Ethnically complex, with mestizo (approximately 69 percent), Caucasian (17 percent), black (9 percent), and indigenous (5 percent)

Political Rights: 5
Civil Liberties: 5
Status: Partly Free

Overview:

The Republic of Nicaragua was established in 1838, seventeen years after independence from Spain. Power struggles between the Liberal and Conservative parties dominated the country's politics for decades until the assumption of power after U.S. intervention by Gen. Anastasio Somoza Garcia in 1937. Right-wing authoritarian rule under the Somoza family was continuous until the 1979 revolution that brought the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), a Marxist political-military organization, to power.

The FSLN suspended the 1972 constitution and ruled from July 1979 until January 1985 through a provisional junta. The junta was headed by FSLN Comandante Daniel Ortega and consisted originally of five members, three from the FSLN. In reality, all policy decisions were made by the nine-member FSLN National Directorate and implemented by decree of the junta which remained under the control of the FSLN.

On 4 November 1984, elections for president, vice president, and a National Constituent Assembly were held. Because the FSLN party utilized its control of all sectors of the state—the military, the police, the government, and the electoral council—throughout the campaign, a majority of the opposition opted to boycott the process two months before the vote. Although a number of smaller parties remained on the ballot, at least one against its will, the 1984 election was in effect a state-controlled plebiscite.

According to the results announced by the electoral council, Daniel Ortega and Sergio Ramirez were elected president and vice president with 67 percent of the vote, with the FSLN securing a 61-seat majority in the 96-seat Assembly. The international observers invited by the FSLN accepted the results, although media censorship and harassment of opposition candidates during the campaign were criticized. President Ortega was inaugurated in January 1985.

Following guidelines introduced by the FSLN National Directorate in February 1986, the Assembly drafted a constitution that was promulgated in January 1987. Provisions on civil liberties were automatically suspended under state-of-emergency regulations in effect since 1982 because of the Contra insurgency. The 1987 constitution provides for a president, vice president, and National Assembly directly elected for six-year terms. However, it makes no clear separation between the FSLN party and the state,

and it institutionalizes the Sandinista army as the national military. Although the constitution establishes four theoretically independent branches of government—executive, legislative, judicial, and electoral—the executive branch dominates all three. The real source of authority in the country remains the three commissions—executive, military, and governmental—of the FSLN National Directorate.

In August 1987, President Ortega and the other four Central American presidents signed the Esquipulas II agreement. Also known as the Arias peace accord, it committed each government to full democratization and negotiated solutions to internal armed conflicts. In January 1988, the Sandinista government lifted the state of emergency. In February, the U.S. ended military aid to the Contras. The Sandinistas declared a unilateral ceasefire two months later when talks with the Contras failed to achieve a definitive ceasefire agreement.

At a follow-up meeting of the five presidents in El Salvador in February 1989, President Ortega committed Nicaragua to reforming its electoral code and media law by 25 April, and moving up the scheduled November 1990 elections to 25 February 1990. However, the United Nicaraguan Opposition (UNO) was not consulted and subsequently not satisfied with the reforms made by the government in April. UNO is a coalition of fourteen political parties, ranging from Marxist left to conservative right, and constitutes the main opposition to the FSLN. Under pressure from the governments of Costa Rica and Venezuela, the Sandinistas agreed in July to a dialogue with UNO and three other parties to discuss further reforms.

UNO agreed to support the government's proposal for demobilizing the Contras, a majority of whom had returned to bases in Honduras. In exchange, the FSLN government agreed to: suspend military conscription until after the elections; rescind laws allowing police to sentence detainees for up to six months without a trial; move up the inauguration of a new government to April 1990; and allow opposition parties to review voter registration lists and monitor vote-counting. However, key UNO demands were turned down, among them: an immediate amnesty for all political prisoners; permission to establish a private television station; and a restructuring of the five-member FSLN-dominated electoral council.

With the agreement in hand, President Ortega was able to convince the other Central American presidents to call for the voluntary demobilization of the Contras by 5 December 1989 under the auspices of the joint United Nations (U.N.)-Organization of American States (OAS) verification commission (CIAV).

By the end of the summer, UNO had nominated Violeta Chamorro, the publisher of opposition newspaper *La Prensa*, for president, and Virgilio Godoy of the center-left Independent Liberal Party (PLI) for vice president. In the fall, the Sandinistas nominated President Ortega and Vice President Ramirez for reelection. Candidates were also named for the National Assembly and municipal posts. Eight other parties fielded presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

Voter registration took place on four consecutive Sundays in October, monitored by U.N. and OAS observer teams who were on hand at the invitation of the government to monitor the entire electoral process. UNO lodged several complaints with the international observer teams about procedure and Sandinista intimidation, but the registration process was completed without major incident. Preliminary figures issued by the elec-

toral tribunal in early November revealed that around 90 percent of the country's approximately 1.9 million voters had registered.

Soon after registration ended, however, President Ortega announced that he was lifting the nineteen-month ceasefire and initiating a military offensive against the Contras. He pointed to several Contra attacks that had occurred during the registration period and the lack of progress on Contra demobilization. Nonetheless, except for the Sandinistas' East bloc allies and the Noriega government in Panama, the sudden announcement met with sustained international criticism.

The Contras admitted that approximately 2,000 of their fighters had returned to Nicaragua since the summer, but to avoid demobilization and to urge their supporters to participate in the electoral process against the Sandinistas, not to attack. They claimed that two-thirds of their approximately 12,000-man force remained in Honduran bases, surviving on U.S. humanitarian aid and awaiting the outcome of the February election.

UNO denounced the lifting of the ceasefire, charging the Sandinistas with trying to shift the focus away from the gathering momentum of the UNO campaign and creating a pretext for calling off an election the Sandinistas were afraid of losing. In the fall international polling firms showed Chamorro moving ahead of Ortega (but with a large percentage of undecideds). UNO asserted that lifting the ceasefire was unnecessary because the Contras, with no U.S. military aid in over twenty months, presented no threat to the fully equipped, 75,000-man Sandinista army.

President Ortega, under increasing international pressure, stated the elections would take place on schedule and offered to negotiate the issues of ceasefire and demobilization with the Contras and the government of Honduras under the auspices of the U.N. Both the Contras and the Honduran government agreed and talks were scheduled to take place in mid-November.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The 1987 constitution permits the organization of political parties, civic groups and labor unions. However, the legal existence of these organizations is contingent on, among other things, their contribution to "the construction of a new society" as interpreted by the government. Individual rights, civil liberties, and the right to free expression are so narrowly defined and qualified as to often make them inapplicable in practice. For example, individual rights are limited by "the collective security," while free expression "is a social responsibility and shall be exercised with strict respect for the principles established in the constitution." In effect, the constitution does not guarantee political rights and civil liberties; rather it guarantees the right of the government to restrict them.

Seven months after the promulgation of the constitution, President Ortega signed the regional peace accords. Since then, the government has been under great domestic and international pressure to comply with its commitment to full democratization and respect for political rights and civil liberties. However, current freedoms remain imperiled by the inherently undemocratic constitution.

The judiciary is headed by a Supreme Court appointed by the president with the approval of the Assembly. After signing the regional peace accord, the government abolished the FSLN-controlled special tribunals that tried political prisoners with little regard for due process. In 1989, it eliminated

police sentencing powers. However, with its rubber stamp majority in the Assembly, the FSLN has maintained control of the Supreme Court and the judicial system by removing judges that display a political line independent of the government. Detainees can still be held for up to ten days without access to a lawyer before being brought to court, and there is a marked tendency, as there was in the special tribunals, for convictions to be based on alleged confessions while in custody. In effect, the special summary procedures have been transferred to the court system.

The exercise of religion, in this predominantly Catholic country, has been intermittently restricted by the government. After the signing of the Arias peace accord, however, the government has attempted to establish better relations with religious communities and religious rights are being more fully observed.

At the outset of the 1989 campaign, twenty political parties were legally registered, including the fourteen parties of the UNO, the main opposition alliance. An independent labor confederation, an independent private sector organization, and a number of independent professional groups were also freely operating.

However, many members of these organizations remained in prison for political reasons. The independent Permanent Commission on Human Rights claimed there were a total of 5,000-6,000 political prisoners, with many held in secret prisons. In 1987, the government admitted to holding 3,000-4,000 and has since freed about 2,000. Prior to 1987, the government claimed there were none. International rights organizations permitted by the government to investigate prisons in 1989, including the International Red Cross, counted approximately 1,300 political prisoners. The government stated it would free them when the Contras demobilized.

In 1988-89, international human rights organizations investigated long-standing charges of systematic, summary executions by government forces. In a November 1989 report, Amnesty International concluded that Sandinista army troops had summarily executed dozens of unarmed peasants during operations in remote border regions between 1986 and 1989. It noted that the government had, in a minority of cases, imprisoned soldiers for unlawful killings of civilians, and pledged in March 1989 to investigate all other killings. However, it said that there had been no sign, since the April 1988 ceasefire, of a fall-off in non-combat killings and disappearances of civilians blamed on security forces. It also said that reports persisted of forced recruitment, torture and executions of civilians by Contra forces, but that such abuses had dropped sharply in the preceding twelve months.

In the January 1989 meeting of the five Central American presidents, the Sandinista government committed itself to reforming the existing media law to guarantee full freedom of the press. The new law does not speak of prior censorship, but it does not guarantee that censorship will not be imposed under a state of emergency. It also allows the government to temporarily close any media outlet for 3-4 days on a number of vague grounds including the dissemination of "libelous, defamatory, or false news," or news "contrary to state security, national integrity, law and order." As in the constitution, these qualifications guarantee the right of the government to arbitrarily restrict free expression. Other administrative sanctions that may be imposed, without prejudice to any criminal or civil actions, include mandatory clarifications, replies and rectifications, and warnings. The media law is to be administered by the interior ministry, whose military and

partisan character makes it the least appropriate body to administer a law purported to guarantee press freedom. In the August dialogue with UNO, the government agreed that the media law would be administered by the electoral council, but only until after the election.

The main independent media during the campaign were the daily newspaper *La Prensa* and several radio stations. They were able to operate in relative freedom, although one radio station was warned by the interior ministry, in violation of the August agreement, about reporting on the attempted coup in Panama.

The FSLN maintained an enormous media advantage through its control of both the country's television stations. Independent ownership of a television station is against the law. The electoral law allowed all ten parties or coalitions running candidates to divide thirty minutes nightly, at no cost, for the purpose of airing electoral propaganda. That meant that UNO was considered one entry and was allowed three minutes nightly. The thirty-minute segment was aired on Channel 2, which is received clearly only in some but not all neighborhoods of the capital. Channel 6, which is received in most of the country, was used by the FSLN for broadcasting highly biased news programs and transparent FSLN propaganda disguised as public interest programming. After 4 December, all parties were to be able to purchase television time, but it was unclear if they would have access to both stations.

During the campaign period, the government continued the military draft. It claimed not to be violating the August agreement with UNO because people were being drafted for the reserves, not the regular army.

Niger

Polity: Military

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 7,329,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$452

Life Expectancy: 41 male, 44 female

Ethnic groups: Hausa, Djerma, Fulani, Tuareg, Beriberi

Political Rights: 7

Civil Liberties: 6

Status: Not Free

Overview:

This large, landlocked country declared independence from France on 3 August 1960. A civilian, one-party government was overthrown in 1974 by Lt. Col. Seyni Kountche, who banned political parties and established a ruling Supreme Military Council (SMC) and a National Development Council (CND), an appointive advisory body which in 1983 was constituted through indirect elections as a quasi-legislature with 150 members. After the death of President Kountche in 1987, the SMC named Col. (now Gen.) Ali Seibou as head of state and its president.

In late 1988, President Seibou announced plans to return Niger to constitutional life. On 24 September 1989, voters overwhelmingly adopted a constitution which calls for the institutionalization of the National Movement of the Society for Development (MNSD) as the sole political party. On 18 May the government had announced the formation of the Supreme Council of National Orientation (CSON), chaired by Gen. Seibou, which assumed the powers of the SMC. The CSON, which consists of a prime

minister, one or several ministers of state, and secretaries of state appointed by decree, will choose the candidate for the presidency in elections scheduled for 10 December. A government reshuffle reduced the number of military figures in the Cabinet, although the military continues to play a prominent role in Niger's political system.

The main priorities outlined by the regime in 1989 were to attain self-sufficiency in food, to restructure the government, to cope with the drop in uranium prices and to decide how best to develop newly discovered gold deposits.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Citizens do not have the means to democratically change Niger's military, nonparty regime. Civil and criminal cases are generally conducted fairly, while security cases are tried by the State Security Court which functions outside the normal legal framework. Special courts handle civil servant corruption cases. Political detainees can be held indefinitely without charge, though the number of political prisoners in 1989 is believed to be small. Almost all media are controlled by the government, and public debate on sensitive issues is limited. An independent economic journal launched in 1987 has published positions at variance with the government line. A new independent monthly was launched in mid-August 1989. Public meetings need government permission, and all social and religious associations operate within the guidelines of government policy. Freedom of religion in this overwhelmingly Muslim country is generally respected by the state. Travel is restricted and monitored; exit visas for foreign travel are generally granted. All unions must belong to the umbrella National Union of Nigerien Workers (USTN), that is partially funded by the government. Strikes are legal and do occur.

Nigeria

Polity: Military transitional

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 113,580,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$668

Life Expectancy: 47 male, 50 female

Ethnic groups: Hausa, Fulani, Ibo, Yoruba, others

Political Rights: 6

Civil Liberties: 5

Status: Partly Free

Overview:

The most populous country in Africa, the Federal Republic of Nigeria became an independent member of the Commonwealth in 1960 and a republic three years later. The country has been plagued by intermittent military coups since 1966.

In August 1985, Maj. Gen. Ibrahim Babangida seized power from the repressive military regime of Maj. Gen. Muhammadu Buhari, and consolidated control after an abortive coup in 1986 that resulted in the execution of several officers. He established and became chairman of the Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC)—serving both as head of state and chief executive—and the Council of Ministers. A Constituent Assembly was indirectly elected in 1988 by local officials elected in non-party elections in December 1987 and March 1988. The government has promised a return to civilian, two-party rule by 1992. In February 1989, the AFRC was dissolved

and reconstituted with nineteen instead of twenty-eight members, and changes were made in the Council of Ministers.

A ban on political parties was lifted in May 1989, but with certain restrictions. Former politicians were barred from taking part in political activities, police permits were needed for all political meetings and state-owned television and radio stations were banned from reporting on party activities. Thirteen parties managed to meet the 19 July registration deadline. However, by year's end, the government allowed the registration of only two parties: the National Republican Convention (NRC) and the Social Democratic Party (SPD). The decision was challenged in court.

In 1989, the Babangida regime was faced with growing popular opposition to its economic austerity program, the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP), and renewed charges of human rights abuses. In May and June, nationwide strikes and riots protesting the government's economic policies and food shortages killed at least thirty. Student riots led the government to close six universities temporarily, and in some areas political meetings were banned and curfews imposed. In July, a government-initiated study group announced that a national food crisis was imminent.

The government also cracked down on human rights organizations and activists. In January, two members of the independent Lagos-based Civil Liberties Organization (CLO) were jailed for five days. On 26 June Chief Gani Fawehinmi, a lawyer and human rights activist, was arrested and jailed incommunicado without charge under security provisions. He was subsequently released.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

In 1989, Nigeria continued to be ruled by a military regimen and citizens could not democratically change national or state government. A 1984 State Security Decree allows the government to detain without trial anyone suspected of posing a threat to national security. In 1989, the CLO estimated that sixty-seven people were being held in prison under the decree as of August, among them Prof. Sunday Essang, a former government minister sentenced to five years for contributing to the proscribed National Party of Nigeria. Military tribunals have jurisdiction over drug trafficking, armed robbery, embezzlement and other offenses. Although trials in the regular judiciary adhere to certain basic individual rights, the system is marred by systemic failures and abuses that have resulted in hundreds of wrongful detentions and cases of prisoners languishing in jails and detention centers without charge or trial. Prison conditions are generally horrific, and early in the year the government disbanded a secret island penal colony, Ita Oko, after a newspaper broke the story of horrendous conditions. Nigeria's private newspapers frequently print articles critical of government political, social and economic policies, but the state controls the content of radio and television. Political parties were allowed to form, with certain restrictions, and private, professional groups can organize without registering with the government. Freedom of religion is guaranteed, but there are tensions between Christians and Muslims in parts of the country. Travel both inside and outside the country is generally unrestricted. All unions belong to the Nigeria Labor Congress (NLC), created in 1978 by a government decree—denounced by the ILO as a violation of freedom of association—that forcibly merged certain unions and decertified others. The NLC, which is closely monitored by the government, has organized a number of strikes

over the years, and in May announced that it will sponsor a political party. There are several independent human rights organizations in Nigeria.

Norway

Polity: Parliamentary democracy
Economy: Mixed capitalist
Population: 4,221,000
Conflict: None
PPP: \$15,940
Life Expectancy: 73 male, 80 female
Ethnic groups: Norwegian, Lappic

Political Rights: 1
Civil Liberties: 1
Status: Free

Overview:

The Kingdom of Norway is a constitutional monarchy established in 1905 with the dissolution of the union with the Swedish crown. The present sovereign, King Olav V, ascended the throne in 1957. The government is a multiparty parliamentary system based on the 1814 constitution known as the Eidsvold Convention, one of the oldest written constitutions in Europe.

Executive power is exercised by the prime minister, who heads the Council of Ministers (*Statsrad*). The *Statsrad* is responsible to the 157-seat parliament (*Storting*), elected every four years by universal suffrage. The parliament elects one-fourth of its members to the upper house (*Lagting*), and the rest serve in the lower house (*Odelsting*).

In 1989, a center-right coalition consisting of the Christian People's Party (KrF), the Center Party (SP) and the Conservative Party (H) took control of the government after elections on 11 September. The KrF won 14 seats, the SP 11, and the H 37—a total of 62 out of 157. Jan P. Syse, leader of the Conservatives, became prime minister, replacing Gro Harlem Brundtland, chairman of the Norwegian Labor Party (Ap), who had headed a minority government in coalition with the Socialist Left Party (SV) since 1986. The new prime minister appointed a Cabinet consisting of nine members of the SP, and five members each from the KrF and the H.

The center-right coalition capitalized on mounting public dissatisfaction with the economy and the social welfare system. The new minority government, lacking a parliamentary majority, is fragile, dependent on support from the libertarian Progressive Party (FrP), which has yet to join the coalition formally but helped bring down the Labor government. The FrP won 22 seats in September's balloting, but refused to guarantee backing on several issues facing the new government.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Norwegians have the democratic means to change their system of government. Fundamental civil and human rights are respected and safeguarded by law. The judicial system is independent and nondiscriminatory. There are no restrictions on free speech and a free press, and freedom of assembly and association is respected by law and in practice. The state church is the Evangelical Lutheran Church (to which 93 percent of Norwegians belong), and the King and half the Cabinet must belong to the church. Employers have the right to ask job applicants in certain positions whether they respect Christian beliefs. Other religions are free to practice and proselytize. There is no official discrimination based on sex, religion, language, social status and race, but there has been some public concern over the immigration of

non-Nordic peoples such as Asians, Africans and Latin Americans. Travel, both domestic and foreign, is unimpeded. Some 60 percent of the workforce is unionized, and the right to strike is recognized.

Oman

Polity: Traditional monarchy

Economy: Capitalist-Statist

Population: 1,284,000

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 51 male, 54 female

Ethnic Groups: Arab, Baluchi, Zanzibari, Indian

Political Rights: 6

Civil Liberties: 6

Status: Not Free

Overview:

The Sultanate of Oman is an absolute monarchy. From 1970 to 1985 the country underwent rapid modernization fueled by oil revenues. Real democratic institutions in Oman do not exist, however. There is no constitution, no elections, and no legal parties. The sultan, Qabus ibn Sa'id Al Sa'id, has ruled in consultation with an appointed cabinet, and since 1981 with an appointed fifty-five-member Consultative Assembly that meets quarterly. Governors of the thirty-nine districts are also appointed by the sultan. It is through these governors, or walis, as well as through tribal leaders, that citizens can represent their views and grievances.

Qabus ousted his father from office in July 1979 and has been vested with effective executive and legislative authority ever since. British influence remains strong in the country. A guerrilla movement, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO), operating from bases in South Yemen since the late 1960s, was stamped out in 1975, although it became active again in 1979 at the time of the Iranian revolution. The PFLO has been outlawed, although former members have received an amnesty and returned to Oman. The regime continues to be on guard against perceived threats from South Yemen and Iran.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The government exercises prior censorship on all printed matter. It owns and operates radio and television, and controls two of three newspapers. Journals and papers dependent on government subsidies take pro-government positions. Criticism of the sultan or the legitimacy of the regime is not tolerated. Only politically acceptable organizations are granted government recognition. An Islamic state, Oman forbids proselytizing by non-Muslims but allows non-Muslims to worship at specified sites. While women enjoy access to education, the great majority are illiterate and work as unpaid laborers on family lands. Women must have authorization from a guardian to obtain a passport and travel abroad. Since 1986, Omani men have been barred from marrying foreign women. Unions are proscribed, as are strikes. Workers may file grievances, however. Child labor laws and health and safety standards are consistently enforced. The practice of torture by internal security forces is rare. Incommunicado and indefinite detention is not practiced. Legal protections are generally underdeveloped, but in practice the criminal code applies Islamic law by impartial Islamic judges. By law there is no right to a jury, counsel, or public trial. Amputations and related corporal punishments are not carried out.

Pakistan

Polity: Parliamentary democracy
(military influenced)

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 108,990,000

Conflict: Ethnic

PPP: \$1,585

Life Expectancy: 51 male, 49 female

Ethnic Groups: Punjabi, Baluchi, Sindhi, Pathan, Afghan

Political Rights: 3

Civil Liberties: 3

Status: Partly Free

Overview:

In November 1988 Pakistan held its first elections in eleven years, widely believed to be the fairest in its history. Benazir Bhutto of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), who had pressed for elections since 1986, won a plurality of the vote and became the new prime minister and the first modern female head of a Muslim state. Miss Bhutto's father, former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, was ousted by General Zia ul-Haq in 1977 and later executed on a disputed murder conviction. General Zia, who had promised the November elections, ruled autocratically until August 1988, when he and other military leaders were killed in an airplane crash that many attribute to sabotage. The military has led Pakistan through most of the republic's forty-one years, and the post-Zia era remains largely an experiment in democracy. Though the army claims to be weary of politics, in September a plot by a group of officers to overthrow Miss Bhutto was thwarted. Military spending accounts for more than 80 percent of the budget.

Miss Bhutto's opponent in the elections, Nawaz Sharif, is now governor of Punjab—with more than 60 percent of the total population the country's largest and richest province—and the head of the Islamic Democratic Alliance (IDA), a conservative nine-party coalition. The standoff between the two, who have remained at odds since the elections, is volatile and underscores regional tensions. Miss Bhutto, whose political base is in Sindh, is pitted against the Punjabis commanded by Mr. Sharif. Sharif also threatens to "unleash" the religious right, which detests having a woman leader. Early this year Bhutto backed an unsuccessful dissident campaign against Sharif's leadership in the IDA. Government-controlled banks have also denied loans crucial to Sharif's family industrial group. Both the PPP and the IDA staged confrontational mass rallies. In a defiant and tense rally in August 1989, Sharif, Zia's son Ejaz ul-Haq, and 80,000 supporters commemorated the first anniversary of General Zia's death. Sharif is eager to force an early election and defeat Miss Bhutto. In late October the 87 IDA members in the 237-seat National Assembly called for a no-confidence vote. The bid fell short by eight votes. Both parties were reputed to have bribed and sequestered various swing-vote legislators.

Prime Minister Bhutto has had to face other challenges in her short tenure. One is a seriously ailing economy dependent upon American aid. A financial crunch has forced her to set aside much of the welfare platform on which she campaigned. A 1988 IMF agreement calling for radical reforms (reduced subsidies, increased utility rates) will be felt most strongly by Pakistan's poor. Another challenge comes from Karachi's MQM party, which represents the Indian immigrants (the *mohajirs*). Allied with Bhutto after the November elections, it became so unhappy with the power-sharing

agreement with the PPP that the coalition has collapsed. They had conditioned their support on her promise to repatriate 250,000 Biharis languishing in Bangladesh since 1971, when East Pakistan broke away to become Bangladesh, and on obtaining ministerial posts. Neither condition has been fulfilled. Sindhis are alarmed at their relatively declining numbers in their own province and object to the repatriation. Armed ethnic violence and unexplained abductions in Sind province have generally intensified. Tax evasion, heroin smuggling, and police corruption constitute other threats. Meanwhile, Bhutto has paid a high political price for trying to reverse some of General Zia's efforts in Islamicization, particularly with regard to legal restrictions on women. In general, the Bhutto government has become embattled, coping with charges of incompetence, nepotism, betrayal (by the left), vengeful authoritarianism, and softness on India.

Finally, the new prime minister has tried to modify Pakistan's Afghan policy, which has traditionally been the purview of the Inter-Service Intelligence Directorate (ISI). General Zia was a staunch supporter of the Afghan resistance. Bhutto is less enthusiastic and favors a political settlement of the war, the 3.1 million Afghan refugees living in Pakistan being an unpopular social and economic burden. Bhutto's challenge to the military on this issue may bolster her popularity and consolidate her power if at the same time it alienates the military and President Ishaq Khan.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Freedom of expression has expanded since Bhutto's coming to power. On the other hand, all parties have zealous student wings that try to intimidate journalists. Television and radio are government-owned and operated and favor the PPP. The government has broadly construed its right to ban or seize obscene literature and to confiscate works that are politically sensitive. Generally, groups are allowed to associate and assemble freely. Unions, however, are prevented from forming in many areas of the economy, including the agricultural sector. Only 3 percent of the labor force is unionized, and the right to strike is severely circumscribed. Demonstrators frequently meet government resistance. Child labor, contract hiring and bonded labor all infringe upon international standards and undermine unions. Some religious minorities, like the Ahmadi, are discriminated against, and Punjabis still control the economy, public sector, and the army. The prime minister has freed many political prisoners and remitted the sentences of over 17,000 prisoners convicted by military courts under martial law before 1985. This fall, however, a Sindhi nationalist patriarch, G.M. Syed, was put under house arrest after attending a massive pro-Sindhi rally in Sukkur in which the Pakistani flag was burned. The undisciplined police force is widely believed to abuse prisoners and sometimes rob and extort money from them. Incommunicado detention and prolonged detention without trial are also common. Islamic law carries stiff and cruel corporal punishment. It also infringes on women's rights won before Islamicization began under Zia. Special courts set up to prosecute terroristic crimes are believed to be predisposed toward guilty verdicts. Otherwise, the judiciary demonstrated its independence at several points since 1988.

Panama

Polity: Military

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 2,346,00

Conflict: None

PPP: \$4,009

Life Expectancy: 69 male, 73 female

Ethnic Groups: Mestizo (70 percent), West Indian (14 percent), white (10 percent), American Indian (6 percent)

Political Rights: 7

Civil Liberties: 6

Status: Not Free

Overview:

Panama remained a part of Colombia until 1903, when a U.S.-supported revolt resulted in the proclamation of an independent Republic of Panama. Until World War II, the Panamanian government was dominated by small groups of family-based, political elites. The next two decades, however, saw mounting nationalism and popular discontent over continued U.S. control of the Panama Canal. A 1968 military coup resulted in the coming to power of Gen. Omar Torrijos and a renegotiation of the treaty that originally granted the U.S. control of the Canal Zone in perpetuity. A year after the signing of the 1977 canal treaties, Torrijos announced that Panama would become a full democracy with the direct election of a president in 1984.

After Torrijos' death in 1981, however, Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega emerged as the head of the Panamanian Defense Forces (PDF) and oversaw the rigging of the 1984 vote that brought to power the Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD), the political arm of the PDF. From that point on, Noriega increased his grip on the government, setting the stage for a confrontation that began in 1987 with center-right opposition parties and the private sector. In 1988, he scoffed at drug-trafficking indictments in U.S. courts, installed a second puppet president, repulsed a coup attempt by mid-level PDF officers, and shut down most of the independent media.

National elections were constitutionally scheduled for 7 May 1989. The 1972 constitution, following substantial revision in 1983, provides for the direct election of a president and a Legislative Council for five-year terms. The 1989 electoral process was fully controlled by the government and inherently unfair in virtually every aspect. Nonetheless, on the day of the vote Guillermo Endara, the presidential candidate of the Democratic Alliance of Civic Opposition (ADOC), defeated Carlos Duque of the Noriega-controlled Coalition for National Liberation (COLINA) by a count of nearly three to one according to an array of international observers.

ADOC supporters demonstrated to demand official results from the Noriega-controlled Electoral Tribunal. Rallies were violently repressed by the PDF and government-trained paramilitary "Dignity Battalions." The Tribunal nullified the election three days after the vote, citing missing ballots and foreign interference.

Two weeks later, the Organization of American States (OAS) intervened to "bring about, through democratic mechanism, a transfer of power in the shortest possible time." However, the three-month negotiating effort failed, and at the end of August the presidential term expired. During the five-year period, three civilians hand-picked by Noriega had occupied the presidency; on 1 September he installed another one, the PRD's Francisco Rodriguez. The sixty-seven-member Legislative Assembly elected in 1984 was abolished, replaced by an appointed, forty-one-member Legislative Commission.

The PRD, stripped in recent years of all but the most loyal Noriega supporters, was given most of the cabinet positions.

On 3 October, Noriega barely survived a second coup attempt by mid-level officers. The following day he declared a policy of "bullets for enemies, money for friends, and truncheons for the undecided." Within a week, the PRD proposed a sweeping set of sixteen laws, "war measures," aimed at identifying and punishing Panamanians who did not actively support Noriega's military rule. The regulations, part of a project entitled "The New Republic," were approved by provisional President Rodriguez and appeared to be directed primarily at instilling fear among government workers and opposition parties, many of whom celebrated prematurely on 3 October.

On 11 October, an Assembly of People's Power was installed. Its 511 members, appointed by the PRD, named Noriega "director of the process of national liberation and general coordinator of programs of people's power." The power of the new post and of the assembly remained vague. PRD officials indicated the assembly would take over the role of the provisional Legislative Commission. Noriega's new title appeared to be the first step toward succeeding provisional President Rodriguez as head of state.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

As of November 1989, opposition political parties still retained the right to exist, insofar as the constitution theoretically remained in force. However, they were completely marginalized when the Legislative Assembly was abolished on 1 September. Since the annulment of the May elections, their leaders and members have been subject to violent intimidation, arbitrary detention, and extended jailings without due process. The repression of political expression increased after the October coup attempt, and several disappearances were reported. ADOC leader Guillermo Endara fled and took refuge at the home of the Papal Nuncio.

Because they have been outspoken about the offenses of the Noriega regime, religious leaders and institutions have suffered harassment, sometimes very harsh.

The sixteen laws decreed after the failed October coup further tightened the military's grip on Panamanian society. A number of the so-called "war measures" legalize repression against any opposition by imposing harsh penalties for "activities against the republic's institutions." Public sector employees, who number about a tenth of the population, were specifically targeted. New labor laws suspended freedom of assembly for state unions and laid the groundwork for widespread firings based on fourteen criteria ranging from taking part in work slowdowns to "disloyalty" to the state.

The new laws also paved the way for overhauling the education system. The 1979 law establishing the Coordinating Commission of National Education was abolished, along with the independent commissions that governed subject matter and teacher assignments. A new set of guidelines was prepared to impose mandatory "patriotic education" classes in every school.

Among the measures was a new media law that restricts what newspapers, radio stations and television stations can say. After the May election, all opposition press and media not previously closed were shut down. A number of journalists were subject to physical attack, imprisonment and torture. Some were driven into exile. As a result of closings, confiscations and suspensions, the only remaining medium of information independent of the government was *Catholic Panorama*, a weekly publication distributed at

Sunday church services. Given the new laws and the acrimonious relations between the government and the Catholic church, its existence appeared tenuous. The new media law also seemed to be aimed at guaranteeing the loyalty of nominally independent news outlets controlled by members of the government

Foreign journalists have also been subject to physical attacks and confiscation of their equipment, particularly during the election and at the time of the failed coup. A number have been refused entry or expelled. At the end of October, the government shut down the United Press International (UPI) office in Panama City, expelled its foreign personnel, and threatened other international news agencies with expulsion. In November, the government reportedly rescinded the order for UPI's expulsion. Earlier in the year, U.S. cable television broadcasts were silenced and the distribution of foreign newspapers was banned.

The judicial system, headed by a Supreme Court has been cowed into submission by the Noriega regime through bribery, intimidation and dismissals. The independent Panamanian Committee for Human Rights remained subject to various forms of intimidation and threats, but was still operating as of early November. The Committee cited persistent reports of executions and secret imprisonment of soldiers from the three PDF companies that took part in the coup attempt.

Papua New Guinea

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 3,639,000

Conflict: Inter-tribal; localized insurgency

PPP: \$1,843

Life Expectancy: 51 male, 53 female

Ethnic groups: A multi-ethnic, multi-tribal state—some 1,000 indigenous tribes

Political rights: 2

Civil liberties: 2

Status: Free

Overview:

This nation of several islands, which shares the large island of New Guinea with Indonesia, gained full independence (from Australia) within the Commonwealth on 16 September 1975. Under the 1975 constitution, executive functions are performed by the National Executive Council that includes a governor general (nominated by the council to represent the Crown for six years), a prime minister (appointed by the governor general on the advice of the unicameral House of Assembly) and other ministers designated on the advice of the prime minister. Under the parliamentary system, a non-confidence vote can be called by ten percent of the Assembly members if an alternative prime minister, previously designated by the leader of the opposition, succeeds in securing a majority. Party loyalties, however, are extremely fluid among the nine major political parties. Because of its dispersed and tribal nature, local government is in some ways decentralized.

The government, currently led by Prime Minister Rabbie Namaliu of the Papua New Guinea United Party (*Pangu Pati*), faces a severe crisis that erupted in late 1988 when militant tribal landowners in the copper-rich island of Bougainville demanded \$12 billion in compensation from the Australian-owned Bougainville Copper Limited, the country's biggest single

export earner, and used bombings and sabotage to force the mines to close. A May government compromise was ineffective, and the rebellion, led by former miner Francis Ona, forced the government to send troops to the island, which has a tradition of separatism and close ethnic links to the neighboring Solomon Islands.

Inter-tribal violence, particularly in the populous highlands, continues to be a problem. In June, Malipu Balakau, the country's Communications Minister, was gunned down in the highlands in what may have been a tribal dispute.

Another issue facing the government is the presence of some 10,000 Papua-Melanesian refugees from neighboring Irian Jaya (annexed by Indonesia), where tensions have been high between indigenous Papuans and Javanese settlers.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The country's press is considered one of the freest in the South Pacific. Government-owned radio and private television service air various viewpoints. Australian broadcasts are also received. There are no political prisoners, there are no arbitrary restrictions on assembly, freedom to travel is unrestricted and freedom of religion is assured by law. Courts are free from executive, political, or military interference. Land ownership is widely distributed. Yet, traditional tribal customs and practices in rural areas do put strictures on certain rights and freedoms; tribal violence is common. Labor unions are protected by law and are an active aspect of society. Over fifty unions exist; private sector unions are free to strike. The Papua New Guinea Trade Union Congress is a member of the ICFTU.

Paraguay

Polity: Dominant party

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 4,210,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$2,603

Life Expectancy: 63 male, 68 female

Ethnic Groups: Relatively homogeneous with small indigenous groups

Political Rights: 4

Civil Liberties: 3

status: Partly Free

Overview:

The Republic of Paraguay achieved independence from Spain in 1811. The 3 February 1989 *coup d'état* ended the thirty-five-year rule of right-wing autocrat Gen. Alfredo Stroessner. The new government of Gen. Andres Rodriguez initiated a period of dramatic liberalization and promised a transition to full democracy by 1993. If the government makes good on its commitment, it will be the first time Paraguay has known democratic government

Gen. Rodriguez, hailed as a hero for having driven out the dictator, was easily elected on 1 May to finish Stroessner's last presidential term. But the enormous advantage exercised during the electoral process by Rodriguez and the ruling Colorado Party demonstrated that the traditions of authoritarianism, militarism and corruption continue to weigh heavily against serious democratic reform.

The wide open electoral campaign, free of violence but intensely fought,

was unprecedented. But that did not obscure the fact that the dictatorial structures—principally the Mussolini-style 1967 constitution and electoral law—remained intact. The main opposition parties—the Authentic Radical Liberal Party (PLRA), the Febrerista Revolutionary Party (PRF), and the Christian Democratic Party (PDC)—threatened to boycott the election unless constitutional and electoral reforms were made first. Realizing that Rodriguez would win on popularity alone, they reconsidered and decided they would be in a better position to press for serious change in the new Congress.

Gen. Rodriguez, the Colorado candidate, won 74.4 percent of the presidential vote, with the PLRA's Domingo Laino taking second with 20 percent.

There is a bicameral Congress with a thirty-two-seat Senate and a seventy-two-seat Chamber of Deputies. According to the electoral law, the party with the most votes, even if only a plurality, automatically receives two-thirds of the seats in both bodies. Remaining seats are divided proportionally between other parties based on percentage of vote. With 70.3 percent of the congressional vote, the Colorados obtained twenty-four seats in the Senate and forty-eight seats in the Chamber. The center-left PLRA obtained eleven seats in the Senate and twenty-one in the Chamber. The social democratic PRF obtained one seat in the Senate and two in the Chamber.

President Rodriguez acknowledged the glaring irregularities on election day, and publicly stated that all reforms necessary for a full transition to democracy would be made before the next scheduled elections in 1993. However, the opposition has legitimate fears that Colorado elites are more interested in maintaining power than in reform. Democratic reform will depend on democratization within the Colorado Party and the professionalization of the armed forces.

A major test of President Rodriguez's commitment and political skills will be the municipal elections he has promised will take place some time before 1993. In the fall of 1989, the battle for reform of the electoral law had already begun, with the elites of the Colorado *tradicionalista* faction trying to maintain control of the Central Electoral Tribunal against the newly returned *contestatarios* and opposition parties. The battle within the ruling party was expected to come to a head at the Colorado convention in December.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Immediately after the February 1989 coup, Rodriguez decreed full freedom of expression, association and assembly. Political prisoners were freed and political exiles invited to return home. By the beginning of the electoral campaign, all independent press and radio closed under Stroessner were freely operating. New and independent publications also appeared. Passionate political and economic debate dominated the daily fare. A degree of self-censorship remained, however, the main taboo being allegations against Rodriguez for corruption and drug-trafficking during the Stroessner era.

After February 1989, independent organizations and civic groups that struggled to survive under Stroessner flexed for the first time in full freedom. Meetings, rallies and demonstrations became common and the police were no longer ubiquitous on the streets. Independent trade unions held legal marches for the first time. Tension between the Catholic Church and the government, which had become acute in the last years of Stroess-

ner, eased considerably. Human rights organizations reported that their role was shifting from protecting citizens against repression to educating them for participating in a democratic process.

The political opposition, however, while acknowledging the dramatic liberalization which continued after the election, expressed legitimate concern that unless the new freedoms were formalized, they could be removed as arbitrarily as they had been decreed. Under the 1967 constitution, the sweeping powers of the state remain concentrated in the executive. Under Stroessner, the judicial and legislative branches became arms of the presidency. Reform is therefore required to guarantee a separation of powers. The guarantee of civil liberties, and the existence of legal channels for addressing human rights violations committed under Stroessner, will be contingent on establishing an independent and effective judiciary.

After the election, the Rodriguez government initiated legislation to remove two notorious laws decreed by Stroessner that ban any dissent or opposition and give extraordinary powers to the executive. The Law for the Defense of Public Order and the Law for the Defense of Democracy were formally abolished by the end of the summer. The door appeared to be open for the registration of the Communist Party of Paraguay, the only party without legal status.

Following the Rodriguez administration's decision to ratify the American Convention on Human Rights, Congress voted to set up a bicameral commission to investigate human rights violations during the Stroessner regime. At the same time, however, there were reports of police brutality in response to land reform demonstrations, detentions of labor leaders, and little progress toward establishing a constituent assembly for reforming the constitution.

Peru

Polity: Presidential-legislative democracy

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 21,535,000

Conflict: Two left-wing guerrilla insurgencies

PPP: \$3,129

Life Expectancy: 57 male, 61 female

Ethnic Groups: Ethnically complex, Indian of Inca descent (46 percent), Caucasian (10 percent), and mixed (44 percent)

Political Rights: 2

Civil Liberties: 4

Status: Partly Free

Overview:

The independent Republic of Peru was proclaimed in 1821. The nation's history has been marked by alternating periods of constitutional civilian rule and military dictatorship. The military ruled most recently between 1968 and 1980. The transition to civilian-led democracy began with the 1978 election of a constituent assembly—the First nationwide balloting in fifteen years—and the drafting of a new constitution in 1979. The May 1980 presidential and congressional elections were won by Fernando Belaunde Terry and the center-right Popular Action (AP) party. President Belaunde's July 1980 inauguration completed the transition to representative democracy.

The 1979 constitution provides for a president and a bicameral Congress directly elected for five-year terms. If no presidential candidate secures an

absolute majority, a runoff is held between the two leading candidates after the first round. The Congress consists of a 60-member Senate elected on a regional basis and a 180-member Chamber of Deputies elected on the basis of proportional representation. Municipal governments are elected. In 1987, legislation was promulgated that divided the country's 25 departments into 15 regions, each projected to have a popularly elected assembly. Elections for regional assemblies were to take place in seven regions simultaneously with the municipal elections held on 12 November 1989.

The 1985 presidential election was won by Alan Garcia of the center-left American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA). Garcia received only 46 percent of the vote but the runner-up, Alfonso Barrantes of the Marxist United Left (IU) coalition, declined to contest a second round. APRA also won a majority in both houses of Congress. The youthful Garcia oversaw a short-lived economic boom which the government mismanaged into fiscal chaos and economic collapse.

In 1987, prominent novelist Mario Vargas Llosa organized the Freedom Movement against Garcia's attempt to nationalize the banks. In early 1988, the Freedom Movement formed the Democratic Front (FREDEMO) with Belaunde's AP and another center-right party, the Christian Popular Party (PPC). In January 1989, Vargas Llosa was named the FREDEMO presidential candidate for the 8 April 1990 presidential election.

By October 1989, the other major candidates out of a registered field of ten were: Henry Pease of the IU; Alfonso Barrantes of the Socialist Convergence (COSO) coalition, a moderate breakaway from the IU; and Luis Alva Castro of the incumbent APRA. October opinion polls showed Vargas Llosa leading with approximately 40 percent, followed by Barrantes with 15-20 percent, and Alva Castro and Pease in single digits. Vargas Llosa's platform emphasized a decentralized state and market economic policies.

The key issue of the economy, however, was overshadowed by the Maoist Shining Path (*Sendero Luminoso*), the most virulent and tightly organized guerrilla movement in Latin America. In a declared effort to stop the November municipal elections and the concurrent presidential campaign, the Shining Path mounted the biggest terror and sabotage offensive since initiating hostilities in 1980. In the first ten months of 1989, it assassinated 123 mayors and other local officials, political leaders and candidates. The Shining Path is self-financing, with earnings estimated at \$30 million a year from Peru's cocaine industry.

By the first week in November, over five hundred municipal candidates had resigned in fear. Over half the country's 21 million people lived under a state of emergency. The capital of Lima, the neighboring port city of Callao, and at least seven Andean departments were under martial law.

Shining Path's strategy was to reduce the number of candidates and voters, raise doubts about the validity of the electoral process, and provoke a military coup. At the same time, Peru's other guerrilla group, the Marxist Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA), had increased its sabotage attacks and kidnappings. Although not allied with Shining Path, and not nearly as potent, the MRTA seemed to share its objective of polarizing the country. The military, however, while increasingly frustrated and brutal in its counter-insurgency methods, appeared reluctant to return to government given the economic crisis and the virtually free rein already allowed it by the Garcia administration.

Eight days before the municipal vote, an estimated 30,000 people participated in a March for Peace convoked in Lima by nearly all the country's political parties and labor unions. The march was backed by the Garcia government, closely monitored by the military, and took place without major incident. On the day of the vote, there was a high turnout despite guerrilla threats, an apparent popular rejection of the Shining Path's demand for a boycott.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Constitutional guarantees regarding free expression, free exercise of religion and the right to organize political parties, labor unions, and civic organizations are generally respected. However, political expression is increasingly restricted because of the government's inability to reduce the climate of violence and terror caused by: the Shining Path and MRTA guerrilla insurgencies; the repressive counter measures taken by the military and security forces; and newly emergent paramilitary groups possibly linked to the interior ministry.

According to the Peruvian Senate's Committee on Violence and Pacification, approximately 1,000 civilians and 300 soldiers and policemen died as a result of political violence in the first nine months of 1989, equaling the total for all of 1988. Shining Path systematically targets civilians, but independent Peruvian human rights groups report that an increasing number of the civilian deaths are caused by the armed forces. Rights monitors report that it is often difficult to tell armed forces atrocities from the Shining Path's.

The Rodrigo Franco Command, a shadowy paramilitary organization with possible links to the interior ministry and the ruling party, has claimed credit for killing Shining Path members as well labor leaders and even members of right-wing political parties.

The judicial system is headed by a Supreme Court whose judges are appointed by the president with the approval of the Senate. There are also eighteen district courts. The judiciary, however, remains weak, overwhelmed by cases and subject to intimidation by both the Shining Path and the military. A number of legislative efforts to strengthen the courts have failed to get off the ground. Rights activists expressed alarm at President Garcia's proposal in July 1989 for military tribunals to try suspected guerrillas. Existing military courts tend to exonerate the armed forces of charges of abuse.

However, despite the climate of violence and the widely imposed states of emergency, a wide array of political parties and well-organized labor unions remained active. Nearly two dozen political parties and coalitions, ranging from Marxist to far-right, nominated candidates for the 1989 municipal and the 1990 general elections. Labor unions are permitted to strike. A number of stoppages were held in 1989, but violent clashes with police were frequent. The police union also held strikes. The trade unions, however, like the political parties, are targeted by the Shining Path, particularly when they refuse to comply with the guerrillas' call for "armed strikes." Marxist-led unions, as well as left-wing student groups, are subject to abuses by security forces.

The press is largely private and completely uncensored. Numerous daily and weekly newspapers reflect the widely diverse political spectrum. There is even a newspaper which espouses the line of the Shining Path. Radio and

television are both private and public. Television is increasingly important in electoral campaigns. One of the frontrunners in the 1989 campaign for mayor of Lima was television personality Ricardo Belmont.

The media, however, have not been immune to the escalating violence. At least three journalists were killed in the months before the November municipal elections, two by the Shining Path. Radio stations are frequently attacked by both the Shining Path and the MRTA. The MRTA kidnapped a television station owner in October. Ricardo Belmont's television station in Lima was attacked by the Shining Path in November. Journalists investigating the flourishing cocaine trade receive death threats from drug traffickers. Journalistic activities are frequently restricted by the military in emergency zones.

Philippines

Polity: Presidential and legislative democracy

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 60,110,000

Conflict: Insurgencies

PPP: \$1,878

Life Expectancy: 60 male, 64 female

Ethnic Groups: Christian Malay (92 percent), Muslim Malay (4 percent), Chinese (2 percent)

Political Rights: 2

Civil Liberties: 3

Status: Free

Overview:

The Republic of the Philippines, consisting of a sprawling archipelago of some 7,000 islands in the Pacific, has been an independent republic since 1946. From 1965 to 1986, the country was ruled by strongman Ferdinand Marcos, who declared martial law in 1972 and whose regime was marked by graft, embezzlement of state funds, widescale corruption and human rights abuses. Martial law was lifted in 1981, and Marcos was elected president amid allegations of voter fraud.

After the assassination of opposition leader Benigno Aquino upon his return from the United States in 1983, the Philippines were rocked by anti-government demonstrations and protests. In 1984, although opposition candidates won one-third of the seats in the Assembly, Marcos continued to rule by decree. As social unrest continued to escalate, Marcos—who many believed responsible for the murder of Aquino—announced presidential elections for 1986. At the end of 1985, Corazon Aquino, the widow of the slain opposition leader, declared her candidacy for the presidency.

Elections were held on 7 February 1986, with both Mrs. Aquino and Marcos claiming victory. The vote was marked by irregularities and government fraud. On 15 February, the Assembly declared Marcos the winner. Mrs. Aquino vowed to continue her "people power" revolution to claim her mandate. One week later, Defense Minister Juan Enrile and Lt. Gen. Fidel Ramos declared their allegiance to Aquino. Ramos and loyal troops seized the national police headquarters in Manila. Thousands of Filipinos surrounded the base to protect the rebels from Marcos troops. With the media and members of his military turning against him, Marcos and an entourage fled to Hawaii by U.S. helicopter on 25 February.

In February 1987, a U.S.-style constitution was adopted, and in May Aquino supporters won 80 percent of 200 directly elected House seats and

took 22 of 24 in the Senate. The presidential term was set for six years. There are over a dozen legal political parties in the country, and several illegal groups, among them the Communist Party of the Philippines (PKP); the Communist Party of the Philippines-Marxist Leninist (CCP), whose military wing, the National People's Army (NPA) numbers 20,000 to 30,000; the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), a separatist Muslim organizations with several factions; and others.

Since assuming power, Aquino has survived five coup attempts. In 1989, the Aquino government faced growing problems, including pervasive corruption, charges of nepotism, abuses by an increasingly independent military in its war with Communist guerrillas, and a faltering economy in a country where 40 percent of the people live below the poverty line. Government-sanctioned vigilantes have been responsible for the killing of left-wing priests and lawyers over the last three years. Congress gutted Aquino's ambitious land-reform program, and farmers and workers have become increasingly restive. The twenty-year Communist insurgency continues, despite the governments announcement in late October that it was winning the war with the rebels.

Another problem is an increasingly restive military. On 20 October, the Senate passed a bill abolishing the Philippine Constabulary-Integrated National Police, currently controlled by the armed forces, and replacing it with a new Philippine National Police under a proposed Interior Department. The bill, which was sent to the House of Representatives, would also prevent constabulary generals from joining the new police force. The measure was bitterly opposed by the army.

On 30 October, President Aquino urged citizens of Mindanao, the second largest Philippine island, not to boycott a November vote on granting limited self-rule to thirteen southern provinces by making them part of an autonomous regional government. The self-rule referendum was aimed at satisfying demands for self-rule for the 4 million strong Muslim minority, but the measure was opposed by the MNLF and other secessionist Muslim groups, as well as by many voters in eight Christian-dominated provinces.

In November, President Aquino met with President George Bush in Washington to discuss an economic recovery program and the future of U.S. bases in the Philippines. With limited American assistance, Aquino fought back another serious attempted coup in December.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Filipinos have the right to change their government through democratic means. The judiciary is independent, and civil and criminal trial are open and generally fair. Military courts, however, are used to try police and military personnel, and abuses are common. Twenty soldiers who faced court martial for their part in a 1987 civilian massacre were acquitted, a decision protested by two military prosecutors. Political killings, disappearances and the use of torture remain common, and the military has repeatedly been accused of abuses in its counter-insurgency operations. Freedom of expression is generally respected, and the competitive private press presents diverse views. Freedom of assembly and association are generally respected, and there is a broad range of private and professional organizations. Religious rights are protected by law and respected in practice. Travel is generally unrestricted. Workers are allowed to unionize and most unions belong to the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP). The May

First Movement (KMU), the second-largest trade union grouping, is influenced by the CCP. Other union groups are affiliated with Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions. There have been reports of union corruption.

Poland

Polity: Multi-party transitional

Political Rights: 4

Economy: Statist

Civil Liberties: 3

Population: 37,955,000

Status: Partly Free

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 67 male, 75 female

Ethnic Groups: Polish (99 percent), Ukrainian, Byelorussian, German

Overview:

Dominated or divided by foreign powers for centuries, Poland was reconstituted in 1918 after the break up of the Austro-Hungarian empire after World War I. In 1939, it was invaded by Nazi Germany from the west and from the east by the Soviet Union, which seized its western territories as part of the Hitler-Stalin Pact. After the war its borders were redrawn, incorporating former German territories in the north and west.

Following World War II, Soviet-backed Communist forces prevented free elections (in violation of the Yalta Agreement), and a Communist-dominated Polish People's Republic was established in 1947. In 1989, after eight years of turmoil following the declaration of martial law (formally lifted in 1983) and the banning of the Solidarity free trade union, Poland became the first Warsaw Pact government to transfer power peacefully from a Communist to a coalition government.

The groundwork for this unprecedented transition was laid in 1988, when a deteriorating economy and a rash of strikes forced the government, led by Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, head of the ruling Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP), to agree in mid-October to round-table discussions with the opposition, led by Solidarity. Despite being banned in 1981, the union continued to function underground under a Provisional Coordinating Committee (TKK), publishing newsletters and demanding political and economic reforms. A growing civil society included religious and lay groups connected with the Catholic church, an environmental movement, student groups, scores of underground publishing operations, the Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR), and other organizations. The round-table provided for the legalization of Solidarity and its rural counterpart, political reforms that included the right to free speech and association, democratic elections, judicial independence and economic reforms.

Political reforms entailed the restructuring of parliament to include a 460-member lower house (*Sejm*) and a 100-member newly established Senate with a veto power over laws passed by the *Sejm*. The combined National Assembly would elect a president for a six-year term (to be redesignated later through a direct vote) who would have full authority over defense and foreign affairs. Under the initial agreement, the PUWP and its coalition partners, the Democratic and the Peasant parties, and progovernment Catholic groups, were assured 299 seats in the *Sejm*, leaving 161 to the opposition, with the Senate being contested openly.

In the June elections, Solidarity-backed candidates captured 99 seats in the Senate (with one going to an independent businessman), and all 161 seats contested in the *Sejm*. In the first round on 4 June, voters crossed off the names of candidates for the 299 seats reserved for the Communists and their supporters. In the 18 June run-off, the voting rules hurriedly worked out with the opposition insured that the PUWP coalition would fill the vacant seats, but light voter turnout indicated the country's rejection of the regime.

In July, Gen. Jaruzelski, who was expected to win the presidency easily, eked out a narrow victory after defections in the coalition ranks. On 2 August, Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak, who oversaw the crackdown on Solidarity, was named prime minister, replacing Mieczyslaw Rakowski, who took over Gen. Jaruzelski's post as PUWP general secretary. It soon became evident that, because of Solidarity's objections, Gen. Kiszczak would be unable to form a government. Following negotiations with the Democratic and Peasant parties, who held the balance of power in parliament, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa announced on 7 August that he favored the formation of a Solidarity-led coalition government. As negotiations with the smaller parties continued, Gen. Kiszczak announced his resignation on 14 August. After reaching agreement with the Peasant and Democratic parties (and receiving assurances of Soviet nonintervention) Solidarity presented President Jaruzelski with a list of three possible candidates for prime minister: Jacek Kuron, a long-time KOR and union activist; parliamentary leader Bronislaw Geremek; and Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a Catholic intellectual and editor of a Solidarity newspaper.

Mazowiecki, the least controversial of the three, was accepted as the prime minister-designate. On 22 August, the Politburo of the PUWP approved the Party's participation in a "grand coalition government" under Solidarity leadership after a telephone conversation between Party leader Rakowski and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Mazowiecki was confirmed as prime minister on 24 August.

The new government faced the immediate problem of forming a Cabinet without completely alienating the Communists or antagonizing the Soviets. It was agreed that the Communists would get the important Defense and Interior Ministries, as well as the Transport and the Ministry of Foreign Trade. Solidarity was awarded six ministries. The foreign minister was non-party member Prof. Krzysztof Skubiszewski. On 13 September, the parliament voted overwhelmingly to approve the coalition government.

The most formidable challenge facing the new government was restructuring Poland's moribund economy, which was plagued by runaway inflation, a \$40 billion foreign debt, unprecedented shortages of food and goods, and a stagnant agricultural sector. The entrenched *nomenklatura* have, in many cases, taken advantage of vaguely worded privatization laws to enrich themselves at public expense.

The new government aggressively sought foreign aid and investment, declaring the country needed \$2.5 billion in loans and credits from the West to rebuild its economic infrastructure. During a trip to Poland in July, President George Bush outlined a \$119 million package of economic, technical and environmental assistance to Poland. After the Solidarity government was established, the U.S. pledged additional millions in food and economic aid. The European Community pledged \$325 million to Poland and Hungary

in 1989, as did several European countries. In October, Italy offered \$400 million in bilateral credits, and the same month Poland began restructuring talks with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

On 6 October, the Polish government announced detailed plans to convert the country to a market economy, warning of tight money, bankruptcy and unemployment but promising some relief through unemployment benefits. The plan included a preliminary phasing lasting until December, which foresaw loosening state ownership of property, breaking up monopolies, reforming the state budget, changing the banking system, and implementing social security measures. The second phase, to be completed by mid-1990, included plans to convert many state-owned enterprises to private ownership and create a stock and bond market as well as a new budget system and a new tax system.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

For the first time in forty-five years, Poles were able to change their government democratically. Many key ministries were awarded to Solidarity-backed candidates, although the Communists retained control of the Interior Ministry and defense forces. The government has pledged reforms of the legal system and the institutionalization of an independent judiciary. Poles are free to openly express opinions and there is a thriving independent secular and religious press. But although the PUWP no longer has a monopoly on information, established PUWP organs retain access to modern printing facilities and materials. Government-owned television has promised to be more open to diverse views now that Solidarity controls the Information Ministry. Restrictions of freedom of association and assembly have been loosened, and freedom of religion is respected in this overwhelmingly Roman Catholic country. Eastern Orthodox, Ukrainian (Uniate) Catholic, Protestant and Jewish groups can worship without interference. Domestic travel is unrestricted, and Poles can travel abroad. Many spend months working in the West, and return to Poland with hard currency. The Solidarity trade union was legalized in 1989, and workers exercise the power to strike. The official National Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) affiliated with the PUWP continues to function, and has been more responsive to worker needs.

Portugal

Polity: Presidential-parliamentary democracy

Economy: Mixed capitalist

Population: 10,445,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$5,597

Life Expectancy: 68 male, 75 female

Ethnic groups: Portuguese and Africans from former Portuguese colonies

Political rights: 1

Civil liberties: 2

Status: Free

Overview:

Located on the Atlantic coast of the Iberian peninsula, Portugal was a monarchy until a republic was declared in 1910. Antonio Salazar headed a fascist dictatorship, from 1932 to 1968. His successor, Marcello Caetano, held power until 1974, when the leftist Armed Forces Movement overthrew the regime. The military had become exhausted and disenchanted by fighting

to retain Portuguese colonies in Africa. The transition to democracy began with the election of a constituent assembly in 1975, which adopted a democratic socialist constitution. There has been a series of governments since then, some led by the Socialists, others by the more centrist Social Democrats.

The president is elected directly for a five-year term. The incumbent is former socialist Prime Minister Mario Soares, who won election in 1986. The president appoints a prime minister from the largest party or majority coalition in the 250-member Assembly of the Republic, the unicameral parliament. Social Democrat Anibal Cavaco Silva heads the current government. The Assembly members are elected by proportional representation for a maximum term of four years. In the April 1987 parliamentary elections, the Social Democrats won 149 seats, giving them an absolute majority. The other parties represented in parliament include the Socialists, the left-wing Democratic Renewal, the right-of-center Social Democratic Center Party, and the Communist-oriented Unified Democratic Coalition. The Social Democrats are moving to privatize many state-owned companies and to contain the wage demands of organized labor. The government aims to create a more productive, private enterprise economy.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The Portuguese have the right to change their government by democratic means. The voters choose both the president and the parliament through direct competitive elections. The print media are owned by the government, political parties, and private publishers. They are generally free and competitive. Television and radio are state-owned with the exception of a Catholic radio station. There are a few minor restrictions on freedom of expression. One may be arrested for insulting the government or the armed forces. Political organization is free except for fascist organizations. Although Catholicism is prevalent, religion is free. Trade unionism is free. There are competing Communist and non-Communist labor federations. Public sector workers have gone on strike to protest the government's economic policies. Freedom of assembly is permitted. Protest organizers need to give the government a day's notice before a march or an assembly. Permission is normally granted. The economy is becoming more private as the government seeks to speed the sale of nationalized concerns. Many parts of the country remain economically backward and more like the Third World than they are like other parts of Western Europe.

Qatar

Polity: Traditional monarchy	Political Rights: 7
Economy: Capitalist-Statist	Civil Liberties: 5
Population: 400,000	Status: Not Free
Conflict: None	
PPP: NA	
Life Expectancy: 65 male, 70 female	
Ethnic Groups: Arab, Pakistani, Indian, Iranian	

Overview:

Like other Gulf Arab states, Qatar is an absolute monarchy. The sheikdom is governed by Khalifa ibn Hamad al Thani, who took over as emir from his cousin in 1972 and retains his post as prime minister as well. A pro-

visional constitution also provides for a Council of Ministers and an Advisory Council of thirty members, twenty-seven of whom were to be elected. These elections have never taken place. No political parties are permitted, and there is no sign of a discontented opposition. The constitution also provides that the emir be selected from adult males of the Al Thani family. At the same time, the emir has been careful to rule within tacit limits, governing in concert with his advisor, the royal family, and business and religious leaders.

The large expatriate work force in the country has been a cause of concern for local authorities. The regime has beefed up its internal security forces and offered jobs only to native Qataris in certain government-owned industries. Qatari men are discouraged from marrying non-Qatari women by denying residency to non-Qatari wives. Expatriates outnumber Qataris four to one.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties

Wahhabi Islam, the sect to which the royal family belongs, forbids torture. In the past, however, instances of torture have been reported. Corporal punishment also takes place. The rights of the accused or detained in security cases are not respected. The judiciary is not considered truly independent. Non-Muslims may not bring suit as a plaintiff. Only Muslims may request a change of forum to a *sharia* court. Warrants to search homes are not needed in national security cases. Expatriates avoid challenges in all areas because of the threat of having their residency permits revoked. The government owns both radio and television and prohibits public criticism of the regime and its policies, as well as political demonstrations. Private associations are also carefully watched. Females require permission of a male relative to leave the country. Non-Muslims may not worship in public and may not proselytize. Expatriate workers must be sponsored and need the sponsor's permission to enter and leave the country. Discrimination occurs against non-Qataris, including non-Qatari citizens. Citizens of Iranian extraction have had their citizenship stripped and they have been deported. Workers are not allowed to form unions but may associate based on professional or private interest.

Romania

Polity: Communist one-party

Economy: Statist

Population: 23,085,000

Conflict: Ethnic tensions

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 67 male, 73 female

Ethnic groups: Romanians (88 percent), Hungarians, Germans, Ukrainians

Political Rights: 7

Civil Liberties: 7

Status: Not Free

Overview:

Romania has been a one-party, Communist state since 1947. Secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party (PCR) since 1965 is Nicolae Ceausescu. The constitution identifies the PCR as the leading force in society, and it is the main component of the umbrella Front of Socialist Democracy and Unity chaired by Ceausescu. The unicameral Grand National Assembly is subservient to the PCR.

Since assuming power, Ceausescu has consolidated tyrannical power and

crushed all opposition with the aid of a ruthless and pervasive security apparatus, the Securitate. He has embarked on a village resettlement program, which has led to the destruction of historic villages and landmarks, particularly in Transylvania, home of the country's persecuted Hungarian minority, many of whom have fled to Hungary (an estimated 30,000 in recent years). Some 40,000 residents of Bucharest have been displaced. Ceausescu has claimed to have paid off the country's foreign debt by exporting most everything produced in the country, leading to rationing and shortages of food, fuel and consumer goods in a country rich in oil and fertile soil. He has launched a grandiose scheme to rebuild Bucharest using state money. The frontier with Hungary was closed in November.

In March 1989, a rare and open challenge to Ceausescu appeared in the form of a letter signed by six veteran PCR members accusing him of destroying the economy and agriculture, terrorizing the population, and forcing the assimilation of Romania's minorities. The six were put under house arrest, detained and harassed, leading to universal condemnation. A subsequent move in the U.N. by Hungary to investigate Romania's human rights record was not opposed by the Soviet Union, Bulgaria and East Germany. Also in March, three leading Romanian journalists were taken into custody by the secret police and accused of printing anti-Ceausescu leaflets. Four senior officials in economic posts were also dismissed.

It is widely believed that Ceausescu, who was reelected general secretary in November 1989, is grooming his wife, Elena, to succeed him, and her own cult of personality has been created.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

At this year's Helsinki review meeting, the Romanian foreign minister said publicly that his government plans to ignore the human-rights accords. The judiciary is merely an extension of the regime and is charged with defending the public order. Romanians are forbidden to speak with foreigners. All media are controlled by the government, there is no freedom of assembly or association and the government exercises broad control over religious activities and churches, the largest being the Romanian Orthodox Church. Travel is relatively unrestricted inside the country, but Romanians face difficulties in gaining permission to travel abroad. Unemployment is a crime. Independent trade unions are forbidden, and membership in official trade unions is compulsory.

Rwanda

Polity: One-party (military dominated)

Political Rights: 6

Economy: Mixed statist

Civil Liberties: 6

Population: 7,192,000

Status: Not Free

Conflict: None

PPP: \$571

Life Expectancy: 45 male, 48 female

Ethnic groups: Hutus (90 percent), Tutsis (9 percent), Twa pygmies (1 percent)

Overview:

Independent since 1962, the Republic of Rwanda is a poor, land-locked country with the highest population density in all of Africa. Periods of intense inter-tribal rivalry between the Hutus and Tutsis have led to tens of thousands of deaths.

The nation has been ruled since 1973 by Maj. Gen. Juvenal Habyarimana, who seized power in a bloodless coup. The National Revolutionary Movement for Development (MRND), established in 1976, is the only legal party under the 1978 constitution. The unicameral National Development Council consists of members nominated by the MRND and elected every five years.

On 19 December 1988, some 3 million Rwandans went to the polls and reelected Maj. Gen. Habyarimana, who ran unopposed, to a third five-year term as the nation's president. After the election, the president announced clemency for some common criminals, but it did not extend to political prisoners. The country faces severe economic problems due to low coffee prices, an underdeveloped transportation system, land erosion, overpopulation of arable land, and mining problems. The spread of AIDS is also a major concern in this densely populated country.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Rwanda remains a military-dominated one-party state which effectively prohibits the people from democratically changing their national and local governments in openly contested elections. Security laws allow for the preventive detention of persons suspected of undermining national interests and public safety, and the security apparatus is pervasive and intrusive. The judiciary is nominally independent, but the government interferes in political cases. There are three court systems for security, military and criminal (civil) cases. Freedom to criticize the regime is curtailed, and the government controls the radio (there is no television). There are no daily newspapers and the government-controlled magazines rarely deviate from the party line. Private associations must register with the government and freedom of assembly is severely restricted. Freedom of religion is constitutionally guaranteed in this predominantly Christian country (some 30 percent of the people practice traditional African religions and 1 percent are Muslims), but in the past the government has harassed certain Protestant sects. Rwandans must hold national identity and resident cards as well as work permits, and travel is restricted. The Central Union of Rwandan Workers is controlled by the MRND, and all worker associations must belong to it. Strikes must be approved by the government-controlled executive committee.

St. Christopher-Nevis (St. Kitts-Nevis)

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 47,000

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 66 male, 70 female

Ethnic Groups: Relatively homogeneous

Political Rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 1

Status: Free

Overview:

St. Kitts and Nevis, consisting of the Caribbean islands of St. Kitts and Nevis, became an independent state with a federal constitution within the British Commonwealth in 1983. The British monarch is represented by a governor-general who appoints as prime minister an individual commanding a parliamentary majority. The governor-general also appoints a deputy governor-general for Nevis.

There is a unicameral National Assembly whose members are directly elected for five years from single-member constituencies, eight on St. Kitts and three on Nevis. Senators, not to exceed two-thirds of the elected members, are appointed, with one senator appointed by the leader of the parliamentary opposition for every two appointed by the governor-general.

Nevis is provided with an island Assembly currently consisting of five elected and three appointed members. The governor-general appoints a premier and two other members of the Nevis Assembly to serve as a Nevis Island Administration. Nevis has also been accorded the right of secession from St. Kitts if approved by two-thirds of the elected legislators and endorsed by two-thirds of those voting on the matter in an island referendum.

The current People's Action Movement (PAM) government of Prime Minister Kennedy Simmons came to power in the parliamentary election of 1980 with the support of the Nevis Reformation Party (NRP) and led the country to independence in 1983. The center-right PAM/NRP coalition increased its majority in early elections in 1984, the PAM winning six of eight seats on St. Kitts and the NRP taking all three on Nevis. The Labour Party (LP), a left-leaning party that once dominated the political scene, lost all but two of its seats, including that of opposition leader Lee Moore.

Simmons was sworn in for a third term in 1989 after the PAM retained its six seats in the March general elections. Coalition partner NRP retained two seats, losing one to the Concerned Citizens' Movement (CCM). The opposition LP retained its two seats. Lee Moore failed to regain the seat he lost in 1984 and resigned as LP leader. Denzil Douglas, a parliamentary newcomer, was elected new party leader at the subsequent LP convention and became the parliamentary opposition leader.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Constitutional guarantees regarding the right to free expression, the free exercise of religion and the right to organize political parties, labor unions and civic organizations are respected. Television and radio are owned by the government but offer pluralistic points of view. Newspapers are independent and reflect the range of political opinion.

Rule of law, based on the 1983 constitution, is respected. The judiciary is independent and the highest court is the West Indies Supreme Court (based in St. Lucia) which includes a Court of Appeal and a High Court. In certain circumstances, there is right of appeal to the Privy Council in London.

St. Lucia

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 148,000

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 67 male, 75 female

Ethnic Groups: Relatively homogeneous

Political rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 2

Status: Free

Overview:

St. Lucia, a member of the British Commonwealth, became internally self-governing in 1967, and achieved independence in 1979. The British monarchy is represented by a governor-general whose emergency powers are subject to legislative review. Under the 1979 constitution, there is a bicameral

parliament consisting of a seventeen-member House of Assembly elected for five years, and an eleven member Senate, with six senators appointed by the prime minister, three by the leader of the parliamentary opposition, and two by consultation with civic and religious organizations. The prime minister must be a member of the House and command a majority therein.

The leftist St. Lucia Labour Party (SLP) won a landslide victory in the 1979 elections, but factional disputes between SLP radicals and moderates led to new elections in 1982. The radical faction led by George Odium broke off to form the Progressive Labour Party (PLP). The 1982 elections saw the return to power of the United Workers' Party (UWP) led by Prime Minister John Compton.

In the 1987 elections, the UWP won a narrow 9-8 victory over the SLP which had declared a social democratic orientation under the new leadership of Julian Hunte. The SLP refused unity proposals from the PLP which in the end won no seats. Prime Minister Compton, hoping to increase the UWP majority, called new elections a few weeks later, but there was no change in the distribution of seats. However, an SLP representative crossed the aisle later in the year, giving the UWP a 10-7 majority. New general elections are due by 1992.

Since 1985, the island has been divided into eight regions, each with its own elected council and administrative services.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Constitutional guarantees regarding free expression and the right to organize political parties, labor unions and civic groups are respected as is the free exercise of religion. Newspapers are mostly private or sponsored by political parties. Television is privately owned; radio is both public and private. A major issue debated in the media in 1989 was the late 1988 government takeover, for a year, of the vital banana industry.

Civic organizations are well organized and politically active. The labor unions are free to strike. The competition among political parties and allied civic groups is heated, particularly during campaign periods when there is occasional violence and mutual charges of harassment.

The judicial system is independent and includes a High Court under the West Indies Supreme Court (based in St. Lucia), with ultimate appeal under certain circumstances to the Privy Council at London. Personal security is generally respected under the rule of law, although travel to Libya has been restricted.

St. Vincent and the Grenadines

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 125,000

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 58 male, 60 female

Ethnic Groups: Relatively homogeneous

Political Rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 2

Status: Free

Overview:

St. Vincent and the Grenadines have the status of "special member" of the British Commonwealth, with the British monarchy represented by a governor-general. St. Vincent became internally self-governing in 1967 and

achieved independence in 1979, with jurisdiction over the northern Grenadine islets of Bequia, Canouan, Mayreau, Mustique, Prune Island, Petit St. Vincent, and Union Island.

At the time of independence the constitution provided for a unicameral House of Assembly with thirteen members directly elected for five years. Six senators are appointed, four by the government and two by the leader of the opposition. The prime minister is the leader of the party or coalition commanding a majority in the House. In the 1979 elections, Robert Milton Cato's moderate socialist St. Vincent Labour Party (SVLP) took eleven of thirteen seats, James Mitchell's centrist New Democratic Party (NDP) taking the remaining two. In the 1984 elections, Mitchell replaced Cato as prime minister as the NDP took nine seats and the SVLP the other four.

In 1986, the House approved a constitutional amendment raising the number of elected members to fifteen. In the May 1989 elections Mitchell's NDP swept all fifteen seats. There were three competing opposition parties, the SVLP, the leftist United People's Movement (UPM), and Ralph Gonsalves' leftist Movement for National Unity (MNU).

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Constitutional guarantees regarding the right to free expression, freedom of religion and the right to organize political parties, labor unions and civic organizations are respected. Labor unions are active, politically involved, and permitted to strike. Political campaigns are hotly contested, with occasional charges from all quarters of harassment and violence including police brutality.

The press is independent and uncensored, with one privately owned independent weekly, *The Vincentian*, and two weeklies and a fortnightly run by political parties. *The Vincentian* has been charged with government favoritism by the opposition. In early 1989, its editor was fired by the owner for publishing an electoral endorsement of the NDP "without authorization." The Caribbean Association of Media Workers, supporters of the endorsement, criticized the dismissal as damaging to free expression.

Radio and television are government owned. Pluralistic points of view are presented, but since 1987 there has been evidence of government interference in radio programming. The broadcast of opposition releases has been subject to occasional restriction, and in 1988 a radio call-in program was ordered off the air after it had become a popular forum for opposition voices.

The judicial system is independent. The highest court is the West Indies Supreme Court (based in St. Lucia), which includes a Court of Appeal and a High Court, one of whose judges is resident on St. Vincent.

Sao Tome and Principe

Polity: One-party
Economy: Statist
Population: 119,000
Conflict: None
PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 43 male, 45 female
Ethnic groups: Black, mixed-race, Portuguese

Political Rights: 6
Civil Liberties: 5
Status: Not Free

Overview:

Located in the Gulf of Guinea some 130 miles off the coast of Gabon, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe consists of two main islands (after which it is named) and several smaller islets. It gained independence from Portugal in 1975, and has been ruled since by President Manuel Pinto da Costa as a one-party state dominated by the Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe (MLSTP). Under the 1982 constitution, the president is appointed for a five-year term by the forty-member, unicameral National Popular Assembly, all of whose members are indirectly elected by district assemblies and belong to the MLSTP. President da Costa was reconfirmed in 1985. In 1987, the policy-making Central Committee of the MLSTP announced that, in the future, elections of the president and legislators will be by universal suffrage and secret ballot.

A leading producer of cocoa, the country has faced an economic crisis since the price of the commodity began to drop in 1980. Abandoning Marxist-Leninist principles, the government has sought agreement with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. There has been some denationalization, encouragement of foreign investment, and privatization of government-run coca plantations.

In July, forty-three members of the Sao Tome National Resistance Front went on trial for a March 1988 coup attempt. The government promised that the trial would be open and permit due process.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The one-party system does not permit citizens to democratically change their government. There are no jury trials and independent defense counsels. The judiciary is not fully independent from executive interference, particularly in security and political cases. No public criticism of the system or government policies is tolerated. Radio, television and a periodic newspaper are government controlled. Some professional organizations are permitted with government approval, but the rights of assembly and association are seriously circumscribed. Religious freedom is respected by the government. Freedom of movement on these tiny islands is generally unrestricted. The only trade union is controlled by the ruling party and, because of the nature of the economy, exists mainly on paper.

Saudi Arabia**Polity:** Traditional monarchy**Economy:** Capitalist-statist**Population:** 15,775,000**Conflict:** None**PPP:** \$8,320**Life Expectancy:** 59 male, 63 female**Ethnic Groups:** Arab, Afro-Asian**Political Rights:** 7**Civil Liberties:** 6**Status:** Not Free**Overview:**

Saudi Arabia is under the rulership of King Fahd and, secondarily, Crown Prince Abdalah. A royal family of several thousand retains overall political control of the country, and most important government posts are occupied by royal family members. The King governs with the aid of a Royal Council consisting of senior princes and that of a Council of Ministers appointed by him. Formal plans to create an elected *shura*, or consultative body, have been promised for some time, but never put into effect. There is

no written constitution, no elections, and no political parties. A formal system of consultation exists, whereby officials, including the King, hold open-air meetings and help settle grievances brought forth by citizens.

Opposition to the monarchy has been led mostly by rightist fundamentalists. Since the Iranian revolution of 1979, Saudi leaders have been particularly concerned with the spread of fundamentalism to the kingdom. In November 1979 fundamentalists seized the Sacred Mosque in Mecca. The annual pilgrimage to Mecca, the *hajj*, has been a persistent security concern. In 1985, 330 pounds of plastic explosive were smuggled into the *hajj*. Two years later, over 400 people were killed when Iranian pilgrims clashed with Saudi security forces. In 1988 four Saudi Shiites set fire to a petrochemical plant. In 1989, thirty-three Kuwaiti pilgrims were detained for the 10 July bombing near the Sacred Mosque, in which one person was killed and sixteen wounded, and for other planned attacks. Sixteen of these Kuwaitis were sentenced to death and were publicly beheaded after confessing they were sponsored by Iran. Nine were acquitted and freed, four were sentenced to 1,000 lashes or more and jail terms of fifteen to twenty years. Four detainees have not been accounted for. Amnesty International protested to the Kuwaiti government against the apparent torture and unfair trials undergone by the detained pilgrims. The incident parallels the Saudi's own crackdown on Shiite dissent in their eastern province this summer. Forty-five native Shiites are being held without trial, and one woman died in police custody 18 July.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Public criticism of either Islam or the Saudi regime is not tolerated. There is a private press, which follows a 1982 government issued media statement. The regime tacitly approves of and may remove newspaper editors. Television and radio are government owned and operated. The study of Freud, Marx, art, and philosophy are prohibited. Non-Muslim religions are not tolerated. Saudi citizens must be Muslim. Conversion from Islam to another religion is an offense meriting the death penalty. Shiites from Eastern Province face general social and economic discrimination. Shiite public processions during the holy month of Ashura are prohibited. Saudi women may not marry non-Saudis without government permission. Nor can women travel abroad without permission from the closest male relative. They also face restrictions in dress, employment, custody, and education.

Labor unions and strikes are not permitted. Health and safety standards for workers prove difficult to enforce. Nonpolitical associations may form, however, with official permission. Torture and beatings by police to elicit confessions from detainees apparently continue. Prison conditions are harsh. A "religious police" force encharged with enforcing Muslim precepts regarding food, dress, and alcohol, can detain suspects up to forty-eight hours and has used beatings to obtain confessions. A GDI, another police organization, regularly holds suspects incommunicado for lengthy periods of time. There is no habeas corpus, though defendants may pursue complaints against the police through a Board of Grievances. For the crimes of murder, apostasy, adultery, and narcotics smuggling the death penalty, usually beheading, is prescribed. Islamic law is practiced and trials are closed and decided upon by an Islamic judge.

Senegal

Polity: Dominant party
Economy: Mixed capitalist
Population: 7,394,000
Conflict: Tribal insurgency
PPP: \$1,068

Political Rights: 4
Civil Liberties: 3
Status: Partly Free

Life Expectancy: 42 male, 45 female

Ethnic Groups: Wolof, Serer, Fulani, Tukolor, Diola, Malinke

Overview:

The African republic of Senegal, independent from France since 1960, has one of the continent's liveliest multiparty systems and is firmly under civilian control. Leopold Senghor, the country's renowned poet and first president, led until his retirement in 1980. The broad-based Socialist Party (PS) that he established continues to dominate politics, although a variety of officially recognized parties do compete. These include the liberal democratic Senegalese Democratic Party (PDS), currently the leading opposition party; the once-banned Marxist African Independence Party (PAI); the center-right Senegalese Republican Movement (MRS); the once-banned National Democratic Rally (RND); and a host of leftist parties made legal in 1981 under Abdou Diouf, the current president and head of the PS. Presidential and legislative elections are held every five years. They have consistently given the PS large majorities, but these same elections have historically sparked opposition charges of fraud, episodes of unrest, and high voting abstention rates. This was particularly the case in the 1988 elections. President Diouf was reelected with 73 percent of the vote and the PS won 103 of 120 national assembly seats, the rest going to the PDS. Only 42 percent of the eligible voters turned out, however. Further, although independent observers found the outcome generally representative (though with specific instances of irregularities), the PDS leader Abdoulaye Wade claimed the election was fraudulent and invalid. Subsequent rioting led to the declaration of a state of emergency. (Rioting may also have been fueled by an economic austerity program about which various social groups continue to be upset.) Wade and other opposition politicians were arrested, tried, and convicted on incitement charges. The state of emergency ended in May, however, and an amnesty freed Wade and the others.

The political crisis unleashed by the elections lasted well into 1989. Electoral reform, a key issue before the 1988 poll, became a central demand by the opposition—an issue only temporarily overshadowed by the national crisis involving Mauritania (see Mauritania), the cause of another declaration of emergency rule. Wade refused to take his deputy's seat in the Assembly and lobbied for reform while abroad. Diouf apparently has devised a reform bill, though Wade has rejected it and opposition leaders complain about having been excluded from its formulation.

In October, with the opposition boycotting the session, the Assembly passed a new electoral law submitted by the PS government. The new law expands opposition parties' access to state-run radio and television. It also does away with the system of proportional representation adopted in 1982 by which half the deputies to the assembly have been elected. Now all members will be chosen by direct contest.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The press is diverse and free. However, in February 1989 the government charged four journalists who write for *Sopi* (Change), a weekly paper, with publishing "false" election figures and discrediting national political institutions. Also attacked was *Sud Hebdo*, an independent weekly, for discrediting political institutions. In addition, radio and television, government-controlled, tend to favor the ruling PS in their coverage and underreport on the opposition. Pornographic films with much nudity are screened by a national commission for censorship. Salmon Rushdie's *Satanic Verses* was banned this year: the population is 85 percent Muslim. Though public demonstrations require public authorization, freedom of assembly is ordinarily respected. Still, the banning of a PDS rally scheduled for 1989's independence day sparked violent demonstrations in which 150 persons were arrested. A later opposition rally in April was also banned because it followed too closely in time various teacher strikes. Unionized workers, a small percentage of the workforce, are politically important. Strikes in 1989 have been frequent. The largest labor organization, the National Confederation of Senegalese Workers (CNTS) is considered to coordinate with government policy.

Senegalese have complete freedom of religion; Islamic law does not apply and discrimination based on religion does not occur. Citizens are free to travel within and outside the country and are free to emigrate. Women are active politically but by and large they play traditional roles in the large rural sector. Criminal suspects have been reportedly abused by the police in the past, and there have been unconfirmed reports of army torture against suspected separatists in Casamance province. Arbitrary arrest or detention is prohibited in law and practice. The judiciary is considered independent, despite allegations of sensitivity to government pressure.

Seychelles

Polity: One-party

Economy: Mixed statist

Population: 70,000

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 66 male, 73 female

Ethnic groups: Mixed Asian, African, European

Political Rights: 6

Civil Liberties: 6

Status: Not Free

Overview:

Independent from Great Britain since 1976, the Republic of Seychelles is an archipelago of some ninety islands situated in the Indian Ocean northeast of Madagascar. The current president is France Albert Rene, who was installed after a 1977 coup. Under the 1979 constitution, the country became a one-party state dominated by the Seychelles People's Progressive Front (SPPF). The regime has survived several coup attempts, including an invasion by mercenaries in 1981 and an assassination plot in 1986. President Rene was reelected by popular suffrage in June 1989. The legislature consists of a twenty-five-member unicameral National Assembly elected for a four-year term. Thirty-six SPPF-approved candidates ran in the 1987 elections. There is no open political opposition, but several groups exist in exile.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Citizens cannot change their government by democratic means. Civil and criminal cases are adjudicated expeditiously and fairly, but the executive has judicial powers in political and security cases. Under security provisions, persons can be detained indefinitely without charge or trial. The government-SPPF apparatus controls all media, and security laws discourage public criticism of the government or its policies. Nonpolitical groups can exist but must be registered with the government. The rights of assembly and association are curtailed for political purposes. Freedom of religion is respected for various faiths, and there are no restrictions on internal travel but some on travelers going abroad. The National Workers' Union (NWU) is the only one authorized by the government and is controlled by the state-party apparatus. Strikes are permitted by law, but other regulations inhibit workers from exercising that right.

Sierra Leone

Polity: One-party (military dominated) **Political Rights:** 6
Economy: Capitalist **Civil Liberties:** 5
Population: 4,015,000 **Status:** Partly Free
Conflict: None
PPP: \$480
Life Expectancy: 33 male, 36 female
Ethnic groups: Temne (30 percent), Mende (30 percent), Creole (2 percent), other African

Overview:

Located in central-west Africa on the South Atlantic coast, the Republic of Sierra Leone was declared in 1971, nine years after it became an independent member of the Commonwealth. Its current president is Maj. Gen. Joseph Momoh, who in 1985 was appointed by then-President Dr. Siaka Stevens upon his retirement. Stevens, head of the All People's Congress (APC), had led the country since 1968, surviving several coup attempts. In January 1989, President Momoh was reelected unopposed as secretary general of the APC, which was made the sole legal party under a 1978 constitution adopted by referendum. The country's other leading party, the Sierra Leone People's Party, which ruled from 1961-67, was eventually dissolved. The 127-member unicameral House of Representatives was elected in 1986, when 105 elective seats were contested by about 350 APC-approved candidates.

In March, twelve Sierra Leoneans sentenced to death in 1987 for their part in a coup attempt against President Momoh went before the Supreme Court to appeal their sentences. In April, the government closed five opposition newspapers, *New Shaft*, *Weekend Spark*, *For the People*, *The Vision*, and *The Globe* for criticizing the government's economic policies. The ban was lifted on 21 May.

Some two-thirds of the people work in agriculture, and the country exports bauxite, titanium ore and diamonds. A dwindling diamond reserve, smuggling, hoarding and widespread corruption have contributed to serious economic problems. There were strikes by civil servants and teachers during the year. In June, the government lifted a seventeenth-month economic state of emergency, which reportedly had been challenged in the Supreme Court. President Momoh said that the country was having difficulty reaching an

agreement with the International Monetary Fund because the nation's normal procedures of budgetary and financial control had been eroded.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Citizens cannot democratically change their government. The judiciary is generally free from executive interference, and local chiefs administer customary law. The state of economic emergency, which allowed the government to detain persons without trial, limit press freedom and control movement, was lifted in 1989. Numerous independent papers and journals print diverse views, but are subject to government restrictions; the government closed five papers for a month in 1989. Public meetings need government approval. Freedom of religion is respected. There are some restrictions on domestic travel, but foreign travel is generally permitted. Trade unionism is an integral part of society, and workers have the right to strike and exercise it freely. Most unions belong to the Sierra Leone Labor Congress (SLLC).

Singapore

Polity: Dominant party
Economy: Mixed capitalist
Population: 2,663,000
Conflict: None

Political Rights: 4
Civil Liberties: 4
Status: Partly Free

PPP: \$12,790

Life Expectancy: 69 male, 75 female

Ethnic groups: Ethnic Chinese (76 percent), Malay (15 percent), Pakistani and Indian (7 percent)

Overview:

This wealthy city-state on the southern tip of the Malay Peninsula became an independent republic within the Commonwealth in August 1965. Under the amended 1959 Constitution, the unicameral seventy-nine member Parliament (that may include one to three "non-constituent seats") appoints the president, whose role is largely ceremonial and who selects the prime minister, who wields executive power. Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of the People's Action Party (PAP) has held the post since independence. In September 1988, the PAP captured sixty-two percent of the popular vote in a free and fair election contested by the largest number of opposition candidates in twenty years. The opposition consists of two MPs, Chiam See Tong of the Singapore Democratic Party (SDP) and Lee Siew Choh of the Socialist Front (BS). There are twenty officially registered parties, but they are closely monitored by the government. Voting is compulsory.

There have been persistent charges that the Lee regime is authoritarian. On 12 April 1989, Mr. Chiam went on trial, charged with publishing two issues of his party newspaper without a permit. If convicted he could lose his seat. Many in Singapore feel that Lee Hsien Loong, known for his opposition to Westernization and committed to drafting a new "National Ideology," is being groomed to succeed his father as prime minister. In 1987, the government arrested and detained twenty-two young professionals, many of them workers for the Roman Catholic Church, and charged them with being Communist conspirators. An active and powerful Internal Security Department (ISD) enforces the Internal Security Act (ISA), which allows for detention without trial.

In early August 1989, the government announced that the U.S. could have "military facilities" in Singapore, a move meant to offset resistance to U.S. bases in the Philippines.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

On 17 May 1989, authorities released political detainee Chia Thye Poh, who had been held without trial for twenty-three years and was perhaps the country's best known political prisoner. The continued reliance on the ISA, which curtails basic legal rights, is defended by the government as necessary because of an ongoing threat from the outlawed Communist Party of Malay (CPM). The Constitution permits restrictions on free expression, and newspapers are published by firms with ties to the national leadership. Self-censorship is common practice. Restrictions are frequently placed on foreign publications. Television and radio are government controlled. Assemblies of more than five people, including political rallies, need police permission, but the government did not interfere with several huge rallies during the 1988 elections. Associations, both social and religious, must register with the government. In May 1989 the prime minister's son warned the small Christian community of Catholics and Protestants (no more than five percent of the population) that they not go "beyond the limits of prudence," and that some regulatory legislation may be necessary. Labor unions cannot engage in acts determined to be a threat to national security and public order. There are some eighty trade unions, most affiliated with the National Trade Union Congress (NTUC), which includes PAP activists. Workers have the right to strike, but strikes are rare.

Solomon Islands

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Political Rights: 1

Economy: Capitalist

Civil Liberties: 1

Population: 295,000

Status: Free

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: NA

Ethnic groups: Melanesian (93 percent), small Micronesian, Polynesian, and European minorities

Overview:

The country, a former British protectorate comprising an archipelago of six large islands and many smaller ones east of New Guinea, gained full independence in July 1978. Although titular power is in the hands of a governor general representing the British crown, executive power is vested in a prime minister elected by a thirty-eight member unicameral Legislative Assembly from among its members, who are elected every four years. Parties in this multiparty system include the Solomon Island United Party (Siupa), My Land (SAS), People's Alliance Party (PAP), and the Solomon Islands Liberal Party (SILP).

On 22 February 1989, the PAP won twenty-one parliamentary seats, the first absolute majority by a single party since independence. Prime Minister Solomon Mamaloni, whose government ratified the South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone, replaced Ezekiel Aleuba of Siupa. In a 24 May 1989 by-election, Hilda Kari (PAP) became, in a country where women outnumber men, the first woman member of Parliament

The main issues confronting the government are growing economic problems, a high birthrate and the lingering after-effects of a 1986 cyclone that killed over 1,000 people, left 90,000 homeless and devastated agriculture.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Elections are freely contested. The judicial system is based on the British model and is free from government interference. There are two private weekly newspapers, and several government publications. The state-owned radio airs views of opposition political figures. Although demonstrations need a permit, the right of association is included in the Constitution and there are no instances where permits have been denied on political grounds. There are no restrictions on the practice of religion, and citizens are free to move inside and out of the country. Unions are active in both the private and public sector, but only the former are allowed to strike, a right they exercise.

Somalia

Polity: One party (military dominated) **Political Rights:** 7
Economy: Mixed-statist **Civil Liberties:** 7
Population: 8,118,000 **Status:** Not Free
Conflict: Tribal insurgency
PPP: NA
Life Expectancy: 39 male, 43 female
Ethnic Groups: Somali

Overview:

After twenty years President Siad Barre's dynastic rule appears increasingly fragile. The country is beset by two civil wars, one in the north and one in the south. The conflict in the north, sparked by the Somali National Movement (SNM), made up of the Issak clan, began in May 1981 and intensified in May of 1988 as Barre became increasingly autocratic and failed to consult with the various tribes. The primarily Ogadeni-led Somali Patriotic Front operates in the south. In both regions rebels have secured large tracts of territory. In addition, large segments of the army belonging to the Ogadeni clan, frustrated by Barre's Marehan domination, have defected from the Somali armed forces. The former head of the town of Hargeisa's government forces took 3000 men with him when he defected in June. According to press reports, anti-Barre propaganda is rampant, and the Army is believed to be selling ammunition and weapons to people who share their sense of frustration. The armed forces are reportedly responsible for the massacring of over 5,000 civilians since last May, according to State Department accounts. Barre's own clan, Marehan, a subgroup of Darod, accounts for 10 to 15 percent of the people. The rebels say they will hold free elections if they succeed in ousting Barre.

President Barre rules with the aid of his family. His son Masleh Mohamed Siad Barre is head of the armed forces, although he is ten years younger than most senior military. His half-brother serves as foreign minister, and his son-in-law is minister of the interior. Also influential is Barre's wife, Khadija. Barre came to power in a 1969 coup toppling President Shermarke, forming a Supreme Revolutionary Council. Later in 1976 the Council was supplanted by the Barre-led Somali Revolutionary

Socialist Party (SRSP), still the country's only legal party. The 1979 constitution calls for direct Presidential elections, which Barre, uncontested, won in 1986. A People's Assembly is directly elected, but all candidates are SRSP nominees.

Barre has cracked down in response to the challenge to his dynasty. The notorious National Security Service, with the aid of a vast informer network, has arbitrarily arrested and detained thousands, executed civilians suspected of supporting the rebel movements, burned down and strafed villages, killed animals, and destroyed and poisoned wells. Clan warfare has also broken out now that tribes have been armed by the government. The "Victory Pioneers," the government's indoctrination force, has also been armed. Two cabinet ministers have also been arrested.

In July, Msgr. Salvatore Colombo, Archbishop of Mogadishu, was assassinated. Anti-government rioting ensued when the authorities detained four Islamic leaders and offered a reward for information leading to the Archbishop's killer. Reports on the number of people killed in the suppression of the rioting range from 100 to 450. Hundreds of persons were arrested in government-led house-to-house searches, and the army executed forty-six Issak men.

In early September Siad Barre announced that a multiparty system would be in place by the time elections are to be held in late 1990. He also appointed a constitutional commission in charge of drafting a revised constitution. SNM rebel leaders have dismissed the announcements, and refuse to engage in talks initiated by the government until Siad Barre is ousted. Other opposition groups were reported to have formed this fall; they are broader-based than the Issak-based SNM, but their following is still believed limited.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Government forces executed suspected rebel sympathizers in the north. The SNM is also believed responsible for killing non-Issaks in their attacks on government-held positions in the north. The two antagonists have also detained and "disappeared" several persons. Torture by the authorities is frequent; prison conditions are judged to be horrible. Persons charged with national security crimes, which are broadly construed, are often held indefinitely and without trial or judicial review. Decisions of the military-run security courts are not subject to appeal. There are, it is estimated, hundreds of political prisoners. The judiciary is not independent of the executive.

Criticism or dissent is not tolerated in Somalia, and groups independent of the government or government participation are not allowed to organize, no matter how peaceful or apolitical. Membership in an opposition group may be punished by death. Non-Islamic groups may practice their religion but may not proselytize. The Government controls and owns all media; material inconsistent with the governmental position is censored. Foreign publications are severely restricted from circulating. Independent unions are not permitted, nor are strikes, which are legally punishable by death. Issaks face growing social and economic discrimination.

South Africa

Polity: Presidential-legislative democracy (whites only)

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 35,48,000

Conflict: Insurgency

PPP: \$4,981

Life Expectancy: 52 male, 55 female

Ethnic groups: Black (69 percent), white (Afrikaner, English, other, 18 percent), mulatto (colored, 10 percent), Indian (3 percent)

Political Rights: 6

Civil Liberties: 5

Status: Partly Free

Overview:

The Union of South Africa became a self-governing dominion within the British Empire in 1910, and a republic outside the British Commonwealth in 1961. This mineral-rich, highly industrialized nation at the southern end of the continent is ruled by a white minority under a system of apartheid which disenfranchises some 26 million blacks, as well as Coloured (mixed blood) and Indians, from full participation in the national political process. It is a highly segregated society historically pledged to a separate development of the races. A third of blacks, and most Coloureds and Asians, live in racially segregated areas near large cities. Some 10 million blacks live in ten so-called tribal homelands.

The government consists of a president and a tricameral Parliament encompassing a 178-member House of Assembly (White), a 85-member House of Representatives (Coloured) and a forty-five-member House of Delegates (Indian). Each chamber is empowered to legislate in regard to its "own" affairs, while the assent of all is needed in "general" affairs. Blacks are effectively excluded from national politics. On a local level, the four provinces are administered by a provincial administrator in conjunction with eight multi-racial regional service councils. The homelands are nominally governed by an executive council headed by a chief minister designated by a Legislative Assembly. The homelands had been envisioned by the government as self-governing or "independent" entities, but by 1985 the government announced that it would restore South African citizenship to nationals of the nominally autonomous states.

The key political issue in 1989, as in recent years, was the government's response to ongoing struggle of the black majority to gain political, social, economic and cultural equality. On the economic front, the national debt and the impact of international sanctions were high on the government's agenda.

On 6 September, white South Africans went to the polls to elect the House of Assembly. The ruling National Party, led by F.W. de Klerk (who took over the party leadership from an ailing President P.W. Botha in August) won a clear majority, although it lost 30 of its 123 seats to the right-wing, pro-apartheid Conservative Party (which improved from 22 to 39 seats) and the Democratic Party (which went from 20 to 33 seats). The Democratic Party was launched on 8 April in a merger of three rival liberal groupings in Parliament: the Progressive Federal Party, the National Democratic Movement, and the Independent Party. The party supports an end to apartheid and white-minority rule. The elections were marred by violence; at least fifteen people were killed by police and security forces during massive demonstrations by anti-apartheid groups.

The National Party ran on a platform that included a five-year political reform plan, put forth in June, that envisioned giving the country's black majority a role in government through an intricate federal system of ethnic, cultural and geographical voting blocs that would govern their own local affairs and deal with national issues through legislative consensus. The system is fashioned loosely after the confederation of Swiss cantons. The system would give blacks a voice in government without submitting the white minority to political domination that would be the outcome of a one-man-one-vote democracy. Prominent black leaders said they would accept nothing short of genuine democracy, and have repeatedly rejected government attempts to work with "moderate" leaders to form political structures. In May, 500 black municipal councilmen formed the National Forum for Black Leaders, hailed by government leaders as giving impetus to its plans to create a multiracial National Forum in which a new constitution could be drafted. The forum was almost universally rejected by black leaders from all ends of the political spectrum.

After the elections, President de Klerk continued the moderate line of the National Party and made several gestures indicating a willingness to seek a resolution to the country's problems through reforms and negotiation. In early October, he announced the release of eight imprisoned members of the banned African National Congress (ANC), including Walter Sisulu, seventy-seven, who had been jailed for life twenty-five years ago. Earlier, he had allowed a peaceful march in Cape Town by the Mass Democratic Movement, a loose alliance of nonparliamentary organizations that had mounted a nonviolent "defiance campaign" in August that included blacks demanding treatment in white hospitals and protests at whites-only beaches and other segregated facilities. Government officials also met with black leaders to discuss the end of a three-year rent strike in the black township of Soweto, agreeing in principle to write off \$100 million in rent arrears. Then state President Botha held several meetings with anti-apartheid leader Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and early in July he met with jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela. On 23 October, eight ANC leaders, including the seven freed from prison, held a strategy meeting in Johannesburg unhindered by the police.

De Klerk's actions are seen as a recognition that besides dismantling some of the more overt laws on "petty" apartheid, the government must seriously address black political aspirations for several reasons, among them the increased economic power of blacks (i.e., buying power), the importance (and growing strength) of black labor, and South Africa's increased international isolation.

For its part, the black opposition in 1989 worked to shore up inter-group and inter-tribal rivalries that in 1988 led to flare-ups of black-on-black violence. In June, members of the pro-ANC, leftist United Democratic Front (UDF), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and Inkhata, led by moderate Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, held peace talks to end the internecine conflict that had left thousands dead in Natal Province.

The 1988 state of emergency ban on thirty-three anti-apartheid organizations (most affiliated with the UDF) seriously affected their overtly political activities, leaving the burgeoning and increasingly powerful black labor movement at the vanguard of a legally restricted opposition. In July,

COSATU held its annual conference, and its biggest member-union, the National Union of Mineworkers, was responsible for a series of strikes before the September election. Grass-roots civic and black business groups have also become a force in the townships.

There were indications that the ANC, banned since 1960, was prepared to accept a role in broad interracial negotiations. A tacit agreement, reported in October, was apparently worked out after months of discussions between the government and jailed black activist Nelson Mandela. The government said it was prepared to hold preliminary talks about negotiations with freed ANC veteran Walter Sisulu and others. Mr. Sisulu insisted that the questions of talks would have to be decided by the ANC leadership in Lusaka, Zambia. The government said in October that it was prepared to legalize the ANC if it "rejected" violence.

In 1989, the South African economy was hard-hit by the a drop in the price of gold, which accounts for half its exports. Sanctions and divestment have had an adverse impact on average incomes. But sanctions had little impact on trade in general; nongold exports soared in 1989. Although half the 1,121 foreign companies known to have equity investments in Africa in 1980 have left, the rate of disinvestment has slowed. South African firms have managed to buy out assets at reduced prices, and retain operating links with the disinvestor through franchise and licensing agreements. The impact of international sanctions was strongly felt in the area of finance. But on 19 October, South Africa and foreign banks reached an agreement to defer repayment of \$8 billion of the country's \$20 billion foreign debt, a move that disappointed anti-apartheid activists who had hoped that the banks would pressure South Africa into political concessions. At the same time, leaders of the forty-nine-nation Commonwealth meeting in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, in October debated whether to impose new sanctions, a move opposed by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Only the minority white South Africans have the power to democratically change the system of government. An Internal Security Act (ISA) allows authorities to hold suspects for an indefinite time without formal charge. In June, three white members of the ANC went on trial, charged with seeking to violently overthrow the regime. They face the death penalty. The judiciary is independent of the executive, and most civil and criminal cases are handled fairly. However, the state of emergency has circumscribed the power of judiciary at all levels. The government, independent and foreign press face a number of restrictions on reporting on security force or police operations and "unrest" situations. The police and security apparatus has broad powers under the ISA to ban all meetings, although in late 1989 the government appeared to recognize the right to peaceful protest by not interfering with a large demonstration in Cape Town. Several organizations are still banned, and their activities restricted. Freedom of religion is generally respected, and black churches and their leaders play an important role in anti-apartheid activities despite the threat of government action.

Although pass laws were repealed in 1986, the government still controls the movement of blacks and other nonwhites. The Group Areas Act is still in force, designating areas of residence for the races. Increasingly, however, some aspects of this law have been flouted, as non-whites have moved into white urban neighborhoods. Blacks are still encouraged to live in "home-

lands," and residence in segregated urban townships is restricted. However, the government authorized the integration of four communities in late 1989. Foreign travel for whites is generally unrestricted, but blacks, particularly from the "homelands," face passport difficulties. Black trade unions have been legal since 1979, and continue to play an important role in social, political and economic life. The two main black labor federation are the leftist COSATU and the more moderate National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU).

Spain

Polity: Parliamentary democracy
Economy: Capitalist
Population: 39,330,000
Conflict: Basque separatist terrorism
PPP: \$8,989
Life Expectancy: 71 male, 78 female
Ethnic groups: Spanish (various regional cultures) and Basques

Political Rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 1

Status: Free

Overview:

Since the nineteenth century, Spain has been through periods of traditional monarchy, republican rule, civil war, fascist dictatorship, transitional regimes, and now parliamentary democracy under a constitutional monarch. King Juan Carlos, the first monarch since before the civil war of the 1930s, guided the country from dictatorship to democracy in the 1970s, and turned back a coup attempt in 1981.

The current Socialist government, led by Felipe Gonzalez, has been in power since 1982, having won reelection in 1986 and 1989. In the general election on 29 October 1989, the Socialists won 176 of the 350 seats in the lower house of parliament. That was just enough for an absolute majority. The Communist-led United Left won 17 seats, a gain of 10, while the right-wing Popular Party garnered 106 seats, a gain of one. The balance of the lower house is held by various centrist, regional, and nationalist parties. The government has a four-year mandate. The less powerful upper house, the Senate, has 208 directly elected members who serve for four-year terms. Each province sends four members. Outlying territories send from one to three members each. In 1989 the economy was the chief political issue. While Spain had a consumer spending boom, unemployment remained at 17 percent. The labor movement exhibited growing dissatisfaction with the government, due to the uneven distribution of the benefits of economic growth and modernization. The General Union of Workers (UGT), the long-time partner of the Socialists, made no endorsement in the 1989 election, due to worker discontent.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Spanish voters have the right to change their government democratically. Under democratic rule since 1977, Spain has switched from governments of the center-right to the center-left. Opposition parties charged that the government used the state-run Center for Sociological Investigation to conduct opinion research for the socialists.

Regional cultures have significant autonomy, but Basque separatist terrorism remains a problem. In 1989, the Spanish government dispersed Basque terrorist prisoners to several different locations for security reasons.

The government stopped their medical treatment from nonprison doctors, and banned prisoner education courses for them by Basque teachers. The printed media are free and competitive, but the opposition charged that there was a progovernment bias on state television. There are two competing free labor federations, one traditionally Socialist, the other Communist. They cooperated in a general strike in 1988. Enterprise is increasingly free and modern as Spain becomes more closely linked with the more advanced countries of the European Community. Religion is free. Catholicism is the majority faith, but there is no state religion.

Sri Lanka

Polity: Presidential and legislative democracy
Economy: Mixed capitalist-statist
Population: 16,730,000
Conflict: Ethnic-separatist insurgency; armed nationalist group
PPP: \$2,053
Life Expectancy: 67 male, 70 female
Ethnic groups: Multi-ethnic state—Sinhalese (74 percent), Tamil (18 percent), Moor (7 percent), other (1 percent)

Political rights: 4
Civil Liberties: 5
Status: Partly Free

Overview:

This island nation off the southern tip of India has been torn by bloody, internecine civil and sectarian conflict since 1983, when Tamil separatists, led by the militant Hindu Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) launched a civil war in the northern and eastern provinces. Despite concession by the Sinhalese-dominated government, LTTE pressed the fight for greater autonomy. In July 1987, a Sri Lanka-India peace accord was signed, and an estimated 50,000 Indian troops were sent to the country as a peacekeeping force (IPKF). After some LTTE forces surrendered their weapons, Sri Lankan officials decided to try nine LTTE prisoners, whose subsequent suicides triggered a new wave of insurgent violence that killed hundreds of Indian troops and some 2,000 Tamils, many of them civilians. The Indians supported LTTE's rival Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF), which runs the autonomous provincial council in the temporarily merged northern and eastern provinces.

In December 1988, with the retirement of President Junius Jayewardene, presidential elections were held amid intense political violence spearheaded by the Janatha Vimukhti Peramuna (JVP), anti-Indian and anti-Tamil radical Sinhalese nationalists believed responsible for murdering over 700 government supporters in a year, and who tried to assassinate President Jayewardene. Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa of the Socialist United National Party (UNP) won the election, although JVP violence intimidated supporters of main opposition candidate Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), whose government put down a JVP uprising in 1971. The JVP made two attempts on her life.

On 15 February 1989, with the JVP calling for a boycott, parliamentary elections were held; prevote violence left twelve candidates shot dead between December and election day, when seventy people, including three election officials, were killed. Nevertheless, the UNP won a comfortable twenty-five-seat majority, taking 125 of the 225 seats in parliament, with

the SLFP getting 67 and 23 going to various minority Tamil groups. Leftists won six seats and the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress, four. International observers called the elections free and fair, with a 63 percent voter turnout. In Tamil provinces, voters in many areas ignored the LTTE's call for a boycott and rejected the leadership of the Tamil United Liberation Front, though separatist sympathizers won 13 seats.

In May, the Premadasa government began talks with the LITE, raising concerns among the Indians that concessions would seriously endanger the EPRLF and other Tamil groups that have opposed the LTTE. In June, the government announced that it wanted all Indian troops out of the country by 29 July, a move opposed by Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, who faced a tough election at home and needed the support of India's Tamils. On 6 July the government reimposed emergency measures to cope with the JVP; public meetings were banned, anyone putting up posters could be shot on sight, workers staying off the job could be detained, and the press was censored. On 13 July Sri Lanka's leading Tamil politician, Appapillai Amirthalingam, who preached nonviolence, was shot, probably by the LTTE, and three days later, Uma Maheswaran, leader of another Tamil group, was also murdered. On 28 July the JVP organized an anti-government demonstration in violation of the state of emergency, and 150 people were killed by security forces. In July, the government detained several thousand people, and scores of youths disappeared. Amid increased tension, India agreed to pull out a token 600 troops, but by August talks between Colombo and New Delhi regarding the IPKF broke down. Political violence increased dramatically; in August, Indian troops were accused of massacring Tamil civilians, and the JVP stepped up its killings.

On 18 September India agreed to withdraw all its troops by December. Several attempts by the government to negotiate an end to the violence collapsed. On 27 September a ceasefire was declared, but in the first six days sixty-one people were killed. By November, violence had escalated as the JVP and government-backed vigilantes continued political killings and assassinations.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Citizens can change their government through democratic means. Political killings, assassinations, disappearances and escalating violence continued to be a fact of life in Sri Lanka in 1989. The reimposition of the state of emergency seriously curtailed citizens' rights against arbitrary arrest and detention and freedom of assembly. The government controls radio and television and the largest newspaper chain, and has refused to carry politically sensitive advertisements. Curbs are occasionally put on the independent press, and several journalists were murdered by the JVP and other extremist groups. The distribution of "anti-government" literature is forbidden.

Buddhism is the state religion, but the government is pledged to protect the rights of Hindus, Muslims, and Christians. Travel inside and outside the country is unrestricted, except in the embattled northern and eastern provinces. The government has imposed curfews and travel curbs in several regions for security reasons. Workers are free to join trade unions, though the government reserves the right to ban strikes in what it considers "essential" enterprises, a strategy aimed at undermining the JVP's trade union arm.

Sudan

Polity: Military

Economy: Mixed-capitalist

Population: 24,255,000

Conflict: Racial-religious

PPP: \$750

Life Expectancy: 47 male, 49 female

Ethnic Groups: Black African, Arab

Political Rights: 7

Civil Liberties: 7

Status: Not Free

Overview:

Sudan is embroiled in a civil war between the predominant and Arabized Muslim north and a Christian and animist south. War-related famine killed almost 250,000 inhabitants in 1988. A rebel movement in the south, the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) led by Col. John Garang, has been fighting since 1983 to establish greater autonomy and abolish *sharia*, or Islamic law. (An insurgency previously operated in the south from 1956 to 1972.) *Sharia* was introduced as national law under the former dictator, General Jaafar Numeiri. Southerners object in particular to the *sharia* punishments, including stoning to death for adultery; flogging for consuming alcohol; and amputation for theft. Although suspended in 1985, the laws remain on the books, and *sharia* is the primary source of law as noted in the constitution.

General Numeiri was deposed in 1985 by a military coup, and a year later army-organized elections brought the country to civilian rule under Prime Minister Sadiq el Mahdi, leader of the Umma party. On 30 June 1989, a junta led by Brig. Omar el Bashir, a forty-five-year-old paratrooper, overthrew Sadik, arresting him and scores of other politicians on corruption charges and detaining without charge several civil and human rights activists. The three-year experiment in democracy was over. Bashir had become increasingly dissatisfied with the losing war in the south, the crippled economy, and Sadiq's close relationship with Libya and Iran. Earlier in February, the military issued a letter to the prime minister demanding that peace talks with the rebels be held or, alternatively, the army receive greater support in its prosecution of the war. After the military's ultimatum, Sadik tentatively accepted the peace framework, and began negotiations with the SPLA. The peace plan negotiated by the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) called for a ceasefire, a freeze on *sharia* nation-wide and a constitutional conference to replace the transitional constitution of 1985. Sadik's perceived footdragging, however, led to army intervention.

Since coming to power, Bashir has imposed a state of emergency, suspended the Constitution, dissolved parliament, banned all political parties, trade unions, and other associations, closed down all newspapers, except the army's, and declared a curfew. He has dismissed 300 police and released fourteen officers who were being detained because of their suspected involvement in an abortive pro-Numeiri coup on 18 June. Bashir has also announced the formation of special courts in charge of sentencing smugglers and black marketeers to death. People are reportedly afraid because of the potential of being arrested. Food shortages are said to be severe.

At present it is unclear what position the new military regime is taking toward the war with the SPLA. Some evidence points to a commitment to continue the war rather than arrive at a compromise peace. Bashir has scrapped the previous peace framework and proposed settling the critical

sharia question through a referendum or working out a secession arrangement not desired by the SPLA. With Muslims constituting 70 percent of the population, the outcome of a referendum would surely be an affirmation of the national extension of Islamic law and continuation of the war by the SPLA. Many officers who advocated peace were tossed out by Bashir. In addition, several ministers, including the chief of the legal system, the Minister of Justice, have links to the National Islamic Front (NIF), which favors a "holy war" against the SPLA. A conscription of all able-bodied men has also been announced, and the army has been promised more supplies. Meanwhile, the army has not yet responded to Garang's latest proposal, which calls for a new transitional coalition government, a new army, a constitutional conference and elections.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Both the SPLA and the government have interfered with food shipments to the south by relief agencies, and both have been accused of killing noncombatant civilians. Government-supported tribal militias in particular have been implicated in various massacres. Officials responsible for grave human rights abuses have not been punished by Sudanese authorities. Police brutality against detainees is also frequently reported. Prior to the coup, there were few political detainees in Sudan's north. In the south, under the state of emergency law, officials may detain suspected rebel collaborators or sympathizers without charge and for an indefinite period of time. Since the 30 June coup, all press freedoms have been curbed. Union activity and party organizing have also been curtailed. State-owned television and radio report favorably about the government. Although Christianity is recognized as a religion, prejudice against Christians is strong, and some physical assaults upon churches and worshippers have been reported. The two main union federations are independent of the government, and workers have a right to strike under the law. Reports indicate slavery is practiced in parts of Sudan. The civil war has displaced over 2 million persons, most now crowded in shantytowns around Khartoum along with refugees from Ethiopia, Chad and Uganda. The exit visa requirement severely curtails the right to leave the country. One hundred and seventy of these refugees were expelled in August when they were prohibited from reregistering.

Suriname

Polity: Parliamentary democracy (military dominated)

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 398,000

Conflicts: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 66 male, 71 female

Ethnic Groups: East Indian (approximately 38 percent), Creole (31 percent), followed by Javanese, Bush Negroes, Amerindians, Chinese and various European minorities

Political Rights: 3

Civil Liberties: 3

Status: Partly Free

Overview.

The Republic of Suriname achieved independence from the Netherlands in 1975 and functioned as a parliamentary democracy until a military coup in 1980. The coup was led by Lt. Col. Desi Bouterse who emerged as the

strongman of the ruling National Military Council that brutally suppressed all civic and political opposition. In 1985 the military regime announced a two-year program for a "return to democracy," appointing an assembly to draft a new constitution, and lifting the ban on political parties.

The 1987 constitution provides for a system of parliamentary democracy but does not clearly define the distribution of power, particularly regarding the military's role under civilian rule. A fifty-one-member National Assembly, elected for a five-year term, selects the nation's president. The president chairs the State Council and the Security Council. Both councils, strongly influenced by the presence of military representatives, are non-elective bodies and are empowered by vaguely written articles that dilute the power of the presidency. While the president is nominally the head of the armed forces, civilian authority is further eroded by a revamped Military Council which is given a tutelary role as the "vanguard of the people" in the transition to democracy. Amending the constitution requires a two-thirds majority of the Assembly. It has been the view of army commander Bouterse, however, that changes must be approved in a plebiscite.

The Front for Democracy and Development, a coalition of three leading opposition parties, won a landslide victory in the November 1987 general elections, taking forty of fifty-one seats in the Assembly. Bouterse's National Democratic Front (NDF), the army's political front, won only three. Ramsewak Shankar was elected president by the Assembly. Bouterse remains commander in chief of the army, however, and appears to exercise decisive political influence through the Military Council and the Council of State.

In 1989, civil-military tensions heightened as progress was made toward a negotiated peace between the government and the Bush Negro-based Jungle Commando led by Ronny Brunswijk. The Kourou agreement was signed in neighboring French Guiana in July and called for an end to hostilities; a lifting of the state of emergency in the three national districts where it is in place; the repatriation of 14,000 Bush Negro refugees from French Guiana; and a government commission to study Bush Negro grievances. The agreement was ratified overwhelmingly by the Assembly a month later. It was supported by nearly every sector of society except the army which has been fighting the insurgency for three years. Bouterse's NDP denounced the agreement as "a declaration of war against the people of Suriname."

In the fall of 1989, it was not clear how far the army was prepared to go in expressing its opposition to the agreement. Bouterse bluntly stated that the government's ratification of the pact had created "an obvious crisis of confidence." As the battle of wills between the government and the military escalated, some civilian leaders spoke of confronting directly the role of the military in politics by forcing through constitutional changes.

In September, the Amerindian-based Tucayana Amazonica initiated hostilities to protest the Kourou accord. The Indians claimed the accord was a threat to their own interests and demanded that the government guarantee protection from the Bush Negroes. Many in the National Assembly believed the Indian group was linked to the military, especially after it rejected the government's offer to hold a national plebiscite on the Kourou accord. At the end of October, twenty people died when a group of Tukayana Indians attacked a contingent of Bush Negroes who had seized control of a town in the central region of the country.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The 1987 constitution, while unclear on civil-military relations, does guarantee the right to organize political parties, civic organizations and labor unions. Aside from the three parties in the government coalition, there are at least a half dozen other parties including a number of labor-based organizations. The unions are well-organized and permitted to strike. In May 1989, five of the six major unions effected a one-day national work stoppage to protest rising prices and continued military influence in government.

The constitution also guarantees the right of free expression. Radio is both public and private, with a number of small commercial radio stations competing with the government-owned radio and television broadcasting system. All broadcast in the various local languages and offer pluralistic points of view. Independent newspapers exist, but after years of being shut down under military rule and because of the country's economic straits, they are struggling.

The constitution provides for an independent judiciary but the court system's effectiveness is hindered by a continuing climate of intimidation and insecurity, particularly in the western emergency zones. Stanley Rensch, leader of the Suriname human rights organization, Mooiwana '86, was arrested by the military in December 1988. After his release, Mooiwana '86 continued to denounce human rights violations by the army. Reverend Rudy Polanen, a popular figure active in human rights, was detained in May and reportedly barred from traveling outside the country by the army.

Following the ratification of the Kourou agreement, the military reportedly seized documents from human rights activists. The question of addressing army human rights violations during the war will affect any future showdown between the government and the military, and also test the strength of the judicial system.

Swaziland

Polity: Traditional monarchy

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 727,000

Conflict: None

Life Expectancy: 47 male, 50 female

PPP: NA

Ethnic groups: Swazi, European, Zulu

Political Rights: 6

Civil Liberties: 5

Status: Partly Free

Overview:

This tiny, landlocked country tucked into the northeast corner of South Africa gained independence from Great Britain in 1968. With an independent monarchy the executive, legislative and judicial powers are ultimately vested in twenty-two-year-old King Mswati III, who was installed in April 1986. The government is based on tribal councils (*tinkhundla*). Two members of each tribal council form an eighty-member electoral college, which designates forty of fifty members of the House of Assembly (the other ten named by the king), who then select ten members of the Senate, with another ten named by the king. This bicameral Parliament passes legislation that is then submitted to the king, who may accept or reject it. The king selects a Cabinet from among members of Parliament. Palace intrigue led to the arrest of several prominent Swazis in the mid-1980s, and

most of the accused were sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment in March 1988. They were pardoned by the King in July.

The kingdom is economically dependent on South Africa, with many citizens working in the neighboring, white-ruled state. The two nations signed a nonaggression pact in 1982, but South African forces have crossed into Swaziland in raids against the African National Congress (ANC). In 1989, the key issue was the economy, which over several years has been plagued by budgetary difficulties.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Citizens cannot change their government through democratic mechanisms. The judiciary encompasses a High Court, a Court of Appeal, and district courts, as well as seventeen Swazi courts for tribal and customary issues. Police can hold prisoners without charge for a renewable period of sixty days under a 1978 detention law. The modern court system functions without government interference, and criminal and civil trials are generally fair. Decisions of customary courts can be reviewed by the the High Court or Court of Appeal. Special tribunals hear cases dealing with offenses against the King. Public criticism of the monarchy and security policies is forbidden, but there are customary forums for citizens to air their views. The government media and private newspapers practice self-censorship. The police must sanction all demonstrations; however, all but anti-government gatherings are allowed. Professional and business associations function openly. Freedom of religion is guaranteed and respected, and the right to travel is generally unrestricted. Unions belong to the Swaziland Federation of Trade Unions, which is independent and free of government interference. Workers have the right to strike, although exercising that right is circumscribed by regulation and custom.

Sweden

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Economy: Mixed capitalist

Population: 8,444,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$13,780

Life Expectancy: 73 male, 79 female

Ethnic groups: Swedish (99 percent), Finnish, Lappic

Political Rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 1

Status: Free

Overview.

Sweden is a constitutional monarchy governed by a parliamentary democracy. Its economy has a well developed private sector, and heavy taxes support a sophisticated social welfare system.

The head of state is King Carl Gustaf XVI. Executive power is invested in the prime minister, who heads the majority party or ruling coalition in a unicameral, 349-member parliament (*Riksdag*), where 310 members are directly elected and 39 seats are distributed among parties that receive at least 4 percent of the nationwide vote.

Prime Minister Ingmar Carlsson heads the ruling Social Democratic Labor Party (SDP). He came to power after the 1986 assassination of Prime Minister Olaf Palme and was reelected in 1988. Other major parties are the Communist Left Party (UPK) and the rightist Moderate Coalition Party

(MSP), the People's Party (FP), the Center Party (CP) and the Christian Democratic Party (KDS).

In 1989, the SDP drafted a proposal for a reorganization of the tax system. Faced with a low growth rate, labor shortages and a high tax burden, the SDP proposed a cut in the top marginal tax rate from 72 to 50 percent, exempting 80 percent of taxpayers from the national income tax and reducing the number of income tax brackets from twenty-one to two by 1991. The plan has met with a tepid response.

The government also prepared a Blueprint for the 1990s, which included environmental issues as well as a commitment to free trade, financial deregulation and tax reform. The document reflects a synthesis of market economics and state welfare.

The Palme assassination continued to be an issue in 1989. The only suspect in the case was ultimately cleared of the crime. A scandal involving the huge Bofors company also surfaced, with allegations that it paid bribes to secure contracts in India and elsewhere.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Swedes enjoy the means to change their government through democratic means. Sweden's judiciary is independent and defendant's rights are fully protected and respected. Freedom of expression is guaranteed, and the press is free. Publications or videotapes which contain excessive violence or national security information are subject to censorship. Freedom of assembly and association are guaranteed and respected in practice. The state religion is Lutheran and the church gets public funds, though other religions are free to practice. Emigration as well as domestic and foreign travel are unrestricted. Workers have the right to form and join unions, and the right to strike.

Switzerland

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 6,590,000

Status: Free

Conflict: None

PPP: \$15,403

Life Expectancy: 73 male, 80 female

Ethnic groups: German, French, Italian, and Romansch

Political Rights: 1
Civil Liberties: 1

Overview.

This landlocked, mountainous country began as a small confederation in the Middle Ages. Internationally recognized as a neutral country since 1815, Switzerland combines twenty-three territories called cantons. There are twenty full cantons and six half-cantons. Each canton has its own political system, customs, and dominant ethnic group. Swiss Germans predominate, but French and Italian groups are concentrated in some areas. Prosperous Switzerland is the home base of numerous international organizations, major banks, and resorts that have attracted people from all over the world. The country is very careful about granting Swiss citizenship and political asylum. The Federal Assembly is bicameral. The voters elect the 200-member lower house, the National Council, to four-year terms by proportional representation. Using various local methods, the cantons elect two

members each to the forty-six-member Council of States, the upper house. The executive branch is called the Federal Council, whose members function as a cabinet. Drawn from the Federal Assembly, these seven executives choose one of themselves as president each year.

The governing coalition consists of the liberal Radical Democratic Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Christian Democratic People's Party, and the moderate Swiss People's Party, which won a combined total of 159 seats at the 1987 National Council elections. The forty-one opposition members of the lower house belong to the liberal Independents' Alliance, the Liberal Party, the anti-immigrant National Action for People and Homeland, the conservative Protestant Evangelical People's Party, the Communist Workers' Party, the leftist Progressive Organizations of Switzerland, the Green Party, the Communist-oriented Autonomous Socialist Party, and the pro-automobile Car Party. There is also one opposition independent.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The Swiss have the right to change their government by democratic means. However, the Swiss system produces coalition governments which mitigate the chances for radical changes in policy. The voters have substantial powers of initiative and referendum, which allow them to change policies directly. The political parties have the right to organize freely, and cover the entire political spectrum. The cantonal system allows considerable local autonomy, which helps to preserve the linguistic and cultural heritage of the localities. However, the Italian and Romansch communities believe that their linguistic and cultural resources are underfunded. The government's postal ministry operates radio and television, which are linguistically and politically pluralistic. Switzerland has freedoms of discussion, assembly, and demonstration, and religion. However, the country has a history of prosecuting conscientious objectors who disagree with universal military service for males. Women's rights have improved gradually in the 1980s, but a few local government assemblies still exclude women. The high court may order them to change, in accordance with the constitutional equal rights provisions. Women received a political setback when Elisabeth Kopp, Minister of Police and Justice, resigned in January 1989. Allegedly, she had used confidential government information to tip off her husband that he was under investigation for purported investment in laundering drug money.

Syria

Polity: Dominant party (military dominated)	Political Rights: 7
Economy: Mixed statist	Civil Rights: 7
Population: 11,530,000	Status: Not Free
Conflict: None	
PPP: NA	
Life Expectancy: 61 male, 64 female	
Ethnic Groups: Arab (90 percent), Kurdish, Armenian and others (10 percent)	

Overview:

For almost two decades Syria has been ruled by Hafiz al-Assad, a former Air Force commander. Today, Assad is commander-in-chief, president and leader of the ruling Ba'ath party. He selects a cabinet and prime minister

accountable only to him. A unicameral 195-member People's Council, all of whose members are approved by the Ba'ath, holds nominal independent legislative power but assents to all executive initiatives. Assad ran uncontested for the presidency in 1985, officially taking 99 percent of the vote.

Assad belongs to the minority sect Alawite community. The majority of Syrians are Sunni Muslims, who generally regard the Alawites as Islamic apostates and resent their political and military domination. Challenges to the exclusive authority of the Assad regime have come most often from the Muslim Brotherhood, consisting of Sunni Muslim fundamentalists. In the late 1970s and early 1980s the Muslim Brotherhood attempted to break the hold of the secular Ba'ath party and formed cells throughout the country. Assad crushed the Muslim Brotherhood at Hama in 1982, killing several thousand people. Since then, the Brotherhood has been driven underground. Some opposition has also come from the outlawed League for Communist Action. In 1984, while Assad suffered a stroke, Assad's brother, head of Syria's Defense Brigades, and several other succession rivals battled openly in the streets.

Ostensibly, the Ba'ath rules in a coalition National Progressive Front, with other parties. In reality, the Ba'ath is the sole political party in the country, dominating the Front.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Emergency rule has been in effect almost continuously since the 1963 coup. Under the emergency law, authorities can detain suspects indefinitely without trial or charge. Credible reports of political killings and torture of political offenders during interrogation continue, and no evidence suggests officials engaging in torture are punished. Economic crimes, including corruption, may entail the death penalty. In 1988, political prisoners in the country were believed to number in the thousands. Groups, whether opposition or otherwise, are not permitted to organize without government sanction and in practice few private associations exist. Freedom of speech and expression is not respected. The government operates radio, television and all publishing houses. Criticism of the party or the government is not tolerated and is limited to errors by low-level bureaucrats.

All domestic news and all foreign printed matter and film are subject to censorship. The government has oversight over all private schools. Religious groups other than Muslims are allowed to practice, except Seventh-Day Adventists, but proselytizing by foreigners is banned and religious training and fundraising are severely curtailed. The Jewish community of 4,000 may not emigrate, must post bond to travel abroad, and may not travel to Israel. Two Jewish brothers imprisoned incommunicado for two years for having visited Israel have recently been allowed to have a family visit. Ba'ath party members or associates of members are favored in terms of employment. Independent unions do not exist. The Syrian General Federation of Trade Unions is the overarching governmental apparatus used to control member unions.

Taiwan (Republic of China)

Polity: Dominant party
Economy: Capitalist-statist
Population: 20,125,000
Conflict: None
PPP: \$5,907

Political Rights: 4
Civil Rights: 3
Status: Partly Free

Life Expectancy: 69 male, 74 female
Ethnic groups: Predominantly Chinese

Overview:

The Chinese nationalist regime was established on the island of Formosa in 1949 after being driven off the mainland by Communist forces. The country also consists of several smaller islands. Political life has been dominated ever since by the Kuomintang (KMT) led by Gen. Chiang Kai-Shek until his death in 1975. The KMT controls the National Assembly, which has the power to elect and recall the president, amend the constitution, and other obligations. The president, elected to a six-year term, appoints officials, can declare war, and mediates between the five government branches (*yuans*)—Executive, Judicial, Legislative, Control, and Examination—each of which has its own president. The Executive Branch is headed by the premier; the popularly elected Legislative Branch enacts laws; the Judicial Branch interprets the constitution; the Examination Branch is in charge of civil service exams and the Control Branch has several administrative functions.

In 1989, Taiwan continued a process of democratic political reform instituted by President Lee Teng-hui (a native Taiwanese) and aimed at making society less authoritarian. Although several opposition parties have existed for some time and are represented in the National Assembly and the Legislative Branch they were technically illegal. In 1989, two new laws—the Civic Organization Law governing registration of political and social groups, and the Electoral Law setting out rules for elections and election campaigns—created an institutional framework within which the *de facto* parties and other opposition groupings could coexist legally and compete with the KMT. A third law called for the voluntary retirement of some 1,100 old-guard KMT deputies, who represent mainland constituencies in the island's Assembly, the Legislative and Control branches. (These aging representatives elected in 1947 continued to sit in the National Assembly and the Legislative and Control branches because their terms were extended indefinitely.) Nevertheless, two-thirds of the present members of the Legislative Branch were elected in 1947. In the National Assembly, 786 of 870 members were also elected then, and their average age is eighty-two. Before the 1989 elections, the main opposition parties included the Democratic Progress Party (DPP), which had 11 seats in the Assembly and 13 in the Legislative Branch, and the Democratic Socialist Party, which had one seat in the Assembly. Other smaller parties included the Taiwan Democratic Party, the Labor Party, the Chinese Freedom Party, the Democratic Liberal Party, the Democratic Freedom Party and the China Democratic Justice Party. Twenty seats are needed to propose bills.

In May, President Lee accepted the resignation of Prime Minister Yu Kuo-hwam, the last senior leader from the Chiang era, and replaced him with Lee Huan, a moderate. The move was seen as an attempt to bolster the KMT, which faced a general election under the new political laws in December 1989. In July, a compromise between the KMT and the DPP led

to reforms in quorum and voting procedures in the Legislative Branch that would make the body more effective in sponsoring bills and voting on them.

In the August nonbinding primaries for the December elections that will choose national legislators, provincial assemblymen, city and country counselors, mayors, and county commissioners, there was some factionalism in the KMT. In the DPP primaries, which are binding, the usually factionalized party tried to forge a united front.

In the December election the DPP won 35 percent of the vote, capturing 22 seats in the legislative *yaun*, enabling it to initiate bills. Although the opposition did well, 10,000 opposition supporters clashed with police over alleged vote fraud in a county election. The government agreed to a recount.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The judiciary is not entirely independent and free from government interference. Some 1,000 former political prisoners who have had their civil rights stripped are still barred from running for public office or practicing their professions. The three television stations and 300 radio stations are still run by the government or the KMT. The press is subject to restrictions, but private newspapers are relatively free and critical. Although under Taiwanese laws it is seditious for citizens to challenge the regime's policy of anti-communism or its claim of representing the Chinese mainland, the issue of Taiwanese independence from the mainland is openly discussed. Nevertheless, two leaders of a political prisoners' association sentenced on sedition charges last year remain in prison. After martial law was lifted in 1987, peaceful freedom of assembly was allowed with permission of the government and some restrictions. Freedom of religion is guaranteed, but authorities have been known to interfere with religious groups engaged in political activities. Residence registration is required, there is general freedom of internal travel, though some restrictions apply for emigration and foreign travel. Trade union certification must have government approval, and civil servants, teachers and defense industry workers are barred from joining unions. The right to strike is restricted.

Tanzania

Polity: One-party

Economy: Statist

Population: 24,055,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$405

Life Expectancy: 49 male, 53 female

Ethnic groups: Primarily African (Bantu), with significant Arab and Asian minorities

Political Rights: 6

Civil Liberties: 6

Status: Not Free

Overview.

The East African United Republic of Tanzania was formed in 1964 with the merger of the mainland Republic of Tanganyika and the People's Republic of Zanzibar, an island nation that includes the island of Pemba. Julius Nyerere, a leftist, was overwhelmingly elected president in 1965. In 1977, Nyerere's mainland Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) merged with the Zanzibar-based Afro-Shirazi Party to create the Revolution-

ary Party of Tanzania (CCM), which was assured a dominant role in the government by a constitution adopted later that year. The unicameral National Assembly is controlled by the CCM. Zanzibar enjoys a measure of political autonomy, with a directly elected president and House of Representatives.

In 1985, Nyerere declined to run for president for the ruling CCM, which chose Ali Hassan Mwinyi as the sole candidate for the October presidential election. Nyerere continues to serve as chairman of the CCM.

Mwinyi's tenure has been marked by a departure from Nyerere's statist economic policies and the implementation of free-market mechanisms encouraged by the International Monetary Fund. Aid from the World Bank totaled \$978 million in 1988. Under Nyerere, commodity agriculture (coffee, cotton, and sisal)—the basis of the economy and the source of 80 percent of its export earnings—was hurt by low producer prices and an overvalued exchange rate that discouraged exports. Between 1975 and 1986, Tanzania recorded negative gross domestic product rates of growth, and the country remains among the poorest in Africa. Under Mwinyi, the currency has been devalued, producer prices are rising and farmer cooperatives have been given more freedom from government controls.

In 1989 there was growing concern in the central government over a perceived rise in secessionist sentiments in Zanzibar, with its historical, economic and cultural links to the Arab world and the Sultanate of Oman, which provides substantial economic development aid to the island. In May 1989, former Zanzibar Chief Minister Seif Shariff Hamad, who was fired in 1988 allegedly for planning to overthrow the government with the aid of Gulf states, was arrested after he called for a referendum on union with the mainland. Several demonstrations were also held.

Another concern for the government was the rapid spread of AIDS in rural areas. In the Tabora region, the virus was discovered in 23 percent of the villages. Tanzania is also the home of 266,200 refugees, mainly from Burundi, Rwanda and Mozambique.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Tanzania is a one-party state, with only CCM political activity allowed, and citizens cannot democratically change their government. The legal system is based on the British model, with changes to accommodate Islamic and customary law. The judiciary is generally free from government interference. Security provisions under the Preventive Detention Act allow for indefinite detention without bail to persons considered a threat to national security and public order. The government controls the media, and restrictive laws make it difficult to establish private publications, though several magazines have appeared in the last few years.

Freedoms of association and assembly are limited, but non-political organizations exist. Freedom of religion for the country's mostly Christian and Muslim citizens is respected. Travel is generally unrestricted, but in an effort to prevent mass migrations to the cities there are residency and employment requirements. Independent unions are not allowed, and unions must belong to Juwata, the government-controlled union federation. Workers have and use the right to strike.

Thailand

Polity: Parliamentary democracy
(military influenced)

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 55,375,000

Conflict: Communist and religious insurgencies

PPP: \$2,576

Life Expectancy: 61 male, 65 female

Ethnic groups: Thai (84 percent), Chinese (12 percent), Malaysian, Indian, Khmer, Vietnamese minorities

Political Rights: 2

Civil Liberties: 3

Status: Free

Overview:

The Kingdom of Thailand is a constitutional monarchy nominally headed by King Bhumibol Adulyadej, with executive power vested in the Prime Minister. Chatichai Choonhavan of the Thai Nation (*Chart Thai*) Party was named to the post in July 1988 and leads a six-party coalition government supported by three-fifths of the 357-member House of Representatives. He was the first prime minister in more than a decade to hold an elected seat in parliament. In June 1989, the government took steps to amend the constitution and further limit the advisory power of the Senate, whose 267 members appointed by the king for six-year terms on the recommendation of the prime minister consist largely of military figures and whose president served as the overall president of the bicameral parliament. One amendment would make the House speaker the overall president of parliament.

A potential problem for any Thai coalition government is the overall lack of ideological differences between the country's nearly twenty political parties, which places the political focus on personalities and vested interests. But since the combined opposition in the House has only 128 MPs, the Chatichai government appears reasonably secure.

The new government faced a minor challenge in May 1989, when the *sapa patiwat*, or national revolutionary council, a group of academics, political figures, and labor activists espousing a vaguely socialist cause, mounted a campaign to unseat the government and dissolve parliament. Special Branch officers arrested fourteen movement leaders. In the past, the group had been linked with acting supreme commander Gen. Chaovalit Yongchaiyut, who denied any involvement in the May activities.

The military retains a dominant role in Thai foreign policy and is a factor in political life. In August, the prime minister accepted the "voluntary" resignation of foreign policy advisor Sukhumband Paribatra after his criticism of military corruption infuriated the army. Pervasive corruption in the civilian government remains a serious problem.

The government has been buoyed by one of Asia's biggest economic booms, with a rapid expansion of the industrial sector in a country where 70 percent of the population is still engaged in agriculture. It has sought to cement relations with its neighbors, which have natural resources and hydroelectric power needed for Thailand's economic growth. Thai banks have been invited to operate in Vietnam, and Thai businessmen are negotiating for hotels and other businesses in Vietnam, for coal, wood and iron-ore ventures in Laos, and logging in Burma. The government has designated 1989 as a "year to combat AIDS," which has had an impact on the booming tourist trade to Bangkok's famous red-light zone. Thailand accounts for half the cases in all of Asia.

Another key issue is the fate of some 400,000 refugees still living in camps along the Cambodia, Laos and Burma border. Last year, the government severely restricted the availability of first asylum. In addition, the government must deal with sporadic violence by at least six Muslim and Communist insurgency groups, the primary ones being the Communist Party of Thailand (CPT) and the separatist (Islamic) Pattani United Liberation Organization (PULO) in the south. Khmer Rouge military incursions across the Thai border increased as the situation in neighboring Cambodia remained unsettled.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Elections are open, free and fair, with the 1988 national vote attracting a record number of parties and candidates. Both military and civil courts provide defendants with a broad range of legal rights. The judiciary is patterned on European models. There are some restrictions on the large, independent press, particularly in writing about the royal family, and it often practices self-censorship. Television and radio are licensed by the government and operated both by the government and as private, commercial operations. The media express various viewpoints. Freedom of association is guaranteed, though all groups must register with the government. Freedom of religion is safeguarded under law and in practice, human rights groups are active, and private property is secure. There is freedom to emigrate and travel, although some restrictions apply in insurgency areas. There are four independent labor umbrella organizations, union leaders have been appointed to the Senate, and though strikes are illegal, they do occur.

Togo

Polity: One-party (military dominated) **Political Rights: 6**
Economy: Mixed statist **Civil Liberties: 6**
Population: 3,393,000 **Status:** Not Free
Conflict: None
PPP: \$670
Life Expectancy: 49 male, 52 female
Ethnic groups: Ewe, Kabye, Mina

Overview:

This narrow, poor country on the Gulf of Guinea between Ghana and Benin gained independence in 1960. It has been governed since 1967 by Gen. Gnassingbe (originally Etienne) Eyadema as a one-party state ruled by the Rally of the Togolese People (RPT), which controls nominations to the popularly elected unicameral National Assembly. The president, who can dissolve the legislature, appoints a cabinet and the RPT's Political Bureau is the main policy-making body. In December 1986, President Eyadema, who heads the military, ran unopposed and was elected to a seven-year term. Opposition parties have been banned since 1967. In 1987, local and municipal multi-candidate (though single-party) elections were held.

Periodic border disputes with neighboring Ghana and Burkina Faso to the north have flared up, but the region was relatively stable in 1989. The government has embarked on an economic austerity plan endorsed by the World Bank. A number of officials went on trial during the year on corruption and embezzlement charges.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties

Citizens of the Republic of Togo cannot democratically change their government. Those accused of political crimes may still be held indefinitely without charge, although a forty-eight-hour limit applies to ordinary criminals. Trials are often delayed because of lax procedures and systemic weaknesses in the judicial system. Traditional African courts have jurisdiction over criminal and civil cases, but defendants who do not accept their ruling can bring their cases before regular courts. The judiciary is not independent of the RPT and the government. The rights of Togolese to criticize the government are circumscribed, and all sectors of the media are in government hands. Freedom of assembly is severely curtailed, and religious groups must be sanctioned by the government. Freedom of movement and travel is generally uninhibited, but restrictions apply on travel abroad in order to make it difficult for skilled and educated Togolese to leave. The umbrella National Confederation of Workers of Togo is controlled by the RPT; strikes are allowed but rarely called.

Tonga

Polity: Monarchy and partly elected legislature

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 100,000

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 57 male, 61 female

Ethnic groups: Mainly Polynesian with a Melanesian mixture

Political Rights: 4

Civil Liberties: 3

Status: Partly Free

Overview:

This South Pacific kingdom of nearly 200 islands (45 inhabited) gained independence within the Commonwealth on 4 June 1970. It has been ruled since 1965 by King Taufa'ahua Tupou IV, who succeeded his mother. The constitution grants the king broad political powers independent of the unicameral Legislative Assembly; he selects the Privy Council, which makes major policy decisions, as well as the prime minister and cabinet ministers. The Legislative Assembly consists of nine nobles selected by the thirty-three hereditary nobles of Tonga, nine people's representatives elected by universal suffrage, as well as cabinet ministers and the governors of two island groups. There are no political parties. In the last several years, there have been numerous instances of corruption among parliamentarians.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Tonga's citizens cannot freely elect their government. The judiciary is modelled on the British court system, and the ultimate appeal is to the king, who appoints all judges. There are no political prisoners. The only radio station and the largest circulation newspaper are government owned, but there are private media and no censorship. There are no significant restrictions on freedom of assembly or travel, either domestic and foreign. Freedom of religion is guaranteed and practiced. Workers have the right to form unions, though none exists.

Trinidad and Tobago

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 1,295,000

Status: Free

Conflict: None

PPP: \$3,664

Life Expectancy: 66 male, 71 female

Ethnic Groups: Ethnically complex, black (41 percent), East Indian descent (41 percent), mixed (16 percent), white (1 percent)

Political Rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 1

Overview:

The Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, a member of the British Commonwealth, achieved independence in 1962. The state is composed of two islands, with Trinidad accounting for nearly 95 percent of the country's area and population. Under the 1976 constitution, Trinidad and Tobago became a republic with a president, elected by a majority of both houses in parliament, replacing the former governor-general. Executive authority, however, remains invested in the prime minister.

Trinidad and Tobago form a parliamentary democracy. The bicameral parliament consists of a thirty-six-member House of representatives elected for five years, and a thirty-one-member Senate, with twenty-five senators appointed by the prime minister and six by the leader of the parliamentary opposition. The prime minister is the leader of the party or coalition commanding a majority in the House. Local government (counties and major municipalities) is elected.

In the December 1986 general elections, the opposition National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR) led by A.N.R. Robinson decisively defeated the black-based People's National Movement (PNM), which had ruled for thirty years. The NAR took thirty-three seats in the House. The PNM, led by outgoing Prime Minister George Chambers, took only three, primarily because of its failure to halt four years of steady economic decline. Robinson was credited with forging the first solid opposition coalition, including both black and East Indian elements, against the PNM. The NAR was composed of Robinson's Democratic Action Congress (DAC), Basdeo Panday's United Labour Front (ULF), Karl Hudson-Phillip's Organization for National Reconstruction (ONR), and the Tapia House Movement.

Once in power, however, Prime Minister Robinson had to contend with sharp infighting within the ruling coalition. By 1988, the Tapia House Movement had withdrawn and Panday, the NAR deputy leader, and three other NAR members of parliament had been expelled, with Panday forming a new party, the United National Congress (UNC), in April 1989. The NAR was nonetheless left with a commanding 29-7 majority in the House. Robinson also ran afoul of the powerful labor sector because of the government's economic austerity program inspired by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). By late 1989, the union-based Committee for Labour Solidarity had announced it was going to launch its own political party. The next general election is due by the end of 1991.

In 1980, the House approved a bill establishing a fifteen-member House of Assembly for Tobago, with twelve members directly elected for four years and three named by the majority party. In January 1987, Tobago was granted full internal self-government. In elections held in November 1988, the NAR retained eleven of its twelve seats. In 1989, rumbles were heard

from Tobago about a constitutional review and the possibility of granting the right to secede from Trinidad.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Constitutional guarantees regarding the right to free expression, freedom of religion and the right to organize political parties, civic organizations and labor unions are respected. Apart from the PNM and the parties allied in the NAR, there are close to a dozen political parties of various persuasions.

There are a number of human rights organizations. Traditionally active in addressing allegations of police brutality, in 1989 they criticized government anti-narcotics initiatives that would give power to the police to conduct searches without a warrant.

Labor unions have the right to strike and are well organized, powerful and politically active. Since 1988, organized labor has spearheaded a campaign against economic austerity programs. An independent industrial court plays a key role in arbitrating labor disputes. Newspapers are privately owned, uncensored and influential. There are independent dailies as well as party publications. Radio is both public and private. Commercial television is provided by the Trinidad and Tobago Television Company.

An independent judicial system is headed by a Supreme Court, which consists of a High Court and a Court of Appeal, with district courts operating on the local level. Under the constitution, there is a right of ultimate appeal to the Privy Council of the United Kingdom.

Tunisia

Polity: Dominant party
Economy: Mixed-capitalist
Population: 7,876,000
Conflict: None
PPP: \$2,741
Life Expectancy: 60 male, 61 female
Ethnic Groups: Arab

Political Rights: 5
Civil Liberties: 3
Status: Partly Free

Overview:

Under President Ben Ali, Tunisia is making a slow and uncertain transition from prolonged one-party domination toward a more open political system. In 1987, Ben Ali, then prime minister and former interior minister, took over from the ailing and increasingly autocratic President Habib Bourgiba, who led Tunisia since independence in 1956 and had become, by a 1976 law, president for life. Ben Ali promised a multi-party democracy, threw out Bourgiba loyalists from cabinet posts, freed a thousand political prisoners, had the provision of president-for-life rescinded, and scrapped special security courts. The elections in April 1989 for president and the unicameral National Assembly reveal only modest progress toward greater pluralism, however. Five parties ran against Ben Ali's ruling Constitutional Democratic Rally (RCD), formerly Bourguiba's Destourian Socialist Party, for the 141 National Assembly seats. The RCD won all seats and Ben Ali ran unopposed for the presidency.

The election process was not untainted. Opposition parties could publicize their meetings only belatedly because the government delayed granting permission to use assembly halls. A prohibition on the use of megaphones precluded effective outdoor rallies. State-controlled radio and television gave

no access time to the opposition and in two of the twenty-four electoral districts, opposition candidates were not allowed to run. Islamic opposition candidates, who ran as independents, captured 14 percent of the national vote (30 percent in Tunis), far more than the 3 percent taken by the secular opposition. Some analysts say Ben Ali's reformism stole the secular opposition's thunder, but others reported widespread ballot-stuffing and governmental coercion of voters. Social Democratic leader Ahmed Mestiri resigned following the disheartening election outcome.

As the vote may reveal, Islamic fundamentalists are now the principal group with electoral support outside the RCD. They are also perceived to threaten the RCD's vision of a secular, modernizing pro-Western state. The Islamic Tendency Movement, run by fundamentalist leader Rashid Ghanouchi, has tried to moderate itself, changing its name to the Movement for Rebirth and making no reference to Islam in its charter. Still, the government has refused to legalize the group. Ben Ali seems ambivalent about multi-party democracy. At an independence-day speech on 25 July he said, "The RCD is the party of the president and the party of change. We do not believe in a plethora of parties that will waste energy and create antagonism." It is widely believed Ben Ali is willing to increase the pace of political liberalization to the extent he succeeds in liberalizing the economy first. A reform program has been introduced that would privatize Tunisia's 300 state-run enterprises, but the government now has to cope with rising unemployment, urbanization, and a poor cereal crop that will postpone adopting this and other fundamental economic reform measures. In the fall of 1989 Ben Ali sacked his prime minister, who feared the risk of social upheaval caused by the reform program.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The press is subject to censorship by the Interior Ministry. Some censorship has occurred over issues of defamation. New press laws preclude suspending a publication indefinitely, or suspending a publication at all without due process. The judiciary, however, is independent of the executive branch in a limited way only. The Cultural Affairs Ministry is permitted to screen plays before public production. Government authorization is required prior to organizing or assembling.

Islam is the official religion. Small Christian and Jewish communities are free to worship, but the Bahai religion is prohibited. Islamic fundamentalists have reportedly been beaten and tortured in prison. Twenty percent of Tunisian workers are unionized, almost all belonging to the General Union of Tunisian Workers (UGTT). The union has frequently been repressed when attempting to assert its independence of the main party. Since 1987, striking and bargaining have occurred without government interference. Tunisians enjoy freedom of movement, though they must carry identity cards.

Turkey

Polity: Presidential-parliamentary democracy (military influenced)

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 51,970,000

Conflict: Ethnic insurgency

PPP: \$3,781

Life Expectancy: 60 male, 63 female

Ethnic Groups: Turkish, Kurdish

Political Rights: 3

Civil Liberties: 3

Status: Partly Free

Overview:

Disaffected by rising inflation, unemployment, and alleged governmental corruption and nepotism, Turkish voters delivered a severe setback to the center-right Motherland Party (ANAP) of Prime Minister Turgut Ozal in the municipal elections of March 1989. ANAP finished third with 22 percent of the total vote, behind the rightist True Path Party (25 percent) and the Social Democratic Populist Party (28 percent), and lost local posts in all but two of Turkey's sixty-seven provinces. Although Ozal reneged on a promise to resign if ANAP fared poorly, and although his party still holds a majority in Turkey's National Assembly (292 of 450 seats), general elections are expected to be held within a year. In late October 1989 the National Assembly elected Ozal to be president to replace retired General Kenan Evren. Evren, who led the coup of 1980 amidst parliamentary stalemate and political terrorism, was elected president for a seven-year term in 1982. Because of the stinging defeat ANAP received in March, all 155 opposition members of the Assembly protested Ozal's candidacy and boycotted the vote. The new president named ANAP loyalist Yildirim Akbulut to be premier, thus giving Ozal continued political control. The Turkish constitution forbids the president to be partisan.

The March elections, widely believed to be fair and free, testify to the restoration of democracy since the military left power in 1983. Still, civilian control is not deeply rooted in Turkey's political culture: the military has repeatedly intervened in politics since 1960 and the threat of future intervention is both rumored and plausible. Turkish democracy, in addition, remains limited. Parties falling short of 10 percent of the national vote, for example, are denied parliamentary representation and their percentage is instead credited to the party with the highest total. Although a 1982 law banning former politicians from public life was narrowly rescinded in a 1987 referendum, student groups may neither demonstrate nor engage in political activity. Trade unions and other professional associations are also prohibited from engaging in political activity and affiliating with any political party. This regulation has been evaded, but certain associations, like The Turkish Human Rights Association, have been prosecuted on such charges. The bulk of public sector employees, close to 30 percent of the work force, may not join political parties. Communist activity and Communist political parties are prohibited, under penalty of life imprisonment or the death sentence. Parties based on class or religious fundamentalism are also prohibited.

These political restrictions (as well as other restrictions) are now a salient topic of debate in Turkey as it seeks full membership in a more liberal democratic European Community. The membership bid and pressure from local prodemocratic groups are leading to a reconsideration and pos-

sible reform of the 1982 constitution and the penal laws that codify some of these restrictions. Ozal has stated his opposition to rescinding the constitutional ban on Communist and religious parties.

Another important and related issue is the tolerance to be given Islamic fundamentalism. Over Ozal's wishes, a ban against women wearing the presumably Islamic headscarf at universities was upheld by the country's Constitutional Court. Though an overwhelming majority of Turks are Sunni Muslims, Turkey has been averse to fundamentalism and is committed to the secularism of the Republic's founder, the nationalist dictator Ataturk. The headscarf issue has upset many Turks, some of whom espouse greater freedom of expression and many of whom, including liberals, fear increased fundamentalist influence and possible polarization. A constitutional ban on religious proselytizing also remains in effect, although it too is being reviewed.

Finally, the battle intensifies between government forces and a separatist Kurdish guerrilla movement in the southeast led by the Marxist Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK). The PKK, estimated at 2,500 strong, has doubled the number of its attacks against Turkish forces, village militias, and suspected "collaborators" this year to mark its five-year anniversary. The government has now stationed 110,000 troops in the southeastern provinces, and security forces are taking a tougher line against civilians suspected of supporting the Kurds. In one case now before the European Court of Human Rights, soldiers forced an elderly man to eat excrement after failing to turn up evidence of PKK activities or support. The PKK, meanwhile, has forcibly recruited Kurdish youth to join their struggle.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Turkey's press is vigorous, but journalists and writers exercise their craft in the face of considerable risk and intimidation. Reporters covering human rights abuses or the Kurdish problem have been prosecuted under laws that forbid insulting the president, Army, or Turkey's reputation and spreading Communist or separatist propaganda. A left-wing magazine comparing Turkish treatment of its Kurds to Bulgarian treatment of its ethnic Turks was banned by a State Security Court in June. In the first two months of 1989, twenty-nine journalists had been arrested. Turkish courts, generally independent and favoring freedom of expression, tend not to convict many journalists, however. Turkish workers may strike, but only after the exhaustion of collective bargaining; once on strike, picketing is sharply limited. The ILO has filed a complaint against the government for prohibiting certain banking workers from organizing. Government permission is required to assemble and rally. On May Day, when demonstrations are prohibited, troops fired upon demonstrating trade unionists protesting the government's austerity policy. Working conditions still fall short of the standards of the International Labor Organization, of which Turkey is a member, and child labor laws go unenforced.

Reports of prison torture, particularly during lengthy incommunicado detention, continue. Amnesty International reported 500 claims of torture in 1989 and 10 deaths caused by torture. Trials are often delayed for years for certain prisoners, and many prisoners are held without bail. Military judges often preside over political trials, as with the Dev Yol and Dev Sol trials—a practice questioned by the head of the Appeal Court, Justice Ahmet Cosar. Confessions extracted under torture have also been admissible in

trial. Turkey does not recognize its 8 million Kurdish population as an ethnic minority, and the public use of the Kurdish language is forbidden. Recently, however, Kurdish parents were permitted to give their children Kurdish names; lawyers were allowed to converse with their Kurdish clients in Kurdish; and Kurdish is now spoken on the street. Ironically, Turkey welcomed over 300,000 ethnic Turk refugees expelled from Bulgaria this summer, where the government has tried to eliminate Turks as an ethnic and religious group.

Tuvalu

Polity: Parliamentary democracy
Economy: Capitalist
Population: 8,700
Conflict: None
PPP: NA
Life Expectancy: 57 male, 60 female
Ethnic groups: Predominantly Polynesian

Political Rights: 1
Civil Liberties: 1
Status: Free

Overview:

With a land area of ten square miles, this densely populated South Pacific nation consisting of nine atolls (eight inhabited islands) gained independence from Britain in October 1978. Nominally headed by a governor general representing the British crown, real executive authority lies with the prime minister nominated by the twelve-member, unicameral Parliament elected for a four-year term, and consisting of two representatives from four, more populous islands, and one each from the four others. The current prime minister is Dr. Tomasi Puapua; a parliamentary election is scheduled for September 1989. Although there are no formal political parties, various viewpoints are represented and tolerated.

Tuvalu is a signatory of a treaty declaring the South Pacific a nuclear-free zone. Domestically, family planning is a major issue in response to concern that population growth will outpace economic capacity.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Elections are freely contested, and the judiciary is free from government interference. The constitution guarantees freedom of religion and assembly. A biweekly newspaper and radio are government owned.

Uganda

Polity: Military
Economy: Capitalist-statist
Population: 16,725,000
Conflicts: Political, religious insurgencies
PPP: \$511
Life Expectancy: 47 male, 51 female
Ethnic groups: Ganda, Nkole, Gisu, Soga, Turkana, Chiga, Lango, Acholi

Political Rights: 6
Civil Liberties: 4
Status: Partly Free

Overview:

Since its establishment as an independent member of the Commonwealth in 1962, this landlocked, East African nation has been plagued by tribal warfare, rebel activity, intermittent coups, and brutal dictatorships that have

killed some 800,000 Ugandans. After the ouster of strongman Idi Amin in 1979, the country was ruled by former President Milton Obote, whose regime was marked by military atrocities, further economic disintegration, corruption and civil strife. In July 1985, Obote was deposed by Lt. Gen. Tito Okello, who six months later was himself overthrown by Yoweri Museveni, a leader of the National Resistance Movement (NRM) and its military wing, the National Resistance Army (NRA), a well disciplined fighting force.

In February 1986, President Museveni announced the formation of a National Resistance Council (NRC) as an interim government. Local government was decentralized, with local district secretaries reporting to government appointed administrators rather than to the capital. President Museveni has promised constitutional reform and an eventual transition to democracy. Since assuming power, President Museveni has managed to stabilize the country, although insurgencies continue in the northern and eastern districts of Gulu, Soroti and Karamoja. Among the main rebel groups are the Uganda People's Army (UPA), former members of ex-President Obote's party; remnants of the Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA); the Ugandan Democratic People's Movement (UDPM), composed of former UNLA members; and the Holy Spirit Movement, known also as the United Salvation Army, made up of several thousand followers of a bizarre "voodoo" cult.

In 1989, the Museveni regime focused on continuing the implementation of a mixed economy that the government claims has produced annual gross domestic product growth of 6 percent over the past three years. After austerity measures were imposed in 1988, (including several devaluations of the currency, reductions in the deficit and increased producer prices) the World Bank provided Uganda with \$550 million in new aid. The changes, plus a sense of political stability and the government's crackdown on corruption, have encouraged renewed foreign investment.

The Museveni government has also admitted and promised to investigate numerous instances of army atrocities against civilians in insurgency areas. A presidentially appointed inspector general is charged with investigating current cases of government abuse and corruption. The government acknowledged that it was holding 3,000 people suspected of opposition politics in northern Uganda without charge. In May 1989, Ugandan troops were accused of executing sixteen civilians by firing squad in eastern Uganda, where troops killed over 100 civilians in the village of Tididiek in February or March. Ugandan troops have been accused by the government newspaper of destroying grain stores, burning huts, and torturing and shooting prisoners. Estimates of displaced villagers are as high as 175,000. In June, the Uganda government killed more than 300 rebels and captured 500 from the Holy Spirit Movement and the UPA in a major clash near Soroti.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Although the Museveni regime has promised a transition to democracy, the country is ruled by the NRM and the people cannot change their government through a democratic process. The government maintains the right to detain suspected insurgents without charge or trial, and there have been numerous reports of army abuses. The judicial system is based on the British model, and defendants enjoy fundamental legal rights. Political activity has been suspended, but political parties are allowed to function,

though under numerous restrictions on speech and assembly. Nonpolitical and religious gatherings need government approval. The relatively free and government press have covered a broad range of topics, including the guerrilla fighting, human rights abuses by the army and other politically sensitive topics. However, in the past journalists have been detained; several were charged with treason in 1986. The government generally does not interfere with religious practice, and religious publications with an anti-government slant are tolerated. Guerrilla activities have put certain restrictions on domestic travel, and Ugandans are free to emigrate. Workers are organized under the National Organization of Trade Unions (NOTU), and have the right to strike. Skilled civil service workers, however, are barred from joining unions. The Uganda Human Rights Activists, an independent group, monitors human rights in the country, although its former leader was detained for a year for strongly criticizing the Museveni government.

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Polity: Communist one-party

Population: 287,550,000

Conflict: Ethnic unrest

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 67 male, 75 female

Ethnic groups: Russian, Ukrainian, Uzbek, Byelorussian, Armenian, Georgian, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, and various Asiatic and Turkic peoples

Political Rights: 6

Civil Liberties: 5

Status: Not Free

This huge, geographically diverse country, extending from the Baltic Sea in Europe to the Pacific Ocean and encompassing hundreds of ethnic and national groups, was established as a Communist state in 1918. In 1922, it was constituted as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which included four constituent republics (Russia, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Transcaucasia). It currently encompasses fifteen constituent republics, including Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, and many autonomous regions, which were forcibly annexed as part of the 1939 Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact with Nazi Germany.

All political power is centralized in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), the only legal party, which the constitution defines as "the leading and guiding force of Soviet society." Its general secretary chairs the Supreme Soviet, the standing legislature, and is the head of state. Until 1989, before the election of a newly created Congress of People's Deputies, legislative functions were carried out by the Supreme Soviet, which served as a rubber stamp for policies decided by the CPSU Central Committee. The fifteen republics have their own party-governmental structures which, until recent political and economic demands in the Baltics and elsewhere, have been totally subservient to the central government in Moscow.

From its inception to 1982, the USSR was ruled by four men: Vladimir Lenin, Joseph Stalin, Nikita Khrushchev and Leonid Brezhnev. The death of the latter without an apparent successor created a leadership vacuum that was filled by former KGB head Yuri Andropov, whose untimely death in 1984 led to the ascent of an ailing Konstantin Chernenko as general secretary and head of state. Seen largely as a transitional figure, Chernenko died in March 1985, less than a year after assuming power, and was succeeded by fifty-four-year-old Mikhail S. Gorbachev.

Since assuming power, Gorbachev has orchestrated dramatic changes in the Soviet political and economic system under the twin banners of *perestroika* (restructuring) and *glasnost* (openness). Purging Brezhnev associates and long-entrenched conservatives from the government and the CPSU, he has consolidated more individual power than any Soviet leader since Stalin. He is chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which gives him the title of president, and he is general secretary of the CPSU. Glasnost encouraged greater openness in the Soviet media, which began addressing issues previously off limits and criticizing aspects of Soviet-Communist society and its history. It also encouraged citizens to speak out, and led indirectly to burgeoning national movements in the Baltics, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan and Moldavia. Violent flare-ups occurred in the Caucasus as age-old ethnic animosities came to the fore. In the Baltics and most recently in the Ukraine, these movements coalesced around so-called "popular fronts," which included local republican Communist party functionaries. In the Russian Republic, the independent Democratic Union has called for the disintegration of the Soviet empire, and in October several groups met in Yaroslavl and agreed on a platform of political pluralism, a decentralization of political power, an end to the CPSU's leading role and an independent judiciary. Hundreds of citizens' organizations have also sprung up, including language and cultural societies, memorial committees to honor the victims of Stalinism, street theater groups, ecological associations, political and discussion clubs and others.

Perestroika has been aimed at restructuring a stagnant, bloated centrally planned economy, streamlining a pervasive bureaucracy and increasing the production of food and consumer goods. Private cooperatives and land-leasing arrangements with collective farmers have been permitted. Joint ventures and foreign investment have been encouraged by the government.

In the political sphere, Gorbachev has sought to energize the Party and encourage citizen participation in the political process. This has led to the formation of a 2,250-member Congress of People's Deputies, the highest organ of government power, which is to meet at least once a year to set policy and review the enactments of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, whose members are selected from the ranks of the Congress. The 542-member Supreme Soviet is comprised of a 271-member Soviet of the Union and the 271-member Soviet and Nationalities, 11 for each of the 15 republics, four for each of the 20 autonomous republics, two for each of the eight autonomous regions and one for each of the 10 autonomous areas.

In 1989, Gorbachev faced a series of political and economic crises, including a widescale rejection of hand-picked CPSU candidates in the first elections for the newly created Congress of People's Deputies held in March; crippling wildcat strikes in several major coalfields in June and October; increased demands for greater political and economic autonomy in the Baltics; nationalist ferment in the Ukraine, Moldavia, and the Transcaucasus; ongoing ethnic violence in the Nagorno-Karabakh region of Azerbaijan; civil strife in Georgia and Uzbekistan; and the apparent failure of perestroika to be fully implemented and to improve economic performance and standard of living.

On 26 March citizens went to the polls to elect the Congress of People's Deputies, which consists of 750 deputies from as many territorial districts, 750 for as many national-territorial districts, and 750 for public, all-union

organizations, including 100 set aside for the CPSU. Some 80 percent of district seats were contested, and many voters rejected (by crossing off) CPSU candidates running unopposed or hand-picked by the party machine, forcing repeat balloting in 14 percent of the districts that offered only one or two choices. About 10 percent of those elected were not CPSU members, among them long-time dissident physicist and human rights activist Andrei Sakharov. Also elected were CPSU reformers led by Boris Yeltsin, whose nomination was opposed by Gorbachev, committed to speeding up the process of perestroika and democratization

Following the elections, which were widely perceived as a rejection of the Communist system, Gorbachev oversaw the purge of 110 old-line party leaders at all levels. He also managed to railroad through his choices for the Supreme Soviet, with all candidates running unopposed. In June, an opposition caucus in the parliament (called the Inter-Regional Deputies' Group) was launched by Yeltsin, who claimed 300 members. In September, Gorbachev was behind a purge in the Politburo, ousting conservative former KGB leader Viktor Chebrikov and Vladimir Shcherbitsky, who was later removed as head of the Communist Party of the Ukraine. The new Parliament has shown that it is capable of independent action not always endorsed by Gorbachev. The same month, radicals in the Parliament introduced a bill to legalize a multiparty system, a move condemned by Mr. Gorbachev as "nonsense." On 24 October the Congress of People's Deputies voted to eliminate special seats for the CPSU and other official organizations in national and local elections, responding to popular criticism that such reserved slots were undemocratic. The measure passed in the Supreme Soviet after vigorous debate, 254 in favor, 85 against and 36 abstentions. The lawmakers also passed a measure that would allow direct elections for president in each of the fifteen republics, a move criticized by Gorbachev. The Parliament also rejected a total ban on strike activity, favored by Gorbachev, limiting it to essential industries.

On the nationalities front, Gorbachev faced problems in several regions. In the Baltics, popular fronts—working with local party leaders—pushed for greater political and economic autonomy. Estonia in October backed away from a restrictive voting law that would have disenfranchised non-Estonians (mostly Russians) for elections scheduled for 10 December. In Lithuania, where nationalist candidates won forty-two seats in the Congress of People's Deputies, the Lithuanian Communist Party in late September pledged to establish an independent Communist Party, and leaders talked openly of total independence from the Soviet Union. The "Sajudis" (popular front) has become the prominent political force in the republic. In Latvia, the Popular Front adopted on 8 October the most radical program yet, calling for outright political and economic independence as its goal and outlining plans should economic links with the USSR be cut.

Developments in the Baltics led to several strikes in these areas by Russians and other non-Balts, and Gorbachev repeatedly warned that he vigorously opposed Baltic secession.

National stirrings also enveloped the Ukraine, the second-largest republic with some 50 million people and the industrial and agricultural heartland of the Soviet Union. 1989 saw continual demonstrations in the historically nationalist Western Ukraine, which was forcibly incorporated into the USSR along with the Baltics in 1939. Independent groups include the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and the popular front "Rukh" (Movement), which was

officially launched after a three-day meeting in Kiev in September attended by representatives from other republics and from Solidarity in Poland. The Rukh, which was spearheaded by Communist members of the Ukrainian Writers' Union and includes deputies of the parliament as well as former dissidents, mobilized for republican elections scheduled for November, and called for redrafting an undemocratic election law which favored incumbents and Communist organizations.

Ethnic unrest continued to simmer in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and in Central Asia. In Uzbekistan, violence in June claimed more than 100 lives and generated 15,000 refugees, as ethnic Uzbeks fought with Meskhetian Turks deported there in 1944 by Stalin. Tensions were exacerbated by corruption, unemployment and hunger in the republic. In September, a riot broke out at an ethnic friendship festival in the Uzbek capital of Tashkent. In June, four days of rioting in the Kazakhstan oil town of Novy Uzen, touched off by food shortages and economic privation, led to three deaths. Earlier in the year, twenty people were killed by Soviet troops using nerve gas in Georgia, to quell disturbances between Georgians and Abkhazians and Georgian demands for political independence.

Conflict continues between Armenia and Azerbaijan over the Nagorno-Karabakh region, an Armenian enclave inside Azerbaijan. The dispute has left hundreds dead and countless more displaced. In Azerbaijan, several huge rallies were held and wildcat railroad strikes paralyzed oil shipments to the rest of the USSR and food supplies to Armenia. In the fall, Azerbaijan's powerful Popular Front closed docks and several factories in Baku in a week-long stoppage demanding an end to Moscow's direct rule over Nagorno-Karabakh and official recognition of the Front. Armenian nationalists have also demanded greater autonomy from Moscow.

Responding to these developments, Gorbachev on 19 September, after a special Central Committee meeting on nationalities, promised expanded rights for the republics. While dismissing all separatist talks as "an irresponsible game," Gorbachev told republic leaders that they would have greatly extended opportunities to set their own programs and fill their own posts.

Labor problems also plagued Gorbachev in 1989. In July, some 400,000 coal workers struck mines in the Kuznetsk Basin of Siberia and the Donetsk Basin in the Ukraine, a strike that cost the coal industry some \$156 million. Workers formed permanent strike committees and called for independent unions. Earlier in the year, there were hundreds of work stoppages throughout the country, including crippling strikes by railroad workers in Azerbaijan. Despite a new law prohibiting strikes in essential industries, thousands of coal miners in Vorkuta walked off in October for five weeks demanding a repeal of Article 6 of the Soviet constitution dealing with the leading role of the Communist party. A week earlier, some 20,000 miners staged a one-day strike in Mezhdurechensk in western Siberia.

Worker unrest was not the only factor that appeared to have frustrated perestroika and the economy in 1989. Popular resentment of private cooperatives, which account for about 1 percent of the economy and often charge high prices, led to a backlash. In January, the Politburo approved price controls over a range of cooperative goods. In February, governments in the republics were given a free hand to impose what tax rates they wished on cooperatives. In September, Gorbachev—responding to public pressure—criticized cooperatives for profiteering and high prices.

The Soviet economy continued to be plagued by shoddy production, an

entrenched bureaucracy, a poor distribution system, the lack of consumer goods, and unprofitable industrial enterprises. With the exception of West Germany, Western nations have been cautious in embarking on large-scale joint ventures or extending huge loans to the Soviets. Gorbachev's program of leasing land to peasants for fifty years, announced in December 1988, has not been broadly accepted by farmers who do not trust the program. In March, Gorbachev called the chronic food shortage the USSR's "biggest wound," and proposed that the Soviet Union go abroad to buy grain, meats, fruits, vegetables and sugar. The country's agricultural chief, Yegor K. Ligachev, a conservative rival to Gorbachev, insisted that the collective farm system could meet the nation's food needs. By mid-1989, however, several products, including sugar, were rationed, and there were increased shortages of meat, soap, detergent and other products.

By the end of 1989, there were indications that Gorbachev was trying to curtail some aspects of glasnost. While removing the conservative editor of *Pravda* in October, he also demanded the resignation of the editor of *Fakty i Argumenty*, with 23 million readers by far the most widely read Soviet publication, for publishing a poll showing that Gorbachev was losing popularity.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Despite some liberalizing trends, the Soviet Union remains a one-party, Communist state in which the citizens cannot change their form of government. In 1988 and in 1989, several draft laws were proposed to reform the legal system and criminal codes, but only minor reforms have actually been codified or institutionalized. The Soviet judiciary remains, despite some modifications regarding the appointment of judges, a part of the state-party apparatus and is not free from state-party interference. Republic criminal codes still include overtly "political" crimes, though they have been under review and revision since 1987. As of July 1989, Amnesty International reported nearly 100 political prisoners. Freedom of association and expression is restricted. In July 1988, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet issued a decree restricting the rights of unofficial groups to hold meetings, and set up special armed units to quell "public disorders." A similar decree, issued in April 1989, which cannot be abolished by any individual republics, also had a provision against "insulting or defaming state bodies and public organizations." On 1 October riot police broke up a peaceful demonstration in Lvov, the Ukraine, twenty people being seriously injured. In Soviet Georgia, Soviet troops used nerve gas to break up a rally, causing many fatalities. However, scores of other mass demonstrations across the Soviet Union took place without incident.

Private cooperatives, political discussion clubs, cultural and historical groups, language preservation societies, and other citizens' organizations have been allowed to flourish. Although glasnost has encouraged free public expression, authorities—particularly in the Ukraine—have used administrative arrest and detention against citizens active in opposition politics. Activists have been held for days without charge, then released, taken off trains, harassed by the KGB and, in some cases, beaten.

The government controls all radio and television, and the press is controlled by the government or the CPSU and its organizations. And while newspapers and journals have printed diverse and controversial views on a broad spectrum of national and social issues, there is no new press law that

institutionalizes a free and open press. In late 1989, Gorbachev demanded the resignation of a popular magazine editor for publishing a poll indicating his declining popularity, and it appears that the press practices self-censorship by generally not printing articles overtly critical of Gorbachev and his program. Independent papers and journals are permitted to operate, but their existence is not guaranteed or safeguarded by law.

Although a new law on religion has been promised and the government has tolerated religious expression, existing laws, some dating back to 1929 and 1975, still severely circumscribe free religious worship and proselytizing. Believers must still register their congregations with authorities (a provision that will be included even in the new law), and laws bar the right to teach religion to children, appoint clergy, and evangelize. In 1989, registration rights were granted to the Hare Krishna Movement and to the Jehovah's Witnesses, but other evangelical groups remain unregistered and, therefore, technically illegal. The 4 million member Ukrainian Catholic Church, banned since 1946, is still illegal, although Gorbachev pledged to guarantee religious freedom during his historic meeting with Pope John Paul II in Rome on 1 December.

In 1988-89, there has been a dramatic shift in official attitudes toward emigration and freedom of movement. Although a law to abandon internal passports has yet to be ratified and restrictions exist on place of residence, citizens who can afford it have generally been allowed to travel to the West, particularly to visit families and relatives. The numbers of those allowed to emigrate continued to increase in 1989, although the policy seemed aimed at Jews, Armenians and ethnic Germans. There is some private home ownership and rights to private property, but a comprehensive law defining property rights has yet to be drafted. Housing shortages are a chronic problem, and have an impact on size and system of family. In all, the USSR gets partial credit for personal social freedoms.

Although in the summer of 1989 striking coal workers demanded free and independent trade unions, there are thirty official unions all belonging to the officially sponsored All-Union Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU). Tiny, independent unions such as SMOT, whose leaders were arrested in the 1970s, continue to function in the larger cities, but their existence is not safeguarded by law. Late in the year, the Supreme Soviet passed a law allowing for the right to strike except in so-called essential industries. There were also indications that some official unions have become more responsive to worker needs following the unrest in 1989. Despite restrictions, wildcat strikes were common all over the Soviet Union in 1989.

United Arab Emirates

Polity: Confederation of traditional monarchies

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 2,047,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$12,191

Life Expectancy: 65 male, 70 female

Ethnic Groups: South Asian, native Emirian, other Arab

Political Rights: 6

Civil Liberties: 5

Status: Not Free

Overview:

An independent state since 1971, the United Arab Emirates is a federation of seven sheikhdoms, each of which retains control over mineral rights, taxation, and security. Each constituent state is a monarchy, dominated by a ruling family with powerful economic interests. Together, the seven rulers constitute the Supreme Council seated in Abu Dhabi. The Council elects a president and vice-president for the federation. The president, in turn, appoints a prime minister and cabinet. The seven rulers also appoint members to a forty-man Federal National Council that gives advice on legislation. No political parties are permitted in the country, although some groups operate clandestinely. There are no elections. Ruling families select the emirs, often through the rule of primogeniture. There is no evidence of increasing political liberalization. There are believed to be no political prisoners.

Three quarters of the total population are noncitizens who play little or no political role. Most indigenous citizens are Sunni Muslims. The country has one of the highest per capita incomes in the world.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Torture is proscribed by the constitution and does not appear to have been practiced in **1989**. Reports indicate some torture was carried out in **1987** on Iraqi prisoners. Arbitrary detention and prolonged detention without charge have not been reported. Some instances of incommunicado detention were reported in **1988**. The judicial system, divided into lay and clerical (*shari'a*) courts, is considered fair and independent. Trials for the most part are public. The right to privacy, highly valued, is respected by the authorities. Citizens and noncitizens are wary in their public discussion of politics. Self-censorship is practiced, with most private newspapers receiving subsidies from the government. The government monitors and screens all imported media. Private associations are free to organize, but public assembly requires government permission. Politics is usually discussed at private in-house assemblies. Non-Muslims are free to worship but not to proselytize. Freedom of travel is respected. Noncitizen laborers are taken advantage of by their employers. Opportunities for women have enlarged. By law, unions and the right to strike are prohibited.

United Kingdom

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Economy: Mixed capitalist

Population: 57,090,000

Conflict: Northern Ireland-communal strife and terrorism

PPP: \$12,270

Life Expectancy: 71 male, 77 female

Ethnic Groups: English (82 percent), Scottish (10 percent), Irish (2 percent), Welsh (2 percent)

Political Rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 1

Status: Free

Overview:

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland combines two formerly separate kingdoms (England and Scotland), an ancient principality (Wales), and six counties of the Irish province of Ulster. By the nineteenth century, the U.K. was a constitutional monarchy with established rights for its citizens, but only a limited elite male electorate. Reform legislation in

the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries extended the franchise gradually to universal adult suffrage.

Parliament has two houses: an elected House of Commons with 650 members chosen by plurality vote from single-member districts, and a House of Lords with over 1,000 hereditary and appointed members. The Lords have little power except for a suspensive veto. Parliament has a maximum term of five years.

Conservative Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has been in power since 1979, having won reelection in 1983 and 1987. The Conservative policies have included privatization of state companies and public housing, and reduction of trade union power. The main opposition party, Labour, led by Neil Kinnock, has moderated its socialist policies since losing its third consecutive general election in 1987. That year the Conservatives won 376 Commons seats to 229 for Labour and 22 for the centrist Alliance of Liberals and Social Democrats. Regional and nationalist parties from Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland won the remaining seats. Thatcher's hostility to complete British integration into Europe was a significant issue in 1989. The Conservatives lost Britain's elections to the European Parliament as Labour rebounded. Although it won no seats in the Euro-election, Britain's Green Party won 15 percent of the vote and has caused the major parties to pay more attention to the environmental issues. Since the 1987 general election, the political center has regrouped. Most Social Democrats and Liberals have merged into a new party, which is known variously as the Social and Liberal Democrats, the Liberal Democrats, or simply the Democrats. Its leader is Paddy Ashdown. A rump group of Social Democrats maintains an independent party headed by Dr. David Owen.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Political rights and civil liberties are well-established in Britain's unwritten constitution. The people have the right to change their government by democratic means. The electorate is registered to vote by a government survey. Irish citizens resident in Britain have the right to vote in British elections.

Britain has problems in some aspects of civil liberties stemming from the conflict in Northern Ireland. The traditional British right to trial by jury does not exist for suspected terrorists in Northern Ireland. Under the 1984 Prevention of Terrorism Act, suspected terrorists can be arrested without a warrant or prohibited from entering Britain from Northern Ireland or vice versa. Although the U.K. has freedom of association, it prohibits membership in certain terrorist organizations, such as the Provisional IRA. The government also requires candidates for local councils to denounce violence. However, the Provisionals' political arm, Sinn Fein, contests elections freely in Northern Ireland. In 1989, there were allegations that the security forces in Northern Ireland had cooperated with extremist Protestant paramilitary groups. The British government admitted in October 1989 that four prisoners convicted in Provisional IRA pub bombings in England had been convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment on the basis of police perjury. In a similar development, the regional police chief in Birmingham determined that at least seven men were jailed on the basis of confessions faked by the police.

The press is generally free, lively, and competitive, but tough libel laws may have a chilling effect on some kinds of reporting. The BBC is run as

an autonomous public corporation. On occasion, it responds to government pressure not to broadcast certain controversial items such as those on terrorism. However, the BBC offers pluralistic points of view, and televises political programs of both government and opposition parties. There are two broadcast channels for private television corporations.

The Official Secrets Act provides the government with a tool to attempt halting publication of intelligence activities and other official matters. The media can deal with this restraint through appeals in the courts and publication overseas.

Britain has free religious expression, but the Church of England and Church of Scotland are established. The Queen is head of the Church of England, and some theoretical possibility for political interference arises since the prime minister picks Anglican bishops.

Trade unions and business groups are powerful and active on political issues, but the unions have declined in size and influence in the Thatcher era.

United States of America

Polity: Presidential-congressional democracy

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 247,410,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$17,615

Life Expectancy: 71 male, 78 female

Ethnic groups: Various white, black, Hispanic, Asian, native American (Indian) and others

Political Rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 1

Status: Free

Overview:

Founded in 1776 during a revolution against British colonial rule, the U.S.A. began the modern movement for freedom and self-government in the world. The current system of government began functioning in 1789, following the adoption of the constitution. Since the founders of the U.S. distrusted concentrations of centralized government power, they set up a system in which the federal government has three competing centers of power (executive, legislative, and judicial branches), and left many powers with the state governments and the citizenry.

The electoral college, an eighteenth-century instrument, is the technical *de jure* method for electing the president and vice-president. The voters in each state vote for slates of electors who usually cast their votes in the electoral college for the candidates with the most support in that state. On rare occasions, individual electors from some states have voted for someone other than the candidate to whom they were pledged.

The U.S. Congress has two houses. There are 435 voting members of the House of Representatives, not counting nonvoting delegates from U.S. related territories. Each state is guaranteed at least one representative. The rest are apportioned on the basis of population. The 100-seat Senate has two members from each state regardless of population.

The federal courts interpret the laws. The Supreme Court is the ultimate arbiter of the constitutionality of government actions. The federal courts have, on occasion, ruled against the decisions of both other branches of the federal government

The U.S. population is racially mixed. The American aboriginal population, known popularly as American Indians or Native Americans, lost most of its land to European settlers and their descendants. During the colonial period and the early years of American independence, the whites imported slaves from black Africa, mostly to do agricultural work. A civil war in the 1860s between the slave-holding agricultural southern states and the more industrial northern states ended slavery and opened the way for American expansionism and modern industrial development.

Millions of European and Asian immigrants in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries diversified the U.S. population and helped build the country into an international economic power. These immigrants came to America seeking political rights, civil liberties, and economic opportunities that they did not have in their often oppressive native countries. Since the Second World War, most immigrants to the U.S. have come from Third World countries for a combination of economic and political reasons.

Women won the vote in 1919 as a result of social and economic changes during World War I. As a result of civil rights struggles in the 1950s and 1960s, blacks won federal voting rights in 1965.

The U.S. President is George Bush, a Republican, who won election in 1988 with 426 of the 538 electoral votes and 54 percent of the popular vote. Bush took office in January 1989. The Republican Party, the more conservative of the two major parties, has won most presidential elections since 1952. The Democratic Party, which is more liberal, controls both Houses of Congress, as it has for most years since the 1930s. Important political issues during 1989 included abortion, the federal budget deficit, the crisis in the savings and loan industry, declining educational standards, the president's proposed cut in the capital gains tax, homelessness, and the growing problem of illegal drugs. Since 1981, the disagreements between Republican presidents and Democratic Congresses have often led to political gridlock. For example, the legislative and executive branches made a budget agreement in 1989, but it fell apart. In the absence of a governmental consensus on spending priorities and deficit reduction targets, a piece of legislation known as the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law comes into effect and cuts spending in the federal budget automatically.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Americans have the right to change their government by democratic means. The electoral system allows Americans to change presidents every four years, the House of Representatives every two years, and one-third of the Senate every two years. However, scarcely 50 percent of the voting age population takes part in presidential elections. The figure is even lower for midterm Congressional elections and some local contests. The party system is competitive, but the overwhelming majority of incumbent representatives is reelected every two years. Members spend an increasing amount of their time raising funds from wealthy individuals and special interest groups, in order to ward off potential opponents. This undermines the quality of representation and reduces the chance for the opposition to increase its support.

In presidential election years, an ideologically unrepresentative minority chooses Democratic and Republican presidential nominees through a chaotic, complicated, and debilitating series of primary elections and local party meetings called caucuses. Due to states' rights, the political parties seem powerless to stop the first caucus and primary states, Iowa and New Hamp-

shire, from playing a disproportionately powerful role in reducing the field of presidential contenders. Voters in states that hold later primaries and caucuses often have little influence in deciding the outcome of the nomination process, even if their populations are larger or more representative of the nation as a whole.

Since the 1960s, the major parties have lost most of their traditional organizing functions. Most voters now get their political information from the news media and from political advertising designed by political consultants. These political managers presently specialize in negative campaigning, which is designed to reduce voter turnout among the opposing campaign's potential supporters.

Several minor parties function, but the electoral system encourages pre-election coalitions within two parties rather than post-election coalitions among several parties, as happens in many European countries. Several states have difficult petitioning hurdles that make it difficult for small parties to receive a place on the ballot. Cumbersome voter registration laws in many states help keep down participation.

Many states allow the voters the rights of initiative and referendum. These devices allow citizens to collect petitions to place a public issue on the ballot, and to decide the question directly, sometimes overturning the decisions of their elected representatives. California is especially noted for a high number of referenda each year.

The American media are very free and competitive. However, there are worrisome trends towards monopolization. As literacy rates fall, most Americans get their news from television. Broadcast news is highly superficial, and is becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish from entertainment.

Public and private discussion is very open in America. However, a trend in universities to ban allegedly racist and sexist language is subject to broad interpretation, and may have a chilling effect on academic freedom.

Since the early 1980s, the Supreme Court has had an increasing tendency to rule against cases brought by workers, minorities and prisoners. This trend reverses the pattern of more liberal decisions in the 1960s and 1970s. In one recent case, the Court has ruled that it is constitutional for the states to execute mentally retarded convicts. However, the judicial system is fully capable of defending the rights of the individual as it did in the case of *Brown V. Board of Education* (1954), which outlawed school segregation. Court systems at all levels of government suffer from a severe backlog of cases, delaying the course of justice in countless criminal and civil cases. The high crime rate and growing public demands to punish criminals have led to severe overcrowding in American prisons. Overcrowding was a major factor that caused 1,200 inmates to riot at a Pennsylvania prison in October 1989.

The federal government's anti-drug measures have included seizing boats with trace elements of illegal drugs and random drug-testing of transport workers and civil servants. Public opinion supports additional measures to combat drugs, some of which would endanger the constitutional protection from unreasonable search and seizure.

Farm organizations and trade unions are free, but the labor movement is declining as its traditionally strong manufacturing base shrinks. U.S. trade unions have fewer legal protections than their counterparts in Western Europe. Violence mars many industrial relations disputes in the United States. Violent union-busting activities in mining areas have attracted the

critical attention of the international labor movement. The federal government has slow and ineffective machinery to punish labor law violators.

The U.S. has thousands of free associations and clubs of all kinds. The country has a regulated, largely free market economy, with a growing number of service jobs and declining manufacturing employment. The entrepreneurial spirit remains strong. Most job growth takes place in small enterprises in the private sector.

The U.S. has many free religious institutions. Due to the constitutional separation of church and state, the Supreme Court has issued rulings limiting religious holiday displays on public property and prohibiting prayer in the public schools.

The degree of personal social freedoms is very high, but the choice of education and housing depends to a great extent on personal wealth. Equality of opportunity is good but declining. During the 1980s the gap between the rich and poor has grown slightly. Most poor people in the U.S. are white, but there is a large, disproportionately black underclass that exists outside the economic mainstream. Characterized by seemingly permanent unemployment, the underclass lives to a great extent on social welfare payments. Heavy drug use, high crime rates, female-headed households, and large numbers of poorly fed, badly educated, illegitimate children characterize underclass neighborhoods.

There is also a black middle class, which has made significant gains in housing, education, and employment since the civil rights legislation of the 1960s. Many American cities experienced highly publicized acts of interracial violence and manifestations of bigotry in 1989. The quality of life in America's older cities is in decline.

Environmentally, many parts of the U.S. have serious problems. Unacceptably high levels of air, water and ground pollution threaten inhabitants with higher disease rates, and may lead to reductions in personal freedoms in the 1990s such as restrictions on the use of automobiles and water supplies.

The U.S. government seems largely indifferent to the plight of the American Indians. Most descendants of the first Americans live in poverty. Several tribes have cases in courts against the federal government, charging violation of treaty provisions relating to control over land and resources.

In comparison with many other countries, the U.S. has a relatively low rate of government corruption, but also has a relatively strong tendency to prosecute corrupt officials. Evidence mounted during 1989 to show that political influence and wealth, rather than the needs of the poor, determined how a substantial proportion of the federal housing budget was spent during the administration of President Ronald Reagan (1981-89).

Uruguay

Polity: Presidential-legislative democracy

Economy: Mixed capitalist

Population: 3,184,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$5,063

Life Expectancy: 67 male, 71 female

Ethnic Groups: Relatively homogeneous

Political Rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 2

Status: Free

Overview:

After achieving independence from Spain in 1825, the Eastern Republic of Uruguay was established in 1830. The Colorado Party dominated the relatively democratic political system with few interruptions until it was finally ousted in the 1958 elections. It returned to power in 1966, the same year voters approved a constitutional amendment returning the political system to a one-man presidency. A sustained economic crisis, student and worker unrest, and the mounting activities of the Tupamaro urban guerrilla movement eventually led to a military takeover of the government in 1973.

The government was returned to civilian hands in 1985 following three years of protracted negotiations between the right-wing military regime of Gen. Gregorio Alvarez and civilian politicians joined in the so-called *Multi-partidaria*. Jose Sanguinetti of the Colorado party won the competitive presidential election in November 1984 and took office, along with a newly elected congress, in March 1985.

The current political system is modeled after that of the democratic 1967 constitution. Both the president and a bicameral Congress consisting of a ninety-nine-member Chamber of Deputies and a thirty-one-member Senate are elected for five years through a complicated system of electoral lists that allows parties to run multiple candidates. The leading presidential candidate of the party receiving the most votes overall is the winner; in essence, party primaries are conducted simultaneously with the general election. Congressional seats are allocated on the basis of each party's share of the total vote, but each party usually has various lists of candidates, among whom prior agreements have been made to unify or transfer votes. Municipal and regional governments are also elected.

A major issue since the return to democratic rule has been civil-military relations. In the negotiated transition, the military backed down from demands for a permanent say in national security matters; its defense actions and the declaration of a state of siege are now subject to congressional approval. However, the nation divided in 1986 when the Sanguinetti government pushed through Congress an amnesty for officers accused of human rights violations during military rule. The constitution permits a referendum on laws passed by the legislature, provided that 25 percent of the electorate sign a petition requesting it. A sustained effort by predominantly leftist opponents of the amnesty led to the collection of enough signatures and a plebiscite was held 16 April 1989. Uruguayans voted, 57 percent to 43, to confirm the amnesty law.

After the plebiscite, the campaign for the scheduled 26 November 1989 general and municipal elections began, with economic stagnation and social issues dominating. By the end of September, there were eleven candidates from seven parties and coalitions seeking to succeed President Sanguinetti on 1 March 1990. The ruling right-of-center Colorado party had three candidates. The centrist National (Blanco) party, the other traditional party, also had three. The predominantly Marxist Broad Front coalition had one, as did New Space, a moderate breakaway faction of the Broad Front.

October polls showed the Blancos with an edge over the Colorados, the Broad Front vying for third with New Space, but a large number of undecideds. The leading Blanco candidate was Luis Alberto Lacalle and the leading Colorado candidate was Jorge Batlle. The Broad Front candidate was Liber Seregini, with Hugo Batalla for New Space. In the 26 November vote, Lacalle was elected president as the National Party obtained nearly 40

percent of the vote. The Broad Front won the municipal race in the capital of Montevideo.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Constitutional guarantees regarding free expression, freedom of religion and the right to organize political parties, labor unions and civic organizations are respected. Elections and referendums are overseen by an independent electoral commission.

With the return to civilian rule in 1985, legal status was restored to all remaining proscribed political organizations including the Communist party (PCU), as well as the country's trade union confederations. The Tupamaros renounced violence and registered as a political party, the National Liberation Movement, which formed a coalition with the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (PST) and other radical organizations. After the 1985 inauguration, the Sanguinetti government released all political prisoners, including former Tupamaro guerrillas, and permitted the return of an estimated 20,000 exiles.

Political expression is occasionally restricted by violence associated with hotly contested political campaigns and government-labor disputes. The interior ministry announced in August that in 1989 there had been over forty attacks against offices of various political parties.

Labor is well organized, politically powerful, and has frequently used its right to strike during the Sanguinetti administration. Since 1985, the Marxist-led national labor confederation, the Interunion Workers Plenum-National Convention of Workers (PIT-CNT), has initiated and carried out nine general strikes, the most recent in October 1989. Major issues include wages, government austerity policies, and the reinstatement of social welfare programs eliminated by the former military government.

The judiciary is independent and headed by a Supreme Court. The system includes courts of appeal, regional courts and justices of the peace. A long tradition of intellectual and press freedom, severely curtailed during the years of military rule, was restored with the return of civilian government. The press is privately owned, and broadcasting is both commercial and public. There is no censorship. There are a number of daily and weekly newspapers, many associated with political parties. Television has become an increasingly important part of the political landscape; the 1989 campaign featured a series of presidential debates and news coverage was extensive.

Vanuatu

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 155,000

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 67 male, 71 female

Ethnic groups: Indigenous Melanesian (90 percent); French, English, Vietnamese, Chinese and other Pacific islanders

Political rights: 2

Civil Liberties: 3

Status: Free

Overview:

An archipelago of some eighty Pacific islands, Vanuatu (formerly the New Hebrides) became an independent member of the Commonwealth on 30 July 1980, following over seventy years of British-French rule. The transi-

tion to independence was not smooth, and included secessionist movements in several islands, including an insurgency backed by a former French resident commissioner and an American right-wing group based in Nevada.

The first post-independence elections were held in November 1983; the Party of Our Land (VP, *Vanuaaku Pati*) won a majority in the unicameral Representative Assembly, and its leader, Father Walter Lini, an Anglican priest, became prime minister. He was reelected in November 1987, but his party's vote share fell below 50 percent, with the opposition Union of Moderate Parties (UMP) picking up 42 percent. Though executive power lies with the prime minister, under the constitution the titular head of state is a president designated for a five-year term by an electoral college consisting of parliament and Regional Council presidents.

In mid-December 1988, Vanuatu faced a serious political crisis when President George Sokomanu attempted to dissolve parliament and appointed his nephew, Barak Sope, prime minister. Sope, former general-secretary of *Vanuaaku Pati* and an ally of Fr. Lini, had earlier attempted to use parliamentary means to oust the prime minister. Within hours of the abortive takeover, Sope and his interim administration were arrested by paramilitary police, and the following day the Supreme Court upheld the legality of the elected Lini government and ruled that the president had acted unconstitutionally in attempting to dissolve parliament. The events were a culmination of a long-simmering power struggle between Fr. Lini and Sope. In May 1988, a demonstration called by Sope to protest the closure of two companies set up to manage the country's traditional lands turned into a riot and one man was killed. Sope was fired as Immigration and Transport Minister, and subsequently eighteen members of the UMP as well as Sope and four others in the VP were dismissed from parliament for failing to attend three consecutive meetings. The five former VP members formed the Melanesian Progressive Party and were reinstated in parliament by the Appeals Court, but then resigned. November by-elections for the eighteen vacated seats were boycotted by the UMP and Sope's group. Nine of the vacant seats were filled unopposed, six to the VP and three to the Tan Union.

On 7 March 1989, Sope was sentenced to five years for treason, and Sokomanu six years for incitement to mutiny. On 13 March, Prime Minister Lini announced a new ten-man cabinet. However, on 14 April, mutiny and sedition convictions against the two men were overturned by the country's Court of Appeals because of insufficient evidence and technical errors by the trial judge.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The government publishes and controls the country's only national newspaper and runs the national radio station. The government has at times restricted the opposition's access to the media. There are no restrictions on freedom of assembly, and the judiciary is generally free of government or military interference. Freedom of religion is protected by law, and there are no domestic or foreign travel restrictions. Workers have the right to organize and strike. Some twenty unions belong to the Vanuatu Trade Union Congress, which is a member of the ICFTU.

Venezuela

Polity: Presidential-legislative democracy

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 19,010,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$4306

Life Expectancy: 66 male, 72 female

Ethnic Groups: Relatively homogeneous

Political Rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 3

Status: Free

Overview:

The Republic of Venezuela was established in 1830, nine years after achieving independence from Spain. A history of political instability and long periods of military dictatorships culminated with the overthrow of the Gen. Marcos Perez Jimenez regime by a popular democratic movement in 1958. The election of President Romulo Betancourt and the promulgation of a new constitution in 1961 established a system of democratic governance which has been in place ever since.

The 1961 constitution established a federal system consisting of twenty states and a federal district (Caracas). The president and a bicameral Congress consisting of a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies are directly elected for five years. The Senate has at least two members from each of the states and from the federal district. All former presidents are life members of the Senate and additional seats are awarded to minority parties. There are currently 201 seats in the Chamber, including some seats awarded to minority parties. State legislatures and municipal councils are elected. The first-ever direct elections for state governors, previously appointed by the president, were scheduled for 3 December 1989.

Since 1958, the Venezuelan democracy has been dominated by two political parties, the social democratic Democratic Action (AD) party and the Christian democratic Christian Social Party (COPEI). The AD has won the last two national elections, including those in December 1988 when former President Carlos Andres Perez (1974-79) defeated COPEI's Eduardo Fernandez. However, AD lost its congressional majorities, taking only 23 of 49 elective seats in the Senate and 97 of 201 seats in the Chamber. The left-wing Movement to Socialism (MAS) showed increased popularity, taking 3 seats in the Senate and 18 in the Chamber. COPEI has held the presidency twice since 1958, most recently under President Luis Herrera Campins (1979-84).

Less than a month after Perez's 2 February 1989 inauguration, the capital city of Caracas was torn by three days of violent street protests. The explosion of discontent was in response to deteriorating living standards and the government's austerity program intended to stabilize the debt-strapped economy. Under national emergency provisions of the constitution, the government declared martial law which lasted for ten days. The riots left over 300 people dead according to official sources.

In May, a one-day general strike, the first since the return to civilian rule, called by the powerful Confederation of Venezuelan Workers (CTV) marked an unprecedented split in the traditional alliance between AD and the nation's labor unions. Subsequent negotiations and concessions by the government led in July to an accord for stability and economic growth between the government, the unions and the business sector. Continuing

tension over economic conditions, however, was underscored by a multi-billion-dollar corruption scandal involving the administration of Perez's predecessor, former President Jaime Lusinchi of the AD. The scandal exacerbated traditional divisions within AD, but COPEI was also experiencing internal strife and both parties were struggling to prepare for the December gubernatorial and municipal elections.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Constitutional guarantees regarding free expression, freedom of religion and the right to organize political parties, civic organizations and labor unions are generally respected. Political parties occupy the spectrum from right to left and labor unions are strong and well organized. Venezuelan laws also meet international human-rights standards. However, the rule of law is often slow to be implemented and human rights abuses, while not systematic, have been on the rise.

There are a number of independent human rights organizations. Following the February riots, these groups fielded numerous complaints of abuses by police security forces, including allegations of torture and arbitrary shootings. An investigation by a government commission led to the release of all detainees, but no response on the charges of abuse. There are no political prisoners but reports of deaths at the hands of security forces have increased in recent years.

The judiciary is headed by a Supreme Court whose members are elected by a joint session of Congress. Although independent, the judicial system grinds slowly and often ineffectively; in 1988 only 28 percent of 30,000 prisoners had been convicted of a crime.

The press is privately owned. There are nearly a dozen independent daily newspapers. Radio and television are mostly private, supervised by an association of broadcasters under the government communications ministry. Censorship of the press and broadcasting media, however, occurs during emergencies. In recent years, a number of journalists have been warned or arrested, and programs suspended for failure to comply with emergency restrictions.

Vietnam

Polity: Communist one-party

Economy: Statist

Population: 66,030,000

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 57 males, 61 female

Ethnic groups: Predominantly Vietnamese, with Chinese, Khmer and other minorities

Political Rights: 7

Civil Liberties: 7

Status: Not Free

Overview:

Among the world's poorest nations, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam was proclaimed on 2 July 1976, a year after Communist North Vietnamese forces defeated South Vietnam. The Constitution identifies the Vietnamese Communist Party (VCP) as "the only force leading the state and society," and since 1986 the country has been led by VCP General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh, 74. An umbrella Vietnam Fatherland Front (VFF) includes the VCP, the Socialist Party, the Democratic Party, as well as official trade-

union, peasants, women, youth and other organizations. The unicameral National Assembly and state and government bodies are controlled by the Party.

In 1987, the government launched an economic reform program, *doi moi* ("renovation") aimed at reducing bureaucracy, instituting monetary reforms, restructuring the collective agricultural system, stimulating foreign investment, partly by normalizing relations with its neighbors. The government promised to withdraw all its troops from Cambodia by September 1989, and has improved relations with Thailand. In agriculture, which involves 80 percent of the population, the government offered peasants long-term contracts on specific plots allocated to family units. Nevertheless, the U.N. said in early 1989 that Vietnam was one of fifteen countries requiring "exceptional or emergency assistance" in food.

Secretary Lihn's reforms have caused a rift in the VCP and the twelve-member Politburo, with orthodox hard-liners allied with former Nobel Peace Prize co-winner Le Due Tho, seventy-eight, and his brother, Mai Chi Tho, sixty-seven. A showdown is expected at an extraordinary special national congress scheduled for 1990.

Doi moi has not extended to the political sphere. In May 1989, Vietnam's propaganda chief said that "we do not accept the pluralism that mainly demands the existence of opposition parties and political organizations (that) begins with criticizing and advancing toward the neutralization of party leadership." New crackdowns have been reported on the arts and press, which experienced some liberalization in 1987-88. Press controls have been tightened and restrictions made on which foreign books can be translated. The government has been cracking down on the sale of video cassettes and VCRs.

The "boat people" continue to leave Vietnam by the thousands, and their plight has recently been exacerbated by Hong Kong's decision to no longer automatically consider them political refugees, thus making them subject to possible "voluntary repatriation."

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Some 95,000 former opponents of the regime continue to be held as political prisoners in "reeducation" camps, where torture, summary execution and death from malnutrition are common. Negotiations with the U.S. in July 1989 resulted in an agreement to start processing cases for emigration in October with a target of 3,000 by the end of the year. The Vietnamese legal system allows for arbitrary arrest and detention, and defendants' rights are generally ignored. A household registration system allows the government to keep tabs on citizens. Over the last several years, the relocation of millions into "new economic zones" was often enforced through coercion. Mail is tampered with and sometimes confiscated. The government controls all media, and freedom of speech is restricted, as is freedom of assembly. In June 1989, a small number of university students did demonstrate peacefully and the government, fearing the type of turmoil that hit China, met their demands for better food, water and electricity. Religious groups have been persecuted, and all Party members must be atheists. Travel abroad is severely restricted and identity cards are necessary for internal travel. Unions are controlled by the Party, and strikes are forbidden.

Western Samoa

Polity: Elected assembly and family heads

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 180,000

Conflict: None

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 62 male, 63 female

Ethnic groups: Predominantly Samoan

Political Rights: 2

Civil Liberties: 2

Status: Free

Overview:

This Pacific nation of two main islands and several smaller islets received its independence from New Zealand in 1962. The political system is a blend of British-style parliamentary democracy and traditional Samoan social-cultural structure based on extended family groupings. The position of head of state, recruited from the four main island chiefs, has been held by Susuga Malietoa Tanumafili II since the death in 1963 of Tupua Tamasese, with whom he shared the post. Although Tanumafili is designated for life, future heads of state will be elected to five-year terms by the unicameral, forty-five-member Legislative Assembly, all but two of whose members are elected by the some 20,000 family heads, or *matai*. The head of state appoints the prime minister and the members of the cabinet, who are drawn from the Legislative Assembly. Although there has been some pressure for popular elections, Samoans seem to feel their system reflects their ancient traditions and customs and is democratic because the *matai* consult with their extended families before selecting candidates for the Legislative Assembly. *Matai* not meeting their responsibilities can be removed. Local government is mainly carried out by the *matai*, who have legal ownership of land, and the village *fono*, or council.

Prime Minister Tofilau Eti Alesana was named following elections in February 1988, in which his party, the Human Rights Protection Party (HRPP), the country's first constituted political group formed in 1982, won a bare majority of twenty-four seats. An opposition Samoan National Development Party (SNDP) was formed following the 1988 elections, succeeding the previous Christian Democratic Party. Party function, however, is secondary to traditional personal and social relationships in the political process.

A key issue facing the government is the privatization of some government corporations and the transfer of agriculture land to private ownership. The Asian Development Bank in late 1988 approved a \$270,000 (U.S.) assistance grant to aid in the privatization effort.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

The judiciary is independent of government interference, but *matai* decisions on customary law are not subject to judicial review. The government oversees radio broadcasting, television broadcasts are received from American Samoa, and there is an independent press along with a government fortnightly. There have been instances of implicit censorship and contempt citations against journalists. There are no restrictions on association and assembly, and religious freedom is guaranteed and respected. Workers have unrestricted rights to form and join unions, although no trade unions exist in the private sector. A public service association represents government workers, and the Supreme Court has upheld their right to strike under certain restrictions regarding public safety.

Yemen, North

Polity: Military and partly elected assembly

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 10,110,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$1,466

Life Expectancy: 47 male, 50 female

Ethnic Groups: Arab, Afro-Arab

Political Rights: 5

Civil Liberties: 5

Status: Partly Free

Overview:

An election was held for Consultative Assembly seats in July 1988. These were the first elections ever held by the military dictatorship, and the country now has the only elected assembly on the Arabian peninsula. The elections were believed to be part of an effort to placate tribal antipathy toward the central government. Reports indicated the election was to be fair, although no candidates could challenge the president.

Twelve hundred candidates vied for 128 positions; turnout for the election was reportedly high. Though parties are forbidden, Nasserite, Baath and Islamic groups played a de facto role. Muslim conservatives won six out of the seven seats in the capital, Sanaa; tribal leaders captured most of the remaining. A partially elected assembly, the General People's Congress, had been established in 1982, but has failed to prove more than an ineffective forum for discussion. The Consultative Assembly does not legislate but can and has modified and criticized legislation introduced by the president it has selected, namely Colonel Ali Abdallah Salih.

Salih has ruled as president since 1978. He is the longest ruling executive in a country marked by civil strife between traditionalists and royalists and by assassinations. The military has taken charge of politics since the 1962 coup that ended the regime of the imams. Salih is responsible for appointing all ministers and several members of the Consultative Assembly and the General People's Congress.

The principal opposition group with a guerrilla wing is the National Democratic Front, a mix of Marxists and Nasserites supported militarily and financially by South Yemen.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

A National Security Organization (NSO) conducts internal security for the regime. It has a broad mandate to violate private rights; to detain indefinitely and "disappear" persons; and to resort to torture to secure confessions or information. Citizens fear being overheard by NSO agents. Prison conditions and practices are below international minimum standards. State security courts do not provide for fair public trials. Political demonstrations are prohibited and in practice do not take place. NSO employees maintain careful watch over Yemeni-foreigner contacts. Yemenis are free to travel inside the country and often emigrate for employment purposes. The tiny Jewish population and the foreign Christians are allowed to practice their faith, although not able to build synagogues or churches. Good relations exist between the two Muslim sects, the Zaydi (Shiite) and the Shafi'i (Sunni). Consultative Assembly members must be considered good Muslims to run for office—a rule used by the government to preclude the candidacy of leftists. The major dailies, radio, and television are government owned and operated; they and the few private publications are supportive of the

regime's policies and its leading figures and are subjected to censorship. The circulation of foreign newspapers is often blocked. Unions are under government control. A State Department report of 1988 estimated North Yemen to have under eighty political prisoners.

Yemen, South

Polity: One-party (military influenced) **Political Rights:** 7
Economy: Statist **Civil Liberties:** 7
Population: 2,551,000 **Status:** Not Free
Conflict: None
PPP: NA
Life Expectancy: 47 male, 50 female
Ethnic Groups: Arab

Overview:

The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen is a one-party Marxist state formally patterned after the Soviet model. Effective power resides in the Yemen Socialist Party (YSP) and its Politburo. Parallel but subordinate to the party are a Presidium selected by a III-member Supreme People's Council and an executive Council of Ministers. The YSP consists of the National Liberation Front, the Popular Vanguard Party and a pro-Moscow Communist party, the Popular Democratic Union. No other parties are allowed to operate, and candidates for elections are all YSP-approved.

Civil war broke out in 1986 among competing factions within the YSP. The result was that President Ali Nasir Muhamad al-Hasani was ousted and replaced by Haidar Abu Bakr al-Attas. Ali Nasir has been in exile in North Yemen since 1986 and leads a small opposition group in exile. He and his supporters were put on trial in absentia in 1987.

Though the PDRY is totally lacking in democratic institutions, President Al Attas appears to be considering some sort of liberalization program. A new electoral law is being contemplated which would allow any individual to run for office. Errors in state regulation of agriculture have been admitted and more freedom is expected for small farmers and producers.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Freedom of speech and press is not respected, although the press has become allegedly more open. The right to privacy is regularly ignored, as security agents conduct arbitrary searches and use wiretaps. The only associations that exist are those approved by the party. The General Federation of Trade Unions is YSP-controlled. Forty percent of the workforce are farmers, and the bulk of these work on state-controlled collectives. Torture and incommunicado detention are reportedly commonplace. So is imprisonment without trial. The party attempts to control sermons at religious services. According to an exile group, the government has executed several political opponents. Requirements to travel abroad have apparently been relaxed somewhat; travel to North Yemen has been eased by a 1988 accord that allows Yemenis to cross the border with a national identification card. Over 60,000 South Yemenis have apparently fled to the north since 1986.

Yugoslavia

Polity: Communist one-party

Economy: Mixed statist

Population: 23,970,000

Conflict: Separatist unrest

PPP: NA

Life Expectancy: 68 male, 74 female

Ethnic Groups: Serbian (36 percent), Croatian (20 percent), Bosnian (9 percent), Slovene (8 percent), Albanian (8 percent), Macedonian (6 percent)

Political Rights: 5

Civil Liberties: 4

Status: Partly Free

Overview:

The ethnically and religiously diverse Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, located on the Adriatic, is a loose federation made up of six republics (Serbia; Croatia; Bosnia and Herzegovina; Macedonia; Slovenia; and Montenegro) and two autonomous provinces (Kosovo, Vojvodina).

Yugoslavia emerged as a unified state in 1918 at the close of World War I after centuries of domination by the Hapsburg and Turkish empires. After World War II, a power struggle emerged between two rival partisan groups that had fought the Axis powers: the royalist Chetniks led by Gen. Draza Mihalic and the pro-Communist group led by Marshal Josip Broz (Tito). Tito prevailed, and the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia was proclaimed on 29 November 1945.

Marshal Tito, a Croat, sought to unify the country's diverse ethnic groups concentrated in national territories with long histories of hostility. Although a Communist, he adopted a neutral, nonaligned policy, and the country was expelled from the Soviet bloc in 1948.

Under Tito, Yugoslavia became a one-party Communist state with political power concentrated in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), the leading component of an umbrella organization today called the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia. To placate nationalist feelings, the federal republics were accorded national status and substantial self-government. Each republic has its own party and governmental apparatus, with an indirectly elected assembly, an executive and a judiciary. State power is vested in a bicameral Federal Assembly (Federal Chamber and Chamber of the Republics and Provinces), elected through a complex process that begins with basic labor organizations choosing candidates to local assemblies, who then choose delegates to communal assemblies, which in turn elect delegates to republic and autonomous province assemblies. Finally, delegates to the Federal Chamber are picked by the communal assemblies, while those to the other chamber are elected by the assemblies of the eight federal units. The presidents of the Assembly and each chamber are elected annually, with rotation among representatives of the republics and provinces.

After Tito's death in 1980, the duties of head of state were vested in a collective presidency, with the posts of president and vice president of the presidency to rotate annually. The President of the Federal Executive Council and Prime Minister is Ante Markovic, who was elected by the Assembly on 16 March 1989 to serve out the remaining term (to May 1990) of Branko Mikulic, who resigned after a vote of nonconfidence in December 1988.

In 1989, Yugoslavia was plagued by a deteriorating economy, calls for political reforms, ethnic violence and unrest in several regions, factors that put a strain on a weakened and fragmented federal political structure.

The major ethnic unrest occurred in the province of Kosovo, surrounded on all sides by Serbia and home to 70 percent of the country's Albanians. Throughout the early part of the year, violence between the Muslim Albanian majority and the ethnic Serbian minority led to several deaths and injuries. In March, Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic got agreement from the Kosovo political leadership to amend the Serbian constitution over the autonomous province, with Serbia gaining control over the administration, the police and the courts. A similar agreement was reached with Vojvodina. Yet, Albanian nationalism remained a potentially explosive issue, and sporadic strikes and student unrest continued in the summer and early fall.

Unrest also flared up early in the year in Montenegro over economic austerity, as street demonstrations and rioting led to the resignation of the republican presidency and executive council.

Milosevic's success in gaining control of the two autonomous regions and his popularity in predominantly Orthodox Serbia, where he inspired several mass street demonstrations, aroused fears of Serbian revanchism in other republics, most notably in Catholic Croatia and Slovenia, republics once controlled by the Hapsburgs that have historic ties to western political traditions.

Throughout the year, Slovenia, economically the most prosperous republic (accounting for 8 percent of the population, but 20 percent of GNP and 25 percent of foreign earnings) located on the Austrian border, took steps toward greater economic reform, democratization and political autonomy. With the approval of Slovenia's Communist party reform-minded leader Milan Kucan, sessions of the Central Committee were opened up to the public, free market mechanisms were enthusiastically embraced and a broad range of independent groups and publications allowed to flourish. On 27 September, Slovenia's parliament approved by an overwhelming majority a set of constitutional amendments that strengthened its right to secede from the federation. It also gave the local assembly the right to veto a state of emergency as well as the deployment of the federal army on Slovenian territory. Slovenia had already allowed the establishment of several independent political parties and announced plans to hold its first free, Western-style parliamentary elections next year.

Although Slovenian leaders insisted that they had no immediate plans to withdraw from the federation, there was growing resistance to federal rule, viewed by many as Serbian-dominated. Croatia blamed Serbian authorities for instigating nationalist demonstrations there in the summer. Bosnia-Herzegovina aligned against Serbia after the Serbian secret service went into the republic to investigate the emigration of Serbs from Bosnian villages. Macedonian authorities rejected Serbian plans to change legislation which prevented Serbs recolonizing Macedonia. Montenegro remained divided in its support of Serbia. As for Serbia itself, local and state elections favored conservative supporters of Milosevic, further isolating the republic from its neighbors.

Serbia was further undercut by the growing popularity of Prime Minister Markovic, who oversaw the liberalization of the banking system and of joint ventures aimed at attracting foreign investment. The federal government also responded to growing demands for political reform.

In early October, thirty members representing opposition groups from Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia called for a multiparty democracy and an amnesty for all political prisoners. On 18 October, Marjan Kalanj, a member

of the collective presidency, said that the LCY's monopoly on political power was blocking democratic reforms. On 25 October, a divided LCY issued a party platform, adopted earlier by the Central Committee, which supported "the development of political pluralism and individual rights and freedoms." The platform, which is likely to be adopted at the next Party congress scheduled for 20 January 1990, was a compromise between reformers and conservatives. While not endorsing a multiparty system, the party pledged to support the establishment of "citizens' political organizations ...which ensure the free competition of political ideas and programs." Serbian and military leaders reiterated their opposition to a multiparty system.

In addition to political issues, 1989 was marked by attempts to salvage a declining economy exacerbated by a "worker self-management" system instituted by Tito which led to problems in the country's subsidized industrial sector. Late in the year, inflation was running at 1,200 percent, contributing to a rise in poverty. The foreign debt was \$20.5 billion, living standards were down 40 percent since 1982. In Bosnia, unemployment hit 18 percent; in Kosovo 60 percent. The year saw over 1,000 strikes involving over 200,000 workers. A federal austerity program led to reports of famine in parts of Montenegro.

In October, Prime Minister Markovic visited Washington to secure more loans and credits. Talks were also held with officials from the International Monetary Fund, which wants Belgrade to impose wage and price restrictions. But after a similar IMF program was tried in 1988, including the devaluation of the dinar, rescheduling loan payments, and controlling wages, worker riots broke out. One problem is that the poorer areas of Bosnia, Macedonia and Kosovo would be more adversely affected than the country's richer regions.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Despite promises of reform, Yugoslavia remains a one-party state in which citizens do not have the means to democratically change their federal government. Each republic has its own judiciary and criminal code. Ordinary criminal and civil cases are usually open and fair. The ethnic unrest in 1989 led to the arrests and trials of several local leaders and activists, particularly ethnic Albanians. Free speech is circumscribed, particularly expressions of political opinion, but the degree varies by republic. Slovenia has allowed independent publications, and the government-controlled Yugoslav national press has increasingly been allowed to discuss a diverse range of social and political issues. Public political gatherings are legally restricted to official groups, but the extent to which these restrictions are enforced also depends on the republic.

Religious freedom in this diverse country is guaranteed, but regulations and restrictions exist, particularly on activities deemed nationalist or political. Domestic and foreign travel is generally unrestricted. Workers do not have the right to form free trade unions. At the federal level, the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia (SSJ) is supportive of the government. In 1988, workers gained the right to strike, and nearly 1,000 strikes occurred in 1989.

Zaire

Polity: One-party (military dominated) **Political Rights:** 7
Economy: Capitalist-statist **Civil Liberties:** 6
Population: 33,795,000 **Status:** Not Free
Conflict: None
PPP: \$220
Life Expectancy: 48 male, 52 female
Ethnic groups: Over 200 ethnic tribes

Overview:

Formerly the Belgian Congo, the country achieved independence in 1960. The 1960s and 1970s were frequently marred by violent political upheaval, separatist movements in Katanga (now Shaba), mercenary and rebel invasions, and foreign military intervention. The Republic of Zaire has been ruled since 1965 by President Mobutu Sese Seko as a one-party state dominated by the Popular Movement of the Revolution (MPR), the only legal party. In 1980, an opposition Union for Democracy and Social Progress (UDPS) was formed to foster multi-party rule, but its leadership was arrested, then released. Some UDPS members have been coopted by the MPR, while others continue to function underground. The unicameral National Legislative Council, made up of elected MPR-approved members, is subservient to the MPR's Political Bureau, all of whose thirty-eight members are appointed by the president. Council elections are multi-candidate, though single-party. In 1984, President Mobutu ran as the only candidate and was reelected for his third seven-year term.

In May 1989, municipal elections originally held in 1987 but annulled by the MPR were held in all but two regions of the country, with some 50 percent of eligible voters going to the polls.

Although Zaire is rich in such minerals as cobalt, gold, oil, and copper and has fertile farmland as well as a good system of inland waterways, its per capita income is among the lowest in Africa. A major factor is rampant corruption and theft from the treasury and government-controlled enterprises. Sources have estimated President Mobutu's personal wealth at \$5 billion, which critics claim was misappropriated. The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, which negotiated an economic reform deal with Mobutu in 1989, reported that Zairian officials were unable to account for \$300 million to \$400 million which disappeared last year from Zaire's foreign-exchange reserves. Figures submitted to the IMF by the Zairian Central Bank indicate that the government spends more money on Mobutu's "presidency" than for hospitals, schools, road building and all other services combined. The World Bank has asserted that some of the most powerful government figures are involved in illegally exporting cobalt. A former CIA official has alleged that Mobutu pocketed some \$1.37 million in the mid-1970s from a fund intended to aid rebels in Angola.

Harsh economic and political conditions led to several social disturbances in 1989. Early in the year, university students staged several demonstrations protesting inadequate transportation. Scores were reportedly killed by security forces, and President Mobutu closed several universities for months. There were persistent reports of continued government harassment and detention of UDPS members.

In late June, President Mobutu brokered a cease-fire in Angola's fourteen-year civil war after an eighteen-nation summit meeting in Zaire.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Citizens of Zaire cannot change their government through democratic procedures. Arbitrary arrest and detention are commonplace, and corruption and abuse are rife in the security and police forces. The judiciary is firmly controlled by the state and the MPR. Membership in the MPR is obligatory. Citizens are not free to criticize the government or "Mobutuism," and anti-government political activity is banned. Radio and television are government owned, and private newspapers engage in self-censorship and have come under increased pressure in 1989. Private journals critical of the government can be (and have been) closed. Nonpolitical associations must register with the government, and freedom of assembly is circumscribed. Churches need government permission to operate. Travel is often restricted for security reasons and citizens must carry identification cards. The umbrella National Union of Zairian Workers (UNTZA) is controlled by the MPR, and membership is compulsory for most state employees. Strikes are nominally allowed, but face many restrictions.

Zambia

Polity: One party

Economy: Mixed statist

Population: 7,682,000

Conflict: None

PPP: \$717

Life Expectancy: 50 male, 53 female

Ethnic groups: Various Bantu tribes (major being Bemba and Lozi), non-indigenous whites, Asians, mixed-race

Political Rights: 6

Civil Liberties: 5

Status: Partly Free

Overview:

Formerly Northern Rhodesia, the Republic of Zambia proclaimed independence in 1964. Four years later, President Kenneth Kaunda of the United National Independence Party (UNIP) declared a "one-party participatory democracy." All candidates for the unicameral, 136-member National Assembly must be UNIP members. President Kaunda was reelected in October 1988 to another five-year term.

The key issue facing the government in 1989 was continued economic deterioration. Despite an increase in the price of copper, Zambia's main export, low production brought on by years of stagnation in the industry did little to improve economic conditions. Food coupons for the staple maize meal were introduced to offset the impact of the 280 percent increase in the price. A lack of foreign exchange has contributed to a shortage of a multitude of items ranging from school uniforms and shoes. Copper reserves will be exhausted in the next fifteen years.

The economic crisis led to sporadic strikes and civil disturbances in the copper-belt areas. Some private shops refused to accept food coupons, spurring shoppers' riots in several areas, including the capital of Lusaka. The Zambian Congress of Trade Unions reported that workers had lost two-thirds of their purchasing power in the past eleven years due to price increases. In April, 186 students were arrested following a demonstration in Kwabe to protest higher fees. In May, discontent was reported in the Armed Forces.

In July, the government announced a further devaluation of the kwacha. In mid-September, an agreement was reached with the International Mone-

tary Fund. In 1987, President Kaunda had broken off relations with the IMF, claiming his "self-help" strategy would lead to economic recovery. The new terms include an austerity program, a realistic 1990 budget and a slimmed-down public-spending program. The IMF will agree to new loans only after Zambia has repaid its arrears of \$890 million to the Fund and \$460 million to the World Bank. Zambia is currently looking for a donor country to reschedule official credits and repay the IMF and World Bank.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Zambians cannot democratically change their government. The ongoing economic emergency was used by the government as a rationale for introducing new laws that allow security forces broad, extraordinary powers of arrest, seizure and detention. The judiciary is independent of executive interference, except in political cases. Free expression is limited, and public criticism of the president and the political system is not generally tolerated. Parliamentary sessions are marked by free and open debate. The independent press, though frequently publishing diverse and anti-government views, is subject to censorship. The state owns two national dailies and radio and television. Political activity is limited by law to the UNIP and its affiliate groups. There are many professional and cultural associations and groups. Police permits for rallies and demonstrations are needed, but are usually granted. Freedom of religion is respected, but there are some restrictions on travel and movement. Zambia has a strong industrial trade union tradition. All large unions belong to the independent and democratic Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), the only legal confederation. Workers are allowed to strike only after all other legal recourses have been exhausted, but wildcat strikes have occurred.

Zimbabwe

Polity: One party

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 8,640,000

Conflicts: None

PPP: \$1,184

Life Expectancy: 54 male, 58 female

Ethnic groups: Shona (71 percent, with subgroups), Ndebele (16 percent), white (1 percent)

Political Rights: 6

Civil Liberties: 4

Status: Partly Free

Overview:

The Republic of Zimbabwe, formerly white-ruled Rhodesia, was established on 18 April 1980, after years of guerrilla activity by several insurgency groups and diplomatic negotiations forced Prime Minister Ian Smith to accept black majority rule. Following parliamentary elections in February 1980, Robert Mugabe, leader of the Zimbabwe National Union (ZANU-PF), one of two main guerrilla groups making up the rebel Patriotic Front (PF), was asked to form a government to replace the short-lived government of Bishop Abel Muzorewa (which was elected in 1979 but not recognized by the U.N., the U.S., and the Patriotic Front as legitimate).

After independence, fighting broke out between ZANU armed forces and those of Joshua Nkomo's Zimbabwe African People's Union (PF-ZAPU), the other main group in the Patriotic Front. The conflict was partly rooted in traditional tribal rivalry between the northern Shona group represented in

ZANU and the Ndebele people from southern Matabeleland who made up most of Nkomo's forces. In 1981 the conflict violence decreased, guerrilla organizations were merged with security forces to form a national army, and Nkomo became a member of the cabinet. Personal animosity between Mugabe and Nkomo and the discovery of arms in a ZAPU stronghold led to the latter's dismissal from the cabinet, and by 1984 there was renewed fighting in Matabeleland. In 1987, merger talks resulted in an agreement that brought the nation one step closer to becoming a one-party (ZANU-PF) state, with Mugabe as president and Nkomo as one of two vice presidents. With the approval of the Assembly, Mugabe became president of the country and the post of prime minister was dropped. The White Roll (entrenched white seats) was also abolished.

Parliament consists of a forty-member Senate and 100-member House of Assembly. With the merger of ZANU-PF and ZAPU-PF and the abolition of entrenched white seats, the parliamentary opposition has been reduced to one seat held by ZANU-S, a splinter group loyal to former ZANU leader Ndabaningi Sithole.

In early 1989, the Mugabe government was rocked by a scandal involving high-ranking officials who used their privileged positions to buy cars from state-owned factories and then resold them at huge profits. The so-called "Willowgate" scandal led to the resignation of five cabinet ministers and charges that Mugabe was protecting political allies, particularly members of his own tribe. In May, Edgar Tekere, once a Mugabe ally, launched a new opposition party, the Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM), accusing the government of corruption and mismanagement. Although there are indications that Zimbabweans are increasingly disillusioned with a one-party system, the prospects for ZUM are undermined by the fact that it receives financial support from a South African businessman and elements of the all-white Conservative Alliance of Zimbabwe. On 6 July ZANU won a key by-election against ZUM by a margin of 7,000 to 3,000 in the western Harare township of Dzivaresekwa. The race was marked by a low turnout and ZUM was prevented from holding rallies and from advertising on state-run radio, television and newspapers.

In addition to the corruption scandal, ZANU's popularity declined because of the country's lagging economy. Unemployment is high, job growth is sluggish, there is a chronic shortage of foreign exchange, educated Zimbabweans cannot find work, public transport has deteriorated. Defense obligations, including the deployment of some 12,000 Zimbabwe troops to keep roads open in war-torn Mozambique, have contributed to a growing budget deficit. Moreover, tribal rivalries and alliances that affect decision-making continue within ZANU, not only between Shonas and Ndebeles, but between the six or so Shona sub-groups. ZANU also seems to be split between advocates of free-market reforms and those who feel more government management is necessary.

In August 1989, in an effort to bolster flagging support, President Mugabe, whose government faces general elections in 1990, announced that he plans to amend the independence constitution to allow the compulsory acquisition of white-owned land so that more land can be made available to landless peasants, said to number some 100,000 families. The country's 4,200 commercial farmers, most of them white, own most of the best agricultural land and produce 80 percent of marketed agricultural export, a fact that makes any land distribution plan economically sensitive.

**Political Rights
and Civil Liberties:**

Although Zimbabwe is effectively a one-party state, citizens freely elect parliamentary representatives and local officials. The judicial system is free of government control, but certain security provisions curtail defendant's rights. Reportedly, there are no political prisoners. Although the major print media are state-run by the Mass Media Trust, it was the government-controlled Bulawayo *Chronicle* that broke and actively pursued the "Willowgate" scandal, although in several instances its reporters were assaulted by government officials and editor Geoff Nyarota was reassigned. Small, private print media are allowed to operate, but the press generally practices self-censorship. Television and radio are government owned. Political and non-political organizations are permitted (though the former face some restrictions), but political meetings and rallies require police permits. Business, professional and social organizations are free from government interference. Freedom of religion is respected, and there are no restrictions on travel. Unions belong to the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU). but there are some restrictions on the right to strike "essential" industries. In August, the government passed a law banning strikes in areas ranging from hospital and transport services to generation and supply of electricity. Private human rights groups are permitted to operate in the country.

Australia Christmas Island

Polity: Administrator
Economy: Capitalist-statist
Population: 2,000
Ethnic groups: Chinese and Malay

Political Rights: 3
Civil Liberties: 2
Status: Free

Overview:

Located in the Indian Ocean, Christmas Island is the home of a rapidly declining phosphate industry, which is owned by the Australian government's Australian Phosphate Corporation. Under Australian administration since 1958, Christmas Island has a government run by an administrator who is appointed by the Governor General, Queen Elizabeth's representative in Australia. Australia classifies the island as an external territory, but residents have had the right to opt for Australian citizenship or residency status. Due to the near exhaustion of phosphate, the chief source of employment, many islanders have moved to Western Australia, Singapore, and Malaysia. The lack of other major economic opportunities limits freedom. The Australian government proposed laying off 150 phosphate miners in 1986. This caused labor and ethnic strife. The government decided to reduce the mine labor force gradually during 1986-89. To reinvigorate the economy, Australia approved construction of a gambling resort complex. Two weeks after the 1987 election, the Australian government dismissed the democratically elected nine-member assembly, citing fiscal mismanagement. However, Christmas Islanders retain the right to vote in Australian national elections as part of the mainland's Northern Territory.

Cocos (Keeling) Islands

Polity: Administrator and council
Economy: Capitalist-statist
Population: 600
Ethnic Groups: Malay

Political Rights: 1
Civil Liberties: 2
Status: Free

Overview:

The Cocos Islands lie in the Indian Ocean. Discovered by Captain William Keeling in 1609, the islands were a personal fiefdom of the Clunies-Ross family until 1978. An Australian-appointed administrator is chief executive. A local council began functioning in 1978. In a 1984 referendum, the inhabitants voted to integrate with Australia. They are now part of Australia's Northern Territory, which elects members of the Australian Parliament. The population is mostly Malay.

Norfolk Island

Polity: Administrator-assembly
Economy: Capitalist
Population: 2,000
Ethnic Groups: *Bounty* families, Australian, New Zealander

Political Rights: 2
Civil Liberties: 1
Status: Free

Overview:

Located in the South Pacific, Norfolk Island is home to many descendants of *Bounty* mutineers. An Australian-appointed administrator is the chief executive, but there has been a freely elected, nine-member assembly since

1979. The assembly executive committee acts like a cabinet on this largely self-governing island.

Chile Rapanui (Easter Island)

Polity: Appointed governor and elected local government

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 2,000

Ethnic Groups: Spanish-speaking Polynesians

Political Rights: 3

Civil Liberties: 2

Status: Free

Overview:

Rapanui (Easter Island) was more free than the Chilean mainland during the Pinochet regime. The territory has had fairly open discussion and elected local government. Most of the land is under Chilean government control.

Denmark Faeroe Islands

Polity: Legislative democracy

Economy: Mixed capitalist

Population: 44,000

Ethnic groups: Faeroese

Political Rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 1

Status: Free

Overview:

The Faeroe Islands are located in the North Atlantic, and have a very high degree of autonomy. Voters elect a thirty-two-member local assembly, which chooses the administration. Islanders also have the right to elect two members of the Danish parliament and to opt out of the European Community to which Denmark belongs. The Faeroese have a full range of civil liberties and political groups. Parties include the pro-Danish Union Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Republican Party, the People's Party, the Moderate Self-Rule Party, and the Progressive and Fisheries Christian People's Party.

Greenland

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Economy: Mixed capitalist

Population: 51,000

Ethnic groups: Inuit (Eskimo), native whites, and Danish

Political Rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 1

Status: Free

Overview:

Located in the North Atlantic, Greenland has substantial autonomy. The island's legislature consists of 23 members chosen by proportional representation and up to an additional four members for parties failing to win seats in districts. Greenland decided to withdraw from the European Community in 1982. Since Greenland won autonomy in 1979, the role of U.S. bases there has been a major issue. One opposition group, the Communist Inuit Brotherhood Party, advocates shutting the bases. The Polar Party represents business interests. The conservative Feeling of Community Party calls for close links with Denmark and Europe. Feeling of Community is the junior

partner in a coalition government with the social democratic Forward Party. The Forward prime minister is Jonathan Motzfeldt, who was reelected in 1987. The territory has full freedoms of expression and association. Greenland elects two members of the Danish parliament.

France French Guiana

Polity: Appointed prefect and assembly and council

Political rights: 2

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Civil liberties: 2

Population: 95,000

Status: Free

Ethnic groups: Complex, black (66 percent), Caucasian (French) (12 percent), East Indian, Chinese and Amerindian (12 percent), and other (10 percent)

Overview:

The Department of French Guiana is one of four French Overseas Departments. As such, French law applies and the administrative establishment is headed by a commissioner of the Republic who is appointed by the French Ministry of the Interior. Representatives to the French parliament are elected. A nineteen-member General Council is elected for six years, with councilors representing individual districts. Since 1982, the Council has been given increased powers, particularly in financial matters.

The department was given regional status in 1974 and a Regional Assembly setup, distinct from the General Council, with limited control over the economy. This control was expanded under the Mitterrand reforms of 1982-83. The first direct elections to the Regional Assembly, on the basis of proportional representation, were held in February 1983. Mayors and municipal councils are also directly elected.

The two main political parties are the right-wing Rally for the Republic (RPR), which supports the status quo, and the Guianese Socialist Party (PSG), which currently advocates autonomous rule as the first step toward full independence. The smaller Guianan Unity (UG) advocates immediate independence. At the most recent General Council elections in fall 1988, the PSG retained control by taking twelve seats against seven for the RPR and other right-wing parties.

Pluralistic points of view are presented in the media including two major newspapers and several radio and television stations.

French Polynesia

Polity: Assembly

Political Rights: 2

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Civil Liberties: 2

Population: 194,000

Status: Free

Ethnic groups: Polynesian, Chinese, and French

Overview:

French Polynesia consists of 120 South Pacific islands, the most populous of which is Tahiti. The Polynesian Territorial Assembly consists of forty-one members elected for a maximum term of five years. The Assembly elects the President, who selects ministers with the Assembly's approval.

In the 1986 election, the Popular Union Party, the Polynesian affiliate of the French Gaullist Rally for the Republic, won 24 of the 41 seats. This

party favors internal autonomy, not independence. Some pro-autonomy parties are more left-wing, while other leftist groups support complete independence. A High Commissioner represents the French government. Alexandre Leontieff is president of the Council of Ministers. French nuclear tests in the area are a major source of controversy. Although the nuclear base is a major employer, the natives resent French indifference to their environmental concerns. Peaceful advocates of independence have freedom of expression and association. Polynesians elect a member of the French Senate and two National Assembly deputies.

French Southern and Antarctic Territories

Polity: Administrator-consultative council

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 180

Ethnic Groups: NA

Political Rights: 3

Civil Liberties: 1

Status: Free

Overview

The French Southern and Antarctic Territories consist of the Indian Ocean islands of St. Paul, Amsterdam, the Kerguelen and Crozet archipelagos, and the French-claimed sector of Antarctica. Due to the small population and scattered locations of these territories, the French administrator is based in Paris, where the consultative council meets twice annually. Kerguelen's 100 inhabitants comprise the largest population of the territories.

Guadeloupe

Polity: Appointed commissioner and assembly and council

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 340,400

Ethnic groups: Predominantly black with white French minority

Political rights: 2

Civil liberties: 2

Status: Free

Overview

The Department of Guadeloupe is one of four French Overseas Departments. As such, French law applies and the administrative establishment is headed by a commissioner of the Republic who is appointed by the French Ministry of the Interior. In the wake of Hurricane Hugo, which ravaged Guadeloupe, the interior ministry appointed a new commissioner, Jean-Pierre Truce. Representatives to the French parliament are elected.

A thirty-six-member General Council is directly elected to a five-year term, with each member elected to represent individual districts. Since 1982, the Council has been given increased powers, particularly in financial matters.

The department was given regional status in 1974 and a Regional Assembly set up, parallel to the General Council, with limited control over the economy. This control was expanded under the Mitterand reforms of 1983-83. The first direct elections to the Regional Assembly, on the basis of proportional representation, were held in February 1983. Mayors and municipal councils are also directly elected.

The two main political parties are the Socialist Party (PS) and the right-wing Rally for the Republic (RPR). In the 1988 General Council elections,

the PS increased its majority by one seat, defeating opponents 26-16. The Communist Party of Guadeloupe (PCG), which normally secures a quarter of the vote, is pro-independence but non-violent. Since the late 1960s, there have been a number of militant pro-independence groups. Those that resorted to armed tactics were outlawed. Since 1985, however, violent activity has nearly died out. The semi-clandestine Popular Union for the Liberation of Guadeloupe (UPLG), as well as other remaining radical groups, have boycotted recent elections. Labor unions are legal and there are two main labor federations.

There is one daily newspaper and a handful of radio and television transmitters. International news agencies maintain local offices.

Martinique

Polity: Appointed commissioner and assembly and council
Economy: Capitalist-statist
Population: 338,600
Ethnic groups: Predominantly black with French minority

Political rights: 2

Status: Free

Civil liberties: 1

Overview:

The Department of Martinique is one of four French Overseas Departments. As such, French law applies and the administrative establishment is headed by a commissioner of the Republic appointed by the French Ministry of the Interior. Representatives to the French parliament are elected.

A forty-four-member General Council is directly elected to a five-year term, with each member elected to represent individual districts. Since 1982, the Council has been given increased powers, particularly in financial matters.

The department was given regional status in 1974 and a Regional Assembly was set up, parallel to the General Council, with limited control over the economy. This control was expanded under the 1982-83 Mitterrand reforms. The first direct elections to the Regional Assembly on the basis of proportional representation were held in February 1983. Mayors and municipal councils were directly elected.

The main political parties are the right-wing Rally for the Republic (RPR), the Martinique Progressive Party (PPM), the Socialist Federation of Martinique (FSM), and the Martinique Communist Party (PCM). In recent years, the last three have formed an electoral alliance, the Left Union (UG). Both the PCM and PPM advocate autonomy for the island as the first step toward independence. The UG obtained a one-seat margin in the 1988 General Council elections. A number of militant separatist groups resorted to violence in the mid-1980s and were banned. Separatist violence has nearly disappeared in recent years. Labor unions are legal and permitted to strike. There are two main labor confederations.

The media are varied and reflect pluralistic points of view. There are several radio and television stations. There are one daily and several weekly newspapers.

Mayotte (Mahore)

Polity: Commissioner-council
Economy: Capitalist
Population: 79,000
Ethnic groups: A mixture of French, Mahorais, Comorien, and Malagasy speakers

Political Rights: 2
Civil Liberties: 2
Status: Free

Overview:

Part of the Comoro archipelago, Mayotte is located in the Indian Ocean east of Mozambique and northwest of Madagascar. In two referenda, the largely Catholic population has rejected joining the Federal Islamic Republic of the Comoros. The Paris government appoints a commissioner, and the residents elect a seventeen-member council. The economy is based largely on primary products and tourism. The political parties are the Mahoran Popular Movement, which wants the island made a French department; the Party for the Mahoran Democratic Rally, which supports merger with the Comoros; and the Gaullist Mahoran Rally for the Republic. The island sends one member to the French Senate and elects one to the French National Assembly. The government-owned radio station broadcasts in French and Mahorais.

Monaco

Polity: Constitutional monarchy-council
Economy: Capitalist-statist
Population: 29,000
Ethnic groups: French, Monegasque, Italian, and others

Political Rights: 3
Civil Liberties: 1
Status: Free

Overview:

The Principality of Monaco is located on the French Mediterranean coast. Prince Rainier III is the hereditary chief of state, but the French government nominates the Minister of State (the prime minister) and has the right to veto the heir to the throne. Monaco has a customs union with France, which controls the principality's foreign relations. The voters elect an eighteen-member National Council for a five-year term. In the 1988 election, the National and Democratic Union won all eighteen seats. The Monaco Socialist Party has contested elections unsuccessfully. Other parties include the Communist Democratic Union Movement and the liberal Monaco Action. Newspapers in nearby Nice print Monaco editions, which they distribute freely in the principality. Radio and television are government-operated. Trans World Radio broadcasts religious programs. The French government has a controlling interest in Radio Monte Carlo. A tax haven, Monaco is the home of casinos and light industry.

New Caledonia

Polity: Commissioner and congress and assemblies
Economy: Capitalist-statist
Population: 161,000
Ethnic groups: Melanesians (Kanaks), French, Wallisian-Futunians, Vietnamese, other Asian and Pacific groups

Political Rights: 2
Civil Liberties: 2
Status: Free

Overview:

New Caledonia experienced dramatic political change in 1989. Jean-Marie Tijbaou, the leader of the native Kanak independence forces, was assassinated in May by a Kanak militant. In 1988, Tijbaou had made a compromise agreement with the French which postpones the question of independence until 1998, and grants increased autonomy to both the Kanaks and the local French. Tijbaou's umbrella group, the Kanak Socialist Liberation Front (FLNKS), and the pro-French Rally for Caledonia in the Republic (RPCR), back the agreement. The plan includes provisions for three regional assemblies and a combined congress of the three. The Kanaks dominate two assemblies, while the French control one. In the elections held in June 1989, the FLNKS won a majority in the North and Islands assemblies, and the RPCR captured the South assembly. Of the fifty-four seats in the combined congress, the RPCR holds twenty-seven and the FLNKS has nineteen. During the 1990s, the French government plans to spread development assistance more evenly across the territory, in order to improve living conditions in the largely Kanak areas. Melanesians form only 43 percent of the population. Paris appoints a high commissioner to represent French interests. New Caledonia elects two National Assembly deputies and sends one senator to the French Parliament.

Reunion

Polity: Commissioner and council and assembly

Political Rights: 2

Civil Liberties: 2

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Status: Free

Population: 580,000

Ethnic groups: French, African, Malagasy, Malay, Chinese, Indian, Pakistani, and Annamite

Overview:

Located in the Indian Ocean east of Madagascar, Reunion has been in French hands since the seventeenth century. The population is multi-racial and largely Catholic. Sugarcane is the most important crop. A French commissioner carries out executive functions. There is a competitive, multi-party system, which ranges from pro-independence Communists to pro-French moderates. Reunion has a bicameral legislature, consisting of an elected thirty-six-member General Council and an elected forty-five-member Regional Assembly. The territory elects three National Assembly deputies and one Senator to the French Parliament.

St. Pierre and Miquelon

Polity: Commissioner-council

Political Rights: 2

Economy: Capitalist

Civil Liberties: 2

Population: 6,500

Status: Free

Ethnic Groups: French

Overview:

Located south of Newfoundland in the North Atlantic, the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon are the only remaining French possessions in North America. Fishing is the mainstay of the economy. During American Prohibition, the islanders smuggled liquor to the U.S. The French government appoints a commissioner, and local residents elect a fourteen-member

council for a six-year term. The islands elect a National Assembly deputy and a senator to the French Parliament. The Socialist Party and the center-right Union for French Democracy are the active parties. There is freedom of association. The unionized workers belong to *Force Ouvriere* (Workers' Force). The only newspaper is a bulletin of government announcements. The French broadcast media are available.

Wallis and Futuna Islands

Polity: Administrator-council
Economy: Capitalist-statist
Population: 15,000
Ethnic Groups: Polynesian

Political Rights: 3
Civil Liberties: 2
Status: Free

Overview:

Located in the South Pacific, Wallis and Futuna Islands have almost completely Polynesian populations. In 1959, the islands vote to become a French territory. There is a French-appointed administrator and a locally elected twenty-member council. Three traditional chiefs are council members. The local affiliates of the French center-right parties predominate. The territory elects a National Assembly deputy and a senator to the French Parliament. The only radio station broadcasts in both French and Wallisian.

France-Spain Condominium Andorra

Polity: Co-princes and parliament
Economy: Capitalist
Population: 51,000
Ethnic groups: Andorran, Spanish, French, other European

Political Rights: 2
Civil Liberties: 1
Status: Free

Overview:

Located in the Pyrenees Mountains between France and Spain, Andorra has been a joint territory of the French government and the Bishop of Urgel, Spain since 1278. Before political reform in 1981, there was no clear power structure to rule the country. As Co-Princes, the French President and the Spanish Bishop had representatives there, but Andorra had no locally chosen head of government. The Co-Princes' representatives (vicars) still play a role, especially in the court system. Since 1981, there has been a Head of government (cap del govern). The twenty-eight members of the elected General Council serve four-year terms and choose one of their number as Head. In 1982, Andorran voters approved a system of proportional representation in a referendum, but this reform has not been enacted by the French and Spanish sides, due to 48 percent voter abstention. Women have had the franchise since 1970. There are some limitations on voting rights for young first-generation Andorrans. Otherwise, there is universal suffrage at age eighteen and over. Technically, there are no political parties, but there are factions and associations which have effective party functions. The French have generally handled Andorra's foreign relations. There are two competing, private weekly newspapers. There is a local public radio and television service. French and Spanish media are easily available.

Israel

The West Bank and Gaza

Polity: Military-administered

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 1,377,000

Ethnic Groups: Palestinian Arab, Jewish

Political Rights: 6

Civil Liberties: 6

Status: Not Free

Overview:

Israel has occupied the West Bank and the Gaza strip since the Arab-Israeli 1967 war. (It has annexed East Jerusalem.) The territories are run by the Israeli Ministry of Defense, which operates through a civil administration (CIVAD). Municipal elections were last held in the territories in 1976. Today only four mayors remain, some having been dismissed on security grounds and others resigning because of the uprising. Beyond this there is no higher representative body for the 1.7 million Palestinians. Since King Hussein of Jordan cut legal and administrative ties to the West Bank in 1988, Palestinians are no longer represented in Jordan's Parliament. Political parties are not permitted, and public political meetings have been broken up by the military.

Beginning in December 1987, Palestinians launched an organized struggle aimed at terminating the Israeli occupation. They staged strikes, withheld tax payments, and stoned government troops. This uprising, better known as the *intifada*, continued to cause death and anguish for both Arab and Jew alike in 1989. Violent acts such as stone-throwing and petrol-bomb attacks have continued to plague the Israeli military authorities and the army, although the number and size of large-scale public demonstrations have seemed to decrease. Frustrated with the government's inability to protect them, and fearful that Prime Minister Shamir's election plan precludes a Greater Israel, some of the 80,000 Jewish settlers have attacked Palestinian villagers and workers in reprisal for Palestinian violence. The vigilantism has strained Army-settler relations. A recent government order provides that Israeli authorities can take harsher action against settlers than they have in the past.

More than 141 Palestinians suspected of being Israeli collaborators were brutally killed by other Palestinians. A total of approximately 611 Palestinians and 40 Israelis have been killed since the *intifada* began, and thousands more wounded. The Unified Command leading the *intifada* called for intensified violence in the fall of 1989, but it has refrained from calling for a resort to arms.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

Fatalities have markedly increased since August 1989, when a directive enabling soldiers to fire live ammunition at masked Arab youths was approved by an Army judge. Most Palestinian fatalities are the result of open confrontations with the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) and IDF gunfire. Evidence suggests the use of force by the IDF against Palestinians has not always been, as is required, confined to life-threatening situations or the apprehension of a suspect in a serious crime. The record also indicates the continued beating and abuse of prisoners and detainees by the domestic security service, the Shin Bet. To suppress Palestinian violence, the government has continued to follow the policy of administrative detention in which the suspect is held without charge and without trial. This period has increased from a six-month to a one-year renewable period. The policy is controversial: some of the detainees have not participated in violence. In

addition, the burden of proof is on the detainee to show his innocence, and the evidence by which he could prove his innocence is often inadmissible on security grounds.

Ordinary arrest and detention procedures have also been criticized. A person may be arrested without a warrant and on mere suspicion, may be detained for eighteen days without judicial review and denied counsel. Occasionally, relatives of the suspect have been charged when the suspect cannot be found. Detainees may also be held incommunicado for two weeks, a time period that invites abuses. In September the Islamic group Hamas, popular in the Gaza strip, was outlawed and hundreds of its members have been detained. Interrogation practices include sleep deprivation, hooding, and beating. Curfews continue, though they have been somewhat reduced in Gaza.

Some deportations of Palestinians were reported for 1989. Palestinian suspects usually receive a public trial in military court, with the majority of convictions based on confessions obtained through coercion. The military have entered private homes without a warrant. Since the uprising began, reportedly 550 "illegal" (unlicensed) homes have been destroyed. Israeli officials assert the demolitions reflect apolitical law enforcement, not coercion against the uprising. Two hundred other homes of Palestinians accused but not convicted of stonethrowing or graver offenses have also been destroyed. This practice may violate the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 to which Israel is a party.

Israeli authorities have also stepped up their tax collection efforts. The best known case is that of the town of Beit Sahur, where residents refusing to pay taxes had property confiscated. Palestinians claimed taxes are used only for works inside Israel. On the other hand, authorities started a phased reopening of the 1,200 schools on the West Bank in July. The schools had been shut since January 1988 because of their apparent role in anti-Israeli demonstrations. (Colleges and universities in the West Bank are not covered by the reopening.)

Press criticism has been allowed, but censorship and detention of journalists also takes place. Foreign publications can be censored or banned and towns have been declared closed to the press. Showing the Palestinian flag is prohibited; so is publicly expressing support for the PLO. "Popular committees" supporting the uprising are banned and membership can result in a ten-year prison term. Freedom of religion is generally respected. Though Palestinians are free to emigrate, travel abroad has been made difficult. A new measure in Gaza requires that Palestinians seeking to work in Israel carry more detailed identification cards. These cards are denied to Gazans with security records, including intifada offenses. Sixty-five thousand Gazans work in Israel. Gazans staged a two-week work boycott as soon as the measure was put into effect. Resistance to the system later collapsed, however. Union activity in the territories is discouraged, although striking is permitted.

Italy San Marino

Polity: Parliamentary democracy
Economy: Capitalist
Population: 24,000
Ethnic Groups: Italian

Political Rights: 1
Civil Liberties: 1
Status: Free

Overview:

According to tradition, a Christian stonecutter named Marinus founded San Marino in 301 A.D. Surrounded entirely by Italian territory, San Marino is the world's oldest republic. The country signed the first of several friendship treaties with Italy in 1862. Italy handles many of San Marino's foreign and security affairs. In 1979, they upgraded their relations to the ambassadorial level. The tiny republic has a lively multi-party system, similar to Italy's. In recent years, Socialists, Communists, Christian Democrats, and Social Democrats have participated in coalition governments. Cabinets have changed frequently, due to a lack of consensus on policy. In the May 1988 election, the Christian Democrats and Communists won enough seats to continue their coalition government. Since 1600, San Marino's Grand and General Council has served as the legislature. Its sixty members serve for a maximum term of five years. The Council chooses the State Congress, which functions as a cabinet. Chosen by the Council for six-month terms, two Captains Regent supervise the State Congress. One Captain Regent represents the city of San Marino, and the other stands for the surrounding area. The media are free, and Italian newspapers and broadcasts are freely available.

Morocco Western Sahara

Polity: Constitutional Monarchy
Economy: Capitalist
Population: 70,000
Ethnic Groups: Arab, Sahrawi

Political Rights: 5
Civil Liberties: 4
Status: Partly Free

Overview:

The Western Sahara, formerly Spanish Sahara until Spain pulled out in 1975, remains disputed territory. Both Morocco and the guerrilla Polisario Front, representing the indigenous Sahrawi people, have made exclusive claims to and fought for the area for thirteen years. Today, Morocco, which annexed the area in 1976, occupies and administers most of the Western Sahara, a 1,200 mile wall of sand and barbed wire enclosing over 80 percent of the territory. Major Western powers have refrained from recognizing Moroccan title to the territory and seventy-three countries have recognized Polisario's government in exile, the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic (SADR). Algeria has been the main sponsor of the guerrilla group, believed to number 7,000-8,000, providing sanctuary for them at the border town of Tindouf. There are signs, however, that Algeria has backed off its commitment to the Polisario and is recognizing integration with Morocco as a *fait accompli*. Morocco has won over much of the area by providing much-needed infrastructure and free education and health care. The wall has cut off the population from the guerrillas and new highways and TV hook-ups link the area closely to Morocco. Still, the rebels continue to be popular with the Sahrawis, though one leading Polisario member was recently induced to switch allegiance to King Hassan II.

In August 1988 both parties to the conflict accepted in principle that a U.N.-supervised referendum should be held, asking the native inhabitants whether they desire integration with Morocco or independence. It was hoped that the referendum would take place in August 1989, but talks between the parties have stalled, each side objecting to the particular arrangements of the referendum. The Polisario wants Moroccan troops and

administrators out of the area prior to a referendum, charging such a withdrawal is key to a fair process. Eighty thousand troops are believed to man the 1,200 mile wall. Morocco has refused this demand. Little progress has been made since January 1989. Another sticking point is who should be eligible to vote. Both sides agree that a Spanish 1974 census of the area forms the basis of eligible voters, but problems remain. The Polasario wants its refugee population in Tindouf counted as eligible, whereas Morocco disputes that these refugees are actually Sahrawis.

In October serious fighting broke out, taking hundreds of lives on both sides and further delaying negotiations.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties:

That portion of the population that Morocco administers enjoys the same rights as those in Morocco proper (see Morocco). Ten parliamentary seats are allotted to the territory, those elected being native Saharans. King Hassan appoints natives to govern the four provinces of the region. According to reports, civilians in the area are closely monitored for their political beliefs and possible Polasario support, and those suspected are subject to police abuse. King Hassan refused over the summer to accept 200 POWs released by the Polasario.

Netherlands Aruba

Polity: Appointed governor and parliamentary democracy

Economy: Mixed capitalist

Population: 66,000

Ethnic groups: Black majority with Carib Indian and European minorities

Political rights: 1

Civilliberties: 1

Status: Free

Overview:

Aruba was part of the Netherland Antilles from 1954 until 1986 when it achieved formal parity with the Netherlands and Netherland Antilles under the Dutch crown. Under the assumption of domestic autonomy, Aruba agreed to retain economic and political links to the Netherland Antilles until the achievement of full independence in 1996.

The Netherlands is represented in Aruba by an appointed governor. However, the island is largely self-governing. Domestic affairs are the responsibility of the prime minister appointed by the freely elected unicameral *Staten* (legislature). Full freedom of party organization and expression is respected. The Council of Ministers at the Hague remains responsible for foreign affairs and defense.

The twenty-one-member *Staten* is directly elected for four-year terms. The People's Electoral Movement (MEP) won the 7 January 1989 election, taking ten seats against the incumbent, center-right Aruba People's Party (AVP), which obtained eight. Three smaller parties obtained one seat each. Following the election, a three-party government was formed, headed by the MEP's Nelson Oduber. The MEP has traditionally been the major force for independence. However, Prime Minister Oduber appeared to be shifting in favor of commonwealth status to ensure a full defense commitment from the Netherlands against the threat of the Colombian cocaine cartels.

The press, radio and television are private, free and varied. Three daily newspapers are published, one in Dutch, one in English, and one in the local Papiamentu. There are five privately run radio stations and one commercial television station.

Netherland Antilles

Polity: Appointed governor and parliamentary democracy

Economy: Mixed capitalist

Population: 194,000

Ethnic groups: Black majority with Carib Indian and European minorities

Political rights: 1

Civil liberties: 1

Status: Free

Overview:

In 1954 the Netherland Antilles was granted constitutional equality with the Netherlands and Suriname (which became independent in 1975). It currently consists of two groups of two and three islands each, the southern (Leeward) islands of Curacao and Bonaire and the northern (Windward) islands of Sint Maarten, Sint Eustatius, and Saba.

Although the Netherlands is represented by an appointed governor, the Netherlands Antilles is largely self-governing. Domestic affairs are the responsibility of the prime minister appointed by the unicameral *Staten* (legislature) of twenty-two deputies (fourteen from Curacao, three each from Bonaire and Sint Maarten, and one each from Sint Eustatius and Saba) elected for four years. Full freedom of party organization and expression is respected. Foreign affairs and defense remain the responsibility of the Council of Ministers at the Hague.

Coalition governments have been highly unstable given the geographical range of the islands and island-based political differences, particularly over the issue of island independence. There have been six governments since 1977 as eight different political parties have entered in and out of a variety of coalitions. The two main parties are the center-right National People's Party (NVP), which formed the most recent government under Maia Liberia-Peters in 1988, and the social democratic New Antilles Movement (MAN) headed by former prime minister Dom Martina.

The Netherlands has urged the islands to accept independence as an autonomous federation, but the smaller islands continue to resist independence in federation with the dominant island, Curacao. In 1989, both Curacao and the Hague opened the possibility for a series of island referendums on the issue.

The press, radio and television are private, free and varied. The islands are serviced by six daily newspapers, two in Dutch and four in the local Papiamentu. Privately owned radio stations operate on all islands except Sint Eustatius. There is a television station on Curacao.

New Zealand Cook Islands

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Economy: Capitalist-Statist

Population: 17,000

Ethnic Groups: Polynesian majority, European and mixed race minorities

Political Rights: 2

Civil Liberties: 2

Status: Free

Overview:

Located in the South Pacific, the Cook Islands are in free association with New Zealand. The territory has the right to independence at any time. The population is almost entirely Polynesian and has New Zealand citizenship rights. Aside from defense and foreign affairs, the islands are largely self-governing. The governor general of New Zealand appoints a Queen's Representative who appoints the prime minister. There is a twenty-four-seat

parliament which has a maximum term of five years. There is also an advisory council of chiefs. Dr. Pupuke Robati led a coalition government for five years until January 1989. His administration presided over a declining health system and other deteriorating government services. His cabinet got in trouble with the voters for inflating their travel expenses. The Robati government banned political issues from the media in late 1988. This ban allowed no political references in songs, advertisements, letters to the editor or the news. In previous elections, there were other abuses. For example, the Cook Islands Party flew in nonresidents to vote in the 1978 election, which the High Court invalidated. Albert Henry, cousin of the current prime minister, pleaded guilty in that case. The territory has one newspaper and two radio stations. The coalition lifted the ban on 4 January 1989 in time for the 19 January election. The Cook Islands Party, led by Geoffrey Henry, won twelve of the twenty-four parliamentary seats. The coalition won only nine seats, and the Democratic Tumu secured two. An independent won the remaining seat

Niue

Polity: Parliamentary democracy
Economy: Capitalist-statist
Population: 2,000
Ethnic Groups: Polynesian, other Pacific Islanders, Europeans

Political Rights: 2
Civil Liberties: 2
Status: Free

Overview:

Niue is located northeast of New Zealand in the South Pacific. The island is in free association with New Zealand which gives full citizenship rights to Niueans. The small population is more than 90 percent Polynesian. The island has a very poor economy, and has endured a long drought. Lavish subsidies from New Zealand sustain the relatively large local government and the declining population. More than half the Niuean labor force works in the public sector. About 10,000 Niueans have moved to New Zealand. In a last-ditch effort to save the island, the larger country is pouring in \$33 million to develop local business. This may be cut off, due to poor economic performance. The twenty-member Assembly is elected every three years. While fourteen win election from village constituencies, six stand for office at-large. Prime Minister Sir Robert Rex has been the political leader since the 1950s. The only formal party, People's Action, has one seat. The other Assembly members divide into pro- and anti-government tendencies. The next elections are due in 1990. There is only one newspaper. Most islanders belong to the Christian Council of World Missions, but other groups have freedom of worship.

Tokelau

Polity: Administrator-elected leaders and elders

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 1,745

Ethnic Groups: Polynesian

Political Rights: 2

Civil Liberties: 2

Status: Free

Overview:

Tokelau is a collection of islands in the South Pacific. The population is Polynesian. New Zealand appoints the territorial administrator. Each village elects a Faipule, who represents the village and presides over the council of elders, and a Pulemuku, who is responsible for village administration. Elections are every three years. There are no newspapers or broadcast media. There is freedom of worship. Islanders belong to various Christian groups. New Zealand subsidizes the local economy. Many residents move to New Zealand.

Portugal Azores

Polity: Local assembly

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 254,500

Ethnic Groups: Portuguese

Political Rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 2

Status: Free

Overview:

The Azores are three groups of islands located 800 miles west of Portugal in the Atlantic Ocean. After the 1974 revolution in Portugal, separatist sentiment increased. Subsequently, the Lisbon government surrendered administration of the island to local political leaders. It had been run by Portuguese-appointed governors. A multi-party, forty-three-seat Assembly was established in 1976, and a regional government formed under the leadership of the Popular Democratic Party, the former name of the Social Democratic Party. In 1980, the Social Democrats obtained a majority in the Assembly, and in the 1984 elections they increased their majority to 28 of 43 seats. The islands have elected representatives in the Portuguese parliament. Azoreans have the same civil liberties as Portuguese mainlanders.

Macao

Polity: Appointed governor and assembly

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 432,000

Ethnic groups: Chinese, Portuguese

Political Rights: 3

Civil Liberties: 3

Status: Partly Free

Overview:

Macao is a Portuguese enclave of islands and a peninsula at the mouth of the Canton River on China's southeastern coast. After establishing diplomatic relations with China, Portugal announced that Macao was "Chinese territory under Portuguese administration." On 26 May 1987, China and Portugal agreed that Macao would be returned to China on 20 December 1999.

The territory is ruled by Portuguese Governor Carlos Lelan. The Na-

tional Assembly consists of six members elected by universal suffrage, six elected indirectly by interest groups, and five appointed by the governor.

In 1989, proposed amendments to the constitution (Organic Statute) raised controversy. The amendments, which increased the number of directly elected seats in the Assembly, were aimed at giving Macao greater autonomy from Portuguese control and, in the long term, from China, which has maintained that it would respect Macao's constitution when it reverts to China. The Chinese did express some concern over the amendments and the possibility of similar moves in Hong Kong. Portugal will allow Macao's ethnic Chinese to keep their status as Portuguese nationals, keep their passports, and pass these privileges to their descendents after 1999. About 150,000 out of 405,000 ethnic Chinese are eligible for this status. However, China recognizes passports as only travel documents and has not agreed to Portuguese consular protection.

Madeira

Polity: Local assembly
Economy: Capitalist-statist
Population: 271,000
Ethnic groups: Portuguese

Political Rights: 1
Civil Liberties: 2
Status: Free

Overview:

The Madeira Islands are located in the Atlantic 500 miles southwest of Portugal. On 29 August 1975, the Madeira Archipelago Liberation Front (FLAMA) announced a provisional government. In October 1976, a regional Assembly was established, dominated by the Social Democratic Center Party. Since then, the Social Democratic Center has controlled the legislature. In elections held on 14 October 1985, the party won 40 of 50 seats. Madeira has representatives in the Portuguese parliament. Civil liberties are the same as on the mainland.

South Africa Bophutatswana

Polity: Dominant party
Economy: Capitalist-statist
Population: 1,400,000
Ethnic Groups: Tswana majority. Pedis, Shangaans, Xhosas, South Sothos and Swazis

Political Rights: 6
Civil Liberties: 5
Status: Not Free

Overview:

Located in north-central South Africa, Bophutatswana is a black homeland consisting of six noncontiguous territories. South Africa granted the territory nominal independence in 1977. No country outside South Africa has recognized this status. Since 1977, Lucas Mangope has been president. He won reelection unopposed in 1984. Mangope holds most executive power, and has the right to run government departments himself. The National Assembly consists of 108 members. The president's dominant Democratic Party held all but six seats after the 1987 elections. The remaining seats were held by the opposition Progressive People's Party (PPP). In February 1988, the army attempted to force Mangope from power and give the presidency to the leader of the PPP, but within a few hours, South African troops put down the rebellion and restored Mangope to power.

Ciskei

Polity: One-party
Economy: Capitalist-statist
Population: 740,000
Ethnic Groups: Xhosa-speaking South Nguni Tribes
Political Rights: 6
Civil Liberties: 6
Status: Not Free

Overview:

Located in southeastern South Africa, Ciskei has been a nominally independent black homeland since 1981. No government outside South Africa recognizes its legitimacy. Lennox L. Sebe has been the territory's only president. Technically, the National Assembly appoints the president for a five-year term. However, Sebe became president-for-life in 1983. Following his death, the system will supposedly revert to five-year terms. Ciskei has an eighty-seven-member National Assembly, fifty of whom represent the ruling Ciskei National Independence Party, and thirty-seven of whom are tribal chiefs. They serve five-year terms. The leadership of the Ciskei National Party joined the ruling party after the 1978 election. The territory is functionally a one-party state. The government confirmed this by removing the Ciskei People's Rights Protection Party from the ballot in 1986. During 1989, the Ciskei police persecuted three small black localities on the Ciskei-South Africa "border." Prior to 1988, these places were officially part of South Africa, and had been "inadvertently" left in South Africa after the Ciskei's nominal independence. Claiming the boundary was a "mistake," South Africa declared the villages part of Ciskei as of August 1988. The residents protested against the decision, since they preferred to remain officially South African. Since the declaration, the Ciskei police force has handled the protests by demolishing homes, detaining village leaders, and beating residents who express opposition to Ciskeian citizenship. A South African judge on loan to Ciskei ruled in October 1989 that the territory had acted legally in evicting residents from the disputed area and barring them from returning. The Ciskei National Security Act (1982) permits indefinite, incommunicado detention for interrogation. South Africa provides over 80 percent of Ciskei's budget. Ciskei has had tense relations with Transkei for several years.

Transkei

Polity: Military
Economy: Capitalist
Population: 2,660,000
Ethnic Groups: Xhosas
Political Rights: 7
Civil Liberties: 6
Status: Not Free

Overview:

Located in southeastern South Africa, Transkei is a nominally independent black homeland consisting of three noncontiguous territories. No country outside South Africa has recognized the territory as independent. The army seized power from the civilian government in 1987. Major-General Bantubonke Holomisa is chairman of the ruling Military Council. Martial law is in effect. The military rulers have suspended the National Assembly and all political parties. In March 1989, former Prime Minister George Mantanzima returned to the country. The government arrested and tried him on corruption charges, and found him guilty of accepting bribes. Transkei has had long-running tensions with Ciskei.

Venda

Polity: One party
Economy: Capitalist-statist
Population: 550,000
Ethnic Groups: Venda majority, Sangaan and Pedi minorities

Political Rights: 6
Civil Liberties: 5
Status: Not Free

Overview:

Located in northeastern South Africa, Venda is a nominally independent black homeland. South Africa granted the territory its "independence" in 1979, but the international community does not recognize this status. The National Assembly appoints the president. He has the power of dissolution. Gota Frank N. Ravele became president in 1988, succeeding the late Paramount Chief Patrick Mphephu. The Assembly has a combination of elected and appointed members. The Venda National Party (VNP) declared a one-party regime in 1986. The Venda Independence People's Party won four seats in the 1984 election, but those members resigned, and VNP loyalists replaced them. In 1989, the government charged over 150 people with participation in boycotts and other protests against police handling of ritual murders, the celebration of Venda's "independence," and subsequent arrests and detentions. Many prisoners went on hunger strikes. The government released most of those arrested after dropping charges or letting them out on bail.

Spain Canary Islands

Polity: Regional legislature
Economy: Capitalist
Population: 1,535,000
Ethnic groups: Mostly Hispanic

Political Rights: 1
Civil Liberties: 2
Status: Free

Overview:

The Canary Islands, located off the northwest coasts of Africa, are administered as two provinces by Spain. Although the people are largely Hispanic, they are of diverse origins and maintain pre-Spanish customs. There have been periodic separatist movements, but the development of internal self-determination has helped to diffuse such sentiments. In terms of civil liberties, the population enjoys the same rights and guarantees as citizens of Spain.

Ceuta

Polity: Municipal administration
Economy: Capitalist-statist
Population: 80,000
Ethnic groups: Moroccan, Spanish

Political Rights: 2
Civil Liberties: 1
Status: Free

Melilla

Polity: Municipal administration
Economy: Capitalist-statist
Population: 65,000
Ethnic groups: Moroccan, Spanish

Political Rights: 2
Civil Liberties: 1
Status: Free

Overview:

Oeuta and Melilla, located off the coast of Morocco, are governed as municipalities of Cadiz and Malaga, respectively. Both areas have Muslim populations with Moroccan roots who have lived on the islands for generations.

In 1986 the government created a commission to examine how to integrate the Muslims into Spanish society. After demonstrations in Lelila in 1986, the Spanish government made a move to give most Muslims citizenship over time.

Switzerland Liechtenstein

Polity: Prince and parliamentary democracy

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 29,000

Ethnic groups: Alemmanic German, Italian, other Europeans

Civil Liberties: 1

Status: Free

Political Rights: 1

Overview:

The Principality of Liechtenstein was created in the eighteenth century. Most Liechtensteiners are descended from the Germanic Alemmani tribe. The head of state is Prince Hans Adam, whose Austrian ancestors purchased this country's land. Hans Adam succeeded his father, Franz Josef, who died in November 1989 after a fifty-one-year reign. The prince had carried out his father's executive duties since 1984. The prince appoints a prime minister from the majority party or coalition in the fifteen-member Landtag, whose members serve for four-year terms. Called "hallowed and sacrosanct" by the constitution, the monarch has the right to veto legislation. Franz Josef used this right only once, when he disapproved of a hunting law. "It was a silly law," he said. "It would have turned every garden into a shooting ground." Parties with at least 8 percent of the vote receive proportional representation in the Landtag. The leading parties are the moderately liberal Fatherland's Union, the conservative Progressive Citizens' Party, the Christian Social Party, and the liberal, Green-oriented Free Voters' List. The major issue in the March 1989 elections was whether or not to build a new museum. Liechtenstein uses Swiss currency, and has a customs union with its larger neighbor. The Swiss handle Liechtenstein's defense and foreign affairs.

Political Rights and Civil Liberties

Liechtensteiners can change their government by democratic means. Control has shifted back and forth between parties. The principality allows voters the right to decide issues directly through referenda. Despite the dependence on Switzerland, Liechtenstein retains its own traditions and power over local concerns. Women have had the right to vote nationally since 1984. Franz Josef had pressed for women's suffrage since the 1950s. The leading political parties publish newspapers five times each week. Residents receive radio and television freely from other countries. Liechtenstein has no broadcast media. The country is too small to have numerous organizations, but association is free. The highly prosperous economy is a combination of private and state enterprises. Per capita GDP is over \$26,000.

United Kingdom Anguilla

Polity: Appointed governor and assembly

Economy: Mixed capitalist

Population: 7,000

Ethnic groups: Relatively homogeneous, black majority

Political rights: 1

Civil liberties: 1

Status: Free

Overview:

Following the establishment of the Associated State of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, Anguillans rejected governmental authority from St Kitts and in 1969 a British commissioner was appointed. A separate constitution was provided in 1976 giving the commissioner (now governor) authority over foreign affairs, defense, civil service and internal security. All other governmental responsibilities are carried out by a freely elected seven-member House of Assembly. The first House elections were held in 1976. In December 1980, the dependent status of the territory was formally confirmed.

In the 27 February 1989 elections, the incumbent Anguilla National Alliance (ANA) headed by Chief Minister Emile Gumbs retained control of the House over the opposition Anguilla United Party (AUP).

Anguillans enjoy all civil rights common to the homeland. The press is government owned and operated. Radio is both government owned and private. There is no television.

Bermuda

Polity: Appointed governor and parliamentary democracy

Economy: Mixed capitalist

Population: 58,100

Ethnic groups: Black (approximately 60 percent), large British minority

Political rights: 1

Civil liberties: 1

Status: Free

Overview:

Under a constitution approved in 1967, Bermuda was granted the right of internal self-government in 1968. A Crown-appointed governor exercises responsibility for external affairs, defense, internal security and police. A premier is appointed by the governor but is responsible to a freely elected forty-member House of Assembly for all internal matters.

In the 9 February 1989 election the incumbent center-right, multiracial United Bermuda Party (UBP) of Premier John Swan retained control of the House over the left-wing, predominantly black Progressive Labour Party (PLP). The UBP obtained twenty-three seats, the PLP fifteen, and the National Liberal Party (NLP) and an independent environmentalist, one each. Poverty, race and immigration were the main issues; the question of independence has diminished in importance as most of the electorate has demonstrated its support for the status quo.

Bermudians enjoy all civil rights common to the homeland. There are several newspapers, all privately owned and operated. There are over half a dozen radio stations and two television stations.

British Virgin Islands

Polity: Appointed governor and council
Economy: Mixed statist
Population: 13,000
Ethnic groups: Relatively homogeneous with black majority

Political rights: 2
Civil liberties: 1
Status: Free

Overview:

The 1977 constitution granted greater responsibility over internal affairs. A Crown-appointed governor retains responsibility for external affairs, civil service, defense and internal security. On other matters the governor acts on the advice of the Executive Council whose members are the governor, the chief minister, four members of the legislature and the Attorney General. The chief minister, representing the majority party in the freely elected nine-member Legislative Council, is appointed by the governor.

The 1986 Legislative Council elections were won by the Virgin Islands Party (VIP) headed by the current chief minister H. Lavity Stoutt. The VIP took five of nine seats, ousting the administration of independent member Cyril B. Romney. The British Virgin Islands were lashed by Hurricane Hugo in September 1989. Although there were no reports of looting, Stoutt instituted a month-long state of emergency in order to requisition private assets in the relief effort

Residents enjoy all civil liberties common to the homeland. There is one weekly newspaper, one radio and one television station.

Cayman Islands

Polity: Appointed governor and mostly elected assembly
Economy: Capitalist
Population: 25,000
Ethnic groups: Mixed (40percent), Caucasian (20percent),black (20percent), various ethnic groups (20 percent)

Political rights: 2
Civil liberties: 1
Status: Free

Overview:

Previously governed from Jamaica, the Cayman Islands were placed under a British administration in 1962. A Crown-appointed governor is assisted by an Executive Council and a largely elected Legislative Assembly, over which he presides. The Assembly consists of three members appointed by the governor and twelve elected members, with a new Assembly elected every four years. There are no formal political parties. The governor in 1989 was Alan James Scott.

Residents enjoy all civil liberties common to the homeland. There is one daily newspaper and at least one weekly publication. There is at least one radio and one television station.

Channel Islands

Polity: Appointed executive and legislature

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 137,000

Ethnic Groups: British, Norman French

Political Rights: 2

Civil Liberties: 1

Status: Free

Overview:

The Channel Islands are located in the English Channel. The territories included are the islands of Jersey and Guernsey and their dependencies. Surviving fragments of the medieval Duchy of Normandy, the islands are considered Crown fiefdoms. They are connected to Britain through the monarch. The queen appoints their chief executives, who are called lieutenant governors and commanders-in-chief. Jersey's partly elected legislature is the States of Jersey. Guernsey's partly elected legislature is the States of Deliberation. Two of Guernsey's dependencies, Alderney and Sark, have local legislatures. Sark also has a hereditary head. Residents speak either English, French, or Norman French. Farming and tourism are major industries.

Falkland Islands

Polity: Appointed governor and legislative council

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 1,821

Ethnic Groups: British

Political Rights: 2

Status: Free

Civil Liberties: 1

Overview:

Englishmen landed on these islands for the first time in 1610. Spain and Britain clashed over ownership of the Falklands in the eighteenth century. Argentina claimed the territory in 1820, but Britain rejected that. Britain and Argentina negotiated over the Falklands' status in the 1960s and 1970s, but never reached agreement. In 1982, Argentina's military government decided to invade and seize control of the islands. Britain defeated Argentina after several weeks of fighting. In 1989, both sides agreed to resume discussions in Spain in October 1989. Britain appoints a governor to represent the queen. A chief executive assists in administering the islands. The Legislative Council consists of six members elected by the people, the chief executive, and the financial secretary. The latter two officials, nominees of the governor, and two nominees of the Legislative Council form an Executive Council. There are two newspapers, one of them government-published. The public Falkland Islands Broadcasting Service operates two radio stations. Sheep and marine life provide the bases of the local economy.

Gibraltar

Polity: Appointed governor and assembly

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Population: 31,000

Ethnic Groups: Italian, English, Maltese, Portuguese and Spanish

Political Rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 1

Status: Free

Overview:

Located at the southern tip of the Iberian peninsula, Gibraltar came under British control in 1704 after the War of the Spanish Succession. Spain still claims sovereignty over the territory. Due to its strategic location between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, Gibraltar has served as a key British naval base. The colony gained a measure of self-government in 1964. In 1967, the majority of Gibraltarians voted for continued British rule. A new constitution in 1969 established a fifteen-member assembly. Anglo-Spanish relations worsened in 1969 when Britain refused to accept a U.N. deadline for decolonization. Spain cut off land links with Gibraltar in order to press its claim against the British. The two governments began negotiating in 1982, but postponed talks as a result of the Falklands War. They normalized relations in 1984, and continued negotiations. Spain lifted the land link embargo in 1985, and Anglo-Spanish relations have improved.

Britain appoints a governor general of the territory. A Gibraltar Council advises him. The Council consists of four ex officio members and five elected members of the colony's legislature. The House of Assembly performs legislative functions. It consists of fifteen directly elected members, two ex officio members, and an appointed speaker. The House has been responsible for most domestic affairs since 1969. Britain is responsible for defense and foreign affairs. In the legislative election of 1988, the Socialist Labour Party, led by Joe Bossano, won eight seats. The Gibraltar Labour Party/Association for the Advancement of civil Rights, led by Adolfo Capena, won seven seats. Bossano backs complete independence for Gibraltar. He fears that Britain's recent decision to withdraw half its 1,700-troop garrison may lead eventually to Spanish sovereignty. There is freedom of association. There are four newspapers and a government-owned broadcasting corporation.

Hong Kong

Polity: Appointed governor and legislature

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 5,731,000

Ethnic Groups: Chinese (98 percent), other (2 percent)

Political Rights: 4

Civil Liberties: 3

Status: Partly Free

Overview:

Located in southeastern China, Hong Kong is in a period of transition from British colony to Chinese territory in 1997. Britain and China concluded an agreement in 1984 to maintain the status quo for Hong Kong's liberties and institutions for fifty years after the British withdrawal. Since China crushed the Chinese prodemocracy movement in 1989, Hong Kong democrats have feared that political rights and civil liberties will not be secure under Chinese rule. The Chinese Communists fired the editor of the Hong Kong Communist organ *Wen Wei Po*, after it had sided with China's prodemocracy demonstrators and had called the Communist regime "fascist." The Beijing government has also attacked Hong Kong's prodemocracy movement.

There are several problems involving political rights. Under the British, Hong Kong has an appointed governor. The top legislative body consists of ten official members, twenty-two appointed unofficial members, and twenty-four members indirectly elected by a limited middle-class electorate and an electoral college. Hong Kong democrats are pressing to have a completely

elected legislature before the Chinese take over. Current plans call for the partly elected status to continue. In 1989, 140,000 Hong Kongers petitioned for a referendum on direct elections. Britain has proposed that half the legislature be elected in 1991 and that all of it be elected in 1995. China opposes the formation of political parties in Hong Kong. However, the Communist Party operates already through various institutions including the 170,000-member Federation of Trade Unions. Conservative business interests have formed a party-like group and more liberal prodemocracy forces may also become more organized.

British and Chinese actions have combined to limit civil liberties in Hong Kong. The British have granted the overwhelming majority of Hong Kongers third-rate passport rights that do not entitle them to settle in Britain. Out of 500 colonial civil servants who applied, only eight have won the right to move to the U.K. for their loyal service to the Crown. The draft Basic Law, Hong Kong's post-1997 constitution, contains articles that could restrict freedom of expression. *The Far Eastern Economic Review* and other media in Hong Kong fear what restrictions they could face, but, as of 1989, *The Review* had no plans to move. On other human rights questions, Hong Kong announced in 1989 that it would end flogging, and it did allow safe passage for some Chinese dissidents. The colony has more than 50,000 Vietnamese "boat people" refugees living in squalid conditions. The Hong Kong government has a policy of sending back illegal Chinese immigrants, but the Chinese government refused to accept them in 1989 after the colony had allowed Chinese dissident swimmer Yang Yang to go to the U.S. from Hong Kong. There is a vibrant commerce in Hong Kong, and independent, non-Communist trade unions exist. Many business leaders may move elsewhere in Asia or the British Commonwealth, depending on the generosity of such neighbors as Singapore. The British willingness and ability to bargain for the liberties of Hong Kongers seem likely to decrease as 1997 approaches.

Isle of Man

Polity: Appointed executive and legislature

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 62,000

Ethnic Groups: Mostly Manx (of Mixed Celtic and Scandinavian descent)

Political Rights: 2

Civil Liberties: 1

Status: Free

Overview:

The Isle of Man is located west of Britain in the Irish Sea. Like the Channel Islands, it is a Crown fiefdom, tied to Britain through the monarch. The Queen appoints an executive, the lieutenant governor. The Court of Tynwald is the bicameral legislature. It consists of a twelve-member Legislative Council, of which the lieutenant governor is a member, and an elected twenty-four-member House of Keys. For most matters, the two houses sit in joint session. Two members of the Legislative Council and five members of the House form an executive council. The Isle has its own laws. Acts of the British Parliament apply to Man only if they state so specifically.

Montserrat

Polity: Appointed governor and partly elected council

Political rights: 2

Civil liberties: 1

Economy: Capitalist

Status: Free

Population: 12,000

Ethnic groups: Mostly black with European minority

Overview:

A Crown-appointed governor resides over an appointed Executive Council. Local legislative matters are the responsibility of a largely elected, eleven-member Legislative Council. Of the eleven members, who serve five-year terms, seven are directly elected, two are official members, and two are nominated. The chief minister is the leader of the majority party in the Council.

In the 25 August 1987 Council elections, the People's Liberation Movement (PLM) headed by incumbent chief minister John Osborne held its four-seat majority. None of the political parties favors independence because of the lack of an economic base.

David Brandt, a founder of the National Development Party (NDP), which holds two seats in the Council, resigned in early September after accusations of involvement in the 1989 offshore banking scandal. The scandal also caused friction between chief minister Osborne and governor Christopher Turner. Osborne accused Turner of overstepping legal bounds by ordering police to raid one of the banks involved. He warned of an "impending constitutional crisis" and stated he would take the matter to the British government. The clash was temporarily shelved when Montserrat was ravaged by Hurricane Hugo.

Residents enjoy all civil liberties common to the homeland. There are at least two newspapers, including the opposition *Montserrat Reporter*, several radio stations and one television station.

Pitcairn Islands

Polity: Appointed governor and council

Political Rights: 2

Economy: Capitalist-statist

Civil Liberties: 1

Population: 55

Status: Free

Ethnic Groups: *Bounty families* (Mixed Anglo-Tahitian)

Overview:

The Pitcairn Islands consist of Pitcairn and three uninhabited South Pacific Islands. The inhabitants of Pitcairn are descended from the *Bounty* mutineers and Tahitian women. The appointed governor is the British High Commissioner in New Zealand. Ten residents serve on the Pitcairn Island Council. They include the elected magistrate and three other elected members; the island secretary; one member appointed by the governor; two members appointed by the elected members; one nonvoting member appointed by the governor; and one nonvoting member named by the council. The local economy is based on fishing, plant life, postage stamp sales, and crafts. The British government provides subsidies, and the local government provides some employment. There is a monthly newspaper.

St. Helena and Dependencies

Polity: Appointed governor and council
Economy: Capitalist-statist
Population: 7,800
Ethnic Groups: Mostly white

Political Rights: 2
Civil Liberties: 1
Status: Free

Overview

St. Helena, Ascension Island, and the Tristan de Cunha island group are scattered across the South Atlantic between Africa and South America. The British Governor administers the islands with an Executive Council of two ex officio members and the chairman of the Council committees. Residents elect a twelve-member Legislative Council for a four-year term. The Legislative council started in 1967. Political parties are legal, and took part in earlier elections, but have become inactive. The island economies are dominated by British and American bases. There are also local fishing, craft, timber, and agricultural industries. The colony has a government-run broadcasting service and one weekly newspaper.

Turks and Caicos

Polity: Appointed governor and council
Economy: Capitalist
Population: 10,000
Ethnic groups: Relatively homogeneous with black majority

Political rights: 2
Civil liberties: 1
Status: Free

Overview

Previously governed from Jamaica, the islands were placed under a British administration in 1962. A constitution adopted in 1976 provides for a governor, an eight-member Executive Council, and Legislative Council of eleven elected, four ex-officio, and three nominated members. The chief minister is the leader of the majority party in the Legislative Council.

In 1985, chief minister Norman Saunders of the conservative Progressive National Party (PNP) was arrested in Miami on drug trafficking charges and forced to resign. He was replaced by deputy chief minister Nathaniel Francis, who was forced to resign in 1986 on corruption and patronage charges. The British government then imposed direct rule under the governor and established a commission for making constitutional reforms designed to inhibit corruption. The 3 March 1988 elections marked the return to constitutional rule. In the balloting, the People's Democratic Movement, formerly in opposition, took nine of eleven seats and Oswald Skippings became chief minister.

Residents enjoy all the civil liberties common to the homeland. There are at least one weekly newspaper and several radio stations.

United States of America

American Samoa

Polity: Elected governor and legislature
Economy: Capitalist
Population: 32,000
Ethnic Groups: Samoan (Polynesian)

Political Rights: 1
Civil Liberties: 1
Status: Free

Overview:

American Samoa is located in the South Pacific. The U.S. had ruled the island through an appointed governor for most of this century, but the island has elected its own chief executive since 1978. The bicameral legislature is called the Fono. It consists of a twenty-member House of Representatives and an eighteen-member Senate. The House is elected by popular vote for two-year terms. The *matai*, the chiefs of extended Samoan families, elect senators from among themselves for four-year terms. There are local affiliates of the U.S. Democratic and Republican parties. Since 1981, the territory has sent a nonvoting delegate to the U.S. Congress. Tourism, fishing, and agriculture are major industries. There are free and competing newspapers. There is a private radio station and a government-owned television station.

Guam

Polity: Elected governor and legislature **Political rights: 1**
Economy: Capitalist-statist **Civil Liberties: 1**
Population: 106,000 **Status:** Free
Ethnic Groups: Guamanian
 (Micronesian) majority, U.S. mainlanders

Overview:

Guam is located in the Pacific Ocean west of Hawaii. The U.S. annexed the territory as a result of the Spanish-American War in 1898. Since 1970, the island has had an elected governor who serves a four-year term. Guam also has a twenty-one-member unicameral legislature elected for two-year terms. The territory has a nonvoting representative to the U.S. Congress. The U.S. Democratic and Republican parties have local affiliates on Guam. In 1982, the Guamanians voted for Commonwealth status in association with the U.S. American military bases and U.S. subsidies contribute significantly to the local economy. There are free and competitive print and broadcast media.

Marshall Islands

Polity: Parliamentary democracy **Political rights: 1**
Economy: Capitalist-statist **Civil Liberties: 1**
Population: 31,000 **Status:** Free
Ethnic Groups: Marshallese (Micronesian)

Overview:

The Republic of the Marshall Islands is Part of the Trust Territory of the Pacific that the United Nations assigned to the United States. In 1986, the U.S. informed the U.N. that the Trust had been terminated and that the U.S. and the islanders had implemented Compacts of Free Association and Commonwealth. Under the Compact, the Marshalls have self-government in domestic affairs, but still depend on American defense. The U.S. carried out extensive nuclear testing on the islands from 1946-58. America had to settle numerous lawsuits with islanders in the mid-1980s before the transition to free association status. The Marshalls have a parliamentary system. The thirty-three-member *Nitijela* (Parliament) is elected from twenty-four election districts. The legislators elect a president and Cabinet who are respon-

sible to them. The members serve four-year terms. There is also an advisory body of twelve traditional Micronesian chiefs. The economy depends heavily on U.S. expenditures and aid from the U.N. and Asian countries. Major issues in 1989 included allegations that the Soviets had infiltrated a lagoon at Kwajalein atoll in 1987, in order to steal the flight data recorder from a U.S. missile. A major controversy developed over proposals for the island to sell itself as a dumping ground for garbage from the American West coast. The Parliament agreed to conduct a feasibility study on accepting seven million tons a year of U.S. garbage for \$56 million annually. Critics argue that the waste would be dangerous, and would compound the ecological damage from the old nuclear tests. The islands have one newspaper, one radio station, and cable television on Majuro Island.

Micronesia

Polity: Parliamentary democracy

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 74,000

Ethnic Groups: Micronesian

Political rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 1

Status: Free

Overview:

Located in the North Pacific, the Federated States of Micronesia is a former U.S. trust territory. In 1983 the islands adopted the Compact of Free Association, under which the U.S. retains responsibility for defense and foreign affairs and Micronesia has domestic autonomy. The unicameral legislature consists of one senator from each island state elected for a four-year term, and ten senators elected on the basis of island populations for two-year terms. The Senators elect the country's President for a two-year term. Agriculture, tourism, forestry, and fishing are major industries. U.S. economic aid and public sector employment are substantial. There are two newspapers.

Northern Marianas

Polity: Governor-legislature

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 17,000

Ethnic Groups: Highly diversified

Political rights: 1

Civil Liberties: 1

Status: Free

Overview:

Situated west of Hawaii in the Pacific, the Northern Marianas formed part of the Trust Territory of the Pacific. The islands have Commonwealth status, and the residents have U.S. citizenship. The U.S. has responsibility for the islands' defense. The electorate chooses a governor who serves a four-year term. The Marianan legislature is bicameral. The Senate is composed of nine members who serve four-year terms, while the House of Representatives has fifteen members elected for two-year terms. The parties are the Democrats and the Republicans, but they are not affiliated with U.S. parties. Handicrafts, fishing, tourism, and agriculture are significant industries. There are three competing newspapers, three radio stations, and several cable television channels.

Palau (Belau)

Polity: President and legislature
Economy: Capitalist
Population: 12,000
Ethnic Groups: Palauan (a mixture of Micronesian, Malayan and Melanesian) and mixed Palauan-European-Asian

Political rights: 1
Civil Liberties: 2
Status: Free

Overview:

Palau (Belau) is located in the Pacific east of the Philippines. Following World War II, the islands became part of the Trust Territory of the Pacific. In 1978, the territory took the name Republic of Palau. A U.S. High Commissioner is technically still in charge of administration, but a directly elected President exercises effective power. A Council of Chiefs advises him. The people elect a bicameral legislature. It consists of an eighteen-member Senate, which is directly elected from districts according to population, and a sixteen-member House of Delegates, with one Delegate chosen by each state. Since 1978, there have been various unsuccessful attempts to work out a Compact of Free Association with the United States. Palau has held referenda on the Compact, all of which failed to pass with the required 75 percent majority. Possible U.S. nuclear storage rights remain a controversial impediment to agreement. During the unsuccessful attempts to settle its constitutional arrangements, two of Palau's presidents have died, and the territory has experienced some political violence. President Remelii was assassinated in 1985, and President Salii killed himself in 1988, apparently over a bribery scandal involving a power company. In May 1989, Palau and the U.S. came up with a proposed agreement that would provide Palau with complete independence and substantial economic aid from the U.S. The U.S. would be allowed military access to Palau in return. Critics argue that the land-use provisions of the deal could enable the Pentagon to take one-third of Palau's territory for bases. Tourism, fishing, and agriculture are the major industries. The only newspaper is government-owned.

Puerto Rico

Polity: Elected governor and legislature
Economy: Capitalist
Population: 3,301,000
Ethnic groups: Relatively homogeneous, Hispanic

Political rights: 1
Civil liberties: 1
Status: Free

Overview:

Following approval by plebiscite, Puerto Rico acquired the status of a commonwealth in free association with the U.S. in 1952. Under its terms, Puerto Rico exercises approximately the same control over its internal affairs as do the fifty U.S. states. Residents, though U.S. citizens, do not vote in presidential election and are represented in the U.S. Congress only by a delegate to the House of Representatives who can vote in committee but not on the floor.

The Commonwealth constitution, modeled on that of the U.S., provides for a governor and a bicameral Legislature, consisting of a twenty-seven-member Senate and a fifty-member House of Representatives, directly elected for four-year terms. An appointed Supreme Court heads an independent judiciary; the legal system is based on U.S. law.

The fundamental issue of the island's politics remains Puerto Rico's relationship with the U.S. In a 1967 plebiscite, 60.4 percent opted for continued commonwealth status, 39 percent for statehood, and 0.6 percent for independence. In recent years, the political parties identified with the three alternatives urged the U.S. Congress to prepare legislation holding a new plebiscite. As of fall 1989, both the U.S. Senate and House were working on bills for a new status vote tentatively scheduled for 1991, a year before the next scheduled general elections.

The Popular Democratic party (PDP) led by current governor Rafael Hernandez Colon supports continued commonwealth status. The New Progressive party (PNP) led by former governor Carlos Romero Barcelo is pro-statehood. The social democratic Puerto Rican Independence party (PIP) led by Ruben Berrios is pro-independence, as is the Marxist Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP). A poll published in September 1989 by the newspaper *El Nuevo Dia* found that 41 percent of the sample favored statehood, 37 percent supported commonwealth status, and 4 percent wanted independence. The armed activities of two far-left separatist groups, the Armed Forces for National Liberation (FALN) and the Boricua Popular Army (also known as the *Macheteros*), have diminished substantially in recent years.

As U.S. citizens, Puerto Ricans enjoy all civil liberties granted in the U.S. The press and broadcast media are well developed, highly varied, uncensored and critical.

United States Virgin Islands

Polity: Elected governor and senate

Economy: Capitalist

Population: 106,000

Ethnic groups: Approximately two-thirds

black with one-quarter of Puerto Rican descent

Civil liberties: 1

Status: Free

Political rights: 1

Overview:

The U.S. Virgin Islands, consisting of St. Croix, St. Thomas, St. John and some four dozen smaller islands, are governed as an unincorporated territory of the U.S. The inhabitants were made U.S. citizens in 1927 and granted a considerable measure of self-government in 1954. Since 1970, executive authority has resided in a governor and lieutenant governor directly elected for a four-year term. There is also a unicameral fifteen-member Senate elected for two years, with each of the three main islands proportionately represented. Since 1973 the territory has sent one nonvoting delegate to the U.S. House of Representatives.

In September 1989, the islands were struck by Hurricane Hugo, with St. Croix the hardest hit. After looting broke out, President Bush ordered U.S. troops and federal marshals onto St. Croix to keep order. In early November, the U.S. Defense department announced that the troops would be withdrawn within twenty days. Gov. Alexander Farrelly of the Democratic Party, who faces reelection in 1990, was criticized in some quarters for his handling of the situation. The other main political party is the Independent Citizens' Movement

As U.S. citizens, island residents enjoy all civil liberties granted in the U.S. There are at least two newspapers and several radio and television stations.

Tables and Ratings

Table of Independent Countries

Comparative Measures of Freedom

Country	PR	CL	Freedom Rating	Country	PR	CL	Freedom Rating	Country	PR	CL	Freedom Rating
Afghanistan	7	7	Not Free	Denmark	1	1	Free	Korea, South	2	3	Free
Albania	7	7	Not Free	Djibouti	6	5	Not Free	Kuwait	6	4	Partly Free
↑Algeria	6	4▲	Partly Free	Dominica	2	1	Free	Laos	6	7	Not Free
Angola	7	7	Not Free	Dominican Republic	1	3	Free	Lebanon	6	5	Not Free
Antigua and Barbuda	2	3	Free	Ecuador	2	2	Free	Lesotho	6	5	Not Free
Argentina	1	2	Free	Egypt	5	4	Partly Free	Liberia	6	5	Not Free
Australia	1	1	Free	El Salvador	3	4▼	Partly Free	Libya	7	7	Not Free
Austria	1	1	Free	Equatorial Guinea	7	7	Not Free	Luxembourg	1	1	Free
Bahamas	2	3	Free	Ethiopia	7	7	Not Free	Madagascar	5	4▲	Partly Free
Bahrain	6	5	Partly Free	Fiji	6	4	Partly Free	Malawi	7	6	Not Free
Bangladesh	4	4	Partly Free	Finland	1	1	Free	Malaysia	5	4	Partly Free
Barbados	1	1	Free	France	1	2	Free	Maldives	6	5	Not Free
Belgium	1	1	Free	Gabon	6	5	Not Free	Mali	6	6	Not Free
Belize	1	2	Free	The Gambia	2	2	Free	Malta	1	1	Free
Benin	7	7	Not Free	↑Germany, East	6▲	6	Not Free	↓Mauritania	7▼	6	Not Free
Bhutan	6	5	Partly Free	Germany, West	1	1	Free	Mauritius	2	2	Free
Bolivia	2	3	Free	Ghana	6	5	Not Free	Mexico	4	3	Partly Free
Botswana	1	2	Free	Greece	1	2	Free	Mongolia	7	7	Not Free
Brazil	2	2	Free	Grenada	2	2▼	Free	Morocco	4	4	Partly Free
Brunei	6	6	Not Free	Guatemala	3	3	Partly Free	Mozambique	6	7	Not Free
Bulgaria	7	7	Not Free	Guinea	7	6	Not Free	Namibia	4▲	3▲	Partly Free
Burkina Faso	6	5	Not Free	Guinea-Bissau	6	6	Not Free	Nauru	1	2	Free
↓Burma	7	7▼	Not Free	Guyana	5	4	Partly Free	↓Nepal	4	5	Partly Free
Burundi	7	6	Not Free	Haiti	7	5	Not Free	Netherlands	1	1	Free
Cambodia	7	7	Not Free	Honduras	2	3	Free	New Zealand	1	1	Free
Cameroon	6	6	Not Free	↑Hungary	4▲	3▲	Partly Free	Nicaragua	5	5	Partly Free
Canada	1	1	Free	Iceland	1	1	Free	Niger	7	6	Not Free
Cape Verde	6	5	Not Free	↓India	2	3	Free	Nigeria	6	5	Partly Free
Central African Republic	6	6	Not Free	Indonesia	5	5	Partly Free	Norway	1	1	Free
Chad	7	6	Not Free	Iran	6	5	Not Free	Oman	6	6	Not Free
↑Chile	4▲	3▲	Partly Free	Iraq	7	6	Not Free	Pakistan	3	3	Partly Free
↓China (P.R.C.)	7▼	7▼	Not Free	Ireland	1	1	Free	↓Panama	7▼	6▼	Not Free
↓Colombia	3▼	4▼	Partly Free	Israel	2	2	Free	↓Papua New Guinea	2	2	Free
Comoros	6	5	Not Free	Italy	1	1	Free	↑Paraguay	4▲	3▲	Partly Free
Congo	7	6	Not Free	Ivory Coast	6	5	Partly Free	Peru	2	4▼	Partly Free
Costa Rica	1	1	Free	↑Jamaica	2	2	Free	↓Philippines	2	3	Free
↓Cuba	7	7▼	Not Free	Japan	1	1	Free	↑Poland	4▲	3▲	Partly Free
Cyprus (G)	1	1	Free	Jordan	5▲	5	Partly Free	Portugal	1	2	Free
Cyprus (T)	2	2	Free	Kenya	6	6	Not Free	Qatar	7	5	Not Free
↑Czechoslovakia	6▲	6	Not Free	Kiribati	1	2	Free	↓Romania	7	7	Not Free
				Korea, North	7	7	Not Free	Rwanda	6	6	Not Free

Table of Independent Countries

Comparative Measures of Freedom

Country	PR	CL	Freedom Rating	Country	PR	CL	Freedom Rating	Country	PR	CL	Freedom Rating
St. Christopher and Nevis	1	1	Free	↓ Sudan	7▼	7▼	Not Free	Uganda	6	4	Partly Free
St. Lucia	1	2	Free	Suriname	3	3	Partly Free	↑ USSR	6	5	Not Free
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	1	2	Free	Swaziland	6	5	Partly Free	United Arab Emirates	6	5	Not Free
Sao Tome and Principe	6	5▲	Not Free	Sweden	1	1	Free	United Kingdom	1	1	Free
Saudi Arabia	7	6	Not Free	Switzerland	1	1	Free	United States	1	1	Free
Senegal	4	3	Partly Free	Syria	7	7	Not Free	Uruguay	1	2	Free
Seychelles	6	6	Not Free	↑ Taiwan (Rep. of China)	4▲	3	Partly Free	Vanuatu	2	3	Free
Sierra Leone	6	5	Partly Free	Tanzania	6	6	Not Free	Venezuela	1	3	Free
Singapore	4	4	Partly Free	↑ Thailand	2▲	3	Free	Vietnam	7	7	Not Free
Solomon Islands	1	1	Free	Togo	6	6	Not Free	Western Samoa	2▲	2▲	Free
Somalia	7	7	Not Free	Tonga	4	3	Partly Free	Yemen, North	5	5	Partly Free
↑ South Africa	6	5	Partly Free	Trinidad and Tobago	1	1	Free	Yemen, South	7	7	Not Free
Spain	1	1	Free	↑ Tunisia	5▲	3▲	Partly Free	Yugoslavia	5	4	Partly Free
↓ Sri Lanka	4▼	5▼	Partly Free	Turkey	3	3	Partly Free	Zaire	7	6	Not Free
				Tuvalu	1	1	Free	Zambia	6	5	Partly Free
								Zimbabwe	6	4	Partly Free

↑↓ Arrows up or down indicate a general trend in freedom. PR and CL stand for Political Rights and Civil Liberties. 1 represents the most free and 7 the least free category.

▲▼ Triangles up or down indicate a change in Political Rights or Civil Liberties caused by real world events since the last survey. The Freedom Rating is an overall judgment based on *Survey* results. See the "Methodological Essay" for more details. The table does not indicate changes made for purely methodological reasons since last year.

Table of Related Territories

Comparative Measures of Freedom

Country & Territory	PR	CL	Freedom Rating	Country & Territory	PR	CL	Freedom Rating	Country & Territory	PR	CL	Freedom Rating
Australia				Israel				United Kingdom			
Christmas Island	3	2	Free	Occupied Territories	6▼	6▼	Not Free	Anguilla	1	1	Free
Cocos (Keeling) Islands	1	2	Free	Italy				Bermuda	1	1	Free
Norfolk Island	2	1	Free	San Marino	1	1	Free	British Virgin Islands	2	1	Free
Chile				Morocco				Cayman Islands	2	1	Free
Rapanui (Easter Island)	3	2	Free	Western Sahara	5	4	Partly Free	Channel Islands	2	1	Free
Denmark				Netherlands				Falkland Islands	2	1	Free
Faeroe Islands	1	1	Free	Aruba	1	1	Free	Gibraltar	1	1	Free
Greenland	1	1	Free	Netherlands Antilles	1	1	Free	Hong Kong	4	3	Partly Free
France				New Zealand				Isle of Man	2	1	Free
French Guiana	2	2	Free	Cook Islands	2	2	Free	Montserrat	2	1	Free
French Polynesia	2	2	Free	Niue	2	2	Free	Pitcairn Islands	2	1	Free
French Southern and Antarctic Territories	3	1	Free	Tokelau	2	2	Free	St. Helena and Dependencies	2	1	Free
Guadeloupe	2	2	Free	Portugal				Turks and Caicos	2	1	Free
Martinique	2	1	Free	Azores	1	2	Free	United States of America			
Mayotte (Mahore)	2	2	Free	Macao	3	3	Partly Free	American Samoa	1	1	Free
Monaco	3	1	Free	Madeira	1	2	Free	Guam	1	1	Free
New Caledonia	2	2	Free	South Africa				Marshall Islands	1	1	Free
Reunion	2	2	Free	Bophutatswana	6	5	Not Free	Micronesia	1	1	Free
St. Pierre and Miquelon	2	2	Free	Ciskei	6	6	Not Free	Northern Marianas	1	1	Free
Wallis and Futuna Islands	3	2	Free	Transkei	7	6	Not Free	Palau (Belau)	1	2	Free
France-Spain Condominium				Venda	6	5	Not Free	Puerto Rico	1	1	Free
Andorra	2	1	Free	Spain				United States Virgin Islands	1	1	Free
				Canary Islands	1	1	Free				
				Ceuta	2	1	Free				
				Melilla	2	1	Free				
				Switzerland							
				Liechtenstein	1	1	Free				

Table of Social and Economic Comparisons

Country	Per Capita PPP (\$)	Per Capita GDP (\$)	Life expectancy male/female		Country	Per Capita PPP (\$)	Per Capita GDP (\$)	Life expectancy male/female	
Afghanistan	na *	(GNP) 240	37	37	Cyprus (T)	na	1,156	na	na
Albania	na	(GNP) 936	69	73	Czechoslovakia	na	(GNP) 8,754	68	75
Algeria	2,633	2,125	59	62	Denmark	15,119	10,961	72	78
Angola	na	346	40	44	Djibouti	na	969	na	na
Antigua and Barbuda	na	1,897	68	72	Dominica	na	960	57	59
Argentina	4,647	2,263	66	73	Dominican Republic	na	1,480	61	65
Australia	11,782	11,724	72	79	Ecuador	2,687	1,334	62	66
Austria	12,386	8,509	70	77	Egypt	1,357	848	57	60
Bahamas	na	6,166	64	69	El Salvador	1,733	888	63	67
Bahrain	11,142	10,852	67	71	Equatorial Guinea	na	(GNP) 195	42	46
Bangladesh	883	165	48	47	Ethiopia	454	153	39	43
Barbados	7,927	4,580	70	75	Fiji	3,558	1,716	67	71
Belgium	13,140	7,913	70	77	Finland	12,795	10,424	70	78
Belize	na	1,174	na	na	France	13,961	8,943	71	79
Benin	665	326	42	46	Gabon	2,068	5,561	47	51
Bhutan	na	214	46	49	Gambia	736	375	34	37
Bolivia	1,380	1,100	49	53	Germany, East	na	(GNP) 11,300	69	75
Botswana	2,496	1,135	53	56	Germany, West	14,730	(GNP) 14,890	70	77
Brazil	4,307	1,573	61	66	Ghana	481	496	50	54
Brunei	na	16,293	70	73	Greece	na	3,379	72	76
Bulgaria	na	(GNP) 6,437	69	74	Grenada	na	955	60	66
Burkina Faso	na	153	44	47	Guatemala	1,957	1,159	57	61
Burma	752	172	56	59	Guinea	na	291	39	42
Burundi	450	241	45	48	Guinea-Bissau	na	184	41	45
Cambodia	na	na	42	45	Guyana	1,654	532	66	71
Cameroon	1,381	941	50	53	Haiti	775	351	51	54
Canada	16,375	13,416	72	79	Honduras	1,119	758	58	62
Cape Verde	na	(GNP) 361	57	61	Hungary	na	(GNP) 7,504	67	74
Central African Republic	591	319	41	45	Iceland	13,324	10,953	74	80
Chad	na	135	41	45	India	1,053	272	56	55
Chile	4,862	1,705	67	73	Indonesia	1,660	532	52	55
China (PRC)	2,124	251	67	69	Iran	na	3,873	57	57
Colombia	3,524	1,209	61	66	Iraq	na	3,172	62	63
Comoros	na	(GNP) 248	48	52	Ireland	8,566	4,984	70	76
Congo	756	1,224	45	48	Israel	9,182	6,182	73	76
Costa Rica	3,760	1,322	71	76	Italy	10,682	6,146	71	78
Cuba	na	(GNP) 1,767	72	75	Ivory Coast (Cote D'Ivoire)	1,123	807	49	52
Cyprus	7,910	(sector not specified)							
Cyprus (G)	na	3,176	72	76					

Table of Social and Economic Comparisons

Country	Per Capita PPP (\$)	Per Capita GDP (\$)	Life expectancy male/female		Country	Per Capita PPP (\$)	Per Capita GDP (\$)	Life expectancy male/female	
Jamaica	2,506	1,029	70	76	Peru	3,129	960	57	61
Japan	13,135	9,717	74	80	Philippines	1,878	623	60	64
Jordan	3,161	1,639	62	66	Poland	na	(GNP) 6,493	67	75
Kenya	794	315	51	55	Portugal	5,597	1,872	68	75
Kiribati	na	475	50	54	Qatar	na	23,956	65	70
Korea, North	na	(GNP) 1,209	65	71	Romania	na	(GNP) 5,411	68	73
Korea, South	4,832	2,034	65	71	Rwanda	571	282	45	48
Kuwait	13,843	12,731	70	74	St. Christopher- Nevis (St. Kitts- Nevis)	na	3,111	66	70
Laos	na	(GNP) 190	48	51	St. Lucia	na	1,120	67	75
Lebanon	na	811	63	67	St. Vincent and the Grenadines	na	702	58	60
Lesotho	1,585	281	46	52	Sao Tome and Principe	na	345	43	45
Liberia	696	362	47	51	Saudi Arabia	8,320	10,595	59	63
Libya	na	9,472	57	60	Senegal	1,068	361	42	45
Luxembourg	15,247	7,269	68	74	Seychelles	na	2,100	66	73
Madagascar	634	247	49	50	Sierra Leone	480	258	33	36
Malawi	476	185	44	46	Singapore	12,790	6,669	69	75
Malaysia	3,849	2,240	65	69	Solomon Islands	na	608	na	na
Maldives	na	475	53	50	Somalia	na	563	39	43
Mali	543	140	40	44	South Africa	4,981	2,978	52	55
Malta	7,775	2,745	69	74	Spain	8,989	4,196	71	78
Mauritania	840	478	42	46	Sri Lanka	2,053	329	67	70
Mauritius	2,617	1,036	64	69	Sudan	750	375	47	49
Mexico	4,624	2,316	64	68	Suriname	na	3,473	66	71
Mongolia	na	886	60	64	Swaziland	na	960	47	50
Morocco	1,761	527	57	60	Sweden	13,780	11,356	73	79
Mozambique	na	142	44	46	Switzerland	15,403	14,080	73	80
Namibia	na	782	47	50	Syria	na	1,800	61	64
Nauru	na	(GNP) 19,512	na	na	Taiwan (China)	5,907	(GNP) 3,143	69	74
Nepal	722	145	47	45	Tanzania	405	247	49	53
Netherlands	12,661	8,533	73	80	Thailand	2,576	819	61	65
New Zealand	10,541	7,303	71	77	Togo	670	267	49	52
Nicaragua	2,209	1,203	59	61	Tonga	na	647	57	61
Niger	452	320	41	44	Trinidad and Tobago	3,664	7,053	66	71
Nigeria	668	805	47	50	Tunisia	2,741	1,162	60	61
Norway	15,940	13,217	73	80	Turkey	3,781	1,041	60	63
Oman	na	8,915	51	54	Tuvalu	na	513	57	60
Pakistan	1,585	339	51	49					
Panama	4,009	2,064	69	73					
Papua New Guinea	1,843	770	51	53					
Paraguay	2,603	1,899	63	68					

Table of Social and Economic Comparisons

Country	Per Capita PPP (\$)	Per Capita GDP (\$)	Life expectancy male/female		Country	Per Capita PPP (\$)	Per Capita GDP (\$)	Life expectancy male/female	
Uganda	511	422	47	51	Vietnam	na	312	57	61
USSR	na	(GNP) 7,484	67	75	Western Samoa	na	544	61	66
United Arab Emirates	12,191	23,242	65	70	Yemen, North	1,466	473	47	50
United Kingdom	12,270	7,598	71	77	Yemen, South	na	437	47	50
United States	17,615	15,452	71	78	Yugoslavia	na	1,892	68	74
Uruguay	5,063	1,767	67	74	Zaire	220	150	48	52
Vanuatu	na	612	na	na	Zambia	717	410	50	53
Venezuela	4,306	3,240	66	72	Zimbabwe	1,184	859	54	58

Notes: Freedom House obtained data on Purchasing Power Parities (PPPs) from the Agency for International Development According to the AID, the estimates for GDP in international dollars for 1987 were obtained following procedures described by Robert Summers and Alan Heston in "A New Set of International Comparisons of Real Product and Price Levels for 130 Countries, 1950-1985." Review of *Income and Wealth* 34, 1: 1-25 and supplemental diskette (1988). AID explains that "each country's national currency aggregates, consumption, government, and capital formation were converted into international dollars using purchasing power parities (PPPs) estimated specifically for the aggregates. A country's *real* GDP was simply the sum of these international dollar components, plus its net foreign balance converted into dollars at its exchange rate. The PPPs were derived from the results of the benchmark studies of the International Comparison Project of the U.N. (ICP). To date, 70 countries have

completed and published the results of their participation in the ICP. For these 70 countries, PPPs were built up from detailed price comparisons of individual items covering over 150 categories of expenditure on GDP." The figures on per capita GDP come from the Rand McNally *World Facts and Maps* (1990) and *Defense and Foreign Affairs Handbook* (1989). Rand McNally is also the source for the statistics on life expectancy.

In some cases specified on the table, per capita GNP figures substitute for unavailable GDP data. West Germany's GNP figure is used to make it comparable with East Germany's GNP. However, GNP figures and other statistics from Communist sources are unreliable.

*na means that the information is not available. AID does not have the PPPs for some very small countries and for several closed economies, for which it would be difficult or impossible to develop meaningful PPPs.

Combined Average Ratings- Independent Countries

FREE

1

Australia
Austria
Barbados
Belgium
Canada
Costa Rica
Cyprus (G)
Denmark
Finland
Germany, West
Iceland
Ireland
Italy
Japan
Luxembourg
Malta
The Netherlands
New Zealand
Norway
St. Christopher-Nevis
(St. Kitts-Nevis)
Solomon Islands
Spain
Sweden
Switzerland
Trinidad and Tobago
Tuvalu
United Kingdom
United States

1.5

Argentina
Belize
Botswana
Dominica
France
Greece
Kiribati
Nauru
Portugal
St. Lucia
St. Vincent and
the Grenadines
Uruguay

2

Brazil
Cyprus (T)
Dominican Republic

Ecuador
The Gambia
Grenada
Israel
Jamaica
Mauritius
Papua New Guinea
Venezuela
Western Samoa

2.5

Antigua and Barbuda
Bahamas
Bolivia
Honduras
India
Korea, South
Philippines
Thailand
Vanuatu

PARTLY FREE

3

Guatemala
Pakistan
Peru
Suriname
Turkey

3.5

Chile
Colombia
El Salvador
Hungary
Mexico
Namibia
Paraguay
Poland
Senegal
Taiwan (Rep. of China)
Tonga

4

Bangladesh
Morocco
Singapore
Tunisia

4.5

Egypt

Guyana
Madagascar
Malaysia
Nepal
Sri Lanka
Yugoslavia

5

Algeria
Fiji
Indonesia
Jordan
Kuwait
Nicaragua
Uganda
Yemen, North
Zimbabwe

5.5

Bahrain
Bhutan
Ivory Coast
(Cote D'Ivoire)
Nigeria
Sierra Leone
South Africa
Swaziland
Zambia

NOT FREE

5.5

Burkina Faso
Cape Verde
Comoros
Djibouti
Gabon
Ghana
Iran
Lebanon
Lesotho
Liberia
Maldives
Sao Tome and Principe
United Arab Emirates
USSR

6

Brunei
Cameroon
Central African Republic

Czechoslovakia
Germany, East
Guinea-Bissau
Haiti
Kenya
Mali
Oman
Qatar
Rwanda
Seychelles
Tanzania
Togo

6.5

Burundi
Chad
Congo
Guinea
Iraq
Laos
Malawi
Mauritania
Mozambique
Niger
Panama
Saudi Arabia
Zaire

7

Afghanistan
Albania
Angola
Benin
Bulgaria
Burma
Cambodia
China (P.R.C.)
Cuba
Equatorial Guinea
Ethiopia
Korea, North
Libya
Mongolia
Romania
Somalia
Sudan
Syria
Vietnam
Yemen, South

Combined Average Ratings—Related Territories

FREE

1

American Samoa (U.S.)
 Anguilla (U.K.)
 Aruba (Netherlands)
 Bermuda (U.K.)
 Canary Islands (Spain)
 Faeroe Islands (Denmark)
 Gibraltar (Spain)
 Greenland (Denmark)
 Guam (U.S.)
 Liechtenstein (Switzerland)
 Marshall Islands (U.S.)
 Micronesia (U.S.)
 Netherlands Antilles
 (Netherlands)
 Northern Marianas (U.S.)
 Puerto Rico (U.S.)
 San Marino (Italy)
 U.S. Virgin Islands (U.S.)

1.5

Andorra (France-Spain)
 Azores (Portugal)
 British Virgin Islands (U.K.)
 Cayman Islands (U.K.)
 Ceuta (Spain)

Channel Islands (U.K.)
 Cocos (Keeling) Islands (Australia)
 Falkland Islands (U.K.)
 Isle of Man (U.K.)
 Madeira (Portugal)
 Martinique (France)
 Melilla (Spain)
 Montserrat (U.K.)
 Norfolk Island (Australia)
 Palau (Belau) (U.S.)
 Pitcairn Islands (U.K.)
 St. Helena and Dependencies (U.K.)
 Turks and Caicos (U.K.)

2

Cook Islands (New Zealand)
 French Guiana (France)
 French Polynesia (France)
 French Southern and
 Antarctic Territories (France)
 Guadeloupe (France)
 Mayotte (Mahore) (France)
 Monaco (France)
 New Caledonia (France)
 Niue (New Zealand)
 Reunion (France)
 St. Pierre and Miquelon (France)
 Tokelau (New Zealand)

2.5

Christmas Island (Australia)
 Rapanui (Easter Island) (Chile)
 Wallis and Futuna Islands (France)

PARTLY FREE

3

Macao (Portugal)

3.5

Hong Kong (U.K.)

4.5

Western Sahara (Morocco)

NOT FREE

5.5

Bophutatswana (South Africa)
 Venda (South Africa)

6

Ciskei (South Africa)
 Occupied Territories (Israel)

6.5

Transkei (South Africa)

National Elections and Referenda

Country/Date	Type of Election	Results and Remarks
Antigua & Barbuda 3/4/89	general	ruling Labour Party won easily
Argentina 5/14/89	general	Menem elected president; crisis in economy major issue
Belize 9/4/89	general	the People's United Party took control of the House of Representatives, and returned to power after five years in opposition
Bolivia 5/7/89	general	two-party coalition government set up; Paz Zamora elected President
Brazil 11/15/89	general	first popular presidential election since 1964; voters selected candidates for presidential run-off
12/17/89	presidential run-off	conservative Collor faced socialist Da Silva
Chile 12/14/89	general	return to civilian rule
Comoros 11/5/89	referendum	an apparently rigged referendum to allow the President Abdallah to run again; many opponents arrested; president assassinated three weeks later
Congo 9/24/89	legislative	a single list of National Assembly candidates; eight of the 133 were not party-affiliated
El Salvador 3/19/89	presidential	conservative Cristiani elected
Equatorial Guinea 6/25/89	presidential	ruler elected unopposed
Greece 6/18/89	general	Socialists lost; conservatives and Communists formed temporary coalition government
11/5/89	general	inconclusive results; conservatives won plurality of seats; leading parties agreed to interim government through April 1990
Honduras 11/26/89	general	National Party won presidency
Hungary 11/26/89	referendum	voters defeated government plan to hold presidential election before parliamentary election; results weakened the ruling party

National Elections and Referenda

Country/Date	Type of Election	Results and Remarks
India 11/21-27/89	general	Congress (I) Party lost majority; election marred by over 120 deaths and various irregularities
Ireland 6/15/89	general	governing Fianna Fail failed to get a majority of seats; FF formed coalition government with Progressive Democrats
Jamaica 2/9/89	general	People's National Party replaced Jamaica Labour Party in government; campaign was far more peaceful than in previous elections
Japan 7/23/89	legislative	ruling Liberal Democrats lost control of upper house; Socialists made major gains
Jordan 11/8/89	legislative	return to elected lower house; Moslem Brotherhood and Islamic elements were major victors
Luxembourg 6/18/89	general	Christian Social-Socialist coalition retained power but lost seats to the Greens and the pro-pension Five-Sixths Party
Madagascar 3/12/89	presidential	President Ratsiraka reelected with 62.7 percent
5/28/89	legislative	Ratsiraka's Vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution captured 87 percent of vote and 120 of 137 seats
Namibia 11/7-11/89	constituent assembly	SWAPO won 57 percent of vote, but failed to capture two-thirds of seats, the amount required to write the constitution without support from other parties
Netherlands 9/6/89	general	Christian Democrats won the most seats; Labor replaced Liberals as Christian Democrats' coalition partner
Niger 9/24/89	referendum	new constitution approved
12/10/89	general	presidential and legislative elections scheduled; no competing parties allowed
Norway 9/11/89	general	center-right parties won control, but lacked a majority
Panama 5/7/89	general	opposition won apparent victory; government voided results and used violence to crush opposition
Poland 6/4/89	general	Solidarity won control of Senate and all contested seats in lower house; Solidarity formed first non-Communist-led government in Eastern Europe since World War II
	general	

National Elections and Referenda

Country/Date	Type of Election	Results and Remarks
6/18/89	legislative run-off	voters filled Communist seats left vacant after first round
St. Christopher-Nevis (St. Kitts-Nevis) 3/21/89	general	People's Action government reelected
St. Vincent and the Grenadines 5/16/89	general	New Democratic government reelected
Seychelles 6/9-11/89	presidential	President Rene reelected in one-party election
Solomon Islands 2/22/89	general	People's Alliance Party won an absolute majority in parliament, and replaced the previous coalition government
South Africa 9/7/89	general	the ruling National Party retained power, but lost seats to the Conservatives and the liberal Democrats
Spain 10/29/89	general	Socialists reelected with a decreased margin of victory
Switzerland 11/26/89	referendum	64 percent voted to keep the Swiss army in existence
Taiwan 12/2/89	general	the ruling Kuomintang (Nationalist) Party faced multi-party competition; opposition made gains
Tunisia 4/2/89	general	President Ben Ali received 99 percent of the vote; the ruling party won all 141 Assembly seats; 21 opposition candidates and five opposition parties contested the Assembly elections; the Movement of Socialist Democrats withdrew and protested the elections
USSR 3/26/89	legislative	voters chose new Congress of People's Deputies; many districts offered choice of Communist and non-Communist candidates; ethnic and ideological dissidents formed substantial minority of those elected
5/14/89	legislative run-off	reformers won more seats
Uruguay 11/26/89	general	National Party won presidential election

Journalism Morbidity Table—1989

These statistics are inclusive through 1 December. Additional cases for 1989 are likely to be reported throughout March 1990. These record only the physical and psychological harassment of journalists and the media. The figures do not reflect other forms of official and unofficial

editorial censorship, and diverse methods of economic and political pressuring of the mass media. The statistics are a clue, however, to those official actions which generate self-censorship by journalists.

	1989 []—countries	1988	1987	1986	1985	1984	1983	1982
Journalists killed	63 ^a [22]	46 ^b	32	19	31	21	14	9
Kidnapped, Disappeared	31 [8]	14	10	13	13	5	4	11
Arrested, Detained	324 [33]	225	188	178	109	72	80	145
Expelled	64 [14]	24	51	40	9	22	19	23

Other Statistics: 1988 1989

Journalists wounded:	28 in 7 countries;	12 in 7 countries
Journalists beaten:	40 in 6 countries;	16 in 3 countries
Journalists otherwise assaulted:	50 in 12 countries;	79 in 18 countries
Death threats and other threats to journalists:	43 in 9 countries;	38 in 13 countries
Journalists' homes raided or destroyed:	12 in 8 countries;	12 in 8 countries
Charges filed against journalists:	48 in 6 countries;	20 in 7 countries
Films or manuscripts confiscated:	82 in 13 countries;	34 in 15 countries
Press credentials withdrawn or refused or expulsion threatened:	16 in 8 countries;	31 in 9 countries
Journalists harassed:	46 in 10 countries;	177 in 23 countries
Closed publications or radio stations:	40 in 12 countries;	38 in 11 countries
Banned publications or radio programs:	31 in 10 countries;	77 in 23 countries
Bombed or burned publications or radios:	9 in 9 countries;	19 in 5 countries
Occupied publications or radios:	7 in 4 countries;	10 in 7 countries
Total cases of all forms of attack, harassments:	1989:1,045 in 84 countries	1988:465 in 70 countries
		1987:436 in 57 countries

This year, as before, the figures inevitably underestimate both the number of cases and the individuals involved. Some single cases here involving the closing of media facilities affect scores of journalists. Many cases are not reported, though journalists are increasingly aware that maltreatment of the messenger by governments and others

is aimed primarily at all citizens. The fate of journalists, therefore, should be considered of interest and importance to everyone, everywhere. *Sources: Freedom House correspondents, Committee to Protect Journalists, Observatoire de l'Information.*

- a. Killed in 22 countries: Belgium, 1; Brazil, 4; Burma, 1; China, 1; Colombia, 19; Ecuador, 1; El Salvador, 4; Ethiopia, 1; Greece, 1; Indonesia, 3; Iran, 5; Japan, 1; Korea, S., 1; Lebanon, 1; Mexico, 1; Peru, 7; Philippines, 1; Soviet Union, 2; Spain, 1; Sri Lanka, 5; Turkey, 1; Zambia, 1.
- b. Corrected from last year's table with later information. Killed in 22 countries: Afghanistan, 5; Algeria, 1; Brazil, 2; Cameroon, 1; Chad, 1; Colombia, 7; Ethiopia, 1; Greece, 1; Guatemala, 1; Honduras, 1; India, 4; Indonesia, 1; Iran, 1; Malawi, 1; Mexico, 4; Pakistan, 1; Peru, 3; Philippines, 6; Soviet Union, 1; Thailand, 1; Turkey, 1; Vietnam, 1.

—Data compiled by Jessie Miller and Leonard R. Sussman

The World's Unwanted

In this century, few international developments have been as persistently contentious and destabilizing as the "refugee problem." Around the globe, population flows exacerbate interstate and regional tensions, drain the economies of host nations, overextend humanitarian support mechanisms, and put a strain on the world's compassion threshold. Even as the West Germans welcome the 16,000 East Germans who escaped via Hungary, the doors are closing on thousands of Vietnamese boat people in Hong Kong, 400,000 Indochinese have languished for years in camps in Thailand, and hundreds of thousands of ethnic Turks have been expelled from Bulgaria. And then there are the millions of refugees long dispersed in Africa and Latin America.

Governments and international groups cannot agree on a definition of "refugee." For this survey, Freedom House defined refugees as people who are forced to flee or are expelled from their homelands due to war, civil conflict, pestilence, natural disaster or persecution based on ethnicity, race, tribal affiliation, religion or political beliefs. Unless otherwise noted, the numbers are cumulative totals for 1988.

A significant group not included here are not recognized by international agencies is internal refugees. These are the millions world-wide displaced from their homes for much the same reasons as external refugees but who cannot or choose not to leave their countries. Often brutalized by their own governments and subjected to egregious human rights abuses, they usually fall out of the purview of international relief efforts. They include an estimated 700,000 to 1.5 million Ethiopians forcibly resettled inside the country by the Mengistu regime or forced to move because of famine and the up to 2 million Mozambiquans driven

from their homes by civil war. The 3.6 million South African blacks resettled in tribal homelands fall into this category as do the 150,000 to 500,000 Salvadorans uprooted by civil war.

The total international refugee population is difficult to measure for several reasons. First, the dynamics that create refugees are volatile and often chaotic. For example after the Burmese government launched a reign of terror in the summer of 1988, 8,000 to 10,000 Burmese fled to border areas and into Thailand. Burma claims 3,115 have returned; unofficial estimates are half that. Some 2,500 are reported in Thai camps, while unknown thousands have joined insurgency groups along the border. A second difficulty is the differences in the way countries classify and process refugees. When East Germans get West German citizenship, they are no longer considered refugees. Many Hungarians who fled to the West after the 1956 Soviet invasion now carry other citizenship and so do not count as refugees. A third difficulty is that, for political reasons, nations often do not disclose the number of refugees who have fled or how many from other countries reside within their borders.

While Freedom House has found advances in political rights and civil liberties around the world in recent years, the millions of refugees remind us that significant parts of the globe continue to be marred by strife, privation and bigotry. These displaced men, women and children are carriers of history, indicating the state of human relations. They are living reminders that the quest for freedom from repression and intolerance is typically told by the ebb and flow of population movements. The world cannot pretend to be isolated from their suffering.



REFUGEES 1988: WHERE THEY'RE FROM, WHERE THEY'VE GONE

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Chile	4,800
Argentina	4,300
Bolivia	200
Ecuador	200
Colombia	100
Most left Chile in the early '70s, during Pinochet's first years. Many have returned since last September's amnesty.	
Cuba	5,973
Costa Rica	2,500
U.S. ¹	2,273
Spain ²	700
Peru	400
Ecuador	100
Most who came to the U.S. in '88 were long-term political prisoners.	
El Salvador	26,215
Honduras	15,100
Costa Rica	6,200
Belize	2,900
Panama	1,500
Guatemala	500
U.S.	15
Most fled civil war and the government's tactic of relocating people to "safe" villages. There are hundreds of thousands more without refugee status.	
Guatemala	40,580
Mexico	38,500
Belize	1,200
Nicaragua	400
Honduras	380
Bolivia	100
Most fled in the mid '80s in the wake of civil conflict and the government's campaign against leftist insurgents. In addition, there are hundreds of thousands without refugee status.	
Haiti	826,000
U.S. ¹	450,000
Dominican Rep. ¹	256,000
Canada ¹	45,000
Bahamas	30,000
Caribbean nations	30,000
France	15,000-30,000
Cuba	2,000
Only 2,000 in Cuba and 6,000 in Dominican Republic have been accorded official refugee status.	
Nicaragua	54,969
Costa Rica	29,700
Honduras	23,060
Guatemala	1,600
El Salvador	400
U.S.	209
Few of the 300,000 who have left since 1979 have applied for refugee status for fear of deportation if turned down.	

AFRICA

Angola	395,711	Rwanda	210,100
Zaire	298,700	Uganda ¹	110,200
Zambia	97,000	Burundi ¹	65,800
U.S.	11	Tanzania	21,000
Most are long-term refugees from Angola's political strife who are fairly well-integrated into their host countries.			
Burundi	186,000	Zaire	11,000
Tanzania	156,000	Kenya	2,013
Rwanda ¹	20,000	Tutsi-Hutu tribal conflict. Most fled 20-30 years ago.	
Zaire	10,000	Somalia	350,004
All fled tribal clashes between the Hutus, Burundi's largest ethnic group, and the Tutsis, who control the armed forces.			
Chad	41,700	Ethiopia¹	350,004
Sudan	25,000	U.S.	4
Cameroun	4,400	Civil conflict in '88 between nationalists and government.	
Nigeria	4,200	South Africa	24,942
Benin	3,000	Swaziland	6,700
Central African Republic	2,900	Lesotho	4,000
Congo	1,500	Zambia	3,200
Togo	400	Angola	900
Burkina Faso	266	Zimbabwe	500
Ivory Coast	100	Mozambique	200
Most fled civil conflict and drought in 1984-85. Thousands returned in '87-88.			
Ethiopia	1,042,656	U.S.	42
Sudan	660,000	Sudan	355,000
Somalia	365,000	Ethiopia ¹	350,000
Djibouti	7,000	Uganda	5,000
North Yemen	7,000	Civil war in the south since 1955.	
Kenya	2,155	Uganda	9,631
U.S. ²	1,456	Kenya	5,618
Fled civil conflict and famine, including government interruption of food aid and civilian massacres in Tigre and Eritrea.			
Guinea-Bissau	5,000	Sudan	3,600
Senegal	5,000	Burundi	400
Tribal conflicts, government repression.			
Mozambique	1,147,013	U.S.	31
Malawi	630,000	Ugandans in Sudan fled government violence in 1982. Those in Kenya fled government-dissident violence in north and east.	
South Africa	225,000	Western Sahara	165,000
Zimbabwe	171,000	Algeria ¹	165,000
Tanzania	72,000	Fled war with Morocco that began when Spain gave Morocco the territory in 1975.	
Swaziland ¹	64,000	Zaire	53,210
Congo	30,000	Tanzania	16,000
U.S.	13	Angola	12,260
Most fled in the early '70s and are more or less permanently settled outside the country.			
Namibia	81,403	Burundi	9,600
Angola	74,000	Zambia	9,000
Zambia	7,300	Sudan	5,000
Cameroun	100	Uganda	1,000
U.S.	3	Congo	300
Civil war. Many were repatriated this year.			
Zimbabwe	1,307	U.S.	10
Botswana	1,300	Most fled in the early '70s and are more or less permanently settled outside the country.	
U.S.	7	Zimbabwe	1,307
Mostly Ndebele, remaining from the 12,000 who fled ethnic violence in the early '80s.			

EASTERN EUROPE

Czechoslovakia	2,948
Austria ¹	1,317
Germany ²	959
U.S. ²	672
The numbers, which have remained fairly constant in recent years because of government restrictions on travel, may increase if the exit-visa system is liberalized, as announced.	
Hungary	6,467
Austria	5,000
Germany ²	763
U.S. ²	704
Most are political or religious activists. Hungary liberalized its passport laws last year, making leaving much easier for all but a few dissidents.	
Poland	191,153
Germany ²	169,249
Italy	12,350
U.S. ²	3,345
Austria ²	6,209
The flow increased dramatically in recent years as travel restrictions were relaxed. Of those going to Germany, 140,226 are ethnic Germans.	
Romania	26,495
Germany ²	12,902
Hungary ²	10,000
U.S. ²	2,801
Austria ²	792
Refugees in Hungary are mostly ethnic Hungarians who fled to escape Romania's plan to resettle ethnic Hungarians in "agro-industrial centers." All in Germany are ethnic Germans.	
Soviet Union	73,163
Germany ²	47,572
U.S. ²	20,241
Italy	4,000
Israel ²	1,350
Most are Jews, Armenians or ethnic Germans. Those in Italy are awaiting U.S. hearings or appeals.	
Yugoslavia	21,566
Germany ²	21,035
Austria ²	527
U.S. ²	4
The vast majority, 20,812, are ethnic Germans.	

MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH ASIA

Afghanistan	6,032,391
Pakistan ¹	3,675,000
Iran	2,350,000
India	5,180
U.S.	2,211
Fled civil war between Soviet-backed government and nationalist insurgents.	
Bangladesh	48,500
India	48,500
Chakma tribe members fled in 1986 to escape clashes between the government and local insurgents.	
Iran	362,834
Turkey ¹	250,000
India	75,000
Pakistan	22,360
Germany ²	7,867
U.S. ²	6,167
India	1,440
Fled Iran-Iraq War. There may also be up to 550,000 unofficial refugees in Turkey.	
Iraq	508,237
Iran ¹	457,000
Turkey	51,200
U.S. ¹	37
Most fled Iran-Iraq war; tens of thousands of Kurds went to Turkey and Iran after Iraqi chemical attacks.	
Palestinians	1,398,100
Gaza Strip	459,070
West Bank	385,630
Jordan	288,180
Syria	265,220
The Palestinians fled following the formation of Israel and subsequent Arab-Israeli and inter-Arab conflicts.	
Sri Lanka	94,883
India	91,500
Germany ²	3,383
Civil strife between the minority Hindu Tamils and majority Buddhist Sinhalese.	
South Yemen	55,000
North Yemen	55,000
Fled in January 1986 to escape fighting between rival factions of the Yemeni Socialist Party.	

EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

Burma	24,300
Thailand	24,100
India	200
Burmese have been leaving since the 1952 military takeover. The latest wave fled in 1988 after a bloody government crackdown.	
Cambodia	357,295
Thailand	328,500
Vietnam	25,000
U.S. ²	2,805
Philippines	690
Ivory Coast	300
Fled Khmer Rouge and Vietnam-backed government.	
China	112,000
India	100,000
Nepal	12,000
Most fled Tibet in 1959.	
Indonesia	8,000
Papua New Guinea	8,000
Left Irian Jaya in 1984-85 to escape fighting between separatists and the government.	
Laos	93,446
Thailand	77,060
U.S. ¹	14,556
Philippines	1,830
Most left in 1975-80, the first five years of communist rule.	
Philippines	90,000
Malaysia	90,000
Fled Mindanao in 1970s to escape guerrilla fighting.	
Vietnam	85,172
Hong Kong	25,260
Philippines	18,400
Thailand	13,700
Malaysia	12,880
U.S. ²	10,952
Indonesia	2,310
Japan	520
Mexico	440
Ivory Coast	300
Singapore	290
South Korea	120
Fled Communists. Most in Malaysia, Thailand, Hong Kong and the Philippines are awaiting permanent asylum elsewhere.	

¹ Numbers are in dispute. ² 1988 only; not cumulative. Sources: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; the U.S. Commission on Refugees; World Refugee Survey; the U.S. State Department World Refugee Report (1987) and Summary of Refugee Admissions for 1988; the Interior Ministry of Austria; the West German Information Center; and the Canadian Immigration and Refugee Documentation Center. Compiled by Freedom House, with the assistance of John Worth.

Wall Street Journal, 23 September 1989

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Human Rights
Caribbean Rights
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Reconciliation
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Senegal
Somalia
South Africa
Sudan
Tunisia
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Asia/S.E. Asia/Pacific

Afghanistan
People's Republic of China
Philippines
South Korea
Taiwan
Vietnam

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Bulgaria
Czechoslovakia

Hungary
Poland
Romania
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Lithuania
Estonia
Latvia
Ukraine
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Greece
Ireland
Norway
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West Germany

Western Hemisphere

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