



History–Social Science Standards In This Unit



CHAPTER 22

Comparative Political Systems

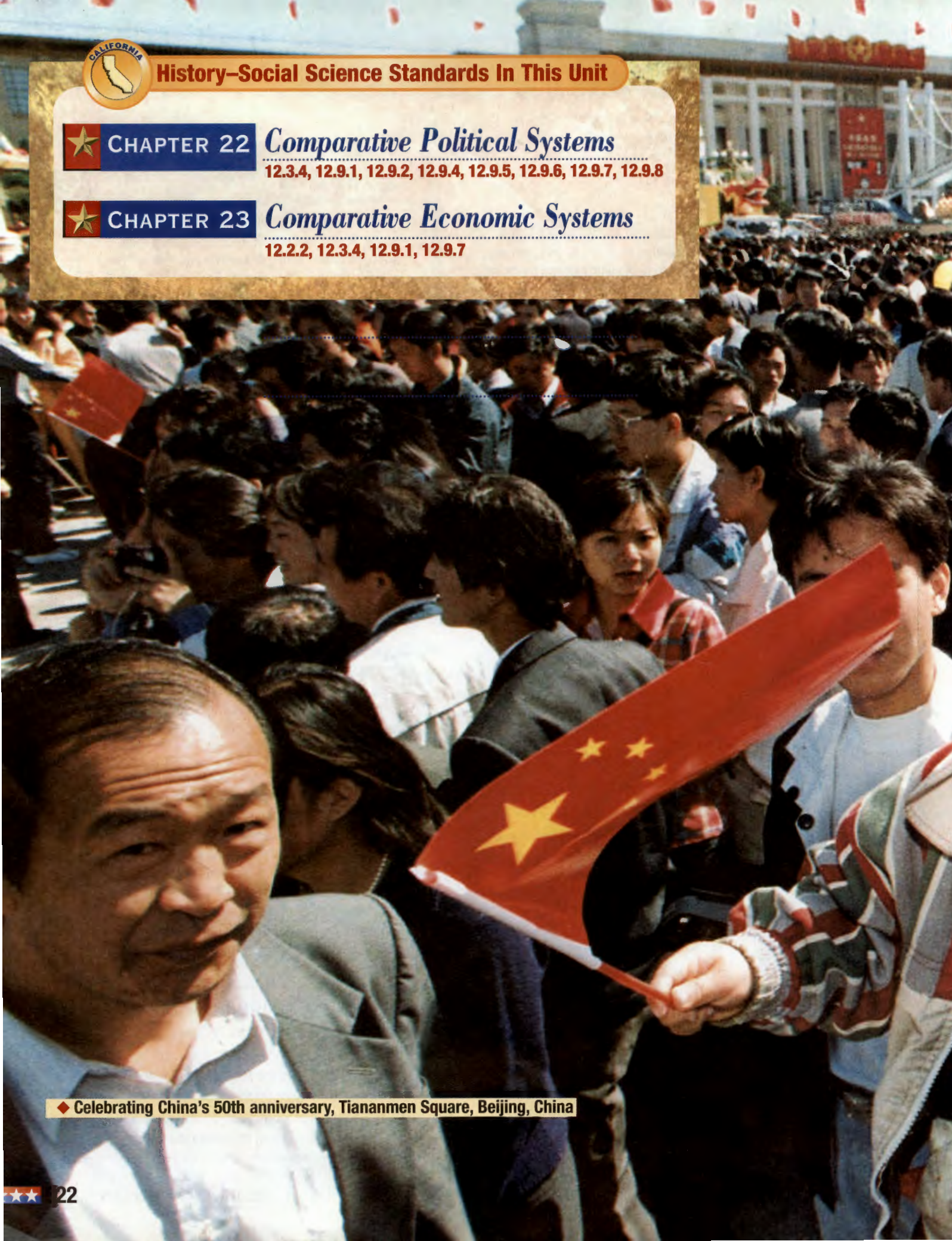
12.3.4, 12.9.1, 12.9.2, 12.9.4, 12.9.5, 12.9.6, 12.9.7, 12.9.8



CHAPTER 23

Comparative Economic Systems

12.2.2, 12.3.4, 12.9.1, 12.9.7



◆ Celebrating China's 50th anniversary, Tiananmen Square, Beijing, China



UNIT 6

Comparative Political and Economic Systems

CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES

Limited Government In many countries, some people are more equal than others. That is, some governments are more limited than others. The gap between what a constitution says and what exists in practice can be wide, indeed.

Federalism Only a handful of all of the states in the world today divide governmental powers between a central government and a number of regional or local units—Russia and Mexico among them.

Separation of Powers Most national governmental systems are both unitary and parliamentary—the British and the Japanese systems among them. In a parliamentary system, the executive and legislative powers are not separated (as they are in a presidential system) between the different branches of the government.

The Impact on You

A country's political and economic systems play a major role in determining its citizens' lifestyles. For example, a country with a representative government and a market-driven economy would be more open than one with a dictatorship and a state-run economy.

Comparative Political Systems

“No one pretends that democracy is perfect or all-wise. Indeed, it has been said that democracy is the worst form of government except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time.”

—Winston Churchill (1947)

Although Americans would agree with Churchill that democracy is the best system available, democratic governments vary greatly. Differences include how power is divided and how leaders are chosen. Many nations, of course, are not democracies at all, but authoritarian systems.



◆ Britain's Houses of Parliament



Standards Preview

H-SS 12.3.4 Compare the relationship of government and civil society in constitutional democracies to the relationship of government and civil society in authoritarian and totalitarian regimes.

H-SS 12.9.1 Explain how the different philosophies and structures of feudalism, mercantilism, socialism, fascism, communism, monarchies, parliamentary systems, and constitutional liberal democracies influence economic policies, social welfare policies, and human rights practices.

H-SS 12.9.2 Compare the various ways in which power is distributed, shared, and limited in systems of shared powers and in parliamentary systems, including the influence and role of parliamentary leaders (e.g., William Gladstone, Margaret Thatcher).

H-SS 12.9.4 Describe for at least two countries the consequences of conditions that gave rise to tyrannies during certain periods (e.g., Italy, Japan, Haiti, Nigeria, Cambodia).

H-SS 12.9.5 Identify the forms of illegitimate power that twentieth-century African, Asian, and Latin American dictators used to gain and hold office and the conditions and interests that supported them.

H-SS 12.9.6 Identify the ideologies, causes, stages, and outcomes of major Mexican, Central American, and South American revolutions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

H-SS 12.9.7 Describe the ideologies that give rise to Communism, methods of maintaining control, and the movements to overthrow such governments in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland, including the roles of individuals (e.g., Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Pope John Paul II, Lech Walesa, Vaclav Havel).

H-SS 12.9.8 Identify the successes of relatively new democracies in Africa, Asia, and Latin America and the ideas, leaders, and general societal conditions that have launched and sustained, or failed to sustain, them.

Chapter 22 in Brief

SECTION 1

Historical Political Systems (pp. 626–630)

- ★ The feudal system, based on a series of relationships between rulers and subjects, was the first step toward modern government.
- ★ In the 17th century, sovereignty became the defining trait of European countries.
- ★ Kings and queens gained power and wealth by controlling trade within their borders and with foreign countries.
- ★ European monarchs sent people, goods, and ideas about government to other parts of the world through colonialism.

SECTION 2

Ideas and Revolutions (pp. 631–638)

- ★ Popular sovereignty is the idea that governments can rule only because the people agree to respect the government.
- ★ Governments can give power to the people through a slow, gradual approach that protects institutions or through a revolution that sweeps away the past.
- ★ Countries that have been colonized face many obstacles to democratic government.
- ★ Fascist and communist governments pretend to govern with the consent of the people, but they control society and oppress those who disagree with them.

SECTION 3

Transitions to Democracy (pp. 640–645)

- ★ Tyrannies often collapse because of disagreements within the government, as in communist Poland.
- ★ A wave of democratization led to the Soviet Union's fall in 1991.
- ★ Holding free elections is a first step, but countries must build strong democratic institutions if they are to consolidate their democracies.
- ★ Some countries never successfully transition to democracy and fall back into dictatorship or civil war.

SECTION 4

World Democracies Today (pp. 647–652)

- ★ Britain's unitary government is based on an unwritten constitution.
- ★ Britain's bicameral Parliament holds judicial and legislative power.
- ★ Mexico's government includes an executive branch headed by the president, a bicameral legislature, and a national judiciary.



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Section Preview

OBJECTIVES

1. **Identify** the main elements of the feudal society.
2. **Analyze** the rise of sovereign states and the decline of feudalism.
3. **Explain** different ways that governments may become legitimate.
4. **Describe** the impact of mercantilism on European colonies.

WHY IT MATTERS

The modern state has its roots in the feudal system of the early Middle Ages. The development of clear ideas of sovereignty, and economic growth, led to new forms of government that extended to all parts of the world.

POLITICAL DICTIONARY

- ★ feudalism
- ★ vassal
- ★ serf
- ★ monarch
- ★ legitimacy
- ★ mercantilism
- ★ colonialism

Throughout history, governments have developed as a way for societies to face political and economic challenges. As old challenges faded and new problems arose, governments changed and took new forms. Economic growth, religious movements, and new ways of thinking drove this transformation in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas.

Today, we inhabit a world filled with democracies, like the United States, and dictatorships, like China. Many other countries mix traits of democracy and dictatorship. Some countries are moving toward one form of government and away from the other.

The road to modern democracy began in Europe with the fall of the Roman Empire and the effort to create order out of the chaos that followed. In this section, you will follow the development of governments from those difficult times to the current era of modern states.

The Feudal Society

After the Roman Empire fell in the 5th century A.D., much of Europe slipped into chaos. There were no governments in the modern sense of the word.

Feudal Structures

Feudalism arose in the wake of the fall of Rome and held sway over much of Europe from the 9th on to the 17th century. It was a loosely-organized system of rule in which powerful

lords divided up their lands among other, lesser lords. Those with land and power agreed to protect others in exchange for their loyalty, work, and a share of their food and other goods. Thus, feudalism was based on a series of relationships between the more powerful and the less powerful.

The basic relationship in the chain was that between the lord and his **vassals**, the lesser lords who pledged their loyalty to him. The lord ruled, and the vassal watched over his lands.

The lord held some of the responsibilities held by the modern state today. He protected his vassals from attack and administered justice. In return, the vassals supported the lord's decisions and served under the lord's military command when needed. A lord-vassal relationship was just one part of a much larger network of relationship; a vassal was usually lord to other, less powerful vassals, and the lord often served as a vassal under a more powerful lord.

Only individuals at the very top of the system had a say in how the system worked. **Serfs**, workers bound to the land they farmed, made up the bulk of the population. The serfs gave their lords a share of what they grew, and in return, received protection in times of war.

Serfs led hard lives. The serf could not leave the land without the permission of his lord, and the serf's children inherited their ties and responsibilities to the lord. Most serfs died young and never set foot on land beyond a few miles of their lord's manor.

Weaknesses of Feudalism

The feudal system was, in effect, a collection of fiefdoms (the lands held by various lords) governed by a **monarch**. At least in theory, the monarch was the supreme ruler of all the people (lords, vassals, and serfs) within a given region. Most monarchs were, in fact, relatively weak, however. Borders were unclear or irrelevant, and lords and vassals often held competing claims to the same piece of land.

In Western Europe, the Roman Catholic Church functioned outside the feudal system, under the nominal control of the Pope. Officials of the church enjoyed their own power over common people and kings alike.

Feudalism emerged in a primitive time when violence was common, money was rarely used, and most people traded only in goods, food, and their own work. The feudal system served the basic purpose of the state by protecting people from harm. As a more sophisticated economy developed, feudal “governments” had to adapt to a changing world.

Rise of Sovereignty

Feudalism developed slowly and unevenly across Europe. It was, at best, a loose and makeshift basis for government. As cracks emerged in the system—between Catholics and Protestants, the feudal manor and the marketplace—people needed a stronger, more stable arrangement. The outlines of the present-day sovereign state began to emerge.

Economic Growth and Crisis

In the Middle Ages, a Commercial Revolution took place that changed the way people lived and conducted business. As you have read, feudalism relied on personal relationships and agreements in which people exchanged work and food for security and justice. Over time, the rising costs of war and laws required lords to draw in more money from their landholdings. They had to find new ways to collect money.

Some lords accepted money from their vassals in place of military service. Other lords allowed free people to set up towns on their land for a fee under a royal charter. In this way, towns began to spring up across Europe. Those towns



▲ Castles offered protection against attack and demonstrated the strength of a lord in his region. **Critical Thinking** Describe two features of the castle that indicated its defensive purpose in the feudal era. **H-SS 12.9.1**

were centers of trade and freedom that tested the limits of feudalism.

The liveliest of these towns were found in northern Italy, northern Germany, and the Netherlands. Their income came from foreign trade with Central Europe and the East. The merchants in the towns had an uneasy relationship with the lords. Although the merchants were freer than serfs, they had to pay money to lords for protection and for the right to use roads, rivers, and bridges. Many lords tried to extend their system of justice to the towns. They often failed, because merchants and bankers in the towns faced new problems and disputes not seen in feudalism. Traditional feudal laws designed for the countryside could not resolve such trade disputes as broken contracts.

Two events shocked the feudal system and undermined its claim to power—its ability to protect people from harm. First, in the 1340s, the Black Plague killed over one third of the population in Western Europe. The Black Plague itself did not destroy feudalism, but its effects changed the economic situation that supported it.

After the plague, lords demanded the same amount of work from the smaller numbers of serfs who'd survived. Serfs and free peasants found strength in the high value of their

► The increasing use of money, such as this 13th century gold coin from the Italian city of Florence, undermined the feudal system and increased trade.



individual labor and began to demand higher wages and better working conditions. In England, Wat Tyler led a peasant's revolt in 1381, in opposition to a new poll tax levied by the king to pay for war. The uprising was quashed, brutally, but the tax was soon repealed and Tyler's rebellion stands as one of several events that signaled the coming end of feudalism.

The second shock was the Protestant Reformation in the early 1500s. The Roman Catholic Church coexisted with the feudal system and enjoyed its own sovereignty centered on the Pope. But the Protestant Reformation challenged the authority of the Pope and shook the existing order in Europe. Fighting broke out between Catholics and Protestants and among different Protestant sects. The absence of clear, powerful sovereigns in Western Europe meant there was no authoritative source of decision making to resolve religious disagreements. Lords aligned themselves with different religious groups. Neighboring towns and regions chose opposite sides and went to war.

Peace of Westphalia

The religious violence reached its peak in the Thirty Years' War (1618–48), centered in modern-day Germany. The war ended with a series of treaties collectively known as the Peace of Westphalia. Those landmark agreements, made by most of Europe's political and religious leaders of the time, marked the end of feudalism and the beginning of the modern nation-state system.

In effect, the Peace of Westphalia established the concept of state sovereignty. That is, it put in place the idea that the world is divided into basic political units, or states. Each of these states occupies a definite territory, has an organized government, and has supreme and absolute power (sovereignty) to determine its own domestic and foreign policies.

The idea that a state is sovereign over a given territory was new. Throughout history, most societies either moved from place to place, built empires with ill-defined borders, or looked to divine supervision and so placed sovereignty somewhere outside its territory.

For example, the nomadic San of the Kalahari desert never thought of ruling a defined territory. Everything they possessed had to be portable. Ancient empires such as the Moghul in India or Aztecs in Mexico tolerated political and cultural diversity in the far reaches of their holdings. And the ancient Greeks would often travel to the oracle at Delphi for prophetic guidance in everything from annual crop selections to decisions of war. From the 17th century onward, sovereignty would be identified with the leaders of states with clearly-defined boundaries.

Legitimate Government

The development of sovereignty was useful to creating political organization, but it alone did not establish modern government. The Treaty of Westphalia settled the dispute over decision making, so unclear in the feudal system, by putting that responsibility in the hands of a sovereign leader. While this provided a sound basis for countries to deal with each other, it raised new questions of how governments should treat the people living within their borders.

Leaders might use force against their own people to keep power. But force is difficult to use and expensive over time. Rulers have strong reasons to seek consent for their rule. This consent is known as **legitimacy**, the belief that a government has the right to make public policy. A legitimate government is one that is accepted by the people and recognized by other governments as the sovereign authority of that nation.

Forms of Legitimacy

Governments may gain legitimacy in several ways. One is by tradition. Here, people accept a certain form of government because their society has always been governed that way and people expect their institutions and traditions to be carried on into the future.

Another way for a government, and in particular, one leader, to win legitimacy is through the power of personality. A charismatic person with strong leadership skills can often win the public's support.

The final and most durable form of legitimacy is for governments to bind themselves to rules guided by sound decision-making principles. The rules must be seen as fair and effective for people to trust their government. Constitutional government is an excellent example of this type of legitimacy,

Many countries blend different forms of legitimacy. In an informal sense, the Federal Government of the United States draws legitimacy from the leadership demonstrated by the President and other national leaders and from more than 200 years of continuous government. But more importantly, the Federal Government derives its legitimacy from the rules set out by the Constitution. Legitimacy based on a set of rules, like a Constitution, is one of the most stable forms of that trait.

Legitimacy in Sovereign States

As the feudal system gave way to sovereign states, national leaders such as kings and queens became the leaders of legitimate government. Monarchy suggested security and long-term stability.

Because monarchs already existed within the feudal system, they enjoyed the benefits and respect of tradition. Monarchs were recognized as the strongest individuals who could best govern a state and protect the people from harm. The Peace of Westphalia confirmed this centralization of power when outsiders agreed to recognize a monarch as the sovereign of a state.

Before, the monarch had held the right to *apply* law in accord with tradition. Now, with sovereignty, he gained the right to *make* law.

Mercantilism

By the 1700s, the primitive rural economy of the Middle Ages had developed into a more efficient, sophisticated system supporting hundreds of small cities and towns as centers of trade. Where once most people ate local food and dressed in clothes made locally, they could now choose to buy goods from abroad.

Trade and wealth brought new-found power to merchants and landowners, and monarchies adopted **mercantilism** to control and profit from that situation. Mercantilism was an economic and political theory emphasizing money as the chief source of wealth. The policy stressed the accumulation of precious metals, like gold and silver, through foreign trade. It also called for the establishing of colonies and a merchant marine and the development of industry and mining to attain a favorable balance of trade with other countries.

Mercantilist policies brought the state deep into the economy. Imports were heavily taxed to protect locally produced goods. Foreigners were required to buy licenses from the state in order to trade with local merchants. Local crafts and industries were subsidized in order to build supplies of goods that could be traded abroad. In these and a number of other ways, monarchs sought to fatten their treasuries and enhance their country's power.

The New World

The mercantilist system expanded when European explorers reached the Western Hemisphere. Their explorations opened new opportunities for trade and farming, but few merchants had the power or the



► **The Magna Carta** In 1215, merchants joined with England's nobles to demand that King John sign the Magna Carta and grant them a say in ruling the land. The Magna Carta is considered the founding document of Great Britain's constitutional monarchy today.



▲ **Interpreting Maps** At the time the United States won its independence, European countries still controlled all of Central America and the Caribbean and most of South America.
Critical Thinking Which two countries ruled the largest share of the Americas? **H-SS 12.9.6**

money to take advantage of the new circumstances. Only kings had the power to bring soldiers and money to places like Mexico and the Caribbean in order to conquer and control. The high cost of exploration allowed monarchs to control overseas commerce by setting up

companies to monopolize trade with the new regions. The company system allowed monarchs to tap new sources of wealth from distant gold and silver mines and from far-flung trade. The companies set up permanent settlements in Asia, Africa, and the Americas. Thus, Great Britain colonized present-day Ghana, calling it “the Gold Coast,” to secure its precious metals. Spain colonized much of the Americas, and used native labor to work the gold and silver mines of Mexico and Peru.

Colonialism

Beginning in the late 1500s, several European monarchies embarked on a policy of **colonialism**—a policy by which nations establish administrative control over foreign lands. European settlers, laws, and religious beliefs spread to areas around the world. As you know, Spain, France, Portugal, the Netherlands, and Great Britain colonized much of the Americas. They established colonies out of a mix of motives, notably, for economic, religious, and military reasons. Whatever their motives, the effect was to strengthen monarchs and extend European power into new regions of the world.

European colonization brought great change to the people of the Americas. Britain’s colonial efforts led to the War for Independence and the creation of the United States and its stable constitutional government of today. The experiences of other countries originally colonized by Spain, France, Portugal, and even Great Britain, however, differed in many ways from the American experience.

Section 1 Assessment

Key Terms and Main Ideas

1. What were the main elements of **feudalism**?
2. What was the role of **serfs** in the feudal system?
3. Was the **monarch**, in fact, a supreme ruler in every feudal society? Why or why not?
4. Monarchies adopted mercantilism to exploit what situation?

Critical Thinking

5. **Understanding Cause and Effect** How did the rise of towns and the Commercial Revolution contribute to the fall of the feudal system?



Standards Monitoring Online

For: Self-quiz with vocabulary practice
 Web Code: mqa-7221

6. **Drawing Inferences** Why is it important for governments to be viewed as legitimate by their subjects?



For: An activity on comparative government
 Web Code: mqd-7221

Section Preview

OBJECTIVES

1. **Understand** the importance of popular sovereignty and how the governments of Britain and France changed to include it.
2. **Analyze** the role of popular sovereignty in Latin America in the 19th century and in the rise of dictatorships around the world.
3. **Describe** key events in the Mexican Revolution and in the modern history of Latin America.
4. **Examine** how fascism and communism distort the idea of popular sovereignty.

WHY IT MATTERS

Popular sovereignty, the idea that government should be based on the consent of the governed, transformed states such as Britain and France in the 1700s and 1800s. Regimes in Latin America, Africa, Asia, and Europe have addressed the question of popular sovereignty in many ways, leading to both democracies and dictatorships.

POLITICAL DICTIONARY

- ★ **divine right of kings**
- ★ **encomienda**
- ★ **hacienda**
- ★ **counter-revolutionary**
- ★ **guerilla warfare**
- ★ **fascism**

In the previous section, you read about the development of governments in Europe from the feudal system to the introduction of the sovereign state. In addition, you learned how states came to be viewed as legitimate by their people. Recall that legitimacy refers to the respect that people give to a state and their recognition of its right to speak on their behalf and govern their lives.

In this section, you will see how legitimacy leads to stable government. You will also discover how governments without legitimacy can fall to revolutions and tyranny.

Popular Sovereignty

One path to legitimacy was known as the **divine right of kings**. Many kings argued that they had a right to rule because God granted them the authority to govern. To disobey a king was to fight the natural order of society and to commit a sin against God. Kings who ruled by divine right did not have to answer to parliaments or to the people, only to God. The divine right of kings was a form of traditional legitimacy because it drew strength from Europe's deep Christian values.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, as religious views grew more diverse and scientific discoveries changed how many people viewed their world, people began to question the divine right of kings. If scientists like Galileo and

Copernicus could overturn the Catholic Church's view that the Sun revolved around the Earth, could not reason also challenge the belief in the divine right of kings? After all, many kings who claimed to rule on behalf of God acted in ways that many people could criticize. Economists including Adam Smith and David Ricardo pointed to the fact that mercantilist policies, which helped kings grow wealthier, made most of their subjects poorer and less free. Other philosophers began to speak about the rights of individuals to control their own fate and to have a say in their government.



▲ Angels place a crown of victory on the head of Louis XIII, King of France, following the capture of a rebellious French city.

Critical Thinking How does this painting illustrate the divine right of kings? H-SS 12.9.1



▲ **A Modern Monarchy** Queen Elizabeth II (right) is the sovereign ruler of Great Britain, but over time the monarchy has given up nearly all of its powers to govern.

As monarchs lost some of their legitimacy, their sovereignty also came into question. Popular sovereignty became an increasingly important alternative to monarchical rule. Recall that popular sovereignty is the idea that governments can exist only with the consent of the governed.

Popular sovereignty would eventually form the basis for the many republics and democracies in the world today. Since the 18th century, almost every government on Earth has had to deal with popular sovereignty in one way or another.

Two leading monarchies in 18th century Western Europe, Britain and France, demonstrate two very different approaches to the acceptance of popular sovereignty. Great Britain gradually brought popular sovereignty into its political system. As one of the first countries to allow the common people to have a say in their government, Britain blended this principle with deep-seated cultural traditions. Meanwhile, France took a revolutionary route to popular sovereignty, and rejected many longstanding traditions.

Democracy in Britain

Great Britain is a monarchy led by a queen. Yet Great Britain is a democracy much like the United States. Britons elect a government that is responsible to them and draws its legitimacy from their votes and support. Britain wasn't always democratic. How did a country once

ruled by George III and other powerful kings become a vibrant democracy?

Great Britain's history is marked by the steady transfer of sovereignty from the monarchy to the people. The Magna Carta signaled the first move toward a constitutional monarchy. The Petition of Right of 1628 and the Bill of Rights of 1689 took more authority from the King and gave it to the Parliament, which claimed to represent the people. Parliament controlled "the power of the purse," the right to tax people in order to fund the government.

Britain's conception of "the people" has also evolved. Well into the 19th century, only males who owned property could vote, and only those who belonged to officially recognized Protestant churches could hold office. Some of the largest cities in Britain had no representation in Parliament at all.

Far-sighted members of Parliament recognized the need for change. In the 1800s, Parliament passed several laws to expand the right to vote to more and more people. A law passed in 1829 allowed Catholics to hold public office, and landmark parliamentary acts in 1832, 1867, and 1885 lowered and then removed property restrictions on the right to vote. Women gained the vote in 1918.

By adapting its government to embrace popular sovereignty, Britain protected many of its institutions, including the monarchy, Parliament, its legal system, and the Church of England. These institutions have changed to meet the needs of a modern economy and diverse society, but they preserve a link to Britain's past.

Revolution in France

France took a very different route toward popular sovereignty. While the British monarchy compromised with nobles and granted rights to Parliament, the French monarchy expanded and centralized its authority. Royal power reached its peak under Louis XIV (1643–1715), who famously, and correctly, proclaimed, "L'état, c'est moi" ("I am the state"). The continuing concentration of power in the monarchy set the stage for a violent reaction led by those who pushed the concepts of popular sovereignty and rule based on reason as opposed to an insensitive devotion to tradition.

The French Revolution of 1789 would see the end of the French monarchy, followed by a period of confusion and terror, which included the rise of Napoleon and war with the rest of Europe. Historic institutions like the monarchy, nobility, church, and law were destroyed and replaced by new ones. France has undergone a number of revolutions and changes in government since the Revolution of 1789.

Which country serves as a better model for those countries currently challenged by popular sovereignty? The British example seems to offer great stability, but at the cost of flexibility and open-mindedness. Sometimes custom and tradition lead one to reject changes that may, in fact, be good for the country.

On the other hand, the instability of a revolution as in the French model can lead to an abuse of power. In 1959, many cheered when Fidel Castro overthrew the corrupt dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista in Cuba. But the destruction of Cuba's old political system created a vacuum that Castro then filled with his own absolute authority, and Cuba is today as far from a democracy as ever.

Latin America in the 19th Century

Political events in Europe significantly influenced the course of political development in Latin America. However, the region would take a turn very different from that of the European states or its neighbor to the north, the United States. Spain had left Latin America with a difficult legacy. As the *conquistadores*, or conquerors, settled the region, the Spanish monarchy looked on with suspicion. So far from Spain and with access to gold and silver, the conquistadors might come to rival the monarchy for power. In response, the monarchy created a feudal system in Latin America with the *encomienda* system. The monarch announced that all the indigenous peoples of Spanish America—who numbered in the millions—were the property of the crown. The monarchy then entrusted up to several hundred Indians to each settler who promised to protect them and teach them Christianity.

Adopting Popular Sovereignty

Great Britain	France
Reform	Revolution
Legislature passes laws giving more people the right to vote	Government loses control of reform process; people rebel and overthrow government
Institutions reformed and preserved	Old institutions destroyed, new ones created
Little violence, some protests	Great violence
Changes carried out slowly over decades	Changes happen quickly

Interpreting Tables Britain and France followed two different paths to the adoption of popular sovereignty. **Which country's experiences are closer to those of the United States since the 1770s?**

The *encomienda* system proved to be a double-edged sword for the Spanish monarchy. Local landowners found it easy to treat their indigenous laborers as slaves. The *encomienda* system set the stage for large *haciendas*, large landholdings, to emerge as nearly self-sufficient centers of political and economic power in Latin America.

Napoleon's invasion of Spain, and the imprisonment of its King Ferdinand VII from 1808 to 1813, had a major impact on Latin America. Many colonial elites rejected Napoleon's replacement on the Spanish throne, his brother Joseph I, and remained loyal to Ferdinand VII. Other colonists, most notably Simón Bolívar, were inspired by the same Enlightenment ideas that gave rise to the French Revolution, and sought to create a new political order in Latin America, based on popular sovereignty.

Independence

The struggle changed when Ferdinand VII regained the crown, and agreed to grant greater power to parliament and place some restrictions on the Church. To his conservative supporters in the colonies, it was now Ferdinand VII who had betrayed the divine right of kings. Thus, in Mexico, Agustín de Iturbide, who had fought to restore the rule of Ferdinand VII, engineered Mexico's independence in 1821 and had himself crowned its emperor. Iturbide soon would be forced to give up his throne, and Mexico, like many of the new states of Latin America, would fall into periods of civil war on through the 19th century.



▲ Simón Bolívar (left) and Emperor Iturbide (right) fought for independence for the nations of northern South America and for Mexico, respectively. **Critical Thinking** In what way was Iturbide a more conservative leader than Bolívar? **H-SS 12.9.6**

Most of Latin America won independence from Spain and Portugal in the decades after Napoleon conquered Spain and left the country too weak to control its colonies. Leaders, including Simón Bolívar, José de San Martín, and Bernardo O'Higgins fought for independence for the colonies that became Colombia, Venezuela, Argentina, and several other countries.

Obstacles to Stability

The *haciendas* left behind by the *encomienda* system weakened the political systems of the region. In Britain, the upper classes could support traditional institutions like the monarchy and the nobility while giving power to the people through broad-based elections for Parliament. In Latin America, the elite who owned the land and controlled the economy had no monarch or other common institutions to unite them.

Why were the new states of Latin America unable to absorb popular sovereignty, as in the United States, Great Britain, and France? The United States had clear rallying cries for its independence, including “No taxation without representation,” or “Give me liberty, or give me death!” It declared its independence on the principles of freedom and self-government. But in Latin America, independence from Spain could mean a desire to reestablish royal authority, to create a democratic republic, or to embrace the reformist program of King Ferdinand VII. Latin

America's political troubles slowed its development as Europe's political stability allowed countries like Britain, France, and Germany to embrace the Industrial Revolution and the economic development that followed.

The *hacienda* landowners enjoyed great wealth and a sense of personal independence through the 19th century, so they had little motivation to help unite their country. The government in the distant capital had little impact on their lives. Government then became something of a prize for *caudillos*, the leaders of armed militias who sought power to enrich themselves.

Once in government, they faced new rebellions because they did little to solve the economic problems and underdevelopment of their countries. Another *caudillo* was always on the horizon to grab power, and eventually suffer the same fate. This cycle of political disorder was common throughout Latin America into the twentieth century.

The Mexican Revolution

Through the 1800s, Mexico grappled, often violently, with a number of questions. Should there be a centralized or a federal government? How much power should a single political leader have? How could Mexico remain independent from its powerful neighbor to the north and other major world powers?

Dictatorship of Díaz

Porfirio Díaz brought Mexico its first long period of stability and economic growth, from 1876 to 1910. His economic plan, which benefited few Mexicans, was based on using cheap labor to work the mineral wealth and large farms of Mexico, and inviting large foreign firms to invest in the exploitation of its natural resources. Francisco Madero organized the first important opposition to Díaz, but Madero was no radical. He belonged to the elite and feared that Díaz' harsh rule would lead to a larger social revolt if reforms were not put in place.

As with many revolutions, Madero's struggle began from the top of society, not the bottom. Often, unhappy members of the elite make the first moves against those in power.

Díaz jailed Madero, but more and more Mexicans were growing weary of his rule. Díaz fled the country in 1911, and Madero assumed the presidency, promising gradual reform to Mexico's government and economy. But the flames of revolution had been stoked for many who followed Emiliano Zapata's call to break up large estates and give land to workers. Madero found himself between **counter-revolutionaries**, those who opposed revolutionary change, and revolutionaries who wanted more change than Madero could support. The counter-revolutionary forces of General Victoriano Huerta assassinated Madero in 1913. Civil war followed.

The PRI

In 1917, the *constitutionalistas* won out, and wrote a new constitution in which the government played a more active role in promoting the quality of Mexican social, economic, and cultural life. Though Zapata and then fellow rebel Pancho Villa were assassinated, the new government absorbed their call for revolution in a state-supported political party, the National Revolutionary Party, which would change its name to the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) in 1946. The PRI controlled the government and politics of Mexico for more than 70 years, until the 2000 presidential elections.

The PRI became increasingly the party of business interests and sought to woo the people as a whole. Though it no longer monopolizes power, for some Mexicans it remains the party of the revolution. For others, the PRI was, and remains, a party that never fulfilled expectations.

Latin America in the Modern Era

While Mexico remained under the stable control of the PRI, the 1960s to 1980s proved to be violent times elsewhere in Latin America. Throughout the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, most countries had experienced cycles of dictatorship and military control, with wealth and land concentrated in the hands of a few. Democracy had sprouted in the region during the 1950s, but continued economic decline

and growing inequality fueled demands for a more just society. Many people were inspired by the Cuban Revolution in 1959, which under communist ideology promised to attend to the basic needs of people. These groups often resorted to **guerrilla warfare** in an attempt to topple the government. Guerrilla warfare is fighting carried out by small groups in hit-and-run raids.

The threat that Communist guerrillas and others posed in the 1960s and 1970s led the armed forces to take a more active role in several countries. The military also believed that Latin America's continued economic problems stemmed from the endless debate and corruption of politicians. In their view, the political class had to be curbed and the armed forces had to have the power to strengthen the economy and restore political peace. Only then would Latin America prosper. Democracy could come later.

Despite these struggles, the idea of popular sovereignty—government in the name of the people—remained supreme. Every military leader who intervened in a crisis claimed to be working to create a more perfect democracy. Nonetheless, military rule quickly opened the door to abuse. Innocent civilians were caught up in heavy-handed efforts to defeat the guerrilla groups. In Guatemala, the military adopted a “scorched-earth policy” from 1978 to 1985 to root out suspected insurgents from country villages. The campaign left some 75,000 dead, and made one million more into refugees. Such harsh methods often pushed neutral citizens to join the rebels.

Elsewhere, even the defeat of rebels and the end of the crisis could not stop the military from staying in power. Military governments had an interest in preserving the fear of rebels that made so many people support the armed forces. Repression continued because most people simply did not want to believe that the armed forces, one of the few national institutions the people trusted, could commit such horrific acts.

► Francisco Madero, President of Mexico (1911-1913)
H-SS 12.9.6



The events that unfolded in Latin America during this time did so with little official criticism from abroad. During the Cold War, the United States was concerned chiefly with the threat of Soviet Communism spreading in the Americas. The end of the Cold War brought new opportunities for democracy in Latin America.

Legacy of Colonialism

Unlike Latin America, where most countries had won independence by 1830, much of Asia and Africa remained under colonial control through the middle of the 20th century. In theory, their European rulers were preparing them for democracy. In practice, they governed with little respect for native cultures and did not provide their colonies the structures they would need to thrive.

The main goal of colonialism was always to control distant lands in order to extract resources and benefit the mother country. At the Conference of Berlin (1884–1885), major European powers carved nearly the entire continent of Africa into colonial holdings, with artificial boundaries that often sliced through ancient cultures or, just as often, crammed diverse groups of people into a single colony. Not infrequently, a colonial power would favor one segment of the population over another to advance its own interests. These “divide and rule” techniques would leave lasting legacies, as in Rwanda, where efforts by the Belgians to play off Hutus against

Tutsis created tensions that exploded in the genocide of the 1990s, more than 30 years after independence.

Economically, each colony was directed to produce a few specific goods for export to Europe. After independence, countries often found that reliance on single crops could drive their economies to prosperity or depression from year to year. Thus, a fall in the world price for coffee or cotton could bring real hardship to an entire country.

Another of the major problems facing the former colonies in Africa and Asia was that most won their independence in the 1950s and 1960s, at the height of the Cold War. Many countries were drawn into the Cold War as the Soviet Union and United States provided arms and money to rebels fighting for control of the new countries in the hopes of winning new allies.

Under these conditions, it is not surprising that democracy failed to take hold in many newly independent countries. Countries that combined many ethnic groups had few common traditions to build upon, and conflicts and mistrust made it difficult to adopt a legal system that everyone could generally agree to. The only way for a government to gain legitimacy was to improve the lives of the people and bring peace. Unfortunately, this left governments vulnerable to economic swings and appealing politicians who easily became dictators. Because most former colonies had underdeveloped economies, there was no large middle class to balance the interests of the vast numbers of poor and those of the few elite.

The military often stood as the only true national institution, so soldiers usually intervened in a crisis with the support from many groups in society. But in almost every case, the military gave in to the lure of power and repressed critics of their rule.

Nigeria

Nigeria experienced many of these problems when it gained independence from Great Britain in 1960. Confronting a diverse population speaking some 250 distinct languages and dialects, the British left Nigeria with a strong federalist system that placed power in the hands of three large ethnic groups, the Yorubas to the southwest, the Hausa-Fulani in the north, and



▲ A worker in the West African nation of Côte D'Ivoire prepares cacao beans that will be exported to make chocolate.

Critical Thinking How has the reliance on single crops like cacao beans hurt many young nations? H-SS 12.9.8

the Igbo in the southeast. The Igbo, the smallest of these population groups, stood apart because of their higher rates of education and their acceptance of Christianity in a Muslim-dominated country. Moreover, the Igbo region included the country's vast oil reserves, and, lacking a true sense of Nigerian nationality, they found it difficult to view their oil wealth as a national, Nigerian resource instead of a regional, Igbo resource.

Feeling dominated, the Igbo supported a military coup, an overthrow of the government, in 1966. Muslim officers from northern Nigeria responded with their own coup, leading the Igbo to proclaim an independent state, Biafra, and provoking a civil war that lasted for more than two years and left a million dead.

Another military coup followed in 1975, but this time the military committed itself to democracy and allowed free elections in 1979. The new civilian government suffered from rampant corruption, which gave the military a reason to intervene and create an equally corrupt government. Democracy finally returned to Nigeria in 1999, but ethnic tensions and general mistrust continue to stir the country. Nigeria still has not resolved its most basic question of national identity: What does it mean to be a Nigerian? As long as the country remains divided, Nigeria will face challenges in building a democratic society.

Fascism and Communism

The experience of dictatorship has been common throughout the world. Two of the chief political philosophies that created the most powerful and destructive dictatorships, particularly in Europe and Asia, are communism and **fascism**. Fascism describes a centralized, authoritarian government whose policies glorify the state over the individual. Communism is principally an economic theory, and you will read more about the economics of communist states in Chapter 23. When referring to a government, communism describes a state based on the idea of government control of the economy to serve the interests of workers without regard for individual liberty. Although the two political movements are quite distinct, they share some traits.

Both communist and fascist governments go to great lengths to address the idea of popular

sovereignty, though in doing so they distort that concept significantly. As radical movements, they raise some concerns also found in the French Revolution. Most notably, does revolutionary political change open the door for an abuse of power?

Fascist Governments

Historic examples of fascism include Adolf Hitler's Germany, Benito Mussolini's Italy, and Francisco Franco's Spain. These regimes embraced an ultranationalist, extreme ideology that, in Germany, included intense racist elements. Typically, a charismatic leader leads an all-powerful political party that incites violence against all who disagree. The leader also heads a state that assumes control over social and economic policy in the supposed interests of the nation. The "people" is narrowly defined to exclude cultures and ethnic groups outside the national majority, most infamously in Nazi Germany. Democratic processes are viewed with suspicion, as they lead to debate and delay that prevents the government from working to help the "people." Needless to say, fascist governments rarely helped the people as much as they claimed to.

It is not a coincidence that these governments emerged out of the economic depressions of the 1920s and the 1930s. In such difficult times, people often look for scapegoats, and as in Latin America in later decades, they hope for a strong hand to restore order and prosperity. Hence, in Nazi Germany, Hitler pointed to the Jews as the source of German woes, and in Italy, many supported Mussolini because he "made the trains run on time."

Communist Dictatorships

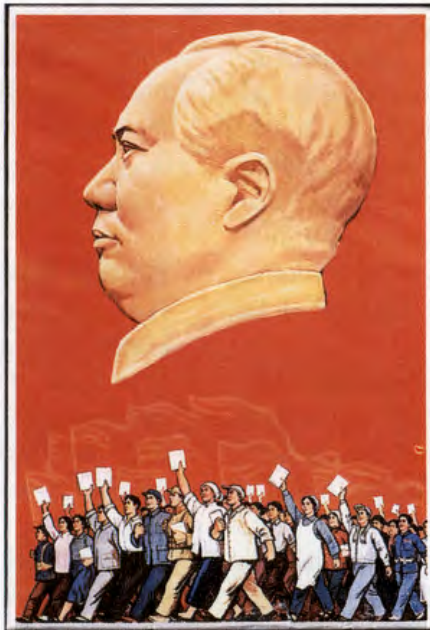
Communist states promote a left-wing ideology that follows the writings of Karl Marx. Marx believed that the workers of the world would overthrow the capitalist free market system and replace it with their own rule. Unlike fascist governments, communist regimes downplay nationalism. But they too promote a strong dictatorial state, which, under communist ideology, will oversee the end of capitalism and allow greater freedom for all. The state, having now lost its usefulness, will simply "wither away."

Like fascism, the tremendous decision making power given to government “in the name of the people” in a communist state regularly leads to abuse and repression. China stands as a leading illustration of that point.

The People’s Republic of China came into being in 1949. It emerged from decades of civil war that began in the 1930s and continued even through World War II. That struggle pitted the Nationalist Government, led by Chiang Kai-shek, against the communist rebels led by Mao Zedong. By 1949, Mao’s forces had won control of nearly all of China, and the Nationalists had fled the mainland for the island of Taiwan.

Mao was bent on increasing agricultural and industrial production. He turned to central planning and instituted a series of Five-Year Plans. Frequent and often drastic changes in policy produced chaos and regularly thwarted economic development.

By the mid-1960s, Mao was determined to purge China of what he called the “Four Olds”—old thoughts, old culture, old customs, and old habits. In the Cultural Revolution, begun in 1966, Mao’s young, dedicated Red Guards attacked and bullied teachers, intellectuals, and anyone else who seemed to lack revolu-



▲ This 1967 poster features Chairman Mao. Demonstrators are holding copies of the “Little Red Book,” which contains the basic tenets of Chinese Communism. **H-SS 12.9.5**

tionary fervor. Artists and scholars were sent to farms to be “re-educated”; ancient books and art were destroyed. By 1968, however, the havoc created by the Cultural Revolution persuaded Mao to abandon that effort.

Deng Xiaoping came to power after Mao’s death in 1976. Deng’s reforms loosened the government’s strict controls on the economy and encouraged some forms of private enterprise. Still, the Chinese government tolerated no political dissent. In May 1989, some 100,000 students and workers occupied Beijing’s Tiananmen Square, demanding democra-

tic reforms. Chinese troops and tanks moved into the square to crush the demonstration, killing hundreds of protestors and maiming thousands more. World opinion was outraged. Today, China’s leaders continue to encourage economic reforms, and the Chinese economy is booming. But they also continue to impose harsh limits on human rights. The Chinese Communist Party remains the only legally recognized political organization. The government is dictatorial, and though the state still controls much of the economy, its economic policies can no longer be described as strictly communist.

Section 2 Assessment

Key Terms and Main Ideas

1. Why did monarchs often claim the **divine right of kings**?
2. What effects did the **encomienda** system have on the newly-independent countries of Latin America?
3. What role do **counter-revolutionaries** play in a revolution?
4. How does **guerilla warfare** often lead to stronger military governments?

Critical Thinking

5. **Expressing Problems Clearly** Why did Mexico face difficulties in creating a successful democracy after independence?



Standards Monitoring Online

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6. **Drawing Inferences** Why do fascist and communist governments claim to govern by the consent of their people?
7. **Making Comparisons** Describe the difference between Britain’s reform model and France’s revolutionary model in your own words.

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May a State's Law Modify American Foreign Policy?



Analysis Skills HR4, HI3

The President has the authority to make executive agreements with other countries, which are less formal than treaties and do not require ratification by the Senate. Can a State law modify the terms of an executive agreement?

American Insurance Association v. Garamendi (2003)

In the years leading up to World War II, the government of Nazi Germany seized money and other property belonging to its Jewish residents, including insurance policies. Following the war, Holocaust survivors and the heirs of Jews who did not survive had great difficulty reclaiming their property and collecting on those insurance policies.

Lawsuits against companies that did business in Germany during the war flooded U.S. courts. In response to complaints from foreign companies and their governments, President Clinton negotiated agreements with Germany, France, and Austria. The governments and businesses of these countries agreed to create foundations to repay Holocaust-era claims. In return, the President promised that when lawsuits were brought in American courts, the government would submit a statement declaring that the claim should be settled out of court.

Meanwhile, the State of California passed the Holocaust Victim Insurance Relief Act of 1999. The HVIRA required any insurance company doing business in California to disclose the status of all policies it, or any related company, issued in Europe between 1920 and 1945. Failure to comply would result in suspension of the company's license to do business in California.

Representing the companies subject to the California law, the American Insurance Association sued John Garamendi, California's insurance commissioner. When the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the California law, the insurance companies appealed to the Supreme Court.

Arguments for American Insurance

1. The Federal Government, particularly the President, is responsible for making foreign policy. The States may not pass laws that affect the President's foreign policy decisions.
2. Because California's approach conflicts with the President's preference, the approach taken by the President must govern.
3. When the President acts in any area affecting foreign policy, the States may not make laws affecting that area, even if there is no direct conflict.

Arguments for Garamendi

1. The States have an important interest in helping citizens harmed by the Holocaust.
2. The executive agreements do not specifically forbid States from passing laws regarding Holocaust-era insurance claims; therefore, the States are free to act.
3. Because the HVIRA only requires the foreign companies to disclose information, but does not attempt to settle claims, it does not conflict with the executive agreements.

Decide for Yourself

1. Review the constitutional grounds upon which each side based its arguments and the specific arguments each side presented.
2. Debate the opposing viewpoints presented in this case. Which viewpoint did you favor?
3. How will the Court's decision affect the States' ability to address problems that relate to foreign countries? (To read a summary of the Court's decision, turn to pages 799–806.)

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Section Preview

OBJECTIVES

1. **Understand** regimes change from dictatorship to democracy.
2. **Describe** the fall of the Soviet Union.
3. **Explain** the importance of democratic consolidation.
4. **Analyze** why some countries experience setbacks or failed transitions to democracy.

WHY IT MATTERS

The transition from dictatorship to free elections is only the first step in creating a democratic society. Countries must develop strong institutions and a peaceful, unified society in order to have a reasonable chance of producing a lasting democracy.

POLITICAL DICTIONARY

- ★ **hardliners**
- ★ **softliners**
- ★ **democratic consolidation**
- ★ **amnesty**
- ★ **genocide**
- ★ **failed states**

The political scientist Samuel Huntington studied the rise of democracy through history. He noticed an interesting pattern: democratization tends to happen in waves across the world.

The good news from Huntington's study is that the number of democracies rises gradually over time. But this news is cooled by his other finding, that not all those countries swept up by a wave make it to the end and form stable democracies. Some fall back into authoritarianism.

How Regimes Change

Democracy takes root when competing groups give up their urge to control a society and agree to compromise and cooperate in order to make government work. In the modern era, democracies have often been born out of toppled dictatorships.

Dictatorships often find themselves on the defensive. The principle of popular sovereignty forces dictators to explain why they put limits on basic freedoms. Some dictators argue that the state must be strong to create a better society in the long run. Others point to foreign enemies or domestic unrest to justify their repression, and some blame economic backwardness.

Internal and/or external pressures can prompt splits and discord within a dictatorial regime. **Hardliners**, who fight to maintain the status quo, may do battle with **softliners**, who would reform governmental policies or procedures.

Interestingly, softliners are not necessarily democrats. Many support reforms to strengthen their hold on power. Nevertheless, the splits they provoke can create opportunities for the opposition. Influential individuals can then lead social movements to bring real reform.

Poland

Poland provides a case study of reforms prompted by hardliner-softliner clashes. That country was ruled by a communist dictatorship, subject to the will of the Soviet Union, for nearly half a century, from 1945 to 1990.

Decades of economic hardship and political unrest came to a head when, in 1980, shipyard workers in the city of Gdansk formed an independent trade union and called a strike. Led by co-worker Lech Walesa, they demanded—and won—several major concessions from the government, including the right to organize and the right to strike.

Solidarity's gains seemed short-lived when, in 1981, Wojciech Jaruzelski, a general in the Soviet Army, became Poland's prime minister. He declared martial law. Walesa and other Solidarity leaders were arrested, and unions and the right to strike were abolished.

Predictably, Jaruzelski's harsh stance only made the nation's political and economic troubles worse, and his government was never able to suppress the increasingly popular Solidarity movement. By the late 1980s, with the reform-

mindful Mikhail Gorbachev in power in Moscow, Jaruzelski was determined to resolve Poland's economic problems. But, first, he had to overcome the opposition of Communist Party leaders at the local level, and many of them were bent on protecting their own privileged positions.

Walesa realized that that infighting had weakened the communist regime and he pushed even harder for change. The government gave in and, in mid-1989, agreed to several historic reform measures, including free elections.

Candidates endorsed by Solidarity swept the election of a new Parliament. In 1990, Lech Walesa became the nation's democratically chosen president. Events in Poland led to similar movements and the toppling of communist regimes across Eastern Europe.

Leaders in Democracy

Individuals from all walks of life influence democratization. Lech Walesa worked in a shipyard. Vaclav Havel was an intellectual and a playwright, and he, too, led a march to democracy and became president of his country, Czechoslovakia.

Other individuals avoid politics but influence public opinion. Soviet author Alexander Solzhenitsyn wrote *The Gulag Archipelago* to expose the network of prison camps in his country and spur the cause of human rights in the Soviet Union.

Then, too, some individuals are able to encourage democracy from beyond the borders of their country. Pope John Paul II, a native of Poland, inspired the people of his homeland and maintained pressure on Eastern European countries as they moved toward democracy.

Fall of the Soviet Union

The collapse of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe contributed to the fall of the world's first communist superpower, the Soviet Union, the modern successor to the Russian empire. From the Revolution of 1917 until 1990, the Communist Party was the only political party in the Soviet Union.

A new stage of Soviet government began in 1985 when Mikhail Gorbachev became general secretary of the party. As a softliner,



▲ A crowd of Solidarity supporters cheered newly-elected President Lech Walesa in 1990. **Critical Thinking** How did Lech Walesa take advantage of splits within the Polish government to help overthrow the communist state? H-SS 12.9.7

Gorbachev undertook a reform program that rested on the principles of *perestroika* and *glasnost*. *Perestroika* called for a wide-ranging restructuring of political and economic life. *Glasnost* was the policy of openness under which the government increased its tolerance of dissent and freedom of expression.

Transition to Democracy

Changes occurred rapidly after Boris Yeltsin was elected president of Russia in 1991. Russia was then still a republic of the Soviet Union, and although it was not independent, Yeltsin used his position to confront Gorbachev, resigning from the Communist Party and declaring the laws of the Russian Republic sovereign over Russia's population and territory. In August 1991, Gorbachev and his wife were vacationing in the Crimea when a group of hard line Communist Party leaders placed him under house arrest. They wanted a return to the policies of the old Soviet government.

When the Soviet public heard of the attempted coup, thousands of protesters took to the streets of Moscow, led by Yeltsin. After several tense days, the conspirators surrendered. The coup had failed. Extraordinary events followed. The three Baltic republics were the first to depart from the Soviet Union. Soon, the remaining 12 republics left the Union as well.

As the elected leader of the dominant Soviet republic, Boris Yeltsin's power overshadowed that of Gorbachev. Recognizing reality, Gorbachev resigned on December 25, 1991. By the end of the year, the Soviet Union was no more.

Independent Russia

A new constitution was approved in a national referendum in late 1993. It proclaims the Russian Federation to be “a democratic federal legally-based state with a republican form of government.” It also set out a new government structure and contains an extensive list of individual rights, including guarantees of freedom of speech, press, association, and religious belief. Under the new constitution, the president holds a dominant role.

Boris Yeltsin kept his presidential role under the new constitution, and was reelected in 1996. Soon thereafter, the economy began to spiral downward. Yeltsin suffered serious health problems and was accused of corruption in his inner circle.

In a surprise move, Yeltsin resigned at the end of December 1999, yielding the presidency to his prime minister, Vladimir Putin. Putin won election on his own in 2000, and again in 2004. Though Putin’s reputation as a political strongman allowed him to revive the flagging economy, that same reputation drew criticism as he pushed policies that increasingly concentrated power in the presidency and restricted civil liberties.

Democratic Consolidation

So far, you have read about the process of democratic transition, studying examples in Poland and the Soviet Union. Transition refers to the *change* from dictatorship to democracy and is marked by the holding of free and fair elections. What must happen, once change occurs, to ensure that democracy in fact takes root?

Democratic consolidation is a much longer process that takes place as a country firmly establishes all those factors considered necessary for a democracy to succeed. These factors include a free press, a diverse multi-party system, civilian control over the military, a vibrant collection of interest groups, an economic system that offers clear opportunities to advance, and a professional civil service. Some of these elements may not be present in the early stages of transition. Many take time to take root.

Most of all, democratic consolidation occurs when a society establishes a sense of common trust among all citizens. Because many transitions take place following a civil war or a dictatorship that pitted one group against another, mutual trust can be difficult to establish. But when it is achieved, democracy stands on a solid footing.

The Enduring Constitution

America’s Place in the World

1900

During the first phase of its history, the United States tried to isolate itself from foreign conflicts. In the 1900s, however, the United States participated in two world wars and became a global superpower. The time line lists critical developments concerning war, peace, and trade in the twentieth century.

1898

United States wins the Spanish-American War and acquires foreign territories.

1917

United States abandons neutrality to join the Allies in World War I.



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Analysis Skills CS1, CS2, HI1

El Salvador

Many countries in Latin America, Africa, and Asia have made the transition to democracy. The process of democratic consolidation has proved to be more difficult. El Salvador held its first free and fair elections for president in over 50 years in 1982, but the transition to democracy did not bring peace or stability. The country remained bitterly divided as a rebel group, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), pressed the demands of the poor and landless. The armed forces remained largely independent under the new civilian government and engaged in widespread violence in the effort to defeat the FMLN.

Civil war raged until 1992, when the United Nations helped negotiate a peace agreement. Under that agreement, the FMLN laid down its arms and re-organized as a political party, while the government agreed to a general **amnesty** (an agreement not to prosecute past crimes), reduced military influence in government, and established a commission to investigate human rights abuses during the civil war. Today, the violence has ended and the FMLN works toward its goals through the political system—a major sign of democratic consolidation.

Haiti

The recent political history of Haiti, an island nation in the Caribbean, has been more troubled. A former French colony, Haiti was one of the first countries in the Americas to win its independence (1804). Yet, as in many other countries, independence was followed by more than a century of dictatorship and civil war. Today, Haiti is the poorest country in the hemisphere.

The longest recent period of dictatorship came to an end in 1986, when the Duvalier family fled the country after 29 years of brutal rule. After four years of provisional governments and preparation, a presidential election was held and Jean-Bertrand Aristide took office. Members of the armed forces still loyal to the dictatorship, and worried that democracy would reduce their influence, promptly overthrew Aristide and established a military government in 1991.

The international community cut off aid to Haiti and called for Aristide's return, but the military refused to step down. The soldiers finally withdrew in 1994 after the United States threatened to invade with the support of the United Nations. In 1996, he handed power to his political ally, René Préval, in Haiti's first ever transition from one elected ruler to another.



1941

United States declares war on the Axis Powers.

1964

Gulf of Tonkin Resolution approves U.S. military involvement in the Vietnam conflict.



1993

United States, Canada, and Mexico ratify the NAFTA free-trade agreement.

1925

1920

Senate rejects Treaty of Versailles and American membership in the League of Nations.

1950

1945

United States is a founding member of the United Nations.

1975

1995

United States is a founding member of the World Trade Organization, formed to monitor and promote world trade.

2000

2001

United States declares war on terrorism.

Analyzing Time Lines

1. How do the entries for 1920 and 1945 show the different responses by the United States to the end of the two world wars?
2. What are some areas in which the United States has acted globally since World War II?



Voices on Government

The career of **Vaclav Havel**—playwright, essayist, and politician—symbolizes the great changes in world politics in the second half of the twentieth century. When Czechoslovakia was under Soviet domination, Havel went to jail for his dissident views. Then the country peacefully overthrew the Communist regime, and he became the Czech president. On New Year's Day 1990, he spoke about the future:



“ We cannot blame the previous rulers for everything, not only because it would be untrue but also because it could blunt the duty that each of us faces today, namely the obligation to act independently, freely, reasonably, and quickly. Let us not be mistaken: the best government in the world, the best parliament and the best president, cannot achieve much on their own. . . . Freedom and democracy include participation and therefore responsibility from us all. ”

Evaluating the Quotation

(a) What do you think Havel means by “participation”? (b) Why might the transition to democracy be difficult for people after 40 years of totalitarian rule? **H-SS 12.9.7**

But events took a turn for the worse as Aristide and Préval both claimed leadership of their party. Each led large blocs of supporters in parliament and their refusal to work together created gridlock. Both sides were accused of corruption and vote-tampering.

Aristide recaptured the presidency in 2000 in an election that was clearly rigged and widely condemned by foreign observers. The United States and several other countries threatened new sanctions if democratic procedures were not strengthened. Instead, Aristide, once a champion of democracy, became more of a dictator.

An armed revolt in 2004 ousted the government, and Aristide fled into exile. Haiti is now ruled by a provisional government. A small UN peacekeeping force has attempted to maintain order in at least some parts of the country since mid-2004.

René Préval was returned to the presidency in a disputed election in 2006. Poverty and lawlessness have plagued Haiti for decades. There are doubts that a functioning democracy can be established there at any point in the near future.

Iraq

The invasion that toppled Saddam Hussein's brutal dictatorship in Iraq in 2003 was led by the United States. Now, this country is committed to building a democracy in that still strife-torn country. The few instances in which one or more countries have attempted to establish democratic institutions in another country have been filled with difficulties. There have been some spectacular successes, however, notably in Japan and Germany in the years following World War II.

Clearly, the effort to bring democracy to Iraq faces enormous challenges. This land has no history of free institutions upon which a democracy might be built. Nor are there any significant unifying traditions that might help bring the nation's diverse Kurdish, Shia, and Sunni populations together in a tolerant and peaceful whole.

In 2005, Iraqis elected an interim Parliament that drew up a new constitution for the country. Iraqi voters approved the constitution in October 2005, creating the basis for a new democratic government. However, many Sunni Iraqis failed to vote in the first election and voted “no” on the new constitution. The success of Iraqi democracy depends in no small measure on the ability of these three groups to work together and build democratic institutions acceptable to all.

Setbacks and Failed Transitions

While some countries have successfully established democratic governments, and many others have begun the transition to democracy, a third group of countries has not succeeded in joining the world's democracies.

The costs of failure are great. Many countries today find that they must confront new problems previously hidden by dictatorial rule when they attempt to change toward a democracy. Countries that fail to transition to democracy

can pose a threat to other countries if they open safe havens for international terrorist groups.

Ethnic Violence

The country of Yugoslavia no longer exists. Founded in 1918, Yugoslavia included people from three major religions and many ethnic groups in one country.

When communist rule began to weaken in the late 1980s, regional political leaders inflamed ethnic differences for their own personal gain. By playing up old battles, they hoped to position themselves as the leaders who would right past wrongs.

The country split apart. Several provinces of Yugoslavia declared independence and went to war with one another for control of land that multiple ethnic groups believed was theirs by right or by history. The province of Bosnia-Herzegovina, peopled with a mix of Muslims, Serbians, and Croats, was targeted by forces supported by neighboring Serbia and Croatia. The province saw the most intense fighting, and Bosnians suffered a **genocide**, or the attempted extermination of a national group, that killed about 200,000 civilians and sent many more out of the country as refugees. The conflict ended only when NATO intervened to stop the fighting. Instead of leading to democracy, the end of dictatorship in Yugoslavia triggered the bloody break-up of the country into at least five independent states.

Failed States

Other countries remain similarly troubled. Their inability to find stability has even raised security concerns for other states. Countries such as Sudan and Afghanistan include large regions that remain outside the control of their own governments. Somalia, in East Africa, does not have a functioning government and most of the country is ruled by warlords. These countries are known as **failed states**. Security is nonexistent in most places, the economy has collapsed, the health care and school systems are in shambles, and corruption flourishes.

International terrorist groups have found refuge in these lawless lands, and have used them to plan and train for acts of violence. The Soviet Union occupied Afghanistan in the 1980s, and after they withdrew in 1989, they left the country too devastated by war to recover. Afghans who had fought against the Soviets now turned their arms against each other for control of provinces. Foreign countries did not get involved in Afghanistan and few believed anything could be done to end the fighting between warlords. The anarchy provided a haven for Osama Bin Laden and his Al-Qaeda terrorist network to plan their attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001. In response to the attack, U.S. troops moved into Afghanistan and helped establish a democratic government. However, large portions of the country remain outside central authority.

Section 3 Assessment

Key Terms and Main Ideas

1. What role can **softliners** play in a dictatorship?
2. Why is **democratic consolidation** important?
3. Why is an **amnesty** often a positive step in building a democratic state following a rebellion or civil war?

Critical Thinking

4. **Making Comparisons** Explain why El Salvador and Haiti have experienced different outcomes in their transition to democracy.
5. **Drawing Inferences** How might the United States help other countries in the Western Hemisphere to build strong, independent democracies?



Standards Monitoring Online

For: Self-quiz with vocabulary practice
Web Code: mqa-7223

6. **Drawing Conclusions** In what ways do failed states affect their neighbors?

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Face the Issues

Foreign Policy

Background Several features of American foreign policy, put in place after September 11, 2001, are known as the Bush Doctrine. Essentially, that doctrine declares that this country will make preventive war if necessary to defeat threats to national security, keep America's military the strongest in the world, and promote freedom and democracy everywhere. If cooperative solutions cannot be found, the United States will act alone.



Coalition troops in Iraq



Analysis Skills HR3, HI1

Support the Bush Doctrine

The United States has arrived at a unique place in its history. Unrivaled economically and militarily, it is the world's only superpower. It has both the right and the duty to protect itself from any threat posed by terrorists or by any rogue state that might possess weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). And it has a golden opportunity to spread freedom and democracy around the globe. These basic concepts drove the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq.

Most of our old alliances, like NATO, became obsolete with the end of the Cold War. The United Nations is both too weak and too divided to confront many of today's most difficult problems.

New threats call for new thinking and new alliances. America forged "a coalition of the willing" to defeat the Taliban in Afghanistan and to bring Saddam Hussein to justice in Iraq. And it will lead new coalitions to meet new dangers. Those who share our values will rally to the cause of freedom. We cannot afford to be weighed down by old allies who do not share those values.

Rebuild Historic Alliances

The United States must defend itself and its values against all threats. Our traditional allies have been essential to that end over the more than 60 years since the end of World War II.

The Bush Doctrine's "coalition of the willing" was built in large part of smaller, poorer countries with little or no military power. Not bound by any formal alliance, many have dropped out of the conflict. This country has had to provide nearly all of the military power and nearly all of the money for the war in Iraq.

In contrast, the first Gulf War (in 1991) was a model of planning and cooperation. Dozens of countries, large and small, joined with the United States to free Kuwait. And other countries paid more than 80 percent of the costs of that conflict.

In the wake of 9/11, America did have a golden opportunity, yes—to unite the world in a war for freedom and security. The Bush Doctrine has, instead, upset many countries once counted among our close allies in this interdependent world. Those divisions must be healed, and soon.

Exploring the Issues

- 1. Critical Thinking** What is the difference between a "coalition of the willing" and an alliance?
- 2. Critical Thinking** How did 9/11 influence U.S. foreign policy?

For more information about foreign policy debates, view "Foreign Policy."



4

World Democracies Today

Section Preview

OBJECTIVES

1. **Examine** the elements of Britain's parliamentary democracy.
2. **Describe** regional and local government in Britain.
3. **Analyze** national politics in Mexico.

WHY IT MATTERS

Democracies take many different forms. Britain and Mexico illustrate two different approaches to democratic government.

POLITICAL DICTIONARY

- ★ coalition
- ★ minister
- ★ shadow cabinet
- ★ devolution
- ★ North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)

A majority of the states in the world today are democratic. Each of them has, however, developed its own set of distinctive institutions. Great Britain and Mexico present contrasting approaches to democratic government.

Great Britain

Like the United States, Great Britain is a democracy. Indeed, the roots of American government are buried deep in English political and social history. Yet there are important differences between the two systems of government. Unlike government in the United States, government in Great Britain is unitary and parliamentary in form and rests upon an unwritten constitution.

The British constitution is not entirely unwritten. Parts of the constitution can be found in books and charters. However, no single document serves as the British constitution. The written part includes historic charters, acts of Parliament, and innumerable court decisions. The unwritten part derives from customs and usages—practices that have gained acceptance over time. The written parts are called the law of the constitution, and the unwritten parts are called the conventions of the constitution.

The Constitution

Many historic documents figure in the written parts of Britain's constitution. Especially important are the Magna Carta of 1215 and the Bill of Rights of 1689. Certain acts of Parliament also form a basic part of the British constitution.

Finally, centuries of court decisions have created a body of legal rules covering nearly every aspect of human conduct. Such decisions make up the common law. The truly unwritten part of the British constitution consists of the customs and practices of British politics.



Interpreting Maps Britain's constitutional monarchy is based on a largely unwritten constitution. The Prime Minister is responsible to the House of commons and is the real head of government. **H-SS 12.9**

The Monarchy

Queen Elizabeth II has been Britain's monarch since 1952. In formal terms, all acts of the British government are performed in the name of the queen. However, the prime minister and other high officials exercise the real power of government. The queen appoints the prime minister (traditionally the leader of the majority party in the House of Commons), but her choice is subject to the approval of that house. She has no power to dismiss the prime minister or any other government official. She has no veto over acts of Parliament. In short, today's monarch reigns but does not rule.

The British Parliament

Parliament is the central institution of British government. It is bicameral, comprised of the House of Lords (the upper house) and the House of Commons (the lower house). Of the two, the House of Commons is by far the more powerful body.

House of Lords

Until recently, a majority of the members of the House of Lords were hereditary peers—persons who inherited noble titles. But the upper house underwent a dramatic change under the 1999 House of Lords Act. This act removed most of the hereditary peers, and filled their seats with peers appointed by a special commission.

The House of Lords holds limited legislative power. If they reject a bill passed by the House of Commons, the Commons only has to approve the bill a second time to make it a law. Some argue that this gives the lower house time to weigh political fallout from controversial actions.

In addition to its legislative role, the House of Lords performs an important judicial function. Its law lords serve as the final court of appeals in both civil and criminal cases in Britain's court system.

House of Commons

The House of Commons has 646 members, known as MPs—members of Parliament. They are elected from single-member districts (constituencies) of roughly equal population.

The majority party largely controls the work of the Commons. It chooses the prime minister and the cabinet (who together form “the government”), and introduces most measures. Its several committees are generalists; that is, a bill can be referred to any of its committees. All bills sent to committee must be reported to the floor, where a party-line vote generally follows the will of the government.

The Prime Minister

The prime minister, although formally appointed by the queen, is in fact responsible to the House of Commons. When a single party holds a majority in the House of Commons, as usually happens, that party's leader becomes prime minister. If no single party holds a majority, a **coalition** must be formed. A coalition is a temporary alliance of parties for the purpose of forming a government. Two or more parties must agree on a common choice for prime minister and on a joint slate of cabinet members.

There are no term limits on the post of prime minister. William Gladstone held the position four times from 1868–94. Once a member of the Conservative Party, he broke ranks to create the Liberal Party, and presided over voting



◀ The House of Commons meets in a small chamber within the Parliament building. Members of rival parties sit facing each other. **Critical Thinking** How do the responsibilities of the House of Commons differ from the House of Lords? H-SS 12.9

reforms that expanded the electorate. Winston Churchill was probably the most famous prime minister because of his leadership during WWII. Margaret Thatcher, Britain's first woman prime minister, governed from 1979 to 1990 and oversaw the denationalizing of many of Britain's coal, steel, and other basic industries. The current prime minister, Tony Blair, was first elected in 1997.



▲ **Law Lord** British law lords wear traditional dress. The House of Lords is the court of last resort in the British legal system.

The Cabinet

The prime minister selects the members of the cabinet, or **ministers**, from the House of Commons, although a few may sit in the House of Lords.

Collectively, the prime minister and the cabinet provide political leadership, both in making and carrying out public policy. Individually, cabinet ministers head the various executive departments, such as defense, treasury, or health.

The opposition parties appoint their own teams of potential cabinet members. Each of these opposition MPs watches, or shadows, one particular member of the cabinet. If an opposition party should succeed in gaining a majority, its so-called **shadow cabinet** would then be ready to run the government.

Calling Elections

In marked contrast to practice in this country, the British law does not set a fixed date for the holding of elections. Instead, it requires only that a general election—an election in which all the seats in the Commons are at stake—be held at least once every five years. If an MP dies or resigns, a special election, called a by-election, is held in that constituency to choose a replacement.

Customarily, the prime minister calls an election when the political climate favors the majority party. Occasionally, an election is triggered by quite different circumstances: When the government falls because it has lost the confidence (the support) of the House of Commons. If the

government is defeated on some critical vote in the House of Commons, it loses the confidence of Parliament and the government falls. The prime minister must then ask the queen to dissolve Parliament (end its sessions) and call a new general election. The ability to change governments in this way means that a prime minister who becomes either ineffective or unpopular can be removed before his or her actions cause serious damage to the political system.

Political Parties

Two parties have dominated British politics in recent decades: The Conservative

Party and the Labour Party. The Conservatives have long drawn support from middle- and upper-class Britons. They tend to favor private economic initiatives over government involvement in the nation's economic life. The Labour Party has regularly found most of its support among working-class voters. Labour tends to favor government involvement in the economic system and a more socially equal society. Historically, the party preached doctrinaire socialism, but under the leadership of Prime Minister Tony Blair, Labour has moderated its views. Most recently, the Liberal Democratic Party has emerged as an alternative that blends left-wing and moderate views without the Labour Party's ties to unions.

British parties are more highly organized and centrally directed than the major parties in American politics. High levels of party loyalty and party discipline characterize the British party system. Voters regularly select candidates for the House of Commons on the basis of their party labels, not their individual qualifications.

Regional and Local Government

Great Britain has a unitary government. There is no constitutional division of powers between the national government and regional or local governments, as in the American federal system.

All power belongs to the central government. To whatever extent these governments deliver services or do anything else, they can do so only because the central government has created them, given them powers, and financed them.

Regional Government

Great Britain is composed of four separate nations with different histories, cultures, and traditions. In order to provide for the distinctive governmental needs of the people of Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland, the Britain has recently undergone a process of **devolution**—the delegation of authority from the central government to regional governments.

Although Parliament has assigned many responsibilities to the devolved bodies, it has reserved for itself the exclusive power to legislate on several matters that affect the whole of the United Kingdom (UK). These include defense, foreign policy, and macroeconomic policy. The British Parliament also continues to legislate more broadly for England, which does not have a devolved assembly.

Local Government

Local government bodies have been a feature of the British political landscape for much longer than have the recently established regional assemblies. Today, there are some 470 local authorities of varying types in the UK. Much as in the United States, local government in the United Kingdom perform a broad range of functions, from running local schools and libraries to collecting trash and maintaining roads.

The Courts

The UK has three separate court systems—one in England and Wales, one in Northern Ireland, and one in Scotland. In England and Wales, most civil cases are tried in county courts. Serious (indictable) criminal cases are tried in the Crown Court, and less serious criminal cases in the magistrates' courts.

Judges and juries try the more serious criminal cases in the Crown Court, while judges or magistrates alone hear the majority of civil disputes and less serious criminal cases. The House of Lords serves as the final court of appeal in a hierarchy of appellate courts. The court system

in Northern Ireland is similar to the system in England and Wales, but the Scottish system is simpler, with fewer hierarchical layers.

Courts in the United Kingdom decide cases based primarily on parliamentary legislation and common law, or on the standards established by judicial precedent. They are not bound to uphold a constitution or bill of rights that stands higher than parliamentary law. Unlike the United States, the courts and judges in the UK, including the law lords, do not possess the power of judicial review. They can never overrule Parliament.

Mexico

Mexico has a political system similar in form to the United States. In operation, however, it is the product of a unique combination of Mexico's history and the cultural makeup of its people.

Three Branches of Government

Mexico's Constitution of 1917 establishes a national government with three independent branches. The executive branch is headed by the president, the legislature is bicameral, and the judiciary in an independent entity. While this may sound like the US political system, perhaps the greatest distinction is the greater strength of the presidency in the Mexican system.

The president of Mexico is popularly elected and serves a single six-year term. The one-term limit is intended to prevent a popular leader from becoming a dictator by winning several reelections.

The president selects the members of the council of ministers (the cabinet) and other top civilian officers of government. He also appoints the senior officers of the armed forces and all federal judges.

In addition to the power usually held by a nation's chief executive, Mexico's president has the power to propose amendments to the constitution. Those amendments must be ratified at both the national and state levels, by a two-thirds vote in each house of Congress, and by a majority (at least 16) of state legislatures. The president also has power to enact laws through executive decree on certain economic issues.

The national legislature, called the General Congress, is composed of the Senate and the

Chamber of Deputies. There are 64 senators, two from each of the 31 Mexican states and two from the Federal District, which includes Mexico City. Senators are elected to six-year terms. Half are elected at the time of the presidential election and half at a mid-term election three years later.

The Chamber's 500 members are elected to three-year terms and cannot be reelected. Three hundred are directly elected from districts of over 300,000 people. The other seats are filled from the ranks of the various political parties, based on their share of the total vote in the national election. Thus, the Chamber is elected in a mixed system of direct and proportional representation.

The Congress meets from September 1 to December 31 each year. The combination of term limits and a short session work to give the General Congress a far less significant role than that played by the Congress in the United States. Moreover, a lack of resources limits the ability of the Mexican Congress to exercise its powers. Its committees are poorly funded and understaffed, which also contributes to the dominant position of the presidency in the governmental system.

The Court System

Mexico's independent judicial system is very similar to that of the United States. But one difference of note is that in most criminal cases trial is by judge, rather than by jury. Two systems of courts—state and federal—operate within the Mexican federal system. Each has its own jurisdiction.

The federal judiciary is built of district and circuit courts that function under the Supreme Court. These tribunals hear all cases that arise under federal law, including those that raise constitutional issues. The 31 separate state court systems are composed of trial and appellate courts. They hear civil and criminal cases in a structure headed by a state Supreme Court of Justice.

National Politics in Mexico

Mexico has a multi-party system. However, it was dominated for decades by the PRI, which won every presidential election from 1929 until the presidential election of 2000. In fact,



Interpreting Maps In the federal republic of Mexico, the president is both chief of state and head of government. **How did the PRI maintain control of the government of Mexico for more than 70 years? H-SS 12.9.5**

because the PRI retained its position through patronage and opposition movements were often repressed, Mexico was not generally considered to be democratic until 2000.

The PRI

The PRI's dominant role was seriously threatened in the 1980s. The government had borrowed heavily from foreign lenders during the 1970s, expecting that oil prices would remain at their then-high levels. When oil prices declined sharply worldwide, the country plunged into economic chaos. Debt problems led to severe cutbacks in government programs, and undermined the PRI's patronage system. Prices soared and investment capital fled the country.

The political consequences of that economic calamity were apparent in the elections of 1988, when the PRI made its worst showing ever. The party barely maintained control of government as presidential candidate Carlos Salinas de Gortari won. Allegations of fraud were widespread.

President Salinas pursued broad-based economic, social, and electoral reforms. He also backed the **North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)**. This agreement, promoted by the United States, removed trade and investment restrictions among the United States, Canada, and Mexico. In the 1994 national elections, the



▲ **National Palace, Mexico City** Built on the site where the Aztec emperor Montezuma's palace once stood, the National Palace houses the presidential and other executive offices of Mexican government.

PRI's presidential candidate, Ernesto Zedillo, won 48.8 percent of the total vote, and the PRI kept control of the legislature.

The 2000 Election

By 2000 the PRI faced what only a few years earlier had seemed a complete impossibility: the loss of the presidency. Over recent years, candidates from the conservative National Action Party (PAN) and leftist Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD) had won increasing numbers of federal, state, and local offices. Now both parties took dead aim at the nation's highest office.

Public opinion, and world attention, forced the PRI to guarantee a fraud-free presidential contest in 2000. When all the votes had been counted, the PAN candidate, Vicente Fox, won

with 45% of the vote. President Fox was inaugurated on December 1, 2000. Lacking a majority in the General Congress, he and his party have always had to work with the PRI and PRD.

Fox initially held approval ratings of over 70%, but has since seen those ratings dip below 50%. President Fox may be a victim of unmet, or even unrealistic expectations. His political rise marked a dramatic event in Mexican politics, but for many Mexicans, their socioeconomic conditions did not improve under his tenure. As a sign of the growing discontent, the PRI may be making a resurgence. Off-year elections allowed it to shore up its majority in the Senate, and to almost gain a majority in the Chamber of Deputies. Moreover, the PRI now lays claim to the most popular politician in the country, Mexico City governor Andrés Manuel López Obrador. He is expected to be the PRI candidate in the 2006 presidential elections.

Regional and Local Government

Mexico is divided into 31 states and one Federal District. The Federal District includes Mexico City and is administered by a governor appointed by the president. Each of the 31 state constitutions provide for a governor, and unicameral legislature, and state courts. Each governor is elected to a six-year term. Legislators hold three-year terms. The governors appoint judges. The states have the power to legislate on local matters and to levy taxes, but most of their funding comes from the national level.

Section 4 Assessment

Key Terms and Main Ideas

1. Under what circumstances would a **coalition** government be formed in Britain?
2. In what major ways are the three branches of Mexican government similar to those in the United States?
3. What is the significance of the **North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)**?

Critical Thinking

4. **Making Comparisons** What are the major differences between the British Parliament and the U.S. Congress? Between the Prime Minister and the President?



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5. **Drawing Inferences** Which do you think is preferable: the Mexican model, a single six-year presidential term, or the American model, a four-year term with the possibility of a second term? Explain your reasoning.
6. **Drawing Conclusions** How was the 2000 election a reflection of Mexican democracy?



For: An activity on Mexican government
Web Code: mqd-6223

A New China



Analysis Skills HR4, HI3

Premier Wen Jiabao of China rose to power in 2003 to help lead a nation undergoing dramatic change. Wen described China's challenges to Americans in a speech that combined free-market principles with the older revolutionary language of the Communist Party.

China and the United States are far apart, and they differ greatly in the level of economic development and cultural background. I hope my speech will help increase our mutual understanding.

In order to understand the true China—a changing society full of promises—it is necessary to get to know her yesterday, her today, and her tomorrow. . . .

From Confucius to Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the traditional Chinese culture presents many precious ideas and qualities, which are essentially populist and democratic. For example, they lay stress on the importance of kindness and love in human relations, on the interest of the community, on seeking harmony without uniformity and on the idea that the world is for all. . . . China today is a country in reform and opening-up and a rising power dedicated to peace. . . . A large population and underdevelopment are the two facts China has to face. . . .

For quite some time in the past, China had a structure of [a] highly-centralized planned economy. With deepening restructuring . . . there was gradual lifting of the former improper restrictions, visible and invisible, on people's freedom in choice of occupation, mobility, enterprise, investment, information, travel, faith, and lifestyles. This has brought extensive and profound changes never seen before in China's history. . . .

The tremendous wealth created by China in the past quarter of a century has not only enabled our



Premier Wen Jiabao

1.3 billion countrymen to meet their basic needs for food, clothing and shelter, and basically realize a well-off standard of living, but also contributed to world development.

The Chinese Government is committed to protecting (1) the fundamental rights of all workers and (2) the right to property, both public and private. . . . This has been explicitly provided for in China's law and put into practice. . . . China tomorrow will continue to be a major country that loves peace and has a great deal to

look forward to. . . .

China has laid down her three-step strategy toward modernization. From now to 2020, China will complete the building of a well-off society in an all-round way. By 2049, the year the People's Republic will celebrate its [100th anniversary], we will have reached the level of a medium-developed country. We have no illusions, but believe that on our way forward we shall encounter many foreseeable and unpredictable difficulties and face all kinds of tough challenges.

Analyzing Primary Sources

1. What are Premier Wen's goals for China's future?
2. Why does Wen discuss China's history and culture when talking about its future?
3. Why do you think Wen spoke about peace when describing China to an American audience?

Political Dictionary

feudalism (p. 626), **vassal** (p. 626), **monarch** (p. 627), **serf** (p. 626), **legitimacy** (p. 628), **mercantilism** (p. 629), **colonialism** (p. 630), **divine right of kings** (p. 631), **encomienda** (p. 633), **hacienda** (p. 633), **counter-revolutionary** (p. 635), **guerilla warfare** (p. 635), **fascism** (p. 637), **hardliner** (p. 640), **softliner** (p. 640), **democratic consolidation** (p. 645), **genocide** (p. 645), **failed state** (p. 645), **coalition** (p. 648), **minister** (p. 649), **shadow cabinet** (p. 649), **devolution** (p. 650), **North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)** (p. 651)



Standards Review

H-SS 12.3.4 Compare the relationship of government and civil society in constitutional democracies to the relationship of government and civil society in authoritarian and totalitarian regimes.

H-SS 12.9.1 Explain how the different philosophies and structures of feudalism, mercantilism, socialism, fascism, communism, monarchies, parliamentary systems, and constitutional liberal democracies influence economic policies, social welfare policies, and human rights practices.

H-SS 12.9.4 Describe for at least two countries the consequences of conditions that gave rise to tyrannies during certain periods (e.g., Italy, Japan, Haiti, Nigeria, Cambodia).

H-SS 12.9.5 Identify the forms of illegitimate power that twentieth-century African, Asian, and Latin American dictators used to gain and hold office and the conditions and interests that supported them.

H-SS 12.9.6 Identify the ideologies, causes, stages, and outcomes of major Mexican, Central American, and South American revolutions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

H-SS 12.9.7 Describe the ideologies that give rise to Communism, methods of maintaining control, and the movements to overthrow such governments in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland, including the roles of individuals (e.g., Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Pope John Paul II, Lech Walesa, Vaclav Havel).

H-SS 12.9.8 Identify the successes of relatively new democracies in Africa, Asia, and Latin America and the ideas, leaders, and general societal conditions that have launched and sustained, or failed to sustain, them.

Practicing the Vocabulary

Matching Choose a term from the list above that best matches each description.

1. Attempted extermination of a national group
2. Belief that God grants kings the right to govern
3. Lord who pledged his loyalty to a more powerful lord
4. Agreement which removed trade restrictions among the United States, Canada, and Mexico
5. Fighting carried out by small groups in hit-and-run raids

Word Relationships Distinguish between the words in each pair.

6. *encomienda/hacienda*
7. *mercantilism/colonialism*
8. *hardliner/softliner*
9. *monarch/serf*
10. *coalition/devolution*

Reviewing Main Ideas

Section 1

11. (a) Why did the feudal system develop? (b) Why was feudalism only a “makeshift basis for governance”?
12. How did sovereignty change the way that European countries interacted with one another?
13. Describe mercantilism in your own words.
14. How did mercantilism lead European countries to the founding of colonies in the Americas and elsewhere?

Section 2

15. What are the benefits of Britain’s way of changing its government to adopt popular sovereignty?
16. (a) Why were Latin American countries unable to found stable democracies when they gained their independence? (b) How did the role of *haciendas* change with independence from Spain?
17. Many countries gained their independence in the 1950s and 1960s. List the major problems these countries inherited from their colonial period.
18. How do fascist governments win power?

Section 3

19. Why are most transitions to democracy begun by leaders already inside the government?
20. Identify three different ways that individuals outside of the government can help encourage democratization.
21. Describe the difference between a democratic transition and democratic consolidation.

Section 4

22. In what ways does Great Britain’s constitution differ from the United States Constitution?
23. How are Britain’s prime minister and cabinet members chosen?
24. (a) What was the role of the PRI in the Mexican political system in the 1990s? (b) Who won the presidency in 2000?

Critical Thinking Skills

25. **Face the Issues** In 1821, John Quincy Adams declared that America “goes not abroad, in search of monsters to destroy.” (a) Express Adams’ views in your own words. (b) How might Adams feel about the Bush Doctrine? Explain.
26. **Making Decisions** Consider the conditions that led to the feudal system. Why is it unlikely that a modern democracy could have succeeded under those conditions?
27. **Making Comparisons** Following the overthrow of Saddam Hussein, the United States worked to establish a democratic government in Iraq. (a) In what ways might the United States contribute to democratic consolidation in Iraq? (b) Which parts of democratic consolidation would be most difficult for a foreign country, like the United States, to advance?
28. **Drawing Conclusions** Why can it be said that the Peace of Westphalia “marked the end of feudalism and the beginning of the modern nation-state system”?

Analyzing Political Cartoons

Using your knowledge of comparative government and this cartoon, answer the questions below.



29. Dragons have figured prominently in Chinese culture for centuries. What is the significance of the dragon in this cartoon?
30. To what political situation does the cartoon refer?



You Can Make a Difference

Find out about volunteer opportunities in your community that involve working with people who have come from another country. You could, for example, work as an English tutor for newcomers, helping them learn the language and explaining unfamiliar customs. Or you could find out about groups that send volunteers to other countries or operate exchange programs.

Participation Activities

31. **Current Events Watch** Choose one of the countries covered in this chapter. Scan magazines and newspapers for articles about recent political events in that country. Then prepare an oral update on your chosen country’s government and politics to present to your classmates. Use charts, graphs, or copies of photos to accompany your update if you choose.
32. **Time Line Activity** Create a time line that traces the events in the former Soviet Union and Russia from 1985 to the present. Illustrate your time line with drawings and copies of newspaper and magazine photos.
33. **It’s Your Turn** Interview a recent immigrant from one of the countries covered in the chapter or another country of your choice. Find out the ways (if any) that this person participated in politics there and how he or she views the government of that country today. Why did he or she come to the United States? How does he or she view government in the United States? Write up your interview and share it with the class. (Conducting an Interview)



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Web Code: mqa-7226

As a final review, take the Magruder’s Chapter 22 Self-Test and receive immediate feedback on your answers.

The test consists of 20 multiple-choice questions designed to test your understanding of the chapter content.