



abortion *See* PRO-CHOICE; PRO-LIFE; RIGHT TO LIFE.

absolutism Originally (1733) a theological concept referring to God's total power to decide about salvation. Extended to politics indicating a *regime in which the ruler might legitimately decide anything. Usually applied to monarchical regimes of the early modern period, chiefly that of Louis XIV of France, although the term was not used politically until towards the end of the eighteenth century when many such regimes were about to disappear. Unlike tyrannies, absolutist regimes are usually seen to have been legitimate, as indicated by Louis XVI of France in November 1788, just before the *French Revolution, when he said to his cousin, the duc d'Orléans (father of the future king Louis Philippe, 1830-48), that any decision he made was legal because he willed it. Some contemporary historians deny that absolutism ever referred to an unlimited power or authority, but was always restricted by traditions and practices which effectively limited its scope. CS

accountability The requirement for representatives to answer to the represented on the disposal of their powers and duties, act upon criticisms or requirements made of them, and accept (some) responsibility for failure, incompetence, or deceit. Members of a legislature may be brought to account for their voting record by party officials such as *whips, their local parties, or their constituents. Government ministers are accountable additionally for government decisions to a legislature and the voting public. In Britain it is intended that ministers observe the concepts of both individual *ministerial responsibility and *collective responsibility. Parliamentary debate, select committee

investigations, and the media are the key forums in which their accountability is maintained. The accountability of bureaucrats varies according to their level of politicization. For example, in the USA officials of an administration are political appointees who may be required to take personal responsibility for their actions. In Britain, however, while they may be asked to answer questions before a *select committee, departmental civil servants are nominally neutral and are made accountable for their actions only in cases of maladministration. Otherwise it is assumed that their actions are taken on behalf of ministers, and, hence, accountability for their actions is maintained through the concept of individual *ministerial responsibility.

Arguments may be advanced that politicians and officials can be made too accountable, thus hampering them in carrying out their duties and powers. However, in Britain concern is more frequently expressed about the problems of maintaining accountability. Ministers in practice often do not observe the concept of ministerial responsibility, and the extent to which they are compelled to account for their actions is often dependent upon the political context. At the same time, the creation of executive agencies since the late 1980s has revised the hierarchic organization of the civil service which underpinned the concept of ministerial responsibility. This reform was designed to separate accountability for departmental policy-making functions, which remained with ministers, and accountability for executive agency policy execution functions, which was placed with agency chief executives. A review in 2002 concluded that the agency model, involving direct accountability of chief executives to parliamentary scrutiny, had generally worked well. However, in two cases—the child support agency and the prison

a

service agency—there were long-running problems, and the issue of where accountability for policy and management failings respectively began and ended became a major issue of public debate. In these cases the chief executive resigned or was dismissed rather than the minister, leading to accusations that ministers were able to avoid accountability. More generally, complaint is made that there is a lack of accountability for key parts of government activity, such as the *intelligence services. JBR

activist One who takes an active part, usually as a volunteer, in a political party or interest group. Because activism is costly, activists are unusual people. Either they enjoy political activity for its own sake, or they have off-median views (see **MEDIAN VOTER**) which give them an incentive to pull the party or interest group towards the position they favour, rather than the position it would take to maximize its vote or influence. Hence some have argued for a 'law of curvilinear disparity' which holds that activists hold more extreme views than either the mass electorate or the party leadership. There is some empirical support for this 'law' but it has rarely been tested carefully.

Adams, John (1735–1826) American revolutionary politician and political theorist. Trained as a lawyer in Massachusetts, he helped formulate the argument that the US colonies had never legitimately been subject to the jurisdiction of the British parliament. After independence he was the intellectual leader of the conservative wing of the revolution, arguing in his *Defence of the Constitutions . . . of the USA* (1787) that the Senate ought to be chosen from among the rich and the intelligent. Until 1796 he nevertheless retained a friendship with the much more radical *Jefferson, perhaps because of their common exposure to the French *Enlightenment when they had been diplomats in the 1780s. The friendship was broken by Adams's partisan Presidency (1797–1801), although Adams was less extreme in his partisanship of urban, commercial policies than the fiery *Hamilton. It was resumed in 1812 and led to a

warm and wise exchange of letters which ended with the death of both men on the same day—4 July 1826, the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

additional member system (AMS)

Any system of *proportional representation in which a set of representatives is chosen to supplement those chosen by some other route in such a way that the house, overall, is proportionately representative of the votes cast. The additional members are sometimes also called 'top-up' members. The best-known AMS is used for the German parliament, where voters have two votes. With the first, they elect a single constituency MP by the *plurality ('first-past-the-post') rule. With the second, they shape the overall party composition of the house. Additional members (additional, that is, to those elected in the single-member districts) are elected in such numbers as required to ensure that the house reflects the vote shares gained by the parties in the second votes. The electoral systems in Belgium, Denmark, and Sweden also have an AMS component.

The combination of locally accountable members and a roughly proportional outcome has made AMS systems popular in new democracies across Eastern Europe, as well as in countries considering electoral reform. New Zealand voted to switch from a first-past-the-post system to AMS in 1993, and in the same year Japan switched to AMS from the *single non-transferable vote. The *devolved assemblies/parliaments of Scotland, Wales, and London use AMS systems.

Adenauer, Konrad (1876–1967) West Germany's first Chancellor (1949–63). Adenauer was deposed as Mayor of Cologne (Köln) by the Nazis in 1933, and imprisoned twice before 1945. After the war, he led the newly constituted centre-right Christian Democratic Union. His tenure as Chancellor was notable for Germany's accession to NATO, the co-founding of the EEC in 1957, and the construction of the 'social market economy' combining free market capitalism with state responsibility for citizens' welfare. sw

adjournment (debate) The procedure by which the sitting of a legislature is brought to a close. In the UK House of Commons each day's sitting ends with a motion 'That this House do now adjourn', when, in a debate lasting half an hour, members can raise any matter of concern; one of the few opportunities for private members to initiate debate. The House may adjourn if Members are disorderly, or if there is not a *quorum of members present. During a debate an adjournment motion may be proposed as a means of blocking the passage of a measure. Unless the measure is backed by the government, adjournment normally means that it fails.

administrative law The law relating to the control of government power, including the detailed rules which govern the exercise of administrative decision taking. Despite A. V. Dicey's reluctance in his *Law of the Constitution* (1885) to accept the idea of specific and specialized legal rules governing administrative decisions, English law has developed administrative law especially since c.1960. Lord Diplock in 1982 regarded the development of English administrative law 'as having been the greatest achievement of the English Courts in my judicial lifetime'. Primarily the courts have developed general principles to ensure that all public authorities must act within the powers granted to them by Act of Parliament. Such principles include reasonableness in making decisions and principles of natural justice to ensure fair procedure. Discretion must not be abused and decisions must be made according to law and not outside the powers of the Act, which might make them **ultra vires*. Under section 31 of the Supreme Court Act 1981, and Rules of the Supreme Court, Order 53, an applicant may seek *judicial review. This procedure permits an application for such remedies as a judicial order or damages as is appropriate to the facts of the case. The various remedies available under English law are mandamus, prohibition, or *certiorari* and the private law group of remedies such as declaration, injunction, or damages. Leave to apply for judicial review must first be obtained in the Crown Office

before a judge and usually on affidavit or written evidence. Once leave is granted there may be a hearing of the case where all the parties may be represented. The matter which is the subject of complaint must be a 'public law' question and the courts have defined the exact meaning of this term on a case-by-case basis since the House of Lords decision in *O'Reilly v. Mackman* [1983] AC 237. Applications for judicial review have steadily increased since 1981. The subjects for review extend from immigration disputes, housing, local government, and planning matters.

The English system of administrative law has developed on a case-by-case basis in marked contrast to administrative law in both the United States and in France, which owes its development to the nature of the written constitution in both jurisdictions. JM

Adorno, Theodor W. (1903–69) German philosopher, leading figure of the *Frankfurt School and exponent of Marxist Critical Theory. He also published widely on music and aesthetics. His main philosophical works were *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1947 with Max Horkheimer); *Minima Moralia* (1951); and *Negative Dialectics* (1966). In *Dialectic of Enlightenment* Adorno glossed Walter Benjamin and Friedrich Pollock. Benjamin was disenchanted with the Marxist faith in historical progress while Pollock argued that intervention in the economy had dissipated socialism as an alternative to authoritarian or democratic forms of state capitalism. Such arguments led Adorno to see capital's domination as permeating the whole of society. Control and manipulation of the masses took place through a standardized 'culture industry' which negated individuality and freedom. Such an ideological stranglehold led Adorno to conclude that working-class resistance was all but extinguished. *Minima Moralia* marked his rejection of Hegelian Marxism with his assertion that 'the whole is the false' in contradistinction to *Hegel's claim that 'the true is the whole'. This was reasserted in *Negative Dialectics* where he argued that the dialectic did not reach a unity between universal and particular as Hegel had thought. Rather,

adversary politics

4

a

it led to a non-identity where universality is in the ascendant over particularity. This argument, coupled with his observation that philosophy lives on only because the moment to realize it was missed, encapsulates the pessimism of Adorno's thought within the Marxist tradition. In empirical work, Adorno was also associated with the development of the concept of the *Authoritarian Personality. *See also* REIFICATION. IF

adversary politics Term coined by S. E. *Finer in his edited book *Adversary Politics and Electoral Reform* (1975) for the British parliamentary system, which he characterized as 'a stand-up fight between two adversaries for the favour of the lookers-on'. He argued that the Labour and Conservative parties had become locked into sterile confrontation of extremisms, which might be broken by electoral reform, to which he was a recent convert. Supporters of the adversary politics hypothesis point to the debasement of parliamentary debate and Question Time; opponents variously argue that the adversaries were not adversarial on everything (for instance, in their common opposition to electoral reform) and that adversary politics was a temporary pathology.

affirmative action Policy designed to correct past practices of discrimination against racial minorities, women, the disabled, and other historically disadvantaged groups. The advocates of affirmative action programmes argue that it is not sufficient to pass legislation aimed at eliminating discrimination in education, employment, and other areas of human activity. Such legislation where it was successful could help eliminate discrimination in the long run, but more drastic measures were required if progress, at an acceptable pace, was to occur in the short term.

In the United States in 1970, for instance, more blacks than ever were going into higher education, yet it remained the case that while blacks made up nearly 12 per cent of the population only 2.2 per cent of doctors and 2.8 per cent of medical students were black. Statistics such as these appeared to justify admissions procedures used in the 1970s by the medical school of the University

of California at Davis. Under these arrangements 16 out of 100 places were reserved for minority students, mainly blacks, Chicanos, and Asian-Americans. Allen Bakke, a white applicant who achieved far better test scores than minority students who were admitted, was denied admission. Bakke challenged the legitimacy of this decision in the courts and eventually the matter was addressed by the United States Supreme Court.

In a confusing judgment the Court said that the use of quotas violated the *Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution and directed that Bakke should be admitted. At the same time the justices said that it was constitutionally acceptable for race to be taken into account in making admissions decisions—affirmative action, in other words, was constitutional.

Affirmative action nevertheless continues to be intensely controversial in the United States. Opponents of such policies insist that they undermine one of the most cherished values of American political culture, the commitment to equality of opportunity. Affirmative action is also condemned for standing in the way of meritocracy—a society where success in life is based on merit rather than birth, class, race, or some other spurious criterion. Critics argue further that affirmative action is ultimately destructive of the goal of eliminating discrimination—that it creates discrimination itself, a reverse discrimination where white males such as Bakke, for example, are denied opportunities for no other reason than their race and sex. *See also* MAJORITY-MINORITY DISTRICTING. DM

Afghanistan War (1979–1989) Following a military coup in April 1978, the communist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan took power. The party was riven by sectarian disputes and, in December 1979, the Soviet Union intervened in support of Babrak Karmal who was installed as president. Military conflict ensued between the Afghan army and opposition Mujahedin forces, who were themselves factionalized. The Soviet Union became involved, committing thousands of troops to action. This failed, however, to secure stability for the new communist

regime and security beyond the area around the capital, Kabul, was never established.

Soviet military involvement in Afghanistan was a key factor leading to the end of *détente and to more hostile relations between Moscow and the United States in the first half of the 1980s. The large number of Soviet casualties also had a profoundly radicalizing impact on politics in the Soviet Union itself after the election of Mikhail Gorbachev as General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in March 1985 and the introduction of perestroika. In line with Gorbachev's policy of 'new political thinking', the Soviet Union announced a timetable for withdrawal from Afghanistan which was completed in 1989. The Afghan communist regime fell in 1992. swh

Afghanistan War (2001) On 7 October 2001 the United States of America commenced air strikes against targets in Afghanistan associated with the ruling Taliban movement, and Osama Bin Laden's *al-Qaida terrorist network which the Taliban had nurtured. Prompted by al-Qaida's attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon Building in Washington DC on 11 September 2001, these strikes resulted in the dispersal of the Taliban movement, the routing of al-Qaida forces, and the occupation of the Afghan capital Kabul by anti-Taliban 'United Front' forces on 13 November 2001.

The outbreak of this conflict was actually the culmination of years of turbulence in Afghanistan, involving the progressive breakdown of the Afghan state in the period following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979, and the promotion by neighbouring countries, especially Pakistan, of surrogate forces after the collapse of communist rule in April 1992. The last such force was the Taliban movement, a mixture of Muslim students, former communists, and opportunistic members of the Pushtun ethnic group, which took shape in late 1994 and with backing from Bin Laden and Pakistan managed to seize Kabul in September 1996. This did not put an end to conflict: the forces of the 'Islamic State of Afghanistan', despite their displacement from Kabul, retained control of the north-east of Afghanistan,

and continued to occupy Afghanistan's seat in the United Nations General Assembly. The armed forces of the Islamic State, led by former Defence Minister Ahmad Shah Massoud, formed the core of the 'United Front'. However, the USA did not make any effort to cultivate these forces, despite al-Qaida attacks in August 1998 on US Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, preferring instead to seek to use the Taliban's patron Pakistan as an intermediary to secure the handover of Bin Laden for trial.

On 9 September 2001 Massoud was assassinated by two al-Qaida operatives posing as journalists. His death, however, did not lead to the fragmentation of his forces, which to Pakistan's consternation became principal partners in the US campaign to obliterate al-Qaida and the Taliban. The overthrow of the Taliban was accomplished with relative ease, for Pakistan, under intense US pressure, was obliged to abandon its backing for the movement, at which point the Taliban's lack of legitimacy left it with little in the way of concrete support, either normative or prudential. Air attacks using B-52 bombers, AC-130 gunships, Tomahawk cruise missiles, and 2,000-pound Joint Direct Attack Munitions shattered Taliban morale. Cities across the north of Afghanistan fell to the United Front in a cascade from 9 to 13 November, and on 7 December, the Taliban abandoned their last stronghold, Kandahar, and their leader, Mullah Muhammad Omar, went into hiding. While mopping-up operations, directed mainly at pockets of Arab and Pakistani extremists, continued into 2002, on 22 December 2001, a new 'Afghan Interim Administration', chaired by Hamed Karzai, was sworn into office in Kabul with the support of the United Nations and the international community. wm

African National Congress See ANC.

African Union Originally the Organization of African Unity (OAU), restyled the African Union in July 2002. The OAU was established in 1963 at Addis Ababa, with a continent-wide membership (although Morocco withdrew in 1984), a rotating system for choosing the chairman, and decision-making based on consensus. It aimed

age

a

to promote unity and cohesion among the newly independent African states, to advance their economic development, and to accelerate the liberation of those still under colonial or white rule. It recognized the sovereignty of existing African states within their colonial frontiers, subscribed to a policy of non-intervention in domestic affairs, and refused to countenance attempts at secession. The OAU showed little capacity to intervene effectively in any of the crises affecting Africa.

The creation of the African Union sought to expand the remit of the OAU, and craft an expanded institutional structure, along similar lines to the *European Union. An Assembly of the African Heads of State and Government holds annual meetings, a Pan-African Parliament was created in 2004, and provision was made for the establishment of a financial infrastructure including an African Central Bank. The African Union has greater powers to intervene in the politics of member states, and provided a peace-keeping force in the *Darfur region of Sudan from 2005. The peacekeeping role in Darfur was extended as part of a United Nations mission, but criticized as ineffective and under-resourced. The African Union responded tentatively to the crisis in Zimbabwe over the leadership of Robert Mugabe in 2008. The aspiration of the African Union is ambitious, and the institutional and political resources required to fulfil its promise are not presently available.



- African Union website.

age The different attitudes and behaviours displayed by people of different ages add an important dynamic aspect to politics. This can be seen through the effects of general demographic changes, and studied at the level of individual and generational change over time.

Age, along with migration and immigration, affects the demographic composition of a country, relating to the structure and development of the population. This in turn can be seen to affect the relative importance of particular policies and attitudes. In the West, low birth rates and

increased life expectancy have led to a larger proportion of elderly people within society. Issues such as pension provision and the personal health services provided in old age have moved up the political agenda, amidst concern that the shift in ratio of working to non-working population could have serious implications for public service provision. In Europe, this demographic change has been marked by the emergence of Pensioners' parties to campaign for the political rights of the elderly; and in the United States the emergence of activist groups such as the Gray Panthers. Other countries with rapidly growing populations, such as India, where 40 per cent of the population is under 18, face different social priorities, with more focus on, for instance, education and youth employment.

Age differences have been shown to be associated with very different political attitudes and behaviour. The British Election Survey has shown that the elderly are more likely to have right-wing views; whilst the young are less likely to be members of political parties or to turn out to vote. Two different age effects can be discerned, when studying political change; a cohort (or generational) effect and a life-cycle effect. People brought up in a particular period, known as an age cohort, can be seen to have certain shared experiences and values which are reflected in their political choices. In *Political Change in Britain* (1969) Butler and Stokes argue that the elderly were less likely to vote Labour partly because their formative years of political activity occurred before the party was a major force in British politics. Life-cycle effects reflect the changing material interests of individuals as they pass through different stages of life—with the elderly more interested in issues related to pension provision, those with young children more interested in educational provision, the young more interested in licensing laws, etc. Older people tend to have higher incomes, and are more likely to favour parties offering low taxation, such as the Conservatives in Britain. Distinguishing between life-cycle and cohort effects needs careful study of change over time, through tools such as *panel survey studies.

The rights of particular age groups have been championed by a variety of organizations, and opposition to ageism has become an integral part of campaigns for human rights. In 1989 the United Nations adopted a *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, which sought to enhance the protection and treatment of children throughout the world. Ageism, evident when the elderly face discrimination or stereotyped attitudes, has received increasing attention since the 1960s. Since age is a constantly changing attribute of individuals, as we all grow older, it requires a different conceptual treatment from attributes such as sex or race; although there is also a gender aspect to ageism, since women tend to live longer than men.

Concern has been raised that the young are becoming increasingly disillusioned with party politics; and are turning to single-issue campaigns and protest movements. Here again, it is important to distinguish between cohort effects and life-cycle issues. The changes in technology and the media mean that the young generation have different opportunities and approaches to political issues, whilst events such as the fall of the Soviet Union have radically changed the context of political discourse. Hence, the younger generations have to work out new modes of political discourse to reflect their perceptions of the modern world. In terms of life-cycle issues, parliamentary politics is a middle-aged game, and is likely to stay that way. Youth protest has been a highlight of campaigns against the *Vietnam War, the French *Fifth Republic, and the *poll tax in Britain. However, as they grow older, young militant campaigners have tended to be assimilated into (or even shape) the established political culture. AM

agenda setting The art or science of controlling an agenda so as to maximize the probability of getting a favourable outcome. As many *social choice procedures have the property that a given set of preferences can lead to different outcomes if votes are taken in a different order, there is often scope for manipulative agenda setting. The phrase is also used more broadly for efforts to change the political agenda by adding or subtracting issues.

aggregation This term refers to the conversion of political demands into alternative courses of action, usually by political parties. It formed part of the *structural functionalist approach to the study of politics. wg

agrarian parties Parties representing farmers have been a significant feature of many Western political systems, but are now declining in importance. As urbanization and industrialization reduce the share of the rural population in the electorate, agrarian parties have found it more difficult to sustain an electoral base, and a number have either faded away, or have converted themselves into parties with a more general electoral appeal. The interests of farmers may be more effectively represented by national farmers' organizations with close links with the national agricultural ministry, the pattern that has been followed in Britain and Germany. Agrarian parties have been particularly important in Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden), and have appeared in some of the new democracies of Eastern and Central Europe, such as Hungary and Poland. They have been particularly influential in Poland, joining coalition governments. To some extent the electoral weakness of agrarian parties in urbanized societies is offset by their organizational strength, based on their links with a network of rural and farming organizations; high memberships and high membership ratios; an ability to mobilize their members; and stable leadership and internal party unity. Particularly in political systems based on *proportional representation with a strong tradition of coalition government, agrarian parties that have converted themselves into centre parties with a broader appeal have been frequent participants in government. The *Keskustapuolue* (KESK) in Finland has one of the most impressive records of post-war office for a party with a rural base, although the Swiss *Volkspartei* (formerly the BGB, the Burghers, Artisans and Peasants Party) has been represented in the Federal Council since 1929. In general, the electoral base for an agrarian party is too narrow to make it an effective presence in most Western political systems. wg

a

aid International aid generally encompasses any transfer of resources between states which is not undertaken on a commercial basis. Normatively, most would exclude military assistance from their definitions of foreign aid, which highlights how the politics of aid is largely conducted through discourses of humanitarianism and economic development. Indeed, aid is closely associated with the notion of development, and this association is in itself structured through a distinction between 'developed' and 'developing' countries. The vast majority of aid moves from the former to the latter.

Official aid may be handled on a bilateral basis, through intergovernmental transfers from developed states to developing states; or through transfers from multilateral institutions (e.g. the United Nations Development Programme or aspects of the World Bank's lending) to developing states. Another important multilateral aid institution which has a unique structure is the *Global Fund. The European Union has its own aid strategies, focused on the African, Caribbean, and Pacific post-colonies. Other sources of aid include non-governmental organizations, funded through private donations and 'home' governments.

Since the mid-1950s, aid has emerged as a key aspect of global politics, and the politics of international aid has become a prominent issue, rising up the agenda of G7/8, OECD, and other intergovernmental meetings. There is concern about the efficacy of aid; after \$2.3 trillion of aid has been disbursed over the last fifty years, it is questionable whether aid makes much of a difference to development. Aid can also be seen to influence the relationship between donors and recipients. Questions have been raised about the motivations of aid givers, especially in respect to donor states, whose geopolitical and economic interests may affect how aid is allocated. In terms of aid strategy, forms of aid differ widely and donor institutions always attach projects, plans, and preferences to aid, commonly known as *conditionality and tied aid. Aid can be seen to lead to dependence, establishing a hierarchy of giver and receiver and allowing for intervention in developing

states by developed states. *See also* MARSHALL AID. GH

alderman An alderman was an indirectly elected member of county and county borough councils in England and Wales prior to the 1972 Local Government Act. The aldermen, who were elected by councillors generally from among their own number, composed a third of the council, and served for six years, one half seeking re-election every three years. Abolition resulted from the conflict with the principle of direct election in local government, as well as the unscrupulous use of their majority by dominant party groups in aldermanic elections.

The term is also used to denote elected local council representatives in US cities, especially in the Northeast. JBR

alienation The root meaning of 'alienation' denoted a relationship to property. One could, for example, alienate one's property by transferring it to another person, or to an institution. During the seventeenth century, the focus of the term shifted from material to immaterial possessions such as rights, and sovereignty over oneself. It came to be accepted by thinkers such as *Grotius and *Locke that alienating certain rights or powers was a necessary prerequisite for legitimate political society. Alienation in this sense became the basis of social contract theory.

A more recent sense connoted a loss of reason or personality, so that one was alienated or estranged from one's true or rational self through mental disorder ('alienist' is an obsolete word for a psychiatrist). In the eighteenth century, thinkers such as *Paine argued, for example, that certain rights were not just accidental to human character, but essential. Hence such rights were 'inalienable', and to lose such rights either by giving them away or by having them removed against one's will, was to lose an essential part of one's humanity.

Although *Rousseau did not specifically use the term, the first systematic account of alienation by a political theorist is to be found in his *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* (1755). Here, alienation is uncompromisingly a condition of developed

society, where systems of law—moral/religious, political and economic—rob one of the responsibility of setting the parameters of one's own liberty. Under such conditions one will remain alienated from one's potential, moral self, unless and until one can reconstruct society to enable one to participate in the setting of such boundaries. *The Social Contract* (1762) proposes one form which such a society might take.

The most important accounts of alienation from the point of view of political theory are those of *Hegel and *Marx. Hegel believed the purpose of history to be the progressive overcoming of the gap between the particular consciousness and the universal consciousness until a final unity of the two is achieved (absolute self-consciousness). This gap between the particular and the universal constitutes, for Hegel, a central and necessary element of alienation. History is therefore the story of humanity's progress towards freedom from alienation. For Hegel, alienation is through and through a historical concept.

Marx accepts this latter point, but (under the influence of *Feuerbach) rejects Hegel's emphasis on consciousness for two main reasons. First, it implies that alienation originates within the individual, whereas for Marx alienation originates in the material conditions of existence—the 'ensemble of social relations'—within which the individual is enmeshed. Second, Hegel's view makes the individual responsible for his or her own release from alienation, since all that is required is an effort of will. For Marx, overcoming alienation requires a change in the material conditions of productive social existence, and such a change cannot be wrought by individuals. Alienation, for Marx, must therefore be overcome by the activity of a historically specific class.

Marx believes humanity to be capable of producing freely and creatively, overcoming the tyranny of immediate, basic needs that characterizes the rest of the animal kingdom. Under conditions which enable free, creative production, one's personality can be expressed in the objects one produces. This investing of oneself in one's products is a form of alienation, but it is a positive form. It must exist wherever and

whenever human beings freely create things, including communist society. But where the conditions for free, creative production do not exist alienation will become distorted into negative forms.

Under capitalism, for instance, factory work (through the division of labour) turns labour from a social activity into an individuated process, alienating workers from each other. Factory work dehumanizes workers by giving them repetitive tasks which require no free, creative input. Thus workers are alienated from their human potential. The products one produces fail any longer to express one's personality. For Marx, then, the superseding of capitalism is a necessary prerequisite for ridding alienation of its distorted elements.

Since Marx, writers across a number of disciplines have developed accounts of alienation, notably in existentialist philosophy (*Sartre), social psychology (Erich Fromm), and various hybrids of Marxism (*Marcuse's psychoanalytic version, for example). As a result of its dissemination across a range of disciplines, the term has been loosely applied to describe the sometimes debilitating effects of life in modern, large-scale societies. AA

Allende Gossens, Salvador (1908–73) Chilean politician. Born on 26 July 1908, Allende became a student leader at Valparaíso University, where he studied medicine. While working for the public health service in 1933, he helped create the Socialist Party of Chile. He was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1937 and served as health minister in the Popular Front government elected in 1938. He was general secretary of his party from 1943 to 1970.

Allende's political career was mainly in the Senate, which he presided over in the 1960s. He also became the left's presidential candidate, eventually triumphing at the head of the Popular Unity alliance in 1970. The new coalition was handicapped by internal divisions, its lack of a majority in Congress, and strong US opposition. Electoral support for Popular Unity reached 44 per cent in 1973 but its economic policies were inflationary and provoked active middle-class opposition. Eventually

a

Allende took his own life on 11 September 1973, during a US-backed coup led by General Augusto Pinochet.

Internationally, Allende is associated with the conviction that socialism can be introduced by parliamentary means. Left-wing opinion was deeply divided over the significance of Allende's defeat. Some simply made US imperialism a scapegoat; others decided that Allende's policies had been too ambitious; others concluded that socialism could not be introduced by reformist methods—the state would subvert the socialist government by means of military intervention. RG

al-Qaida A terrorist organization ('The Base') led by Osama Bin Laden, responsible for major attacks on US targets. Born into a wealthy family on 10 March 1957 in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Bin Laden studied at the King Abdul Aziz University in Jeddah and was influenced by a Palestinian radical, Dr Abdullah Azzam. Following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, he backed the Mujahedin resistance to the Soviet occupation, especially the radical Hezb-e Islami of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. From 1984 he ran a guesthouse for Arab volunteers in Peshawar in Pakistan entitled the Beit al-Ansar ('House of Supporters'). In 1986 he set up a base in the Jaji area of Paktia in eastern Afghanistan, known as Maasadat Al-Ansar, and in 1989, he formed the al-Qaida organization. But shortly thereafter, in the wake of the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and the assassination of Abdullah Azzam, he returned to Saudi Arabia, which he was then not allowed to leave. During the 1991 *Gulf War, he developed a profound hatred of the USA; the Western deployment in Saudi Arabia seems to have struck him as the very violation he was called upon to resist. He finally left Saudi Arabia in April 1991, fired with the conviction that the experience of the Soviets in Afghanistan had proved the vulnerability even of super-powers when confronted with true believers. After leaving Saudi Arabia, he revisited Afghanistan and Pakistan, before making his way to Sudan, where he settled in late 1991. In April 1994 he was deprived of Saudi citizenship; in May 1996 he left

Sudan for Afghanistan, where he was a significant financier of the Taliban takeover of Kabul in September of that year.

On 7 August 1998 al-Qaida operatives struck simultaneously at the US Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania; vehicles packed with explosives destroyed both buildings and killed hundreds of people. The US responded with Tomahawk cruise missile attacks against camps in eastern Afghanistan at which al-Qaida was believed to be engaged in terrorist training. Bin Laden survived the attacks, and also a US campaign, embodied in both unilateral sanctions and multilateral sanctions imposed by UN Security Council resolutions 1267 and 1333, directed at forcing the Taliban leadership to surrender him for trial. Bin Laden's most dramatic attacks came in September 2001. On 9 September suicide bombers posing as journalists killed the military leader of the anti-Taliban forces in Afghanistan, Ahmad Shah Massoud. Two days later, on *September 11th 2001, planes hijacked by al-Qaida operatives were deliberately flown into the Pentagon building in Washington DC and the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York, killing over 2,000 people. The direct consequence of this was 'Operation Enduring Freedom', a military campaign led by the US to destroy the Taliban regime and the al-Qaida organization. In the former aim it was successful; Kabul fell to anti-Taliban forces on 13 November 2001. However, Bin Laden's whereabouts remained unclear, as did the extent to which the activities of al-Qaida had been fundamentally undermined, as opposed to temporarily disrupted. Since 2001, al-Qaida or networks associated with it have been variously blamed for bombings in Bali, Madrid, and London, as well as in a number of other cities, and for the assassination in December 2007 of former Pakistan Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. However, the precise nature of al-Qaida's involvement, if any, in these attacks remains a matter of speculation. *See also* AFGHANISTAN WAR (2001). WM

alternative vote (AV) A procedure for selecting a candidate who can command a majority. Voters rank the candidates. First preferences are counted, and