

A

Aaland Islands

Some 6,500 islands in the Gulf of Bothnia, between Finland and Sweden. They were part of Sweden until 1809, when, together with Finland, they were annexed by Russia. After the collapse of the Russian Empire in 1917, they were administered by Finland. Despite popular demands to be governed by Sweden, Finnish sovereignty was confirmed by the *League of Nations in 1921. At the same time, the islands were granted considerable autonomy, since when Swedish has been the official language. In 1945, the islands' assembly again voted to come under Swedish sovereignty, but the islands' constitutional status remained unchanged.

Abacha, Sani (b. 20 Sept. 1943, d. 8 June 1998). Nigerian dictator 1993–8

Born in Kano of the Hausa people, he was educated at the local government college before entering the army in 1962. He rose through its ranks to become major-general in 1984, and was part of the ruling Supreme Military Council (1984–5). A close colleague of *Babangida, he supported his military coup in 1985 and was made Chief of Staff. Abacha became Minister of Defence in 1990. Following Babangida's electoral defeat by *Abiola in 1993, he staged a coup against Babangida and became President himself on 18 November 1993. Despite waves of protest strikes, he outlawed all democratic political institutions, pacifying some of the strikers through withdrawing a number of the draconian economic policies he had introduced, such as a 600 per cent increase in the price of petrol. Abacha managed to defy growing international pressure for an end to his brutal regime. Western sanctions remained ineffective as long as they excluded Nigeria's vital export commodity, oil. He clung on to power despite domestic and international pressure, and died in office from a heart attack.

Abbas, Ferhat (b. 24 Oct. 1899, d. 24 Dec. 1985). Algerian nationalist

A student of chemistry, he founded a Muslim students' association in 1924. Abbas fought in the French army from 1939, but in 1942 produced a Manifesto which called for Algerian autonomy from France. He joined *Ben Bella's *Front de Libération Nationale in 1956, and after the outbreak of the *Algerian War of Independence founded the Algerian

government-in-exile in Tunis (1958). Upon Algerian independence he became president of the National Constituent Assembly (1962–3) and provisional head of state. As the leader of the moderate nationalists, Abbas soon fell out of favour with Ben Bella. He was exiled in 1963, but was allowed to return shortly before his death.

Abbas, Mahmoud (b. 26 Mar. 1935). Palestinian President 2005–

Born in Safed, he went to Syria in 1948, and studied both in Damascus and in Moscow. After his return he co-founded al-*Fatah, and from 1968 he was part of the ruling circle of the *PLO, under the leadership of *Arafat. He represented the PLO at the talks that led to the *Oslo agreement of 1993. Trusted by Israel and the international community, he was effectively sidelined by Arafat, who strove to concentrate all power in his hands in the last years of his life. After Arafat's death, Abbas became chairman of the PLO in 2004, and he was sworn in as President of the *Palestinian National Authority in early 2005. Also referred to as 'Abu Mazen', Abbas struggled to assert his authority over more radical groups inside Fatah and other groups who continued their attacks against Israel. Following the 2006 elections, Abbas entered a power-sharing agreement with * Hamas in 2007. This broke apart months later, when Hamas effectively gained sole control over Gaza. He remained in control of the *West Bank.

Abboud, Ibrahim (b. 26 Oct. 1900, d. 8 Sept. 1983). Sudanese general and politician
Educated at Gordon College, he became a soldier and, after distinguished service with the British army in World War II, became a general in 1954. He was made Commander-in-Chief of the Sudanese army upon independence in 1956. Abboud overthrew the country's democratic government in 1958, and thereafter led the military government. His military genius was not matched by political astuteness, and he was forced to resign in 1964.

Abd al-Aziz ibn Saud (b. 24 Nov. 1880, d. 9 Nov. 1953). King of Saudi Arabia 1932–53
Born in Riyadh of the Wahabi dynasty, he was forced into exile in Kuwait in 1902. From there, he organized and led a successful Bedouin revolt which enabled him to recapture Riyadh.

He then conquered the Turkish province of Al Hasa, and was recognized by the British as Emir of Nejd and Hasa in 1915. He then challenged *Hussein ibn Ali, whom he eventually defeated, annexing Azir in 1923, and taking the Holy City of Mecca in 1925. He proclaimed himself King of Hejaz and Nejd in Mecca on 8 January 1926, a country which covered most of the Arabian peninsula. In 1932, he renamed his kingdom Saudi Arabia. A devout Muslim, he laid the foundations of the country's subsequent development (and the royal household's fortune) by granting the first concession to oil exploration in 1933, and by creating the Arabia-American Oil Company (ARAMCO) in 1944. He maintained a good relationship with the USA and the UK, which he supported in World War II.

Abd al-Ilah ibn Ali ibn Hussein (b. 1912, d. 14 July 1958). Regent of Iraq

Born in Hejaz as the grandson of *Hussein ibn Ali, he became regent of Iraq for his 4-year-old cousin *Faisal II, after the death of his brother-in-law, King Ghazi. Strongly pro-British throughout his life, in 1941 he was expelled by a group of pro-German officers. He was reinstated by the British, since when he was regarded as a pawn of Britain and the USA. After the war, he attempted to democratize the political system, but failed to create democratic stability. He relinquished office in 1953 but continued as chief adviser to King Faisal until both were killed in the Iraqi Revolution of 1958.

Abd al-Krim (Muhammad ibn Abd al-Karim al-Khattabi) (b. 1882, d. 5 Feb. 1963). Moroccan nationalist leader

Born in Agadir, he became a newspaper editor and rose through the ranks of the Spanish administration of northern Morocco to become chief justice in 1915. He became increasingly hostile to the Spanish and French occupation of Morocco, however. He was imprisoned by the Spanish in 1917, and after his release he organized a rebellion by his tribe, the Ait Waryaghar. He inflicted a series of heavy defeats upon the Spanish, and established the Republic of the Rif in 1921. He was defeated by a joint Franco-Spanish army in 1926, imprisoned, and sent to detention on the island of La Réunion until 1947, when he was allowed to return to France. On the way he escaped to Cairo, where he set up the Maghreb Bureau or Liberation Committee of the Arab West. After Moroccan independence (1956) he refused to return, since he did not consider the new government to represent the interests of the Rif.

Abdication Crisis (UK)

This crisis in the British establishment was provoked by King *Edward VIII's desire to marry a twice-divorced American, Wallis Simpson. He made this announcement to senior politicians and churchmen on 16 November 1936. Prime Minister *Baldwin, the Cabinet, the Archbishop of Canterbury (Cosmo Lang), and the Dominions' representatives were all vehemently opposed to passing the special legislation necessary, partly on the grounds that marriage to a divorcee would be inconsistent with the King's role as head of the Church of England. One compromise proposed by Edward was a 'morganatic marriage', whereby Wallis Simpson would not acquire his rank: he could become King, but she would not become Queen. This was also rejected by the political and religious leaders. The British press did not cover the crisis until 3 December, by which time the abdication was virtually certain, as the political parties all agreed that the King should accept the advice of his ministers. Edward announced his abdication on 11 December, and was succeeded by his brother *George VI.

Abdul Rahman Putra (Al-Haj Iبنى Al-Marhum Sultan Abdul Hamid Halim Shah), Tunku (b. 8 Feb. 1903, d. 6 Dec. 1990). Prime Minister of Malaya/Malaysia 1957–63, 1963–70

Son of the 24th Sultan of Kedah, he studied at Cambridge and qualified as an English barrister. Upon his return to Malaya in 1931 he entered the civil service, where he continued to work during the Japanese occupation. He co-founded the *United Malays National Organization, and succeeded Dato Onn bin Jafaar (b. 1895, d. 1962) as leader in 1952. Recognizing that independence could only be achieved through cooperation between the various ethnic groups, he organized an alliance with the Malayan Chinese Association, and then the Malayan Indian Congress. Following the alliance's victory in the 1955 elections, he became Chief Minister and Minister for Home Affairs. He negotiated independence, and became Malaya's first Prime Minister.

In 1962–3 he presided over the formation of the Federation of Malaysia, which he led as Prime Minister, successfully securing the support of both the Chinese and the Indian communities through pragmatic compromise. During the general elections in May 1969 there were widespread ethnic riots in the capital between Chinese and Malays. Faced with the breakdown of his attempt to rule on the basis of harmonious

Chinese–Malay relations, he resigned in January 1970. Through active political journalism he remained an influential figure in Malaysia during the years of his retirement.

Abdullah Bin-Abd-al-Aziz Al Saud

(b. 1926). King of Saudi Arabia 2005–
Born in Riyadh as the son of *Abd-al Aziz ibn Saud, he was educated at the court. In 1962 he became commander of the National Guard, and in 1982 he became Crown Prince to King *Fahd. When Fahd suffered a stroke in 1995, he became Saudi Arabia's regent in all but name. He led a drive against corruption, though his greatest challenge came in 2001, when Osama *Bin Laden, who had received Saudi funding, attacked the US on *September 11. Although an ally of the USA, he did not allow the US to engage in the *Iraq War from Saudi Arabian soil. Since then, he has steered a difficult course. Cracking down on Islamic terrorists received little public support in a country infused with conservative Islamic views.

Abdullah ibn Hussein (b. 1880, d. 20 July 1951). Emir of Transjordan 1921–48, King of Transjordan/Jordan 1948–51

Son of *Hussein ibn Ali, Sherif of Mecca, with his brother *Faisal he led the *Arab Revolt of 1916. In 1921 he was made Emir of the province of Transjordan, a territory created by the *Sykes–Picot Agreement and made a British protectorate in 1923. He spent the next decades creating a sense of identity and unity in his quite arbitrarily defined kingdom, establishing state institutions such as a parliament, a constitution, and a police force through the creation of the *Arab Legion. He became King upon his country's independence from Britain in 1948. During the first Arab–Israeli War (1948–9), he used the Arab Legion to occupy the *West Bank and East Jerusalem, which he united with Transjordan as the *Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in 1950. After he engaged in secret negotiations with Israel, he was assassinated by an Arab nationalist.

Abdullah II bin Al Hussein (b. 30 Jan. 1962). King of Jordan 1999–

Born in Amman, he was the oldest son of King *Hussein and his second, English-born wife. Educated at Sandhurst, he studied at Oxford and Georgetown University before joining the Jordanian army, where in 1994 he became the commanding officer of its elite troops. In January 1999 he was appointed Crown Prince, at the expense of his uncle, who had held that position for over 30 years. His father died two weeks later, and on 7 February he became

King. Although relatively inexperienced, his army background and support proved to be a major asset as Abdullah established himself both as the leader of the royal family and within the population at large. He continued his father's policy of promoting the peace process in the Middle East. He also tried to introduce economic liberalization without offending too many entrenched interests whose anger might endanger Jordan's stability.

Abe, Shinzo (b. 1954). Prime Minister of Japan 2006–

Born in Nagato as the grandson of Prime Minister Nobusuke *Kishi, he graduated in political sciences from Seikei University and took up a position at Kobe Steel Company. He became an assistant to his father, Shintaro Abe, at the Foreign Ministry in 1982, and in 1993 he entered the House of Representatives for the *Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). In 2003, he became Secretary General of the LDP, and in 2005 *Koizumi appointed him to the pivotal role of Chief Cabinet Secretary. Abe succeeded Koizumi to become Japan's youngest Prime Minister since World War II. Abe was less adept at dealing with his ministers and the party establishment. He also suffered from a scandal over pensions, and was weakened by the party's disastrous showing in the 2007 elections to the upper house.

Abiola, Moshood Kashimawo Olawale (b. 24 Aug. 1937, d. 7 July 1998).

Nigerian politician

Born in Abeokuta of the Yoruba people, he studied at the University of Glasgow (1961–3) before becoming a business manager, advancing to become vice-president of IIT Africa and Middle East, as well as chairperson of IIT Nigeria, 1971–88. He joined the social democratic National Party of Nigeria (NPN) in 1979 and became its chairman in his home state of Ogun. He was chosen to contest the 1993 presidential elections against *Babangida. When his victory was clear, the military government annulled the elections and imprisoned him. He died of heart failure days before he was to be released from prison under a compromise negotiated by the *UN.

Abkhazia

A Caucasian territory which was part of the Soviet Union as an Autonomous Soviet Republic within Georgia. In April 1991 it became part of the independent Republic of Georgia, against the will of the Muslim Abkhazian population (17.8 per cent of the total population) and its Russian minority (14.3 per cent). Helped by a contingent of

Muslim volunteers from neighbouring autonomous Russian republics such as *Chechnya, the rebels managed to repel the Georgian troops, weakened already by civil war. Georgia had to concede defeat, and negotiations focused on extensive autonomy for a territory over which Georgia had lost all control. Negotiations between the Abkhazian government and Georgia proved futile, and a fragile peace was supervised at the border by *UN observers and Russian troops. In 2006, the self-declared president of Abkhazia, Sergei Bagapsh, demanded that Georgia accept Abkhazia's independence, which was backed by Russia.

Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders (Australia)

The original inhabitants of Australia, whose existence there is thought to go back some 40,000 years. They were semi-nomadic hunters whose value systems included common use, and a spiritual appreciation of the land. Their population is estimated to have been between 300,000 and 700,000 before White settlement began in 1788. Aborigines were quickly reduced in numbers, owing to loss of land (and water resources), adoption of European habits such as drinking alcohol, diseases against which they had not developed immunity (smallpox, influenza, etc.), and a declining birth rate. Moreover, violence between Europeans and Aborigines also led to the death of around 2,500 Whites and 20,000 Aborigines. By the early twentieth century their numbers had diminished to less than 50,000. During the 1930s, sparked off by celebrations of the 150th anniversary of the first European settlements, campaigns developed for an end to social and legal discrimination against Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders. Campaigners also demanded targeted government aid in areas of health, education, and employment. Official policy changed in the 1950s. Rather than segregating Aboriginal groups from the rest of society the government attempted to integrate them. In the following decade, Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders began to emphasize their right to assimilate themselves while maintaining their own culture. In 1967, they were granted full citizenship, and 90 per cent of (White) Australians voted in a referendum to transfer responsibility for Aboriginal affairs from the individual states to the federal government.

Since 1972, land has been returned to the Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, in central Australia and the Torres Straits respectively. In the central issue of *land claims as in other matters, the federal

government usually spearheaded action on behalf of Aboriginal rights, often against fierce resistance from the individual states unwilling to concede jurisdiction over their territory. Their claims for land titles were recognized for the first time in 1992, and in 1994 they were promised considerable ownership of land. The number of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders had risen to 410,000 (4.5 per cent of the overall population) in 2001. Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders continued to be the most disadvantaged section of Australian society, making up almost 20 per cent of the prison population. In 2001, life expectancy was 18 years below that of Australian Whites, average income was at 62 per cent of Whites, and their unemployment rate constituted three times the national average. Their protests against continued discrimination in public life were championed by the Australian *Labour Party. However, under John *Howard the government was much less sympathetic towards specific indigenous claims. Howard abolished a specialized government agency dealing with indigenous affairs, and refused to sign a public treaty of reconciliation which contained an apology for land appropriations.

SEE WEB LINKS

- Official statistical information relating to Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders.

abortion

The premature termination of pregnancy by removal of the foetus from the womb. It has been strongly opposed by many religions which emphasize the sanctity of human life from the day of conception. By contrast, its legalization has been demanded by 'pro-choice' groups which stress each individual mother's right to choose whether or not to proceed with a pregnancy. The issue of abortion has become a touchstone for the influence of religion in the state. Abortion is still illegal in Arab countries, where *Islam is the state religion, and in Ireland, where the influence of the Roman *Catholic Church is still strong.

The issue has been particularly divisive where the relationship between religion and the state has been ambiguous, if not in theory, then in practice. It has been a crucial issue in countries such as Poland, which has sought to redefine the role of the Catholic Church in state and society after the collapse of communism in 1989. In Germany, five years after reunification (1995), laws were drawn up which amounted to a compromise between a more religiously observant western half and a completely secularized eastern half. In the USA, a Supreme Court judgment,

**Roe v. Wade* of 1973, ruled in favour of a 'right to choose' as an implied constitutional 'right to privacy'. However, the problem has continued to polarize society between Roman Catholics and fundamentalist Christians on the one hand and 'pro-choice' groups on the other. Christian groups have become increasingly influential in the *Republican Party, while pro-choice advocates have been largely reliant on the *Democratic Party for the defence of the present system. Abortion has become a central issue in US politics.

By contrast, in more secularized societies the subject causes only sporadic controversy. Within the European Union, Spain and Ireland do not allow abortion unless the mother's health is at risk, while Portugal has voted in a referendum to relax its ban on abortion in 2007. Apart from that, most EU countries allow abortion for up to 12–14 weeks after conception. In the Netherlands, abortion is legal for up to 24 weeks after conception, and in Britain, abortion has been allowed for up to 24 weeks after conception (reduced from 28 in 1990) on social or medical grounds.

Abu Dhabi, see UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

Abyssinian War (1935–6)

The conquest of Ethiopia (formerly Abyssinia) by Italian forces was born out of *Mussolini's desire to strengthen his domestic position through the establishment of an Italian East African Empire. Mussolini also wanted to avenge Italy for its previous humiliating defeat by the Ethiopian forces at Adowa in 1896 during an earlier attempt to occupy the area. Following a border clash at the Abyssinian oasis of Walwal, Mussolini rejected all attempts by the *League of Nations to mediate, and invaded Abyssinia on 2 October 1935. Some six months later, the ill-equipped Ethiopian army succumbed to the Italian use of airforce, tanks, and poison gas, and on 5 May 1936 *Badoglio captured the capital, Addis Ababa. The Italian aggression caused international outrage, but the inability of the League of Nations to agree to more than limited sanctions against Italy demonstrated the essential ineffectiveness of the League as well as the concept of *appeasement. The war also exposed some serious deficiencies in the Italian army, which were largely ignored by Mussolini and others who were deluded by the fact of the victory.

Acheson, Dean Gooderham (b. 11 Apr. 1893, d. 12 Oct. 1971). US Secretary of State 1949–53

Born in Middletown, Connecticut, he was educated at Yale and Harvard Law School. He

served as a personal assistant to *Supreme Court Justice Louis *Brandeis between 1918 and 1921, and built a successful New York law practice thereafter. Having briefly served as Under-Secretary of the Treasury in 1933, he became Assistant Secretary of State for economic affairs for President F. D. *Roosevelt in 1941. In 1944 Acheson became a key figure in promoting the establishment of the *Bretton Woods conference. As Under-Secretary for President *Truman (1945–7), he urged international control of atomic power in the Acheson–Lilienthal Report of 1946. He helped formulate the *Truman Doctrine of US support for nations threatened by *Communism, and was instrumental in creating the *Marshall Plan.

As Secretary of State Acheson helped in the creation of *NATO, but he was criticized by Republicans in *Congress for what they regarded as his failure to pursue a more vigorously anti-Communist policy in China; and his policy towards South Korea was seen as having invited the North Korean offensive in 1950. He was a strong supporter of the French in *Indochina and of the Republic of China in Taiwan. In 1961, he once again became an important influence on US foreign policy as an adviser to President *Kennedy. In 1967–8, he became opposed to the *Vietnam War despite his earlier staunch support, and called publicly upon President *Johnson to end it. His memoirs, *Present at the Creation*, won the 1970 Pulitzer Prize in history.

Action Française

A French ultra-right-wing movement with traits of *Fascism co-founded by *Maurras at the height of the *Dreyfus Affair in 1898. The movement's newspaper (1908–44) carried the same name. Its parliamentary representation remained relatively weak, but it became very influential in that it made anti-republicanism and *anti-Semitism respectable in intellectual circles. Banned in 1936, from 1940 most of its members supported the *Vichy government.

FASCISM

Adams, Gerard (Gerry) (b. 6 Oct. 1948).

Republican politician in Northern Ireland. Born and educated in Belfast, he worked as a bar manager, and joined the Republican movement in 1964. He was imprisoned twice (1971, 1978) on suspicion of being a leader of the *IRA, but both times was released on grounds of insufficient evidence. He was successively elected to parliament for *Sinn Féin (1983–92), but never took up his seat in the House of Commons, since he objected in principle to British rule in *Northern Ireland. He became President of the party in

1984. In 1988 and 1993, he held meetings with *Hume to discuss proposals for talks on the future of Northern Ireland. He came to appreciate that, after conducting a terrorist campaign for more than 20 years, the IRA had not come closer to fulfilling its aim of a British withdrawal from Northern Ireland. After a flurry of secret negotiations with British government representatives, he persuaded the IRA to announce a ceasefire, in order to meet the British condition of a renunciation of violence before negotiations. In consequence, he acquired a pivotal role as a spokesman for the nationalist Catholic community—a role which was recognized on 17 March 1995, when he met US President *Clinton in Washington. Following a breakdown of negotiations, the ceasefire was resumed in 1997, and a compromise was reached at the *Good Friday Agreement. He was elected to the Northern Ireland Assembly, whereupon he became one of two Sinn Féin members of the Northern Ireland executive. Upon the suspension of the Assembly in 2002, Adams continued to work for peace, convincing the IRA to destroy its weapons. According to international monitors, this process was completed in 2006, which removed a major obstacle to the peace process. Despite this, the continued hostility of radical Protestant leaders such as Ian *Paisley meant that he was represented in the talks leading to the *St Andrews Agreement by his deputy, Martin McGuinness. Nevertheless, boosted by steady growth in the political support of his party, Adams continued as the leading figure of Sinn Féin and the IRA.

Adams, Sir Grantley Herbert (b. 28 Apr. 1898, d. 28 Nov. 1971). Leader of Barbados 1946–58, and of the Federation of the West Indies 1958–62

Educated in Barbados, he studied at Oxford University, became a lawyer, and returned to Barbados in 1925. Elected to the House of Assembly in 1934, he co-founded the Barbados Labour Party (BLP) in 1938. As leader of the government (1946–58) he agitated for full internal self-government, which was granted in 1958. He also supported the creation of the short-lived Federation of the *West Indies, whose only Prime Minister he became. He spent the remaining years of his life as leader of the BLP in opposition. He was knighted in 1967.

Addams, Jane Laura (b. 6 Sept. 1860, d. 21 May 1935). US social reformer. Born in Mayesville, South Carolina, she graduated from Rockford College in 1881.

With her friend Ellen Gates Starr, she opened Hull House in Chicago in 1889, a settlement house for immigrants and workers modelled on *Toynbee Hall in London, with the aim of attacking urban poverty. One of the leading activists of the *Progressive movement, she was a pioneer in the new discipline of sociology, advocating better labour and housing conditions, and campaigning for child labour regulation by law. She later had considerable influence over the planning of neighbourhood welfare institutions throughout the USA. As part of her commitment to social reform, Addams was a prohibitionist and fought against gambling and prostitution. She became a leading figure in the women's suffrage movement, and promoted the influence of women in high political circles. Addams pursued her goal of political equality also by becoming a leading member of the *NAACP in 1909. During World War I, her activism for pacifism grew, and in 1919 she helped to found the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. In 1931, she became the first American Woman to receive the *Nobel Peace Prize.

Adenauer, Konrad (b. 5 Jan. 1876, d. 19 Apr. 1967). Chancellor of West Germany 1949–63

Early career Born in Cologne, he joined the *Centre Party in 1906, and was Lord Mayor of Cologne 1917–33. Deposed by the *Nazis, he was reinstated by the American administration in 1945, though the British soon discharged him for 'incompetence'. Elected *CDU leader in the British Zone in 1946, he was elected chairman of the parliamentary council which drafted the Constitution in 1948. Adenauer was narrowly elected Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) in 1949, but won the subsequent elections of 1953, 1957, and 1961 with a handsome majority.

Foreign policy At a time when the majority of Germans sought reunification with the German Democratic Republic (GDR: East Germany) as their first priority, Adenauer pursued the goal of Western integration, even if that made unification less likely in the short run. For this reason, Adenauer accepted the *Schuman Plan which led to the *ECSC, and he supported the creation of the *European Defence Community even if this entailed the rejection of the *Stalin Note. In a crucial further concession to France, Adenauer agreed to the *Saarland referendum held in 1955. In that year, full sovereignty was finally achieved, and West Germany was admitted into *NATO.

The culmination of his policy of reconciliation with France came in the Franco-German friendship treaty of 22 January 1963. This signalled the start of a 'special' relationship between the two countries, e.g. through cultural exchanges and regular, twice-yearly consultations between the French President and German Chancellor. A further milestone of Adenauer's policies of normalization came in 1955, when in a visit to Moscow he negotiated the release of the remaining 10,000 German prisoners of war, and the initiation of diplomatic relations with the USSR. Through the *Restitution Agreement he initiated the beginning of a long process of reconciliation between Germans and Jews.

Domestic policy These successes abroad were complemented by dramatic achievements in domestic policy. The Equalizations of Burdens Act provided compensation for those who had lost their possessions in the war, especially the German immigrants from the East. This contributed inestimably to reducing tensions between Germans who had been affected by the war in very different ways. Adenauer also reaped the rewards of Germany's rapid economic recovery which set in with the start of the *Korean War, and which were greatly helped by the liberal policies of his Finance Minister, *Erhardt. Perhaps his most popular measure was the introduction of a generous pension scheme, just ahead of the 1957 elections.

Adenauer was increasingly criticized for his autocratic and obstinate style of leadership. This had been crucial in the first years of government, but was increasingly out of place by the early 1960s. He was thus forced to resign by his coalition partners, the *Liberal Party. Through his successful policies, Adenauer integrated a heterogeneous population, and integrated many former *Nazi adherents into the democratic process. In this way, he created the conditions for the establishment of the first successful democracy on German soil.

affirmative action (USA)

Initiated as US government policy by President *Johnson in 1965, when he created the Office of Federal Contract Compliance and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Through these bureaus, affirmative action was designed to reduce social inequalities in US society by requiring all federal government contractors as well as public institutions to give consideration to racial minorities and, from 1971, to women. In 1978 the policy was given an ambiguous verdict by the *Supreme Court in *Bakke v. University of California*. The court confirmed the

policy as constitutional while deciding at the same time that the use of quotas to favour minorities violated the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which secured the citizens' equal protection before the law. In the case of *United Steel Workers of America v. Weber* (1979), the Supreme Court went further by deciding that in training programmes, preference to Blacks could be given as long as this did not bar Whites from advancement.

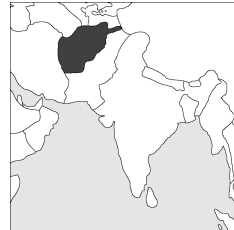
During the 1980s and particularly the 1990s, popular opposition to affirmative action increased, and was reflected in a series of Supreme Court rulings in the mid-1990s which limited or narrowed its scope. In 1996, California voters adopted Proposition 209, which abolished any preference in its hiring policies on the basis of race, sex, colour, ethnicity, or national origin. In response, employers such as the University of California, which had always been at the forefront of affirmative action, introduced a new system of admission based on 'comprehensive review'. This took into account a candidate's educational opportunities at high school, and in this way employed more sensitive measures of discrimination ensuring continuous above-average access to minorities candidates.

In *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003), the Supreme Court confirmed that race and ethnicity could be one of a number of criteria in deciding on university admissions, though it forbade universities, in this case the University of Michigan, to apply a rigid points system. Under the presidency of George W. *Bush, the attorney general has put considerable pressure on individual universities to withdraw affirmative action programmes.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACTS (US); CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Afghanistan

A poor, mountainous central Asian country which has struggled to find stability, between persistent interference from outside powers on the one hand, and the domestic religiousness of the population which opposed the formation of a secular state on the other.



Early history (up to 1919) In the nineteenth century, Afghanistan managed to maintain its independence largely because of its strategic

importance between an expanding Russian Empire and a *British Empire keen to preserve its dominance over, and extend its control beyond, the Indian subcontinent. In 1879 Afghanistan was forced to concede nominal British sovereignty, though Britain never exerted much control over its internal affairs, which continued to be dominated by the relationship between its ethnically and religiously heterogeneous social groups.

Monarchical rule (1919–73) With the country formally independent from 1919, King Amanullah introduced a number of reforms designed to introduce Western norms and practices into a traditional, Islamic society. Islamic dress was forbidden in favour of European dress, polygamy abolished, and universal education for men and women introduced. This caused enormous resistance and he was forced to abdicate in 1929. He was succeeded by Nadir Shah and, in 1933, his son Zahir Shah. They reversed many of their predecessor's reforms, and shied away from any attempt at social or economic change.

Zahir Shah entangled his country in tense relations with the newly founded state of Pakistan in 1947, when he claimed the Pathan state from Pakistan. In the tradition of his predecessors, Zahir Shah used the country's geopolitical position to maximum benefit, this time to attract large-scale foreign aid from the Soviet Union and the USA during the *Cold War without giving any reciprocal commitments. He ruled with the help of his cousin General Mohammad Daoud as Prime Minister (1953–63), and in 1964 transformed the country into a constitutional monarchy, with the first elections being held in 1965.

Political and civil unrest (1973–2002) On 19 July 1973, when Shah was abroad, Daoud asserted full control, deposed the King, and declared Afghanistan a republic, with himself as President. He nationalized a number of industries, a measure which alienated important sections of the community. He failed to establish a permanent political base, and was deposed on 27 April 1978 by a Communist 'Armed Forces Revolutionary Council' (Khalq). Daoud was assassinated and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan proclaimed. The new regime suffered from considerable infighting, until the accession to power of Babrak Kemal in 1979. The failure of Kemal's new regime to establish its authority quickly, and the unpopularity of its Communist, secular reforms, led to the eruption of the tension that had been building up for some time.

Anarchy was subdued by the invasion of the Soviet army in December, at Kemal's request. This gave the diverse groups, ranging from *Islamic fundamentalists, the *mujahidin,

and tribal factions, to intellectuals, a common enemy. Helped by the country's rugged terrain, and especially by large military aid from Pakistan, Arab states, and, above all, the USA, the oppositional groups managed to sustain the war until the USSR pulled its troops out in 1989. Out of a population of around thirteen million in 1979, one million are estimated to have died in the civil war, with almost five million becoming refugees (around one million within the country, over two million into Pakistan, and over one million into Iran).

Kemal was replaced with the more conciliatory Mohammad Najibulla (b. 1947, d. 1996) in 1987, but he failed to gain the necessary endorsement from the mujahidin, and retired in 1992. The mujahidin's victory over their opponents exposed their own divisions, leading to a state of complete anarchy. In 1993 a new group emerged, the *Taliban. Supported by Pakistan, they aimed to erect a theocratic state based on *Islamic law. They pushed back the major mujahidin faction, the *Northern Alliance, until they controlled four-fifths of the territory in 1999. Although slighted by the international community, the Taliban regime supported itself through the drugs trade, as three-quarters of all opium was harvested in Afghanistan.

Contemporary politics (since 2002) The Taliban developed close connections to Osama *Bin Laden, whose *Al-Qaeda network helped support the regime while using Afghanistan as a training ground for terrorist activities in return. Following the *September 11 attacks, and the subsequent refusal of the Taliban to extradite Bin Laden, Taliban fighters were attacked by the US from the air. After weeks of bombardment, Taliban rule imploded, and opposition movements took control over the entire country.

The US supported a new government headed by Hamid *Karzai. Karzai was unable to impose his authority over the regions, which continued to be controlled by opposing warlords. This allowed al-Qaeda and Taliban forces to reestablish their presence in the remote south of the country. Within Kabul, Karzai's authority was protected by a multinational UN force of around 5,000 troops. In January 2004, the tribal grand council approved a constitution which declared Afghanistan an 'Islamic Republic'. Owing to *Taliban resurgence in the south, *NATO forces became increasingly active, taking over command of military operations in 2006.

AFL (American Federation of Labor)

A confederation of so-called 'craft' unions to represent skilled trades, founded in 1886 after

mass disorders culminating in the Haymarket Square riot in Chicago. From its formation until his retirement in 1924 the AFL was decisively shaped by its President, Samuel Gompers, who stood for 'pure and simple' unionism. He summed up his approach simply with one word, 'More'. He wanted a pragmatic organization of skilled workers committed to collective bargaining for better wages and conditions. The AFL reflected this, as each of the Federation's thirteen craft unions was self-governing and extended membership only to skilled workers. The growing numbers of semi-skilled workers in mass-production industries who were outside the AFL's definition of craft at first found their champion in John L. Lewis, leader of the more militant United Mine Workers.

When Lewis failed to convince the AFL of the need to promote industry-wide unions in steel, automobiles, and chemicals, he formed (1936) the **Committee (later Congress) of Industrial Organizations (CIO)**, its members seceding from the AFL. In 1955 these two rival organizations were reconciled as the AFL-CIO under George Meany and Walter Reuther. The Teamsters were expelled from the new organization in 1957. In 1968, the United Auto Workers under Reuther seceded; they were brought back in 1981, and six years later the Teamsters rejoined. With fifty-four affiliated trade unions and ten million members in 2007, it remained the recognized voice of organized labour in the USA, although in common with the rest of the industrial world, trade union membership had declined sharply from the 1960s.

 **SEE WEB LINKS**

- The official home page of the AFL-CIO.

Afraq, Michel (b. 1910, d. 23 June 1989). Arab nationalist politician
Born in Damascus (Syria) as a Greek Orthodox Christian, he became a schoolteacher. In the 1930s, he developed the idea of Arab unity, which would be free from foreign (especially Western capitalist) influence. To this end, in 1943, together with Salah-al-Din al-Bitar, he founded the Ba'ath (Arab Renaissance) Party. After an unsuccessful career in Syrian politics, in 1953 his party merged with the Arab Socialist Party to form the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party. In 1959, he published *In the Ways of the Ba'ath*, which outlined the movement's ideology, now with strongly anti-Zionist overtones. The movement staged successful coups in Syria (1963) and Iraq (1969), but these Ba'athist regimes were more interested in the maintenance of their own power than in Arab unity.

PAN-ARABISM

African National Congress, see ANC

African Union (AU)

An international organization founded as the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on 25 May 1963 in Addis Ababa. It currently comprises fifty-three African states. Morocco left the OAU in 1984, in response to the OAU's recognition of Sahara as being represented by the Saharan freedom movement POLISARIO. The aim of the OAU was to further African cooperation and solidarity, oppose all forms of colonialism and apartheid, and defend human rights. However, it operated on the principle of non-intervention in its members' domestic affairs, so that it became relatively ineffective. At the Lomé Summit in 2000, the OAU decided to transform itself into a more effective African Union, which was accomplished at the Durban Summit in 2002. With a structure loosely modelled on the EU, the AU is ruled by an Assembly made up of Heads of States. This is assisted by a Commission as well as permanent representatives of the nations. It envisaged setting up a pan-African parliament, as well as an African Court of Justice, as well as a common currency. Due to the continuing heterogeneity, it was doubtful whether the AU's more ambitious goals could succeed. The AU has become important almost immediately, however, as it authorized forces to act as peacekeepers in Burundi and Sudan.

PAN-AFRICANISM

 **SEE WEB LINKS**

- The AU's home page.

Afrikaner

A term originally used to describe a person born in South Africa rather than Europe; in the twentieth century it was used to denote a White person whose first language was Afrikaans. Afrikaners descended largely from the Boers ('farmers'), mostly Dutch, but also French and Germans who immigrated before the advent of British rule in the Cape, 1806. While a minority assimilated, many retained their distinct culture, their Calvinist (Dutch Reformed) faith, and their language, which became more and more distinct from written Dutch. Afrikaner identity was emphasized by the emergence of Afrikaner nationalism. This was partly a response to the development of Afrikaans into a written language towards the end of the nineteenth century, partly to the British occupation of the Transvaal in 1879-85, and partly to the South African War (1899-1902), when the Afrikaner states (the Transvaal and the Orange Free State) were annexed by the British.

Afrikaner political identity was formed and expressed by the *National Party (NP) and the *Afrikanerbond. It was further strengthened by general approval of *apartheid, which was partly inspired by a sense of religious destiny. Although Afrikaners could muster only a little more than 50 per cent of the White population, they managed to dominate South African politics and society after 1948 through a much clearer sense of unity and cultural identity than non-Afrikaners. This unity came under strain as pressures to change the apartheid system grew during the 1980s, leading to the formation, for instance, of the *Conservative Party. Afrikaner culture and values were challenged even further by the end of apartheid. Following the establishment of a multi-racial democracy in 1994, Afrikaans became only one of eleven officially recognized South African cultures. The Afrikaner community was weakened further by emigration of some of its wealthiest members, as around 20,000, mostly Whites, left the country in the year 2000 alone.

Afrikanerbond

A South African organization founded as the secret Afrikaner Broederbond (Brotherhood) designed to promote *Afrikaner interests. Originally established in 1918 as a cultural organization under the name of Jong Suid-Afrika (Young South Africa), it established an effective public front to further its interests in 1929, the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (Federation of Afrikaner Cultural Organizations). Increasingly political, it sought to achieve its aims through the growing *National Party (NP), despite the hostility of *Hertzog and *Smuts, who forbade state employees to join. *Malan's acceptance of its influential support played a significant part in uniting Afrikaner opinion behind him, which led to his surprise election victory in 1948. Thereafter, every NP leader (and South African premier until 1992) was a member, which ensured its success within the top ranks of the *apartheid state. Following the end of apartheid, it changed its name in 1994, and opened up its membership to all races and to women. The purpose of the Afrikanerbond was now to defend a political minority, the Afrikaners and their cultural values, in a multicultural South Africa dominated by the *ANC.



SEE WEB LINKS

- The home page of the Afrikanerbond.

Agadir

A port in Morocco which became the focus of the **second Moroccan crisis** (July-

November 1911). In response to the French occupation of the Moroccan city of Fez, which broke the agreement over Moroccan neutrality reached after the first *Moroccan Crisis, a German gunboat, the *Panther*, was sent to *Agadir, ostensibly to protect German commercial interests in Morocco. In practice, the '**Panther's Leap**' amounted to a German appeal to be taken seriously as a colonial power in a period that marked the high noon of *imperialism. Ultimately, the Germans agreed to recognize Morocco as a sphere of French influence, in return for French territorial concessions in the Congo (added to the German colony of Cameroon). It marked a further milestone in the build-up of the international tensions that precipitated World War I. More specifically, it convinced the British of German naval aggression and the resulting direct threat to the *British Empire.

Aguinaldo, Emilio (b. 23 Mar. 1869, d. 6 Feb. 1964). Founder of the Philippine Republic

Born in Cavite, he studied at the Colegio de San Juan de Letran. He became hostile to Spanish rule, and after leading a successful attack on a Spanish garrison at the outbreak of the revolution against Spain (1896–7), he became acknowledged as one of the nationalist leaders. As such, he was elected president of the revolutionary government. When this was defeated by the Spanish and he was forced into exile, he accepted US help, and in 1898 returned to found the Philippine Republic on 23 January 1900. He turned against the US forces, who soon defeated him and made him swear allegiance to the USA, an act which marked the decline of the Filipino resistance movement. He retired into private life, though in 1935 he stood unsuccessfully for President. Accused in 1945 of collaboration with the Japanese in World War II, he was arrested but never went on trial. On his release he was appointed a member of the Philippines Council of State, and devoted the rest of his life to improving US–Philippines relations.

Ahern, Bartholomew Patrick ('Bertie')

(b. 12 Sept. 1951). Prime Minister of Ireland 1997–

Born in Dublin, he studied in Dublin and at the London School of Economics and became an accountant. He entered the Dáil Éireann (parliament) in 1978, and in 1986 he became Lord Mayor of Dublin. He was the Minister of Finance from 1991, but following the resignation of Charles Haughey he lost the leadership contest of *Fianna Fáil against Albert *Reynolds. He succeeded Reynolds as