



Freedom in the World 2002

Liberty's Expansion in a Turbulent World

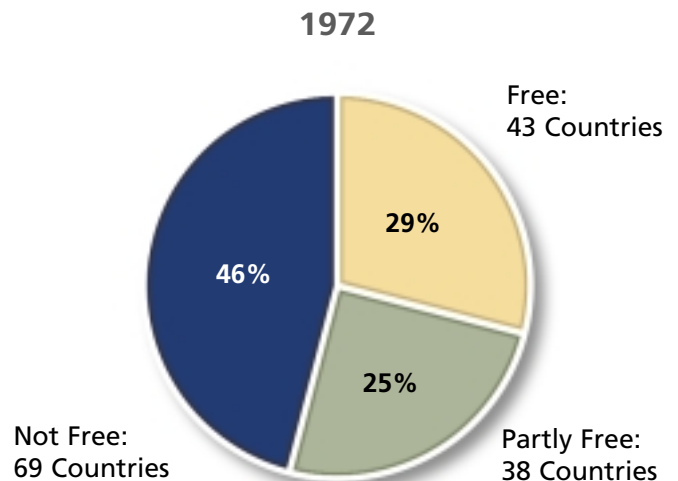
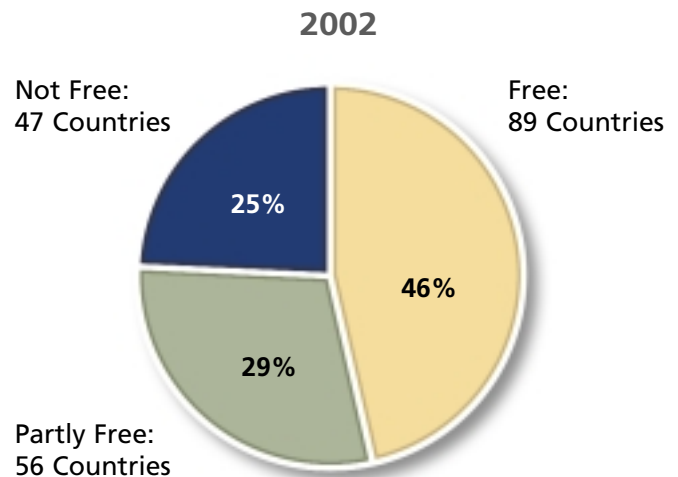
The Freedom House Survey Team

THE YEAR'S TRENDS

In 2002 there were significant gains for freedom around the world. Brazil, Lesotho, and Senegal entered the ranks of Free countries after holding free and fair national elections. Yugoslavia, too, joined the roster of Free countries as a result of the dynamic expansion of independent civic life and the growth of free media since the 2000 electoral defeat of Slobodan Milosevic. Significant progress for freedom was also registered in Bahrain, which saw contested elections for a parliament with limited powers, and Kenya, which saw increased space for opposition political movements. Kenya and Bahrain saw their status improve from Not Free to Partly Free. By contrast, Cote D'Ivoire fell from Partly Free to Not Free after a military revolt plunged the country into violent civil war

As a result of these developments, as 2002 draws to a close, there are 89 Free countries in which there is broad scope for open political competition, a climate of respect for civil liberties, significant independent civic life, and independent media. The number of Free countries has increased by four in the last year, meaning that both the number of Free countries and their proportion (46 percent) are the highest in the history of the survey. This represents 2.659 billion people and 43.63 percent of the global population. There are 56 Partly Free countries in which there is limited respect for political rights and civil liberties, a decrease of three. These states also suffer from an environment of corruption, weak

Status of Freedom in the World



rule of law, ethnic and religious strife, and often a setting in which a single political party enjoys dominance despite the façade of limited pluralism. Approximately 21.04 percent of the world's population, 1.281 billion persons, lives in such Partly Free societies. There are 2.153 billion people (35.33 percent of the global population) living in 47 Not Free countries, where basic political rights are absent and basic civil liberties are widely and systematically denied, a decline of one from the previous year.

2002: ADVANCES FOR FREEDOM OUTPACE REVERSALS BY A MARGIN OF THREE-TO-ONE

Additionally, this year 23 countries have registered significant positive trends in the expansion of political rights and/or civil liberties without changing categories, while only 10 countries have seen an erosion of political rights and/or civil liberties. Taken together, category changes and numerical changes registered in the survey yielded upward momentum for 29 countries and regression away from freedom for 11 countries—a margin of nearly three-to-one. Minor adjustments to the survey methodology led to upward trends in 12 additional countries and to downward trends in 2 states.

At the same time, the number of electoral democracies held steady at 121 of the world's 192 governments (63 percent)—again the highest number and proportion in the thirty-year record of the survey of freedom. While some electoral democracies continue to have poor human rights records and weak democratic institutions, such states afford considerable space for political opposition movements, provide opposition parties and viewpoints access to the media, and meet the minimum standard of a relatively fair vote count in conditions of ballot secrecy.

The year's trends toward greater freedom have been registered amid the prosecution of a global war on terrorism and amid signs of an increase in the number of coordinated terrorist acts carried out by extremist political movements. On the surface,

the year's positive trends might seem contrary to the expectation that widespread transnational terrorism carried out by international networks and the responses to interdict such political violence would result in a significant erosion of freedoms. According to the current Freedom House survey results, fears that such a trend might emerge have not been justified.

However, it is important to note that most of the year's significant upward momentum for freedom has occurred preponderantly in countries in which the impact of ideological terrorism has thus far been marginal or absent. Additionally, many of the countries confronting transnational terrorism are established democracies with a strong rule of law and have successfully preserved a wide array of personal, political, and civil freedoms that have allowed a high degree of freedom, although a number of counter-terrorism measures have raised civil liberties concerns that bear continued close monitoring.

At the same time, while the Middle East, North Africa, and Central Asia continue to lag behind global trends towards freedom, the survey has registered progress this year in a number of countries with majority Muslim populations, defying some who argue that Islamic religious beliefs are somehow contrary to democratic development. Of the six countries that saw improvements in their freedom rating, two—Bahrain and Senegal—are majority Muslim. Among the 23 countries with significant gains for freedom, five—Afghanistan, Albania, Comoros, Tajikistan, and Turkey—have Islamic majorities.

THIRTY-YEAR TRENDS

This is the 30th anniversary of *Freedom in the World*, the comparative survey of political rights and civil liberties. The survey initiated its comprehensive analysis of global trends in political rights and civil liberties in 1972, just before the start of the third wave of democratization, which is dated by many scholars to the collapse of the Portuguese dictatorship in 1975.

The Global Trend			
	Free	Partly Free	Not Free
1972	43	38	69
1982	54	47	64
1992	75	73	38
2002	89	56	47

The evidence of the ebb and flow of democracy during this thirty-year period indicates dramatic changes in the global political landscape in the expansion of freedom. One important trend over this period is the expansion of sovereign states, which have grown from 150 in 1972 to 192 in 2002. As a result of the collapse of the USSR and Yugoslavia, the bifurcation of states such as Czechoslovakia, and the independence from colonial rule of others, the roster of the world's countries has expanded at the rate of just under one-and-a-half per year.

There has been dramatic progress in the expansion of freedom and democratic governance over the life of the survey. In 1972, there were 43 Free countries, while 38 were Partly Free and 69 were rated Not Free. Today, there are 89 states rated Free by the survey, 56 rated Partly Free and 47 rated Not Free. This means that over the last thirty years, the number of Free countries has more than doubled; the number of Partly Free states has grown by 18, while the number of the most repressive Not Free states has declined by 22. This represents a landmark change in the political landscape of the world.

The trends in broad political status are also reflected in more nuanced trends represented through numerical ratings. Freedom House provides a numerical expression of the state of political rights and civil liberties on a 1 to 7 scale for each, with 1 representing a high degree of compliance with these rights and standards and 7 representing their complete absence, negation, or suppression.

According to this numerical scale, the average political rights rating of the survey has progressed from 4.5 on political rights in 1972 to 3.4 in 2002, and there has been a significant improvement in the average civil liberties rating, which has gone from an average of 4.2 in 1972 to 3.4 in 2002.

The gains in terms of the global population, however, have proved more modest. In 1972, 1.325 billion people (35 percent of the world's population) lived in Free countries with democratic governments and broad compliance with human rights. Today the number of people who live in Free countries has grown to 2.659 billion people, almost 44 percent of the global population. At the same time, the number of people living in Not Free countries has moved from 1.788 billion people to 2.153 billion people. This represents a decline in the proportion of people living under Not Free systems from 47 percent in 1972 to 35 percent of the global population today. It is important to note that of the 2.153 billion people living in Not Free countries, almost 60 percent, or 1.27 billion, live in the People's Republic of China, whose rating over thirty years has edged up from a 7 rating for civil liberties in 1972, the lowest possible rating, to a 6, as a result of the expansion of personal freedoms and free private discussion and the emergence of some significant space for private sector economic activity.

The scale of political progress is particularly dramatic in Latin America, the Asia-Pacific region, and Central and Eastern Europe, where the impact of the third wave of democratization has been acutely felt. Modest though significant progress toward greater political freedom also has been registered in Africa over the life of the survey. At the same time, despite some ferment and several important instances of democratic openings, countries in the Middle East, North Africa, and the former Soviet Union have been far more resistant to democratization and progress toward improved human rights has stagnated. Indeed, the Middle East has seen virtual stagnation in terms of its overall levels of freedom over the last three decades.

Freedom in the World 2002

The population of the world as estimated in mid-2002 is 6.1 billion persons, who reside in 192 sovereign states. The level of political rights and civil liberties as shown comparatively by the Freedom House survey is:

Free: 2,658.5 million (43.63 percent of the world's population) live in 89 of the states.

Partly Free: 1,281.8 million (21.04 percent of the world's population) live in 56 of the states.

Not Free: 2,152.8 million (35.33 percent of the world's population) live in 47 of the states.

A Record of the Survey (population in millions)			
Year	Free	Partly free	Not free
1972	1,324.5 (35.05%)	666.9 (17.65%)	1,787.6 (47.30%)
1982	1,665.1 (36.32%)	918.8 (20.04%)	2,000.2 (43.64%)
1992	1,352.4 (24.83%)	2,403.3 (44.11%)	1,690.4 (31.06%)
1993	1,046.2 (19.00%)	2,224.4 (40.41%)	2,234.6 (40.59%)
1994	1,119.7 (19.97%)	2,243.4 (40.01%)	2,243.9 (40.02%)
1995	1,114.5 (19.55%)	2,365.8 (41.49%)	2,221.2 (38.96%)
1996	1,250.3 (21.67%)	2,260.1 (39.16%)	2,260.6 (39.17%)
1997	1,266.0 (21.71%)	2,281.9 (39.12%)	2,284.6 (39.17%)
1998 (b)	2,354.0 (39.84%)	1,570.6 (26.59%)	1,984.1 (33.58%)
1999	2,324.9 (38.90%)	1,529.0 (25.58%)	2,122.4 (35.51%)
2000	2,465.2 (40.69%)	1,435.8 (23.70%)	2,157.5 (35.61%)
2001	2,500.7 (40.79%)	1,462.9 (23.86%)	2,167.1 (35.35%)
2002	2,658.5 (43.63%)	1,281.8 (21.04%)	2,152.8 (35.33%)

(a) The large shift in the population figure between 1991 and 1992 is due to India's change from Free to Partly Free

(b) The large shift in the population figure between 1998 and 1999 is due to India's change from Partly Free to Free

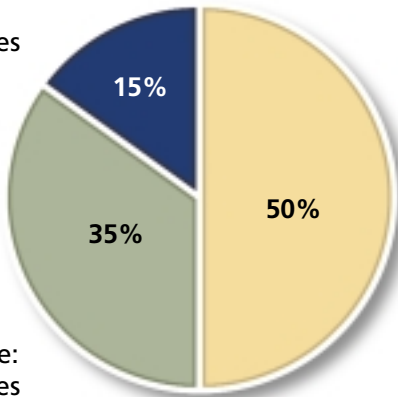
Sources: Population Reference Bureau, except for World Bank Development Index for 1972 and 2002.

In 1972, the Americas and the Caribbean region had 13 Free countries, 9 that were Partly Free, and 4 that were Not Free. The region has experienced a dramatic political change in the last 30 years. Today, there are 23 Free Countries, 10 are Partly Free, and 2 (Haiti and Cuba) are Not Free.

Americas

1972

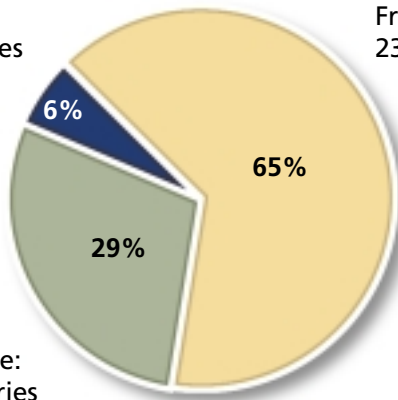
Not Free:
4 Countries



Partly Free:
9 Countries

2002

Not Free:
2 Countries



Partly Free:
10 Countries

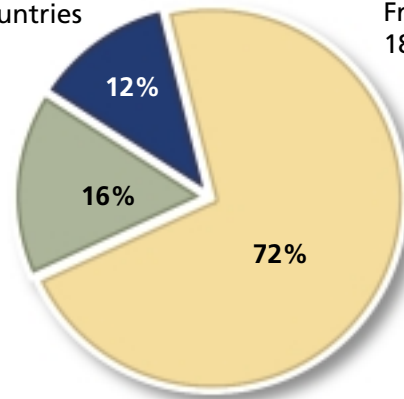
Western Europe

1972

Not Free:
3 Countries

Free:
18 Countries

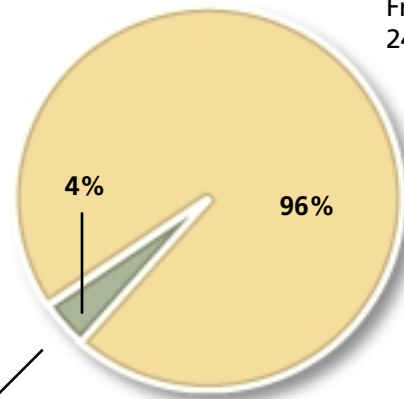
Partly Free:
4 Countries



2002

Free:
24 Countries

Partly Free:
1 Countries

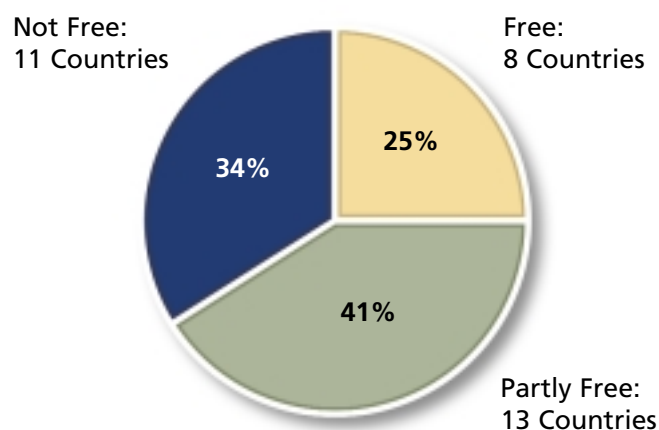


In 1972, Western Europe had 18 Free states, while 4 countries were Partly Free and 3 were Not Free (Portugal, Spain, and Greece). Today, 24 of the European states are rated Free, and only Turkey, which is included in the roster of European states, is rated as Partly Free.

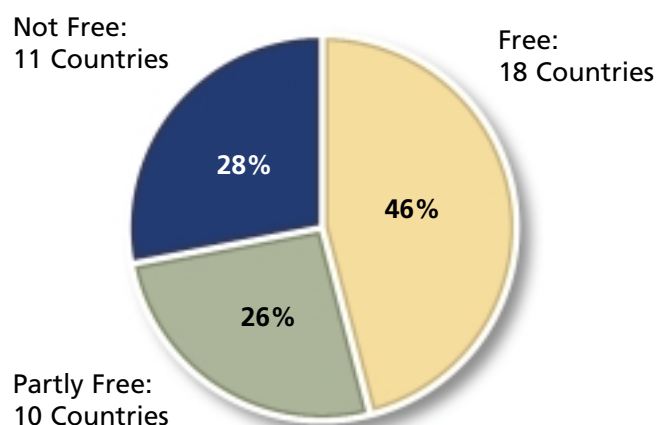
In the Asia-Pacific region, important progress also has been registered. In 1972, less than a third of the region's states, 8, were rated Free, while there were 13 Partly Free countries and 11 Not Free states. Today, there are 18 Free countries, more than a doubling from the number thirty years before, while the numbers of Partly Free and Not Free states are 10 and 11, respectively. This political progress has also been accompanied by impressive rates of economic progress over the last decade in such countries as Taiwan, South Korea, and Thailand, each of which has seen the expansion of political freedoms and civil liberties. This trend has discredited the idea of "Asian values" as representing a specific regional path of authoritarian political and economic development.

Asia Pacific

1972



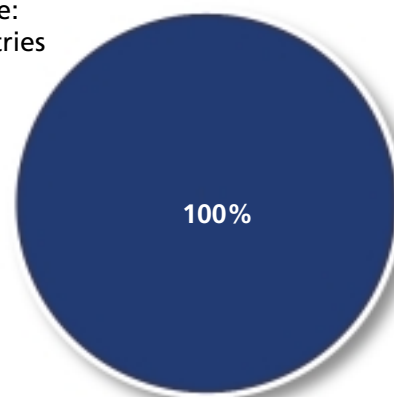
2002



CEE, FSU

1972

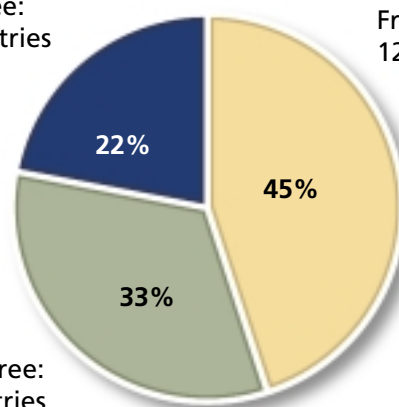
Not Free:
9 Countries



2002

Not Free:
6 Countries

Free:
12 Countries



Partly Free:
9 Countries

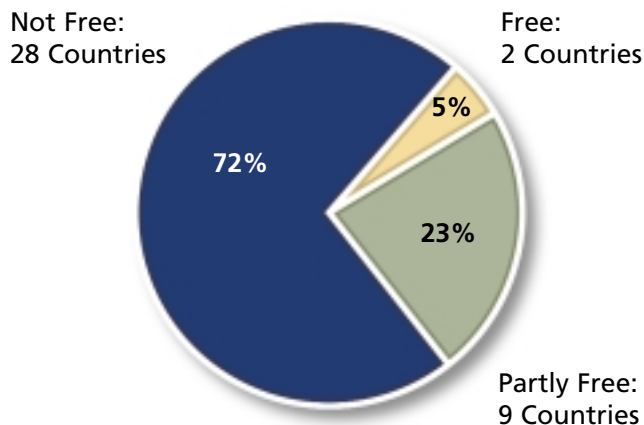
In Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, all nine of the Communist states were Not Free in 1972. With the collapse of the USSR and Yugoslavia, the bifurcation of Czechoslovakia, and the reunification of Germany, today there are 12 Free countries, 9 that are Partly Free, and 6 that are Not Free. However, it is important to note that dramatic progress in terms of rights has been registered primarily in the Central and East European states, where there are 12 Free countries and 3 Partly Free states. By contrast, in the non-Baltic states that emerged from the breakup of the Soviet Union, there are no Free countries, while 6 states are Partly Free and 6 are Not Free. As importantly, the post-Communist countries that

have progressed most significantly in terms of democratization have seen political reforms matched by economic reform and impressive economic growth rates. The significant progress made by these states has been confirmed by their rapid integration into the security and economic structures of Europe and the Euro-Atlantic community.

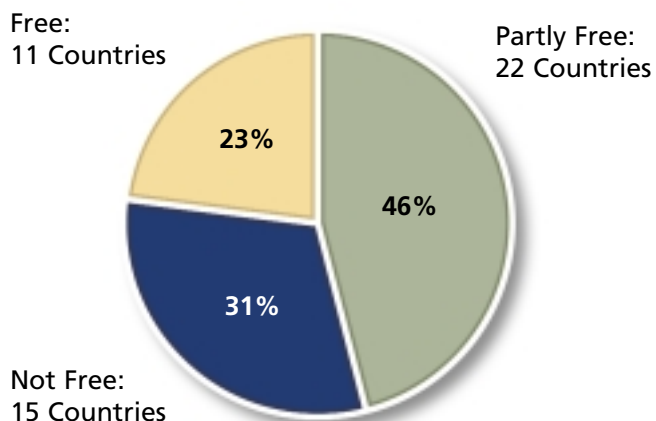
In 1972, there were 2 Free countries in sub-Saharan Africa, while 9 were Partly Free and 28 were Not Free. Today, 11 countries are Free, 22 are Partly Free, and 15 are Not Free. Africa has seen progress in terms of the decline in the number of Not Free countries, although there has been less progress in the number of new entrants into the Free category.

Sub-Saharan Africa

1972

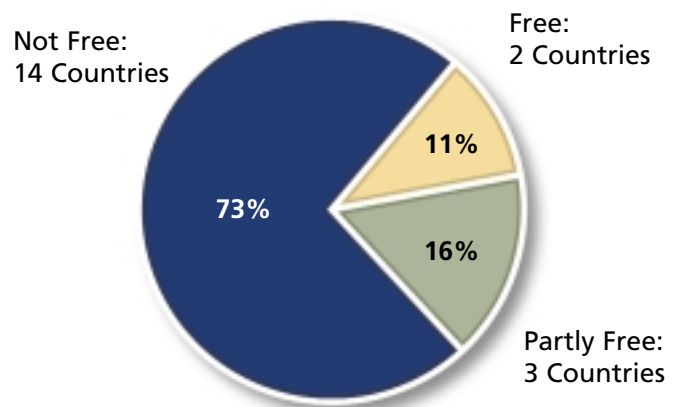


2002

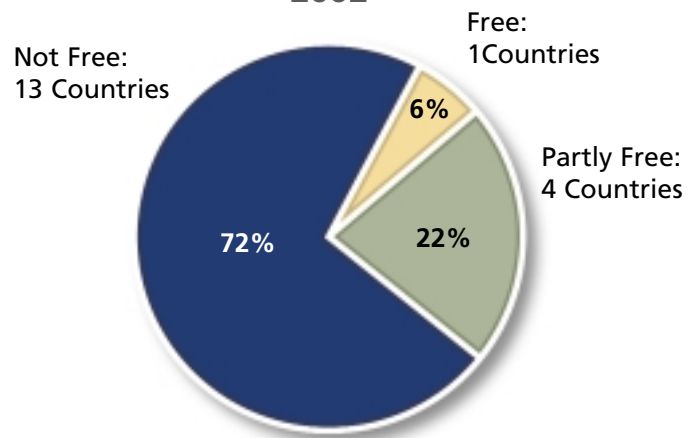


Middle East, North Africa

1972



2002



The region has seen enormous political dynamism and significant instability, with steps forward in some countries often followed by reversals. Nevertheless, the general trend for freedom in sub-Saharan Africa has been positive over the last thirty years.

Among the countries of the Middle East and North Africa, there has been virtually no significant progress toward democratization in the three decades of the survey. In 1972, the survey rated only 2 countries—Israel and Lebanon—as Free, while 3 states were Partly Free and 14 were rated Not Free. Today, Israel remains the region's sole democracy and Free country. There are 4 Partly Free and 13 Not Free states, virtually the same distribution as in 1972.

RELIGION AND POLITICAL CHANGE

In past years the survey has examined the correlations between religions—by tradition and belief—and democratic reform. The survey has found that as a pattern, waves of democratic expansion appear to have moved through cultures and civilizations linked by religious adherence. Social scientists who looked at the political map of the world in the early 1970s were struck by a high degree of correlation between democracy, freedom, and majority Protestant Christian countries. The third wave of democratization—by contrast—showed a high degree of democratic momentum in the majority Catholic world from the mid-1970s to the late 1980s. Thus, as this author has argued in past reviews of trends in freedom in these pages, there is no inherent relationship between adherence to a major religious belief system and one's predisposition or antipathy to democratic values.

That said, the survey analysis does indicate some correlation between majority Islamic Muslim countries and political change. Here the thirty-year record of the survey indicates that the states with majority Islamic populations, as a rule, have not experienced movement toward democracy. Indeed, among countries with Islamic majorities, the last 30 years have seen a trend diametrically opposite to the global trend toward political liberalization. In 1972, there were 2 Free countries with a majority Islamic population, 11 Partly Free states, and 23 Not Free states. Today, there are again two free countries, Mali and Senegal. There are 18 Partly Free majority Muslim countries—an increase of 7—and 27 Not Free countries, up from 23 in 1972. This contrasts dramatically with trends in the non-Islamic world, where the number of Free countries has expanded from 41 to 87, the number of Partly Free states has increased from 27 to 38, while the number of Not Free states has declined from 46 to 20.

All this, however, should not suggest some kind of inexorable link between Islam and tyranny. In fact, today, when one takes into account the fact that

the largest populations of Muslims are found in such states as India, Bangladesh, Indonesia, and Turkey, as well as the Muslim minorities that participate in the democratic life of Western Europe and North America, the majority of the world's 1.2 billion Muslims lives under democratically elected governments. At the same time, there is evidence in this year's survey of a transition to freedom in majority-Muslim Senegal and of democratic ferment or democratization in several of the Gulf kingdoms—notably, Bahrain, where there has been movement toward constitutional monarchy and the devolution of some power toward democratically accountable government. Qatar, too, has seen its emir proclaim the intention to move in the direction of constitutional monarchy and a new draft constitution is being prepared, although its provisions are not yet public and the process has not been conducted openly and transparently.

The lack of progress on democratic reform in large swaths of the world populated by Muslim majorities can be attributed to many factors, none of them directly related to religious beliefs as such. One crucial factor is the persistent influence of regimes and political movements that came into power through military coups. Another key factor influencing political life in the Islamic world has been the persistence of monarchies that have resisted the devolution of power to democratically accountable governments, and in some cases have resorted to repression and censorship in their bid to stem democratic civic activism. Another factor is the phenomenon of personal authoritarianism—in which individual leaders have maintained a monopoly over economic and political power—which is the dominate political system in the North African and Middle Eastern region. Another factor is that much of the Islamic world suffers from the influence of two extreme ideologies. One—Ba'athism—is secular in orientation; the second—revolutionary or jihadist Islamism—claims religious justification for acts of violence and repression. Both ideologies were shaped by founders who developed their political ideas and models of activism in the 1930s, when

totalitarian movements dominated the European landscape. Both ideologies base their activism on the creation of vanguard parties or movements that seek to foment revolutionary change

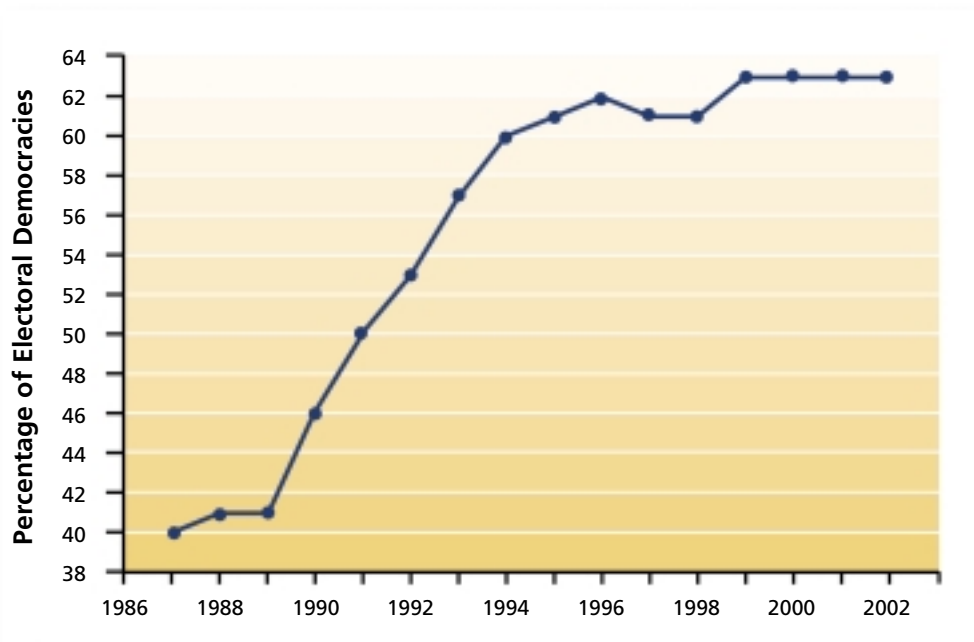
Over the last several decades, Ba'athism and revolutionary Islamism have given birth to several tyrannical regimes and violent political movements that have contributed to the destabilization of the region and produced a great deal of internecine conflict. In many cases, these ideologies have been used as the bases of tyrannical regimes. The threat posed by these movements has also been manipulated by the military-dominated dictatorships and authoritarian monarchies as a justification for the absence of political reforms or as cover for the repression of peaceful and democratic political forces. Ba'athist and revolutionary Islamist movements have themselves targeted moderate, democratic voices with violence and repression.

The net effect of all these factors has been the effective suppression of a vibrant democratic alternative in large swaths of the Arabic and Islamic worlds.

CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRACY

The map of the world at the end of 2002 showed 121 electoral democracies among the world's 192 states (63 percent). The 1987-88 survey found just 66 of 167 countries (40 percent) were electoral democracies. In short, the number of new democratically elected governments has increased by 55 over the space of 15 years, an average of nearly four per year. This gradual, sustained expansion of electoral democracy has helped to create a framework for improvements in basic human rights. At the same time, the survey finds that only 89 of these electoral democracies have an environment in which there is broad respect for human rights and a stable rule of law. This means that 32 electoral democracies fail to provide systematic protection for basic civil liberties. The reasons for this are numerous. Some electoral democracies (Ukraine) are riddled by widespread corruption. Others (Nigeria and Macedonia) are marred by unresolved inter-religious and inter-ethnic tensions. Still others (Colombia and Sri Lanka) confront civil wars, terrorism, and insurgencies. Some states (Indonesia) are just emerging from protracted periods of tyranny and have not yet

Tracking Electoral Democracies 1987-2002



established the broad array of effective rule of law structures that would allow for the wide-ranging implementation of human rights standards. In others (Russia), there are powerful oligarchic interests and wide discrepancies in income that have an impact on the rule of law and equal political participation.

In addition, a cohort of electoral democracies has stagnated and failed to deepen its progress on civil liberties, and building effective democratic institutions. Among the electoral democracies that have remained Partly Free and have not significantly improved their development over a period of more than a decade are Georgia, Guatemala, Moldova, Mozambique, Paraguay, Russia, Sri Lanka, and Ukraine.

For policymakers, there is a key challenge on how to work to generate reform momentum in these rather diverse, semi-democratic countries.

While it is true that some tyrannies are demagogically using the global war on terrorism as a justification for internal crackdowns on all political opponents, violent and peaceful, the year's survey findings do not suggest that the world has seen a serious erosion of human rights since the global efforts to combat terrorism were launched in the wake of September 11, 2001.

RATING FREEDOM IN A VIOLENT WORLD

Each year the survey team grapples with ratings in settings characterized by mass terrorism, insurgency, and civil war. Rating polities that confront these often destabilizing threats poses substantial challenges for a ratings system that attempts to provide a unified score for the performance of an entire country.

In the end, the analysts base their ratings on the on-the-ground reality, taking into account the extent of the violent threat and the scope of its disruption of civic and political life.

In a world in which terrorism and insurgencies are widespread, this places significant burdens on the ratings process. When insurgencies are longstanding, are based on internationally recognized territorial divisions, or have evidence of stable de facto autonomous governance, we treat such regions as distinct territories and rate them separately from the country as a whole. This is the case with both Palestine (Israeli Occupied) and the Palestinian Authority, India- and Pakistan-controlled Kashmir, and Chechnya.

Thus Israel's categorization as an electoral democracy and its Free rating reflects the treatment it accords its citizens within its internationally recognized borders, not the far more troubling picture for human rights in the Palestinian populated areas, which are assessed separately.

In the case of Colombia, Sri Lanka, and Nepal, where there is no international recognition of areas controlled by insurgents or where insurgents do not control stable contiguous territories, the ratings process attempts to provide an overall assessment of the state of political rights and civil liberties that incorporates the zones controlled both by the state and by violent insurgent movements.

Another problem faced by the survey team is how to deal with the efforts to interdict terrorism in open democracies like the U.S., Britain, France, and Germany. The effects of counter-terrorism measures and the de facto restrictions on freedom that result from the operation of terrorist groups are factored in through the ratings process. Moreover, the survey team seeks to be attuned to the dangers of civil liberties restrictions as a result of counter-terrorism measures and understands that these bear systematic monitoring. Nevertheless, survey data reflect that despite some missteps and some overreach by democratic governments in 2002 (which may yet have implications in the future), states with strong traditions of freedom and the rule of law have generally not seen a significant decline in their overall levels of political rights and civil liberties as measured by the survey.

COUNTRY TRENDS IN 2002

The year registered an improvement in category status for six countries. Senegal and Brazil advanced from Partly Free to Free, in large measure as a result of free and fair elections that led to rotation of power through the victory of an opposition party. Lesotho entered the ranks of Free countries as it saw its ratings improve after free and fair parliamentary elections. Yugoslavia also entered the ranks of Free countries as a result of the vibrance of civic life, improvements in free media, and gains in the rule of law. Bahrain made political progress and moved from the ranks of Not Free to Partly Free states as a consequence of an election that led to the partial devolution of power to a new democratically accountable legislature. Kenya's status improved from Not Free to Partly Free, due to increased political and civic pluralism, the effects of a constitutional review commission, and a national election campaign.

Only one country—Cote D'Ivoire—saw its category status decline, in this case from Partly Free to Not Free, amid widening violence and the takeover of approximately one-half of the country by rebellious military forces.

In the disputed territory of Indian-administered Kashmir, a relatively fair election with a high degree of voter participation amid intimidation of voters by a violent revolutionary Islamist insurgency and rampant terrorism led to an improvement in political rights and a consequent status change from Not Free to Partly Free. By contrast, substantial restrictions on political rights in Pakistan-administered Kashmir meant that the contested region was rated as Not Free.

In addition to four entrants into the ranks of Free countries and two countries that progressed from Not Free to Partly Free, 23 countries experienced significant gains. A further 12 countries experience a modest upgrade in their ratings on account of minor changes in the ratings methodology linked to

a question on the effects of corruption that was added to the political rights assessment and a question on academic freedom that was added to the civil liberties criteria.

MOVEMENT TOWARD GREATER FREEDOM

Afghanistan registered modest progress as a consequence of stabilization, and the expansion of limited representational rights through a process of selection of the Loya Jirga, which in turn selected the new government. But while the Taliban's totalitarian repression was dismantled, schools reopened and culture was liberalized, and while some rights for women and girls were restored, the country's capital, Kabul, registered more dramatic improvement than outlying provinces and remote rural areas. The country's overall rating remained Not Free as a consequence of severe lawlessness, insecurity, and the inordinate influence of warlords.

Albania's civil liberties improved as a result of the continuing normalization after the civil unrest and violence of 1997.

Angola, which remains Not Free, saw civil liberties register modest gains after the death of UNITA guerrilla movement leader Jonas Savimbi. His death resulted in a cease-fire that has ended hostilities and provided for the return of many civilians to their former homes.

Belgium's civil liberties rating improved as the country's legal system recovered from a debilitating scandal involving child pornography.

In Bhutan, gains were registered due to greater openness to interaction with the outside world and increased access to the Internet.

Bosnia-Herzegovina's political rights strengthened after indigenous Bosnian institutions successfully organized general elections for the first time since the country's brutal civil war.

Bulgaria's civil liberties improved amid consistent attempts to bring the country's political, economic, and social environment in line with European standards, improved tolerance towards ethnic minorities, and more openness towards non-traditional religious groups.

Chile's civil liberties rating improved due to President Ricardo Lagos' adroit handling of the country's thorny civil-military relationship.

Comoros' political rights rating improved after a largely successful free and fair presidential election on the archipelago's three islands.

East Timor improved due to direct elections that led it to join the ranks of electoral democracies. Still, the absence of a strong parliamentary opposition and weak media and undeveloped civil society prevented the country from improving its status to Free.

Greece's civil liberties rating improved after the relaxation of laws relating to the now defunct November 17 urban guerrilla group.

Guinea-Bissau's civil liberties registered gains as a result of modest improvements in the rule of law.

Macedonia's political rights and civil liberties ratings improved amid increased stability in the country and the gradual implementation of the 2001 Ohrid Agreement that led to an end of hostilities between the Macedonian government and ethnic Albanian insurgents.

In Mexico, a deepening of reforms in the justice system that reinforced the rule of law contributed to an upward trend.

Mongolia's civil liberties rating improved as a result of the strengthening of the rule of law, including an improvement of conditions in the country's prisons.

Slovenia's civil liberties improved as a result of legislation satisfying European Union membership requirements. These include an employment bill banning any form of discrimination, and legislation giving increased rights to foreigners with permanent resident status.

The Solomon Islands' political rights and civil liberties ratings improved as a result of an improvement in the country's security situation.

Turkey registered forward progress as a result of the loosening of restrictions on Kurdish culture. Legislators made progress on an improved human rights framework, the product of Turkey's effort to integrate into European structures. At the same time, political rights were enhanced as the country's military showed restraint in the aftermath of a free and fair election that saw the sweeping victory of a moderate Islamist opposition party.

Tajikistan's civil liberties rating improved as a result of a strengthening of the rule of law and the renewal of civic life in the aftermath of a civil war that ended in 1997.

Uganda's civil liberties registered an upward trend as result of an increasingly active civil society.

Despite significant political tensions, Venezuela's civil liberties rating improved as a result of the dynamism and resilience of civic organizations and independent media in the face of pressures from the government of Hugo Chavez.

The ratings of 12 countries improved as a result of minor adjustments in the survey methodology: Brunei, Burundi, France, Germany, Italy, Nauru, Spain, Tanzania, the United Kingdom, Vanuatu, Yemen, and Zambia.

DECLINES IN FREEDOM

While Cote d'Ivoire fell into the ranks of Not Free countries, ten countries registered setbacks in their freedoms without changing categories and two others declined as a result of modest changes in the Survey's methodology:

Bolivia saw a decline in its political rights standing amid significant evidence of increased political corruption and the influence of campaign funding linked to drug interests.

The Congo (Brazzaville) rating declined as a result of the erosion of the rights of opposition parties.

Equatorial Guinea regressed as earlier moves that had created hopes for a political opening proved cosmetic. The government also moved to speed up elections to reduce the ability of opposition groups to mount a campaign and establish effective election monitoring mechanisms.

Guatemala's political rights rating declined due to the continuing decay of political institutions, impunity, increased violence, and rampant corruption, and the reappearance of death squads.

Jordan's political rights rating declined as a result of the monarchy's postponement of elections and the adoption by decree of numerous temporary laws.

Madagascar's political rights rating declined from 2 to 3 due to controversy that erupted over the country's presidential elections.

Malawi's civil liberties ratings were set back as a result of increased political violence, including the arrest of opposition leaders.

Nepal suffered a setback in political rights as the king dissolved parliament and postponed elections amid a violent insurgency led by Marxist-Leninist guerrillas.

Peru's political rights rating declined from 1 to 2 due to slippage on government pledges on openness and transparency.

Taiwan's political rights rating declined due to a lack of government transparency.

In addition, two countries—Bangladesh and Moldova—registered a decline in their numerical ratings—though no status change—as a result of minor changes in the survey methodology.

WORST OF THE WORST

There are 47 states that are rated as Not Free and in which a broad range of freedoms are systematically denied. Of these, 27 have majority Islamic populations. Among the Not Free countries, 9 states have been given the survey's lowest rating of 7 for political rights and 7 for civil liberties. The 9 worst rated countries represent a narrow range of systems and cultures. Two—Cuba and North Korea—are one party Marxist-Leninist regimes. Six are majority Islamic countries (Iraq, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, and Turkmenistan). The remaining worst rated state is Burma, a tightly controlled military dictatorship.

The 9 Worst Rated Countries

Burma	Saudi Arabia
Cuba	Sudan
Iraq	Syria
North Korea	Turkmenistan
Libya	

The 2 Worst Rated Disputed Territories

Chechnya (Russia)
Tibet (China)

There are two worst rated territories: Tibet (under Chinese jurisdiction) and Chechnya, where an indigenous Islamic population is engaged in a brutal guerrilla war for independence from Russia.

Top Five Gains for Freedom

- 1 **Turkey:** One of the world's most important majority Muslim countries scored impressive gains with the election of a moderate party with Islamic roots and modest expansion of cultural rights of the Kurdish population.
- 2 **Brazil:** The election of former political prisoner Luiz Inacio da Silva as president in Latin America's largest country is a major step forward in a region where candidates of the left were often repressed.
- 3 **Senegal:** The triumph of an opposition presidential candidate in free and fair elections and improvement in civil liberties were important developments in this African country.
- 4 **Bahrain:** A positive sign for political change in the Middle East was the election held in this Gulf kingdom, which many hope will bring about a meaningful devolution of power and will contribute to enhanced civil liberties, particularly for women, who can now vote.
- 5 **Democracy Promotion and Foreign Policy:** In a speech in Monterrey, Mexico, President Bush stressed the commitment of the United States to democracy promotion as a major foreign policy objective. Of special note is the Millennium Challenge Account, under which additional foreign assistance will be directed to countries that give evidence of commitment to democracy, human rights, and economic liberalization, among other criteria.

Top Five Setbacks for Freedom

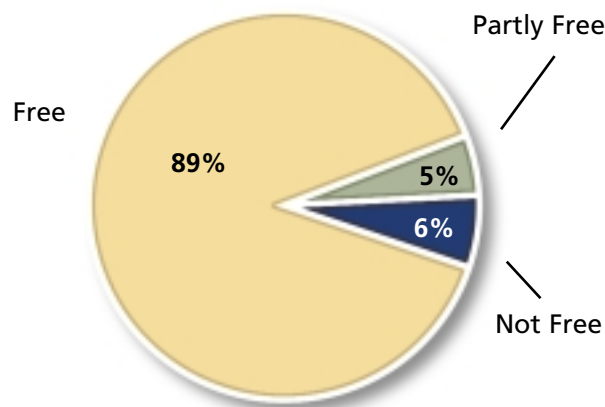
- 1 **Zimbabwe:** Widespread terror and the threat of famine were triggered by President Mugabe's policies of repression, violence, and corruption.
- 2 **Chechnya:** Violence worsened in this civil conflict as Russia continued its brutal scorched-earth tactics and Chechen rebels waged terror in the Russian heartland.
- 3 **African Disunity:** The formation of the African Union raised hopes for a new regional organization willing to hold member states accountable for adherence to democratic standards. Unfortunately, the unwillingness to deal with the Zimbabwe crisis, and the recent decision to nominate Libya as the African candidate to chair the UN's Human Rights Commission were signs that democracy is still not seen as a priority for the region's leaders.
- 4 **Increased Violence and Terrorism:** Revolutionary Islamist terrorist groups targeted civilians throughout the world with shootings, suicide bombings, and attempts to shoot down civilian aircraft.
- 5 **Israeli-Palestinian Violence:** Human rights suffered as Israeli-Palestinian violence escalated.

CONCLUSION

The largely positive trends indicated by the survey are reinforced by the growing technological and economic dominance of open societies. With the People's Republic of China the one glaring and important exception, the basic statistical evidence suggests that countries that are Free have, as a rule, expanded their economic output more rapidly than closed societies. In 2002, for example, the GDP of Free countries stood at \$26.8 trillion, while the GDP of Not Free countries was \$1.7 trillion.

This means that today open societies command a vast advantage in terms of military, technological, economic, and cultural resources. There are also important signs that the world's democracies are looking for new mechanisms through which to improve the governance and accountability of international institutions and to advance democratic change through aid and development programs. All this augurs well for the hope that the trends of the last thirty years will continue and that human freedom will make further significant progress in the new millennium.

Freedom and GDP



Category	GDP* (Current USD)	GDP %
Free	\$26,759,070,650,480	89
Partly Free	\$1,467,413,737,800	5
Not Free	\$1,671,285,457,000	6
Total	\$29,897,769,845,280	

*2002 World Bank Development Index

THE SURVEY OF FREEDOM

Freedom in the World is an institutional effort by Freedom House to monitor the progress and decline of political rights and civil liberties in 192 nations and in major related and disputed territories. These year-end reviews of freedom began in 1955, when they were called the Balance Sheet of Freedom and, still later, the Annual Survey of the Progress of Freedom. This program has been issued in a more developed context as a yearbook since 1978. Entitled Freedom in the World: The Annual Survey of Political Rights and Civil Liberties, the 2002-2003 yearbook, which includes lengthy analyses of each country and territory, will be available from Freedom House in June 2003.

The survey assesses a country's freedom by examining its record in two areas: political rights and civil liberties. A country grants its citizens political rights when it permits them to form political parties that represent a significant range of voter choice and whose leaders can openly compete for and be elected to positions of power in government. A country upholds its citizens' civil liberties when it respects and protects their religious, ethnic, economic, linguistic, and other rights, including gender and family rights, personal freedoms, and freedoms of the press, belief, and association. The survey rates each country on a seven-point scale for both political rights and civil liberties (1 representing the most free and 7 the least free) and then divides the world into three broad categories: "Free" (countries whose ratings average 1-2.5); "Partly Free" (countries whose ratings average 3-5.5); and "Not Free" (countries whose ratings average 5.5-7).

Continued on page 16

The ratings are not only assessments of the conduct of governments, but are intended to reflect the reality of daily life. Thus, a country with a benign government facing violent forces (for example, terrorist movements or insurgencies) hostile to an open society will be graded on the basis of the on-the-ground conditions that determine whether the population is able to exercise its freedoms. The survey enables scholars and policy makers both to assess the direction of global change annually and to examine trends in freedom over time and on a comparative basis across regions with different political and economic systems.

Since 1989, the survey project has been a year-long effort produced by our regional experts, consultants, and human rights specialists. The survey derives its information from a wide range of sources. Most valued of these are the many human rights activists, journalists, editors, and political figures around the world who keep us informed of the human rights situation in their countries.

The survey team is grateful for the advice and input of our academic advisors, consisting of Professor David Becker, Dartmouth College; Professor Kenneth Bollen, University of North Carolina; Professor Daniel Brumberg, Georgetown University; Dr. Larry Diamond, Hoover Institution; Professor Charles Gati, Johns Hopkins University; Professor Jeane Kirkpatrick, Georgetown University; Professor Thomas Lansner, Columbia University; Professor Peter

Lewis, American University; Dr. Seymour Martin Lipset, George Mason University; Professor Andrew Moravcsik, Harvard University; Professor Alexander Motyl, Rutgers University; Dr. Joshua Muravchik, American Enterprise Institute; Dr. Daniel Pipes, Middle East Forum; Professor Jack Snyder, Columbia University; Professor Arturo Valenzuela, Georgetown University; Professor Ashutosh Varshney, University of Michigan; and Professor Bridget Welsh, Johns Hopkins University.

Throughout the year, Freedom House personnel regularly conduct fact-finding missions to gain more in-depth knowledge of the political transformations affecting our world. During these weeks-to-month-long investigations, we make every effort to meet a cross-section of political parties and associations, human rights monitors, religious figures, representative of the private sector and trade union movement, academics, and journalists.

This year's survey team consists of Adrian Karatnycky, the project coordinator, Aili Piano, the research coordinator, Mick Andersen, Gordon Bardos, Peter Doran, Gary Gambill, Michael Gold-Biss, Michael Goldfarb, Michael Gordon, Charles Graybow, Kelli Henry, Karin Deutsch Karlekar, Edward McMahon, Amy Phillips, Arch Puddington, Amanda Schnetzer, Cindy Shiner, and Jennifer Windsor.

Table of Countries – Comparative Measures of Freedom

Country	PR	CL	Freedom Rating	Country	PR	CL	Freedom Rating
Afghanistan	6 ▲	6 ▲	Not Free	Cameroon	6	6	Not Free
Albania	3	3 ▲	Partly Free	Canada	1	1	Free
Algeria	6	5	Not Free	Cape Verde	1	2	Free
Andorra	1	1	Free	Central African Republic	5	5	Partly Free
Angola	6	5 ▲	Not Free	Chad	6	5	Not Free
Antigua and Barbuda	4	2	Partly Free	Chile	2	1 ▲	Free
Argentina	3	3	Partly Free	China (PRC)	7	6	Not Free
Armenia	4	4	Partly Free	Colombia	4	4	Partly Free
Australia	1	1	Free	Comoros	5 ▲	4	Partly Free
Austria	1	1	Free	Congo (Brazzaville)	6 ▼	4	Partly Free
Azerbaijan	6	5	Partly Free	Congo (Kinshasa)	6	6	Not Free
Bahamas	1	1	Free	Costa Rica	1	2	Free
Bahrain	5 ▲	5	Partly Free	Cote d'Ivoire	6 ▼	6 ▼	Not Free
Bangladesh*	4 ▼	4	Partly Free	Croatia	2	2	Free
Barbados	1	1	Free	Cuba	7	7	Not Free
Belarus	6	6	Not Free	Cyprus (G)	1	1	Free
Belgium	1	1 ▲	Free	Czech Republic	1	2	Free
Belize	1	2	Free	Denmark	1	1	Free
Benin	3	2	Free	Djibouti	4	5	Partly Free
Bhutan	6 ▲	5 ▲	Not Free	Dominica	1	1	Free
Bolivia	2 ▼	3	Free	Dominican Republic	2	2	Free
Bosnia-Herzegovina	4 ▲	4	Partly Free	East Timor	3 ▲	3	Partly Free
Botswana	2	2	Free	Ecuador	3	3	Partly Free
Brazil	2 ▲	3	Free	Egypt	6	6	Not Free
Brunei*	6 ▲	5	Not Free	El Salvador	2	3	Free
Bulgaria	1	2 ▲	Free	Equatorial Guinea	6	7 ▼	Not Free
Burkina Faso	4	4	Partly Free	Eritrea	7	6	Not Free
Burma	7	7	Not Free				
Burundi*	6	5 ▲	Not Free				
Cambodia	6	5	Not Free				

Table of Countries – Comparative Measures of Freedom ...Continued

Country	PR	CL	Freedom Rating
Estonia	1	2	Free
Ethiopia	5	5	Partly Free
Fiji	4	3	Partly Free
Finland	1	1	Free
France*	1	1 ▲	Free
Gabon	5	4	Partly Free
The Gambia	5	5	Partly Free
Georgia	4	4	Partly Free
Germany*	1	1 ▲	Free
Ghana	2	3	Free
Greece	1	2 ▲	Free
Grenada	1	2	Free
Guatemala	4 ▼	4	Partly Free
Guinea	6	5	Not Free
Guinea-Bissau	4	4 ▲	Partly Free
Guyana	2	2	Free
Haiti	6	6	Not Free
Honduras	3	3	Partly Free
Hungary	1	2	Free
Iceland	1	1	Free
India	2	3	Free
Indonesia	3	4	Partly Free
Iran	6	6	Not Free
Iraq	7	7	Not Free
Ireland	1	1	Free
Israel	1	3	Free
Italy*	1	1 ▲	Free
Jamaica	2	3	Free
Japan	1	2	Free
Jordan	6 ▼	5	Partly Free
Kazakhstan	6	5	Not Free
Kenya	5 ▲	4 ▲	Partly Free

Country	PR	CL	Freedom Rating
Kiribati	1	1	Free
Korea, North	7	7	Not Free
Korea, South	2	2	Free
Kuwait	4	5	Partly Free
Kyrgyzstan	6	5	Not Free
Laos	7	6	Not Free
Latvia	1	2	Free
Lebanon	6	5	Not Free
Lesotho	2 ▲	3 ▲	Free
Liberia	6	6	Not Free
Libya	7	7	Not Free
Liechtenstein	1	1	Free
Lithuania	1	2	Free
Luxembourg	1	1	Free
Macedonia	3 ▲	3 ▲	Partly Free
Madagascar	3 ▼	4	Partly Free
Malawi	4	4 ▼	Partly Free
Malaysia	5	5	Partly Free
Maldives	6	5	Not Free
Mali	2	3	Free
Malta	1	1	Free
Marshall Islands	1	1	Free
Mauritania	5	5	Partly Free
Mauritius	1	2	Free
Mexico	2	2 ▲	Free
Micronesia	1	2	Free
Moldova*	3 ▼	4	Partly Free
Monaco	2	1	Free
Mongolia	2	2 ▲	Free
Morocco	5	5	Partly Free
Mozambique	3	4	Partly Free
Namibia	2	3	Free

Table of Countries – Comparative Measures of Freedom ...Continued

Country	PR	CL	Freedom Rating	Country	PR	CL	Freedom Rating
Nauru*	1	2 ▲	Free	Saudi Arabia	7	7	Not Free
Nepal	4 ▼	4	Partly Free	Senegal	2 ▲	3 ▲	Free
Netherlands	1	1	Free	Seychelles	3	3	Partly Free
New Zealand	1	1	Free	Sierra Leone	4	5	Partly Free
Nicaragua	3	3	Partly Free	Singapore	5	4 ▲	Partly Free
Niger	4	4	Partly Free	Slovakia	1	2	Free
Nigeria	4	4	Partly Free	Slovenia	1	1 ▲	Free
Norway	1	1	Free	Solomon Islands	3 ▲	3 ▲	Partly Free
Oman	6	5	Not Free	Somalia	6	7	Not Free
Pakistan	6	5	Not Free	South Africa	1	2	Free
Palau	1	2	Free	Spain*	1	1 ▲	Free
Panama	1	2	Free	Sri Lanka	3	4	Partly Free
Papua				Sudan	7	7	Not Free
New Guinea	2	3	Free	Suriname	1	2	Free
Paraguay	4	3	Partly Free	Swaziland	6	5	Not Free
Peru	2 ▼	3	Free	Sweden	1	1	Free
Philippines	2	3	Free	Switzerland	1	1	Free
Poland	1	2	Free	Syria	7	7	Not Free
Portugal	1	1	Free	Taiwan	2 ▼	2	Free
Qatar	6	6	Not Free	Tajikistan	6	5 ▲	Not Free
Romania	2	2	Free	Tanzania*	4	3 ▲	Partly Free
Russia	5	5	Partly Free	Thailand	2	3	Free
Rwanda	7	5 ▲	Not Free	Togo	5	5	Partly Free
Saint Kitts				Tonga	5	3	Partly Free
and Nevis	1	2	Free	Trinidad			
Saint Lucia	1	2	Free	and Tobago	3	3	Partly Free
Saint Vincent				Tunisia	6	5	Not Free
And Grenadines	2	1	Free	Turkey	4	4 ▲	Partly Free
Samoa	2	2	Free	Turkmenistan	7	7	Not Free
San Marino	1	1	Free	Tuvalu	1	1	Free
Sao Tome				Uganda	6	4 ▲	Partly Free
and Principe	1	2	Free	Ukraine	4	4	Partly Free

Table of Countries – Comparative Measures of Freedom ...Continued

Country	PR	CL	Freedom Rating
United Arab Emirates	6	5	Not Free
United Kingdom*†	1	1 ▲	Free
United States	1	1	Free
Uruguay	1	1	Free
Uzbekistan	7	6	Not Free
Vanuatu*	1	2 ▲	Free
Venezuela	3	4 ▲	Partly Free
Vietnam	7	6	Not Free
Yemen*	6	5 ▲	Not Free
Yugoslavia	3	2 ▲	Free
Zambia*	4 ▲	4	Partly Free
Zimbabwe	6	6	Not Free

PR and CL stand for Political Rights and Civil Liberties, respectively; 1 represents the most free and 7 the least free rating.

▲▼ up or down indicates a change in Political Rights or Civil Liberties since the last survey

† excluding Northern Ireland

* Change reflects effect of minor change in survey methodology.

The freedom ratings reflect an overall judgment based on survey results.

NOTE: The ratings in this table are provisional and reflect global events from January 1, 2002 through December 1, 2002. The final ratings, which will appear in summer 2003 in the survey book, *Freedom in the World: 2002-2003*, will reflect developments through December 31, 2002.

Table of Related Territories – Comparative Measures of Freedom

Country and Territory	PR	CL	Freedom Rating
China			
Hong Kong	5	3	Partly Free
Macao	6	4	Partly Free
United Kingdom			
Northern Ireland	2	2	Free
United States			
Puerto Rico	1	2	Free

Table of Disputed Territories – Comparative Measures of Freedom

Country and Territory	PR	CL	Freedom Rating
Armenia/Azerbaijan Nagorno-Karabakh	5	5 ▲	Partly Free
China Tibet	7	7	Not Free
Georgia Abkhazia	6	5	Not Free
India Kashmir	6	5 ▲	Partly Free
Indonesia West Papua	5	4 ▲	Partly Free
Iraq Kurdistan	5	4 ▲	Partly Free
Israel Israeli-Administered territories	6	6	Not Free
Palestinian Authority- Administered territories	5	6	Not Free
Moldova Transnistria	6	6	Not Free
Morocco Western Sahara	7	6	Not Free
Pakistan Kashmir	7	5	Not Free
Russia Chechnya	7	7	Not Free
Turkey Cyprus (T)	3 ▼	3 ▼	Partly Free
Yugoslavia Kosovo	5 ▲	5 ▲	Partly Free

Combined Average Ratings – Independent Countries

FREE

1.0

Andorra
Australia
Austria
Bahamas
Barbados
Belgium
Canada
Cyprus (G)
Denmark
Dominica
Finland
France
Germany
Iceland
Ireland
Italy
Kiribati
Liechtenstein
Luxembourg
Malta
Marshall Islands
Netherlands
New Zealand
Norway
Portugal
San Marino
Slovenia
Spain
Sweden
Switzerland
Tuvalu
United Kingdom
United States
Uruguay

1.5

Belize
Bulgaria
Cape Verde
Chile
Costa Rica
Czech Republic
Estonia
Greece
Grenada
Hungary
Japan
Latvia
Lithuania
Mauritius
Micronesia
Monaco
Nauru
Palau
Panama

Poland
St. Kitts and Nevis
St. Lucia
St. Vincent and
Grenadines
Sao Tome and
Principe
Slovakia
South Africa
Suriname
Vanuatu

2.0

Botswana
Croatia
Dominican Republic
Guyana
Israel
Korea, South
Mexico
Mongolia
Romania
Samoa
Taiwan

2.5

Benin
Bolivia
Brazil
El Salvador
Ghana
India
Jamaica
Lesotho
Mali
Namibia
Papua New Guinea
Peru
Philippines
Senegal
Thailand
Yugoslavia

PARTLY FREE

3.0

Albania
Antigua and Barbuda
Argentina
East Timor
Ecuador
Honduras
Macedonia
Nicaragua
Seychelles
Solomon Islands
Trinidad and Tobago

3.5

Fiji
Indonesia
Madagascar
Moldova
Mozambique
Paraguay
Sri Lanka
Tanzania
Venezuela

4.0

Armenia
Bangladesh
Bosnia-Herzegovina
Burkina Faso
Colombia
Georgia
Guatemala
Guinea-Bissau
Malawi
Nepal
Niger
Tonga
Turkey
Ukraine
Zambia

4.5

Comoros
Cote d'Ivoire
Djibouti
Gabon
Kenya
Kuwait
Nigeria
Sierra Leone
Singapore

5.0

Bahrain
Central African Rep.
Congo (Brazzaville)
Ethiopia
The Gambia
Malaysia
Mauritania
Morocco
Russia
Togo
Uganda

5.5

Azerbaijan
Jordan

NOT FREE

5.5

Algeria
Angola
Bhutan
Brunei
Burundi
Cambodia
Chad
Guinea
Kazakhstan
Kyrgyz Republic
Lebanon
Maldives
Oman
Pakistan
Swaziland
Tajikistan
Tunisia
United Arab Emirates
Yemen

6.0

Afghanistan
Belarus
Cameroon
Congo (Kinshasa)
Egypt
Haiti
Iran
Liberia
Qatar
Rwanda
Zimbabwe

6.5

China (PRC)
Equatorial Guinea
Eritrea
Laos
Somalia
Uzbekistan
Vietnam

7.0

Burma
Cuba
Iraq
Korea, North
Libya
Saudi Arabia
Sudan
Syria
Turkmenistan