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Politics

Turkey's Great Leap Forward: Atatürk's Reforms and the Rise of Political Islam

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Robert Bellafiore

Abstract

The Turkish War of Independence and the following reforms implemented by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk were watershed events in both Islamic and world history. The political and social climate of Turkey, previously the Ottoman Empire, had long reflected the complex relationships between the Muslim and Western worlds, especially the power struggle between politics and religion. When Atatürk initiated a revolution in the country in 1919, politics, culture, and religion were dramatically and irrevocably changed. However, while the reforms themselves were swift, the philosophical and ideological development behind them was not. Religion and state in the Muslim world have evolved in tandem since Islam's inception, and this relationship took a new turn with the rise of modern political Islam in the nineteenth century. The goal of this paper is to show that, when considered from the broader perspective of Islamic history, Atatürk's creation and secularization of the Republic of Turkey represented the culmination of political Islam and fulfilled the goals of the movement's leaders, Jamal al-din al-Afghani and Mohammad Abduh.

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The Historical and Theological Foundations of Political Islam

While modern political Islam did not arise until the nineteenth century, its goals, achieved in Atatürk's reforms in Turkey, were a continuation of Islamic theology and history dating back more than a millennium earlier. It is important to note that any generalizations about Islam, as with any religion, are difficult to make without falsely characterizing some branch or movement. The debate over what denotes "true" Islam remains vehement to this day, and the complexity of the question is matched only by the profoundness of the impact that the answers will have on world affairs.¹² Nevertheless, a definition of political Islam can still be established: at its most fundamental level, political Islam (or Islamism) is an ideology advocating the extension of Islamic theology and tradition into the political sphere.³ This overlap between religion and state is best summarized in the term *din wa dawla*, which stipulates that Islam apply not only in the mosque (*din*) but also in the polity (*dawla*).⁴

¹ Manal Omar, "Islam Is a Religion of Peace," *Foreign Policy* (2015), accessed December 31, 2015, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2015/11/09/islam-is-a-religion-of-peace-manal-omar-debate-islamic-state/>.

² Ayaan Hirsi Ali, "Islam Is a Religion of Violence," *Foreign Policy* (2015), accessed December 31, 2015, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/11/09/islam-is-a-religion-of-violence-ayaan-hirsi-ali-debate-islamic-state/>.

³ Charles Hirschkind, "What Is Political Islam," *Middle East Report* 27, no. 205 (1997).

⁴ Charles Tripp, "All (Muslim) Politics is Local," *Foreign Affairs* 88, no. 5 (2009): 124-129.

Related to, but distinct from, political Islam is Islamic modernism, a movement attempting to synthesize Islam and Western values such as democracy, nationalism, individual freedom, and rational and scientific inquiry.⁵ Both movements developed in the mid-nineteenth century as a result of an existential crisis in the Muslim world brought about by imperialism and the seemingly insurmountable political and economic might of the West.⁶ However, while Islamic modernism arose as a response to Western civilization's transition to modernity, political Islam's roots are far older. Given the unavoidable interaction between politics and culture in any civilization, one movement cannot be considered without the other, especially in the case of Atatürk's reforms in Turkey, and so this paper will consider both while emphasizing the explicitly political development of Islam in the nineteenth century.

Central to the relationship between religion and state is Sharia, or Islamic law, a moral system developed to guide every aspect of a Muslim's life. However, the interplay of faith and politics long predates Sharia, which did not develop until centuries after the Prophet Muhammad's death in 632. It started with the founder of Islam himself Muhammad was both a religious and political leader—in the words of the title of W. Montgomery Watt's biography, both “prophet and statesman.”⁷ As the transcriber of the word of God, he led the community in prayer; as Qa'id, a title given to a Muslim war leader, he directed the community in battle; and as chief judge, he laid the foundations of Islamic law.⁸

However, while Muhammad was able to maintain both divine and temporal authority, his successors were not. By the time the Muslim world was vast enough to be considered an empire, authority had become more cleanly divided along religious and political lines.⁹ “Men of the pen” addressed judiciary and administrative issues, the complexity of which grew with the empire. This group included the Ulama—the “learned ones,” a new class of religious clerics and theological scholars who would heavily influence the development of Sharia—and the caliph—“the Successor to the Messenger of God,” a position partially inheriting Muhammad's political but none of his prophetic powers—as well as many bureaucrats.¹⁰ “Men of the sword” oversaw military operations, including defense and political matters concerning the expansion of the empire. Despite a developing delineation between religion and state, however, Islam always remained central to society as a whole, such that “The notion of a non-religious society as something desirable or even permissible was totally alien to Islam.”¹¹

⁵ Charles Kurzman, “Introduction: The Modernist Islamic Movement,” in *Modernist Islam, 1840-1940: A Source-Book*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

⁶ Toni Johnson and Mohammed Aly Sergie, “Islam: Governing Under Sharia,” (2014), accessed June 15, 2015, <http://www.cfr.org/religion/islam-governing-under-sharia/p8034>.

⁷ *Muhammad: Prophet and Messenger*, London: Oxford University Press, 1961.

⁸ Reza Aslan, “The City of the Prophet: The First Muslims,” in *No God but God: The Origins, Evolution, and Future of Islam*, 113 (New York: Random House, 2005).

⁹ Deepa Kumar, “Political Islam: A Marxist Analysis,” *International Socialist Review*, no. 76 (2011).

¹⁰ Aslan, *No God but God*, 113-114.

¹¹ Bernard Lewis, “Secularism and the Civil Society,” in *What Went Wrong? Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

The Founders of Modern Political Islam

The rich history of Islam's relationship to, and sometimes absorption of, the state had evolved dramatically by the nineteenth century. With the rise of European imperialism, the symbiotic relationship between East and West had transformed into parasitism, contributing to a state of political and religious ferment in the Muslim world. Out of this agitation came two figures whose actions and thought would shape modern political Islam: Jamal al-din al-Afghani and Mohammad Abduh. As both the products and causes of the political and religious upheaval in the Middle East, al-Afghani and Abduh would lay the intellectual groundwork for the Turkish War of Independence and, subsequently, the establishment of the Republic of Turkey and Atatürk's revolutionary reforms.

Al-Afghani, "the Awakener of the East," is generally considered the founding father of Islamic modernism and pan-Islamism. He was born in 1838 in an unknown location, although he is believed to have been Persian, and his lifelong travels took him to places as diverse as India, Egypt, Paris, and London.¹² Perhaps the most important result of his odyssey was his realization of the degree to which the Middle East had fallen victim to European, and especially British, imperialism. Al-Afghani witnessed both the breadth and depth of the subjugation of the Muslim world and developed an implacable hatred for the European imperialists that proved to be one of the few views he maintained consistently throughout his life.¹³

Many components of al-Afghani's philosophy would prove highly influential to political Islam in Turkey. First, and perhaps most importantly, he saw Islam as a sociopolitical tool, rather than as simply religious dogma. Al-Afghani had little interest in the divine—he was not a practicing Muslim and has even been suspected of atheism—but he understood that appeals to the divine had an unrivaled ability to mobilize disparate peoples. Despite wide geographic variations in theology and history, Islam had so thoroughly pervaded Middle Eastern civilization that it nevertheless provided a common unifying experience, the political potential of which had only to be actualized. Only by doing so, al-Afghani would come to insist, could the coalition of cultures, ethnicities, and ideologies necessary to defeat the West be assembled.

Al-Afghani's advocacy of pan-Islamism, a movement uniting all Muslim nations in opposition to the West, stemmed from a deep-rooted pragmatism. He maintained little consistency in his solutions to the problem of Muslim enslavement. When not advocating pan-Islamism, he called for nationalism; he criticized Islam's inherent faults but also hearkened back to the religion's golden age; he saw Muslims' unity as the solution to their problems but also called for cooperation with Christians and Jews.¹⁴ He variably endorsed pan-Islamism simply because it worked, and he rejected it when it did not. Al-Afghani was willing to advocate whatever policy or belief could best effect his goal: a vengeful response to the West.

The second noteworthy facet of al-Afghani's philosophy was his open-minded approach towards much of Western civilization. He was ardently opposed to the West, but not to the tools at the West's disposal. Al-Afghani identified Europe's advantages—a

¹² Aslan, *No God but God*, 229.

¹³ Ibrahim Kalin, "Jamal Ad-Din Al-Afghani," Center for Islamic Studies (2007), accessed June 16, 2015, <http://www.cis-ca.org/voices/a/afghni.htm>.

¹⁴ Pankaj Mishra, "In a Golden Cage: Al-Afghani's Last Days in Istanbul," in *From the Ruins of Empire: The Intellectuals Who Remade Asia* (New York: Picador, 2013), 113-119.

commitment to science and technology, a superior education system, and military prowess—and called for Muslims to adopt them.¹⁵ He believed that the best way to defeat the imperialists would be to use their own weapons against them. Even while denouncing Rousseau, Voltaire, and the ancient Greek philosophers, he was willing to acknowledge their accomplishments and admit that the Muslim world had much to learn from them.¹⁶ Such reforms were not heretical in his mind. To al-Afghani, an updated interpretation of the Koran revealed a perfect reconcilability between Islam and science. Once again his pragmatism is apparent: no strategy was off-limits, even one used by the enemy.

Finally, as willing as al-Afghani was to recognize the accomplishments of his opponents, he was just as willing to concede the failures of his own people. He showed a great frustration with the Muslim world; in fact, his anger at what he saw as Muslims' self-destruction was perhaps the only belief he maintained as consistently as his opposition to the West. His attitude toward Muslims' plight was succinctly captured in an oft-quoted passage from the Koran: "God does not change the state of a people until they change themselves."¹⁷ He was always eager to disparage the West, but he nevertheless acknowledged that Muslims had brought many troubles upon themselves. When many Muslims were wondering whether their decline as a civilization was the result of falling away from "true" Islam and were calling for a return to devout orthodoxy, al-Afghani often seems to have thought the opposite – that religion was only holding the Muslim world back from success, and that distancing oneself from Islam was the key to victory. Al-Afghani's political pragmatism, piecemeal admiration for European civilization, and disdain for his own people's attachment to religion would all prove integral to events in Turkey in the following century.¹⁸

The second essential figure in political Islam, Muhammad Abduh, was a disciple of al-Afghani. While he continued many of his mentor's ideas, he nevertheless provided a distinct voice in the continuing debate over Islam and modernity. Born in Egypt in 1849, Abduh met al-Afghani early in his life and was inspired to reform the Muslim world by proving the compatibility of Islam and modernity. Like al-Afghani, Abduh identified many problems with Islam as it was widely understood and practiced and connected these theological misinterpretations to the current plight of the Muslim world. Also like al-Afghani, Abduh recognized the role that the West had played in the collapse of Islamic civilization: addressing the English, he wrote, "Your liberalness we see plainly is only for yourselves, and your sympathy with us is that of the wolf for the lamb which he designs to eat."¹⁹

While al-Afghani called for mobilization and revenge against the West, however, Abduh adopted a more introspective approach to Islam. He was less concerned with addressing Europe's contribution to Islam's decline than he was with correcting Muslims' own crippling behavior.²⁰ Europeans could not be blamed entirely for Muslims' transformation into sheep, geopolitically, intellectually, or spiritually. While his writings

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Come Carpentier De Gourdon, "A History of Political Islam," World Public Forum–Dialogue of Civilizations, December 30, 2013, accessed June 18, 2015, <http://wpfdc.org/blog/society/18971-a-history-of-political-islam>.

¹⁷ Nikki R. Keddie, comp., *An Islamic Response to Imperialism: Political and Religious Writings of Sayyid Jamāl Ad-Dīn 'Al-Afghānī* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 173.

¹⁸ Mishra, "In a Golden Cage: Al-Afghani's Last Days in Istanbul," in *From the Ruins of Empire*, 113-119

¹⁹ Aslan, *No God but God*, 232.

²⁰ Elma Harder, "Muhammad 'Abduh (1849-1905)," Center for Islamic Studies, accessed June 18, 2016, <http://www.cis-ca.org/voices/a/abduh.htm>.

were less directly political than al-Afghani's, Abduh nevertheless argued that "There is no religion without a state and no state without authority," suggesting a belief that the government had a role to play in the practice of faith.²¹

Abduh considered the primary problem in the Muslim world to be not Western domination but *taqlid*, an unquestioning adherence to tradition. Blind historicism and the rejection of critical thought, according to Abduh, had contributed to a mental stagnation that was the very opposite mentality of what Islam was meant to advocate. Europe could not be blamed for this intellectual demise; the primary culprits were Islam's own Ulama, the clerics and religious academics who, from the luxury of their ivory minarets, had long enjoyed a practical monopoly on the interpretation and application of the Koran and Sharia.²² The Ulama's arrogation of spiritual authority had produced an inbred elite, whose archaic doctrines were the principal impediment to the flourishing of Muslim civilization.

The solution, insisted Abduh, was a return to *ijtihad*, independent reasoning on the part of the entire Muslim community.²³ In a mark of his openness to certain aspects of Western civilization, Abduh constantly called for a rational, scientific approach to Islam, writing, "The Qur'an directs us, enjoining rational procedure and intellectual enquiry into the manifestations of the universe."^{24 25} Abduh's Koranic exegesis eliminated any perceived discrepancies between science and faith. For example, jinns, mystical spirits mentioned in the Koran, are actually microbes, and evolution proves that Muhammad was the seal of the prophets, or God's last messenger.²⁶ A critical interpretation of Islamic history and scripture similarly united traditional Islamic concepts and modern Western values. For example, *bay'ah*, an oath of allegiance given by prominent tribal figures to the tribe's leader, becomes universal suffrage, and *shura*, the practice of tribal consultation on matters affecting an entire community, becomes representative democracy.^{27 28 29} Abduh's conviction that one need not compromise Islam to accept modernity and that an embrace of science and reason was the key to the Muslim world's resurgence would only grow in importance as Turkey lurched toward modernity.

Atatürk's Reforms

The frustration of al-Afghani and Abduh at their own people's crippling mentalities, the Muslim world's anger at its regression as a civilization, and the debate over the compatibility of modernism and Islam all culminated in 1922, when Mustafa Kemal began a series of reforms that would have huge consequences for Turkey and Islam. Following World War I, the Ottoman Empire was occupied by French, Greek, and British forces, and its decrepit government and economy had earned it the nickname the

²¹ Ibid.

²² Aslan, *No God but God*, 232.

²³ Harder, "Muhammad 'Abduh (1849-1905)."

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ "Islamic Modernism: Responses to Western Modernization in the Middle East."

²⁶ Ahmad Shafaat, "Muhammad: The Last of the Prophets," *The Modern Religion* (2000), accessed June 18, 2016, http://www.themodernreligion.com/prophet/prophet_last-shafaat.html.

²⁷ "Bayah," *Oxford Islamic Studies Online*, accessed December 29, 2015,

<http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e316>.

²⁸ Mugtedar Khan, "Shura and Democracy," *Ijtihad*, January 12, 2014, accessed December 31, 2015,

<http://www.ijtihad.org/shura.htm>.

²⁹ Aslan, *No God but God*, 232.

“Sick Man of Europe.”³⁰ Mustafa Kemal, a hero for his actions at Galipoli during the war, led the military in the Turkish War for Independence, successfully cast out the European occupants, and established the Republic of Turkey.³¹

Kemal was soon elected president, was named Atatürk, or “Father of the Turks,” and immediately set out to transform and update Turkey for the twentieth century. Perhaps his most significant reform was the abolition of the caliphate. Upon eliminating his only real competition for power and political influence in Turkey, Atatürk was able to continue with a string of reforms weakening Islam and bringing the country closer to the West, including banning the traditional Muslim turban, hijab, and fez; transitioning from a calendar based on the *hijrah* (Muhammad’s journey to Mecca) to one based on the birth of Jesus; and replacing the Arabic alphabet with the Latin one. Informing Atatürk’s revolution were six principles, or arrows: nationalism, revolutionism, populism, statism, secularism, and republicanism. Collectively, they constituted the ideology that came to be known as Kemalism. By the time Atatürk’s reforms had been fully implemented, Turkey had undergone an incredible transformation. Patriotism had replaced piety as the source of national unity, and modernity and progress had replaced history and tradition as the sacrosanct ideals to be invoked.

Ostensibly, Atatürk’s reforms marked a complete rejection of political Islam. The latter calls for incorporating religion into politics, while the former strove for their total separation. Atatürk was always suspicious of faith, denying the absolute truth of religion in favor of reason and even going so far as to say, “I have no religion, and at times I wish all religions at the bottom of the sea...Superstition must go.”^{32,33} On the surface Kemalism appears to be both a complete reversal of al-Afghani’s and Abduh’s ambitions for the Muslim world and a rejection of a much greater religious heritage; Sharia is the last concept that would belong to Kemalism. Rather than discarding political Islam and its founders, however, Atatürk in fact fulfilled their intentions, both politically and culturally.

World War I had put the already politically and economically feeble Ottoman Empire, the “Sick Man of Europe,” on its deathbed. Kemalism and the establishment of the Republic of Turkey allowed for a huge rebound, one that nothing suggests would have been possible without the drastic changes Atatürk initiated. He understood that the creation of a modern nation-state was only the first step in a dramatic return to the world stage: “No matter how mighty they are, political and military victories cannot endure unless they are crowned by economic triumphs.”³⁴ A bold economic plan, marked by rapid industrialization; extensive infrastructural investment; and the development of the private business sector, in conjunction with a system of public enterprises called State Economic Enterprises (SEEs); set Turkey on the path towards economic prosperity from which the Ottoman Empire had so far strayed.³⁵

³⁰ Cengiz Candar, “No Longer ‘Sick Man,’ Turkey Is Lonely, Tired,” *Al-Monitor*, July 19, 2013, accessed January 5, 2016, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/07/turkey-still-sick-man.html#>.

³¹ Firas Alkhateeb, “How Atatürk Made Turkey Secular,” *Lost Islamic History*, June 11, 2013, accessed June 18, 2016, <http://lostislamichistory.com/how-atatürk-made-turkey-secular/>.

³² Mete Tunçay, “Kemalism,” *Oxford Islamic Studies Online*, accessed January 6, 2016, <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t236/e0440>.

³³ “Mustafa Kemal Atatürk,” *New World Encyclopedia*, accessed January 6, 2016, http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Mustafa_Kemal_Atatürk.

³⁴ Ebru Hisamoglu, “The Time of the Recovery (1923-1929),” in *Turkish Economic Development in Comparative Perspective* (ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2008), 86.

³⁵ Morris Singer, “Atatürk’s Economic Legacy,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 19, no. 3 (1983): 301-11.

This great leap forward was exactly what al-Afghani was constantly striving for, though he addressed the entire Muslim world, not solely the Ottoman Empire. He longed for the Middle East to return to power, and Atatürk's political and economic policies helped Turkey to do so.

Atatürk was a pragmatist, like al-Afghani, and would espouse any doctrine that might elevate the Turks. The preference for tangible results over ideological consistency resulted in bizarre vacillations on the role of Islam in Turkey. Like al-Afghani, Atatürk originally saw Islam as the ideal sociopolitical tool for unification. For a time, the Turkish Constitution made Islam the state religion and stipulated that all laws would be reviewed by a panel of scholars on Islamic law to ensure compatibility with Sharia. Only two years later, Atatürk reversed course and eliminated the panel upon deciding that religion had become a burden to the state rather than an aid.³⁶ Al-Afghani had at times similarly dismissed Islam's sociopolitical value in favor of nationalism, depending on the practical needs of the moment.

Inheriting al-Afghani and Abduh's insights, Atatürk saw that a renewal of the supremacy of Middle Eastern civilization could not be achieved simply by defeating the West militarily or economically. The ideological opponents whose defeat was most critical to Turkey's success were domestic, not international. If he were to reverse the intellectual senescence brought about by *taqlid*, the Ulama's unthinking traditionalism that Abduh had so harshly criticized, Atatürk would have to neuter the religious elite in Turkey. He bureaucratized religion, creating "directorates" to control the mosques and requiring government oversight in the selection and appointment of imams. As Perry Anderson states, "Religion was never detached from the nation, becoming instead an unspoken definition of it."³⁷ Advocates of political Islam called for a religious government; Atatürk created a governmentalized religion. Such reforms recognized the value of both Abduh's indictment of Muslims' intellectual devolution into sheep and the Koran's warning, so often invoked by al-Afghani, that change would occur only if people changed themselves.

Atatürk despised religion and was possibly an atheist himself, but he knew could never eliminate Islam completely; it was too central to the Turkish identity. The best he could do was to adopt Western values selectively, as al-Afghani and Abduh had done, and incorporate them into a modern interpretation of Islam. In a speech given at the Bahkathir Pasha Mosque, Atatürk stated, "Our religion which has poured down favor and spirit to human beings is the last and the most perfect religion; because its principles go in complete line with reason, logic and reality."³⁸ The sincerity of these words is dubious. Nevertheless, Atatürk understood that a Middle Eastern geopolitical resurgence required capitalizing on Western values to reinvent Islamic society. As the principles of Kemalism (nationalism, revolutionism, populism, statism, secularism, and republicanism) make clear, Atatürk, like both al-Afghani and Abduh, recognized the many benefits that Westernization could bring to the Middle East. Rationality, science, and skepticism were to be embraced, rather than feared, and political and economic success could not be achieved through orthodoxy and cultural quarantine.

Atatürk's intentions were ostensibly the opposite of devout Islamists': he wanted to curb Islam's influence as much as possible because he believed that Islam was

³⁶ Firas Alkhateeb, "How Atatürk Made Turkey Secular."

³⁷ Perry Anderson, "Kemalism," *London Review of Books* 30, no. 17 (2008): 3-12.

³⁸ Ethem Ruhi Fiğlali, "Atatürk and The Religion of Islam," Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, accessed January 7, 2016, <http://www.atam.gov.tr/dergi/sayi-26/ataturk-and-the-religion-of-islam>.

destroying Turkey, while Islamists wanted to increase their religion's influence because only by doing so could their civilization return to greatness. But al-Afghani wanted above all else a renewal of the Muslim world's geopolitical power—with the aid of Islam or without—and Abduh strove for an Islamic Enlightenment uniting Muslim and Western civilization, and with the Republic of Turkey, these are exactly what Atatürk achieved.

The Future of Turkey

Through his policies of modernization and secularization in the new Republic of Turkey, Atatürk achieved the goals of political Islam, as delineated by al-Afghani and Abduh. Despite the significance of Atatürk's reforms, they were but one event in the rich history of Islam. Religion and state in the Middle East have covered the entire spectrum of relationships, from Manichaeism to practical interchangeability, and the developments of modernity and political Islam have done nothing to settle the debate over the proper role of one in the other. Nearly a century after Atatürk's reforms began, Turkish politics make clear that the country is still evolving, and Islam along with it. The efforts of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and his Justice and Development Party to instill Islamic principles in Turkish law are simply the latest iteration in the effort to determine Islam's proper place in government, and vice versa.³⁹ Were they alive today, neither Jamal al-din al-Afghani, nor Mohammad Abduh, nor perhaps even the Prophet Muhammad himself could anticipate what will come next.

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³⁹ Ömer Taşpınar, "Islamist Politics in Turkey: The New Model?," The Brookings Institution, April 25, 2012, accessed June 19, 2016, <http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2012/04/24-turkey-new-model-taspinar>.

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Ennahda and the Muslim Brotherhood Democratic Changes to Islamist Groups

Jack Bergum

Abstract

Despite a promising start, the Arab Spring of 2011 has resulted in the creation of only one democracy: Tunisia. In Tunisia, an Islamist party called Ennahda has greatly aided this successful democratic transition. This paper aims to examine Ennahda's role in helping Tunisia to become a democracy. In order to complete this examination, this paper compares Ennahda's actions following the removal of President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali with the actions of the Muslim Brotherhood, an illustrious Islamist group, following the ouster of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak. Also inspecting a variety of other potential democratizing factors in both Tunisia and Egypt, including socioeconomic development, civil society and political culture, the paper ultimately concludes that unique circumstances in Tunisia have shaped Ennahda into a party that is truly committed to democracy. Constrained by the political and cultural norms in Tunisia, Ennahda has proven to be an integral part of Tunisia's fledgling democratic experiment.

Introduction

With 2014 marking the first time that a ruling party democratically ceded power in Tunisian history, Tunisia can be solidly categorized as democratic four years after the Jasmine Revolution. Although certainly flawed and facing a number of serious challenges ahead, the democratic institutions established following the ouster of President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali have thus far remained effective. The beginning of a wave of revolutions, collectively termed the Arab Spring, Tunisia's revolution is the only one to have actually succeeded in initiating democratic change, making it the object of intense examination by scholars interested in determining what distinguished Tunisia from its peers. Other Arab states affected by the revolutionary fervor of 2011 have either seen minimal changes to their governance, reverted back to something resembling strongman rule or devolved into intractable conflicts. Tunisia's success in democratizing comes from a variety of reasons. Pegged by scholars as a potentially likely candidate for democracy, Tunisia possesses a relatively high level of socioeconomic development (as well as associated benefits) and an ethnically homogenous population—both factors that increase the likelihood of

democratization.¹ These structural factors, however, cannot fully explain Tunisia's democratic transition. In order to highlight the deficiencies in using structural factors to explain the democratization of Tunisia, it is useful to examine Egypt, a country very visibly affected by the Arab Spring that has not transitioned successfully to democracy despite somewhat similar structural factors to Tunisia. As such, the roles of various actors within Tunisia during the revolution must also be examined.

Key to Tunisia's successful democratization during and after the Arab Spring has been an institutionally weak military, the coalition and consensus forming results of Tunisia's first election following the fall of Ben Ali, and the existence of a strong civil society and a political culture that have both embraced democracy. The aim of this paper is to specifically examine the manner in which the strong degree of cooperation between the Islamist Ennahda Party and its secular and centrist counterparts have influenced Tunisia's democratic transition. Ennahda's peaceful rule over the country extended from 2011 to 2014, when the center-left Nidaa Tounes party gained presidential and parliamentary control through elections. Tunisia's democratic success under an Ennahda led government lies in direct contrast to the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood's brief, tumultuous period of control before the military and popular unrest forced them from power. The Tunisian civil society and political culture, which largely viewed Islamism with suspicion, pushed Ennahda—originally actually influenced by the Muslim Brotherhood—to evolve into a more moderate, progressive organization. An Islamist party tempered by national support of secularism and liberal values, Ennahda and its role in Tunisia's early democratic success suggest that a predominately Muslim state does not necessarily need strict secularity to achieve democracy.

Structural Factors in Tunisia's Democratization

A variety of structural factors, most of which are fairly obvious and have seen extensive exploration by democratization scholars, have helped lead to the success of democracy in Tunisia. As Larry Diamond, Juan Linz, and Seymour Lipset describe, democracy has at least some relationship with both socioeconomic development and social structure.² In 1959 Lipset seminaly presented his modernization theory, which linked economic development to social development and an increased receptivity to democracy.³ Although facing significant intellectual challenge from scholars subscribing to the transitology school of thought regarding democratization, a large number of academics have continued to assert the importance of structural conditions to democracy's emergence.⁴ The theory has undergone some revision as different scholars have examined it, with famed theorizer of democracy Adam Przeworski emphasizing that a high level of socioeconomic development does a much better job of preventing democratic breakdown than actually initiating democratic transition⁵ and political scientists Carles Boix and Susan Stokes suggesting that democracy is not caused by a high income per capita per se but by other changes that accompany development, in particular, income equality.⁶ Although not

¹ Eva Bellin, "Drivers of Democracy: Lessons from Tunisia,[" *Crown Center: Middle East Brief*, 75 (2014), 1.

² Larry Diamond, Juan Linz, and Seymour Lipset, introduction to *Politics in Developing Countries: Comparing Experiences with Democracy*. ed. Larry Diamond, et al., (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995), 22.

³ Seymour Martin Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," *The American Political Science Review*, 53 (1959), 69-105.

⁴ Thomas Carothers, "The End of the Transition Paradigm," *Journal of Democracy*, 13 (2002), 6.

⁵ Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi, "Political Regimes and Economic Growth," *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 7 (1993), 51-69.

⁶ Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes, "Endogenous Democratization," *World Politics*, 55 (2003), 540.

necessarily the cause of democracy high levels of socioeconomic development generally correlate with the presence of democracy.

Tunisia, possessing a strong middle class and relative economic freedom during Ben Ali's reign, was deemed by some to be among the best Arab countries in terms of economic transparency and equity and was generally regarded to be a promising candidate for democratization.⁷ Possessing a gross domestic product (GDP) per capita of \$4,305 in 2011, compared to a GDP per capita of \$2,816 in Egypt,⁸ Tunisia's level of economic development, at the time of the Arab Spring, gave it a decent probability of democratic transition and a good probability of avoiding democratic breakdown.⁹ Possessing a better economy, Tunisia also has better education and healthcare systems than Egypt, enjoying higher literacy rates, life expectancies, and fertility rates—all signs of a more developed country. Furthermore, unlike many of its Arab peers, Tunisia possesses little oil and does not receive an extremely high level of foreign aid, indicating that it is not a rentier state.

Comparatively, Egypt, although possessing little oil as well, received \$1.5 billion in aid from the United States in 2011,¹⁰ allowing the maintenance of a strong and coercive security apparatus.¹¹ Interestingly enough though, Egypt possesses a lower degree of social inequality than Tunisia according to the Gini index. Regardless, Tunisia's level of income equality is still within the realm of successful democracies (including the United States).¹² Indeed, although Tunisia was generally better positioned than Egypt for a successful democratic transition in terms of socioeconomic development, Egypt was not necessarily a bad candidate for democratization. However, despite a number of supporters of modernization theory, socioeconomic development alone cannot usually explain democratization, as acknowledged by Diamond, Linz and Lipset.¹³ Eva Bellin, a Middle East expert, further describes the inability of development to guarantee democracy by pointing out examples of countries that have failed to democratize despite high levels of development like Chile and Argentina, countries that have democratized despite low levels of development like India and Mongolia, and even Tunisia's inability to democratize in 1987 despite a variety of structural factors in its favor.¹⁴ Thus, factors other than socioeconomic development are in play regarding Tunisia's democratization success.

The demographics of Tunisia and Egypt are perhaps another reason that the two countries' respective paths have diverged greatly from 2011 onwards. Tunisia, possessing a median age of almost 30 years in 2011, had an older population than Egypt, which had a median age of around 25 years.¹⁵ According to research conducted by political demographer Richard Cincotta, countries with older populations are generally much more stable and less likely to be susceptible to authoritarianism.¹⁶ Tunisia falls into what Cincotta terms an intermediate age bracket, with a median age between 25 and 35, and thus was in much better shape to emerge into a democracy than most of its Arab peers that also

⁷ Jacob Abadi, *Tunisia since the Arab Conquest: The Saga of a Westernized State* (Padstow, Cornwall: Ithaca Press, 2013), 532.

⁸ "GDP per capita (current US\$)," The World Bank, accessed October 30, 2015, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD>.

⁹ Boix and Stokes, "Endogenous Democratization," 537.

¹⁰ "Foreign Aid Explorer," USAID, accessed December 1, 2015, <https://explorer.usaid.gov/>.

¹¹ Eva Bellin, "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective," *Comparative Politics*, 36 (2004), 148.

¹² "Tunisia," CIA World Factbook, last modified 2015.

¹³ Diamond, Linz, and Lipset, introduction, 22.

¹⁴ Bellin, "Drivers of Democracy: Lessons from Tunisia," 2.

¹⁵ Sara Reardon, "Egypt: Arab Spring could be wasted in youthful nations," *New Scientist*, (2012).

¹⁶ Richard Cincotta, "More on Tunisia's Age Structure, its Measurement, and the Knowledge Derived," *NewSecurityBeat*, (2011).

experienced widespread revolutionary sentiment in 2011.¹⁷ However, this demographical difference is not itself necessarily the cause of a successful democratic transition. Instead it may only act as an indicator of a “mature, complex society” that is ripe for democratic transition according to *Nature* editor Sara Reardon.¹⁸ Furthermore, the decisions made by the political elite and a well-developed civil society both play a crucial role in allowing a country to capitalize on “democratic initiative” and in actually democratizing.¹⁹ The demographic differences between Tunisia and Egypt were perhaps a telltale indicator that Tunisia was better primed to become a democracy but do not fully explain the dissimilarities between the two countries from 2011 onward.

Another structural factor that scholars have traditionally regarded as an indicator of democratic sustainability is ethnic homogeneity. Scholars usually regard ethnic homogeneity, although not a great predictor of democratic success, to be better than a high level of ethnic diversity, at least in terms of “peaceful electoral contestation.”²⁰ According to political writer Carsten Jensen and political scientist Svend-Erik Skaaning, this phenomenon occurs because “ethnic fractionalization is expected to diminish the willingness for crosscutting mobilization and compromises and to heighten the risk of civil controversies,” thus leading to a decrease in the likelihood of democratization. Tunisia, 98 percent ethnically Arab, and 99 percent Sunni Muslim, certainly has a homogenous population.²¹ Similarly, Egypt, according to its census, is 99.6 percent ethnically Egyptian and 90 percent Muslim.²² However, the Arab world, largely consisting of ethnically homogenous states, is notoriously undemocratic. Indeed, as Alfred Stepan and Graeme Robertson note, “noncompetitive [electorally] Arab countries began with the lowest levels of ethnolinguistic fragmentation.”²³ Although ethnic homogeneity can prove useful in consolidating and maintaining democracy, Tunisia’s ethnically homogenous population does not necessarily explain its successful democratization process.

The Military

Although structural factors may well have primed Tunisia’s democratization process, it seems evident that other, actor driven factors have played a crucial role in Tunisia’s emergence as a democracy. The decisions made by Tunisia’s institutionally weak military were a critical factor in both the success of the Jasmine Revolution and the democratization process thereafter. According to Diamond, Linz, and Lipset, “new and insecure democracies must therefore find ways to strengthen...civilian control over the military,” suggesting that a reduced role for the military is necessary if a democracy is to succeed.²⁴ As described by Bellin, the Tunisian military already had a reduced role by the time of the Arab Spring and was not necessarily “invested in the survival of Ben Ali’s regime.”²⁵ From the founding of the independent state under the leadership of a demagogue, Habib Bourguiba, the military never played a role in internal politics. Even

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Reardon, “Egypt: Arab Spring could be wasted in youthful nations.”

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Alfred Stepan and Graeme Robertson, “An Arab more than a Muslim Electoral Gap,” *Journal of Democracy*, 14 (2003), 40.

²¹ “Tunisia,” CIA World Factbook, accessed November 25, 2015, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ts.html>.

²² “Egypt,” CIA World Factbook, accessed November 25, 2015, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ts.html>.

²³ Stepan and Robertson, “An Arab more than a Muslim Electoral Gap,” 40.

²⁴ Diamond, Linz, and Lipset, introduction, 47.

²⁵ Bellin, “Drivers of Democracy: Lessons from Tunisia,” 4.

though Ben Ali originated as a military officer, he too minimalized the political role of the military upon his assumption of power in 1987. Thus, during the Jasmine Revolution, the military did not aid Ben Ali, instead siding with civilian protestors. This action ensured the beginning of a transition of democratic government. Furthermore, since 2011 the military has not inserted itself into political affairs—a sharp contrast to Egypt’s fate.

Although Egypt’s military had “crony-capitalist” ties to the regime of authoritarian president Hosni Mubarek, a strong degree of professionalism and independence allowed it to act independently of the regime, even as Mubarek faced mounting popular pressure.²⁶ Despite orders to suppress the Tahrir Square protests, the military refused, instead backing the revolutionaries and thereby effectively removing Mubarek from power. Unlike the circumstances seen in Tunisia however, the Egyptian military quickly inserted itself into political affairs immediately after Mubarek’s ouster and used liberal distrust of the Muslim Brotherhood to eventually engineer a coup against President Mohammed Morsi and the Brotherhood, thereby effectively ending Egypt’s abortive experiment with democracy.²⁷ Whereas the Tunisian military quickly removed itself from the civil scene following Ben Ali’s removal, the Egyptian military’s interference in the country’s political affairs hurt its chances of democratizing successfully. However, the difference in the military’s ability to influence affairs in post-revolutionary Tunisia and Egypt respectively demonstrates key differences in the two countries’ civil societies and political cultures—perhaps the most important factors when comparing Tunisia’s success and Egypt’s failure in democratizing.

Tunisian Civil Society and Political Culture

Civil society and political culture had key roles in shaping the outcomes of both the revolution in Tunisia and in Egypt. These social and political dynamics allowed a democratization process to occur in Tunisia and perhaps managed to temper any illiberal or undemocratic tendencies of any of the main political actors following Ben Ali’s removal. Tunisian civil society has a long history with a variety of organizations first emerging in opposition to the French Protectorate. The Destour Party, formed in the early 1920s was an early Tunisian political party that pressed for an end to French rule.²⁸ After enduring a split in leadership, part of the Destour Party would morph into Bourguiba’s Neo-Destour Party, followed by two changes of name as it became the Socialist Destourian Party (PSD) and later Ben Ali’s Rassemblement Constitutionnel Democratique (RCD). Although the party of the president dominated political life, opposition parties like the Islamic Tendency Movement (the forerunner of Ennahdah) and the Movement of Socialist Democrats (MDS) were permitted to operate to a limited degree throughout Tunisian history. However, the government always tilted the playing field just enough to ensure its continued hold on power.²⁹

Labor unions also have had a strong presence in Tunisia’s modern history. After a few relatively unsuccessful attempts to organize Tunisian labor, labor activist Farhat Hached founded the Union Generale des Travailleurs Tunisiens (UGTT) in 1946, a labor organization that has remained active and played a role in the revolution of 2011.³⁰ Although the Ben Ali regime heavily co-opted the UGTT’s leadership, activist rank and

²⁶ Eva Bellin, “Lessons from the Jasmine and Nile Revolutions: Possibilities of Political Transformation in the Middle East,” 4.

²⁷ Nathan J. Brown, “Egypt’s Failed Transition,” *Journal of Democracy*, 24 (2013), 46.

²⁸ Kenneth Perkins, *A History of Modern Tunisia*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014): 85.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 195.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 117.

file members were crucially involved in several social struggles, including the 2008 Gafsa demonstrations.³¹ As one of four organizations deemed part of the Tunisian National Dialogue Quartet, UGTT won a Nobel Peace Prize for being “instrumental in enabling Tunisia...to establish a constitutional system of government irrespective of gender, political conviction or religious belief” according to the Nobel committee.³² Partnered with the Tunisian Confederation of Industry, Trade and Handicrafts (UTICA), the Tunisian Human Rights League (LTDH), as well as the Tunisian Order of Lawyers, UGTT managed to help ensure peace as tensions rose between different political factions in 2013.³³ Although the Bourguiba and Ben Ali regimes rigged the rules of the political game in its favor and sometimes prevented the formation of opposition parties, Tunisia possessed a vibrant civil space which spawned political elites able to lead the country and was able to successfully prevent the country from deteriorating in the aftermath of the revolution.

Although Egypt had a variety of different political organizations and parties that chafed against the rule of King Faruq, the rise of Gamal Nasser and subsequent strongman rule largely stifled Egyptian civil society. In the early 1950s, before the Free Officers Coup, different political groups had emerged, including Wafd (the ruling political party), Young Egypt (a youth group with fascist undertones), the Egyptian Communist Party, and, perhaps most notably, the Muslim Brotherhood.³⁴ However, after the January 1952 coup conducted by the Free Officers Movement, Nasser, upon assuming power, quickly moved to eliminate opposition, outlawing all political parties other than the Arab Socialist Union.³⁵ Although the Muslim Brotherhood continued operating, it faced intense opposition from the regime, perhaps made personal by a Muslim Brotherhood assassination attempt on Nasser. Anwar Sadat, Nasser’s successor, permitted the existence of a few opposition political parties under his reign, but he ultimately ensured that the opposition was tame and incapable of thwarting the regime’s objectives. Assuming power after Sadat’s death in 1981, Mubarak allowed some further liberalization of society during his reign, but civil society still possessed only a limited strength. By 2008 around 30,000 civil organizations of various types existed in Egypt: an impressive amount undoubtedly.³⁶ Labor organizations, historically not possessing much power in Egypt, began to achieve some results in the 2000s, with a variety of strikes and other such actions achieving some results.³⁷ However, the regime still maintained a great deal of control over civil society. Even though civil society played an important role in Mubarak’s removal, with various groups doing much to mobilize popular support for the massive protests in Cairo, Egyptian civil society was largely not powerful enough to shape the actions of political actors following the revolution.

The attitudes of the Tunisian people and political elites—the country’s political culture—played a crucial role in Tunisia’s ability to successfully democratize in the aftermath of the Arab Spring. Although acknowledging that political culture is “plastic and malleable over time,” Diamond, Linz, and Lipset nonetheless maintain that a political culture committed to democracy, especially if supported by the political elites, is crucial to

³¹ Gilbert Achcar and G. M. Goshgarian, *The People Want: A Radical Exploration of the Arab Uprising*, (University of California Press), 124.

³² Julian Borger, “Who are the Tunisian National Dialogue Quartet?” *The Guardian* (2015).

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Derek Hopwood, *Egypt: Politics and Society 1945-1981*, (London: Allen & Unwin, 1982), 23-24.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 91.

³⁶ Hamdy A. Hassan, Civil Society in Egypt under the Mubarek Regime, *Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences*, 2 (2011), 7.

³⁷ Achcar, *The People Want: A Radical Exploration of the Arab Uprising*, 126.

a successful democratic transition.³⁸ In Tunisia most political actors sustained a strong level of support for democracy after Ben Ali's ouster, including Ennahda and various secular parties. Initially after Ben Ali's departure to Saudi Arabia, the then-prime minister, Mohammed Ghannouchi, retained his office and Fouad Mezbaa became the interim president; however, public concern that Ghannouchi was not far enough removed from the Ben Ali regime prompted Mezbaa to dismiss Ghannouchi and to appoint Beji Caid Essebsi as prime minister, ultimately resulting in the prompt disbandment of the Rassemblement Constitutionnel Democratique as well as other institutional remnants of Ben Ali's regime.³⁹ Before his dismissal, Ghannouchi, under public pressure, established the High Commission for the Protection of the Revolution, an organization that was composed of a gamut of political and social figures in order to ensure that the transitional government did not betray the ideals of the movement that deposed Ben Ali.⁴⁰ Bellin credits the great degree of inclusivity in Tunisian politics during this time period—the High Commission doubled its members in order to increase the representation of women and youth, and over one hundred political parties were given legal status—in conjunction with the political elite's long instilled "commitment to dialogue" with helping to create a successful democratic transition.⁴¹

This inclusivity, besides being in and of itself a hallmark of liberal democracy, allowed most segments of Tunisian society at least some degree of representation, perhaps with the effect of reinforcing the Tunisian people's commitment to democracy. Mezbaa's March 2011 announcement of a July election to form a Constituent Assembly charged with drafting a new constitution prompted a further flurry of political activity.⁴² Although circumstances pushed the election back to October 2011, the election, deemed fair and free by international observers, saw Ennahda receiving 41.4 percent of the vote.⁴³ From Bellin's perspective, this result was fortuitous because it "denied a majority to any single party," and "also delivered a large enough share of the vote to the top four or five parties to prevent debilitating fragmentation of the political system."⁴⁴ Forming a coalition with the secular Congress for the Republic (CPR) and Ettakatol parties, Ennahda had to engage in dialogue with secular forces in Tunisia which perhaps managed to curb any wayward, non-democratic, Islamist tendencies. The Constituent Assembly remained in power until November 2014, after the successful passage of a new constitution in January of that year and the following parliamentary elections.⁴⁵ Those elections saw Nidaa Tounes, composed of a coalition of liberal and secular parties, assume power. The following November presidential elections resulted in the election of Essebsi, now the leader of Nidaa Tounes, to the office of president and capped off the first democratic transition of government in Tunisian history.

Ennahda, although losing its plurality in the legislature, did win some seats in the new parliament and has operated within the legal and constitutional confines of Tunisia following its electoral loss. Indeed, Ennahda has been extremely conciliatory to the secular and liberal forces of Tunisia, choosing not to run its own candidate in the 2014 presidential election for fears of being seen as trying "to dominate political power" and even selecting

³⁸ Diamond, Linz, and Lipset, introduction, 19-21.

³⁹ Perkins, *A History of Modern Tunisia*, 229-232.

⁴⁰ Bruce Maddy-Weitzman, "Tunisia's Morning After," *Middle East Quarterly* (2011), 11-17.

⁴¹ Bellin, "Drivers of Democracy: Lessons from Tunisia," 3.

⁴² Perkins, *A History of Modern Tunisia*, 237.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 248.

⁴⁴ Bellin, "Drivers of Democracy: Lessons from Tunisia," 4.

⁴⁵ "Tunisia 2015," accessed December 6, 2015, <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2015/tunisia>.

to join the coalition government of the new Prime Minister, Habib Essid.⁴⁶ Thus, despite relatively widespread fear that Ennahda would subvert democracy in order to impose its Islamist ideals on Tunisia, almost all political actors have remained committed to democracy. Although there have been rough patches in Tunisia's democratization, political actors have found ways to compromise and have not allowed democratic progress to deteriorate.

Comparatively, Egyptian political culture has not proven very conducive to the successful emergence of democracy. With the Muslim Brotherhood and the military both possessing questionable levels of commitment to democracy, it is perhaps no surprise that democracy has struggled to emerge following Mubarak's removal. Hopes for a democratic transition began to fall apart even as early as March 2011, when the military held a referendum in order to approve a number of constitutional amendments that would have "spelled out a way to build a new constitutional order."⁴⁷ The Islamist forces in Egypt including the Muslim Brotherhood and al-Nour (a Salafist group), supported the amendments, but the military decided to undermine the actual impact of these amendments by pasting the approved modifications to the constitution into a new "constitutional declaration," thus starting the creation of a palpable distrust between the Islamists and the military.⁴⁸ Parliamentary elections held in late 2011 and early 2012 only reinforced tensions as the well-organized Muslim Brotherhood and al-Nour together won a commanding victory, despite promises made to the military and secular establishment that the Muslim Brotherhood would not run for seats in most districts. Immediately after their election, the Islamists began to realize the fears of their opposition by appointing individuals with "Islamist inclinations" to the Constituent Assembly—tasked with writing a constitution—despite more promises to appoint nonpartisans and later constructed a similar, second assembly after the courts rejected the first.⁴⁹ However, this parliamentary majority was largely for naught because the "constitutional declaration" written by the military gave the military the ability to essentially neuter many of parliament's powers. Shortly after the election of the Muslim Brotherhood's Morsi to the presidency, the Supreme Constitutional Court ruled that the parliamentary election was unconstitutional, resulting in the disbandment of the lower house of parliament.⁵⁰

Also originally promising that they would not run a candidate in the presidential election, the Muslim Brotherhood's victory in the presidential election proved yet another cause of the growing schism between the Islamists and their foes.⁵¹ Morsi, often described as a poor politician, did little to smooth over the growing conflict, supporting the passage of a constitution that "deepened the role of Islam in the country's institutions and laws," in a popular referendum (two-thirds of participating Egyptians supported the new constitution) that was boycotted by the Muslim Brotherhood's opposition in December 2012.⁵² Amidst more political wrangling throughout the early months of 2013, popular resentment grew against Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood, leading the military to remove Morsi from office on July 3, 2013. Tarek Masoud alleges that the Egyptian "political landscape was incapable of sustaining [democracy]"—due to the greater

⁴⁶ Rory McCarthy, "Tunisia's Ennahda: Between Preaching and Politics" (paper presented at annual MESA Panel, October 2015), 13.

⁴⁷ Brown, "Egypt's Failed Transition," 47.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 50.

⁵⁰ Brown, "Egypt's Failed Transition," 48.

⁵¹ Tarek Masoud, "Egyptian Democracy: Smothered in the Cradle, or Stillborn?," *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 20 (2014), 8.

⁵² Ibid., 7.

organization of the Muslim Brotherhood and the lack of any comparable secular political force—thus leading to this breakdown of democratic progress.⁵³ With the Muslim Brotherhood possessing a conception of democracy that was “shallow and often illiberal,” the secular opposition rejecting election results and the military ultimately delivering the coup de grace to Egypt’s democratization process, the political culture of the elites of Egypt was not democratic enough to support the successful emergence of an actual liberal democracy.⁵⁴ Haunted by the specter of 60 years of authoritarian rule, the political actors of Egypt were too distrustful of each other and the potential results of the democratic process to allow a democratic Egypt to take shape.

The Shaping of an Islamist Group

Ennahda and the Muslim Brotherhood, although both founded in Arab, Islamic societies, have perhaps naturally evolved into organizations with different political aims and goals. Ennahda, like the Muslim Brotherhood in some ways, has had a long sometimes antagonistic relationship with the government. However, never possessing quite the cohesive ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood, Ennahda has been shaped quite significantly by a variety of influences throughout its history. According to Alfred Stepan, with Tunisia enjoying “a long intellectual and educational tradition that combines important secular and spiritual elements,” it is perhaps not entirely surprising that Ennahda and the secular forces in the country have been able to reconcile themselves.⁵⁵ Secularism first began to be encouraged by the Tunisian political elite following Tunisia’s achievement of independence. Despite using Islam to his benefit while mobilizing popular sentiment during Tunisia’s independence movement, Bourguiba, once president, quickly moved to embrace a modern, French styled secularization of society.⁵⁶ Thus, the Bourguiba regime increasingly marginalized Islam’s role in public society.

However, Al-Jam’ah al-Islamiyah (The Islamic Group), Ennahda’s predecessor founded in 1970 by Rachid Ghannouchi, Abelfattah Mourou, and Ehmda Enneifer, emerged out of a vacant space in Tunisian society left empty by the failure of leftist economic reforms in the late 1960s and by the crushing defeat suffered by Arabs during the Six Day War in 1967.⁵⁷ With Marxism and Arab Nationalism both somewhat discredited as ideologies, Islamism began to emerge as a viable ideological alternative in Tunisian society. Ghannouchi and Enneifer met first while studying in Paris as members of Tablighi Jamaat, a proselytizing Islamic group.⁵⁸ Upon returning to Tunisia, Ghannouchi and Enneifer met Mourou, a member of a Tablighi Jamaat cell in Tunisia and together with a number of other young, religiously motivated men founded al-Jama’ah al-Islamiyah, which initially was a strictly apolitical, missionary organization in the tradition of Tablighi Jamaat.⁵⁹

However, by 1973, beginning to attract attention from Bourguiba’s regime, al-Jama’ah al-Islamiyah began acting more similar to the Muslim Brotherhood, adopting a more politically and socially comprehensive view of Islam.⁶⁰ Moreover, it was around this

⁵³ Ibid., 13.

⁵⁴ Brown, “Egypt’s Failed Transition,” 50.

⁵⁵ Alfred Stepan, “Tunisia’s Transition and the Twin Tolerations,” *Journal of Democracy* 23 (2012), 97.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 100.

⁵⁷ Mohamed Elhachmi Hamdi, *The Politicization of Islam*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998), 10, 16.

⁵⁸ Azzam S. Tamimi, *Rachid Ghannouchi: A Democrat within Islamism*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 24.

⁵⁹ Hamdi, *The Politicization of Islam*, 19.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 21.

time that Anwar Sadat began to liberalize Egypt to some extent, releasing Muslim Brotherhood prisoners and thus allowing the Muslim Brotherhood's message to reach Tunisia to a greater degree.⁶¹ Furthermore, after the Tunisian government placed prohibitions on al-Jama'ah, Ghannouchi realized that the open, conversionary tactics used by the group previously would not work in a civil sphere on which Bourguiba kept a firm hand, prompting a turn to the secretive, highly organized methods of the Muslim Brotherhood.⁶²

Between 1973 and 1981, al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah grew steadily as an organization, especially on university campuses. There Islamist students waged fierce ideological battles against the leftist groups that dominated Tunisian intellectual life of the day.⁶³ Ghannouchi, a philosophy teacher for a period of time, reflected this trend, spending a good deal of time polemically assaulting the philosophy and political teachings of the west.⁶⁴ Bourguiba's regime, then, was not al-Jama'ah's primary enemy initially. Lacking ideological cohesion, al-Jama'ah split in the late 1970s, with Enneifer resigning from the organization due to ideological differences, namely that he disliked the group's relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood and was in favor of seriously rethinking elements of Islamic thought to fall more in line with democratic, liberal thinking.⁶⁵

Al-Jama'ah survived this split with minimal immediate change in ideology, but it did begin to change in nature quite significantly in the late 1970s. The emergence of a democratic movement in Tunisia, led by former Prime Minister Ahmad al-Mestiri, resulted in the formation of some ties between Tunisian democrats and Ennahda as well as an increasing receptiveness to the thinking of Islamic reformers friendly to democracy like Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani and Muhammad Abduh.⁶⁶ A massive workers' strike in 1978 had the further effect of pushing the organization directly into the public sphere, shifting its focus from ideological debates to hands-on civic and political participation.⁶⁷ Finally, the 1979 Iranian Islamic Revolution had a massive impact on the mindset and goals of al-Jama'ah. The first demonstration of a successful Islamic political movement, the Islamic Revolution encouraged the members of al-Jama'ah by showing that their efforts could indeed result in success.⁶⁸ However, this influence did not extend ideologically to Jama'ah—the group never sought complete control over the Tunisian state in the manner of the Iranian ayatollahs.

After Bourguiba discovered the existence of al-Jama'ah in 1980, the organization found itself forced to change, eventually making the decision to relaunch as a political party named Harakat al-Ittijah al-Islami (the Islamic Trend Movement, or MTI). Bourguiba combated this effort vigorously, however, imprisoning 107 activists—including Ghannouchi and Morou—inadvertently prompting a decent amount of public sympathy for the organization.⁶⁹ Despite some violence committed by MTI members, Ghannouchi began to further refine his approach to democracy and Western civilization,⁷⁰ adopting a more conciliatory attitude by “looking for a social, human and civilizational model that reflects its religion and heritage and answers the current needs and challenges.”⁷¹ Released from

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Tamimi, *Rachid Ghannouchi: A Democrat within Islamism*, 37.

⁶³ Hamdi, *The Politicization of Islam*, 26.

⁶⁴ Tamimi, *Rachid Ghannouchi: A Democrat within Islamism*, 35.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 44.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 48.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 52.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 34.

⁶⁹ Hamdi, *The Politicization of Islam*, 47.

⁷⁰ Tamimi, *Rachid Ghannouchi: A Democrat within Islamism*, 69.

⁷¹ Hamdi, *The Politicization of Islam*, 48.

prison in 1984, Ghannouchi returned shortly thereafter, in 1987, alongside 88 fellow MTI members accused of attempting to overthrow the state.⁷² Bourguiba's insistence that Ghannouchi be handed out a death sentence threatened widespread violence and led to Ben Ali's bloodless takeover of the country.

Ben Ali, adopting a somewhat more liberal position and generally tolerating MTI in the early stages of his reign, held an election in 1989. MTI changed its name to Ennahda and ran a number of candidates in it (winning 17 percent of vote, behind the ruling Rassemblement Constitutionnel Democratique), making the same fatal flaw that the Muslim Brotherhood would repeat in Egypt's 2011 elections by alarming elements of society fearful of Islamists with its electoral success and thereby prompting a negative backlash (not helped by accusations of Ennahda violence).⁷³ Ghannouchi and other Ennahda leaders then fled to London, where they remained until Ben Ali's overthrow. By the late 2000s, Ennahda leadership even began to adopt a more conciliatory tone to the Ben Ali regime, suggesting that its goals had become drastically tempered since 1987.⁷⁴

In exile, Ghannouchi further outlined his support for an Islamic model of democracy, setting the stage for Ennahda's triumphant return to Tunisian politics in 2011. As mentioned earlier, Ennahda has generally been able to compromise with other elements of Tunisian society since 2011. For example, many Ennahda members strongly desired the new Tunisian constitution to reference sharia.⁷⁵ However, facing strong opposition from different secular movements from within Tunisian society, Ennahda did an about-face. Indeed, Ennahda has increasingly presented itself as a "modern, technically competent political party that had developed from its Islamist preaching origins into a pragmatic force for political consensus and economic development."⁷⁶ This partial disavowal has created somewhat of an internal schism in Ennahda, with some desiring Ennahda to maintain more of its original hardline edge. Moreover, following the 2014 election there were some calls that Ennahda should split into two groups, one a political party seeking not to implement Sharia as a strict code of law, but rather to pursue the "broader objectives of the Sharia (maqāṣid al-shari'a), such as freedom, rights, civility, and equality," and another, non-political organization devoted to preaching.⁷⁷ Thus, although Ennahda has never proven to be extremely ideologically cohesive, it has been increasingly ready to drop parts of its ideology if deemed politically expedient.

In a manner somewhat reminiscent of the way in which Ennahda's ideology has shifted historically, the ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood has moved to an acceptance of democracy; however, the Muslim Brotherhood has remained throughout its history a steadfast proponent of a fundamentally Islamic state, governed by the principles of sharia. Founded in 1928 by Hasan al-Banna, the Muslim Brotherhood has long been a prominent oppositional force in Egypt. Originally focused on providing religious and educational programs to Egyptians, the Brotherhood became politicized and initiated some political violence in the 1940s.⁷⁸ Arguing that a rejection of the West and the embracement of Islamic ideas was necessary to return Egypt and the Middle East back to their former glory, the Muslim Brotherhood was one of the first and most influential Islamist movements.⁷⁹

⁷² Tamimi, *Rachid Ghannouchi: A Democrat within Islamism*, 70.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ McCarthy, "Tunisia's Ennahda: Between Preaching and Politics," 3.

⁷⁵ Stepan, "Tunisia's Transition and the Twin Tolerations," 115.

⁷⁶ McCarthy, "Tunisia's Ennahda: Between Preaching and Politics," 4.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁷⁸ *Britannica Academic*, s.v. "Muslim Brotherhood," accessed December 16, 2015.

⁷⁹ Mona El-Ghobashy, "The Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 37 (2005), 376.

After Nasser's ascent to power, a purported Brotherhood attempt on his life prompted him to enact a massive crackdown on the organization. It was during this era that the writings of Sayyid Qutb, one of the intellectual founders of modern day radical Islam, emerged to prominence as guiding precepts of the organization.⁸⁰ Heavily suppressed for the remainder of Nasser's rule, the Brotherhood had a reduced role in Egyptian society until Sadat's "de-Nasserification" of Egypt gave the organization increased room to operate and another chance to participate in Egyptian politics. By the middle of the 1980s, the Brotherhood began to assert itself increasingly.

Although the Muslim Brotherhood has attempted to use elections to its advantage for decades (al-Banna ran for office twice in the 1940s), it has embraced the idea of elections with gusto in the last 30 years as a means of achieving some form of power. Even though not a legal political party at that time, the Brotherhood still managed to run, in a manner of speaking, in the 1984 elections through an alliance with the Wafd party, seemingly signifying a commitment to democracy as a viable means of government.⁸¹ Moreover, participating in the 1987 election as well as publicly demanding democracy's "full implementation into the Egyptian political system," the organization began to demonstrate that it had real dedication to democracy, at least on the surface.⁸² However, despite its acceptance of democracy as a method of government, it still favored the use of sharia as the guiding legal principle of the Egyptian state.⁸³ It also seems likely that at least some of this acceptance of democracy was a strategy to gain more acceptance from the regime and the people. Regardless, the fact that the Brotherhood proved willing to endorse democracy does show that the Egyptian political scene influenced the organization into changing its behavior.

The Muslim Brotherhood continued its support of democracy throughout the 1990s and 2000s; however, its continued support of sharia, coupled with a growing amount of popular support due to an effective grassroots network, provoked the Mubarak regime to enact increasingly repressive measures against the organization.⁸⁴ During this time, the younger generation of Brotherhood members demonstrated somewhat of a break from the organization's ideology of the past, making statements in favor of women's rights and party pluralism; the older generation, though, largely retained its hardline conceptions.⁸⁵ Moreover, doubts as to the actual depth of the Brotherhood's commitment to democracy have continued to abound, with contradictory statements made by its leaders raising fears that the organization only desired democracy "as a first step toward the ultimate establishment of a political system based not on the preferences of the Egyptian people but the will of God as they understand it."⁸⁶ Certainly not an organization with the same ideals it possessed at the time of its founding, the Brotherhood's true position on democracy was nevertheless unknown.

Although it is perhaps unfair to judge the Brotherhood's stance on democracy by its performance governing Egypt after the Arab Spring—due to the difficult position that the military and secular opposition put it in—the sincerity of the organization's commitment to democracy was certainly doubtful, to say the least. For instance, the

⁸⁰ *Britannica Academic*, "Muslim Brotherhood."

⁸¹ El-Ghosabashy, "The Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers," 379.

⁸² Chris Harnisch and Quinn Mecham, "Democratic Ideology in Islamist Opposition? The Muslim Brotherhood's 'Civil State,'" *Middle Eastern Studies*, 45 (2009), 191.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 193.

⁸⁵ El-Ghosabashy, "The Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers," 382.

⁸⁶ Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, "The Muslim Brotherhood and Democratic Transition in Egypt," *Middle East Law and Governance*, 3 (2011), 205.

Brotherhood's opposition alleged that the organization was attempting the "Brotherhoodization" of the country, namely that it was trying to fill the government with only Brotherhood members.⁸⁷ Furthermore, the constitution that the Brotherhood proposed "codified ultra-conservative restrictions on freedom of faith and expression," potentially hurting the freedom of religious minorities and the Brotherhood's political opposition.⁸⁸ These illiberal actions, although not necessarily the primary cause of the Brotherhood's removal from power, certainly did not help the situation. Moreover, when compared to Ennahda's behavior upon assuming power, it is evident that Ennahda behaved in a much more conciliatory manner to its opposition than the Muslim Brotherhood did.

Conclusion

A wide variety of different factors, some structural and some not, are likely to have caused the difference in outcome of the respective transition processes of Tunisia and Egypt. Richer, more educated, possessing a stronger middle class and more favorable demographics, Tunisia had all the structural factors lined up in its favor for a successful democratic transition. Tunisia's military also behaved in a manner much more conducive to democracy than Egypt's, returning to the barracks almost immediately rather than inserting itself into the political sphere. Moreover, with both a robust civil society and a political culture primed for democratization lurking under Ben Ali's nose, the political leadership of Tunisia was continuously kept on a democratic track, ready to check the appearance of any potentially illiberal act.

However, the behavior of the two Islamist organizations that found themselves in positions of leadership during each respective transition also warrants a close look. It seems clear that the two organizations behaved differently from each other during a period of democratic transition, resulting in dramatically different final outcomes. As the result of their respective experiences with repressive regimes, both Ennahda and the Muslim Brotherhood have made increasingly democratic overtures in recent years. Ennahda, though, never possessing a cohesively thought-out ideology, has proven much more adaptable to conditions existing in a liberal democracy. Moreover, according to Stepan, it has done a good job of respecting the twin tolerations necessary for a successful liberal democracy, not attempting to establish any sort of theocratic rule.⁸⁹ Although still purporting to want to govern Tunisia according to Islamic principles, Ennahda has mostly abandoned its former goal of imposing a version of sharia on the country, instead acquiescing to the demands of its liberal peers. The Muslim Brotherhood, on the other hand, stuck to its ideological guns and paid a heavy price for doing so, losing its power and ultimately getting outlawed. Although the unique set of factors found in Tunisia may make replication of its democratization process difficult, Ennahda is perhaps an example of how an Islamism and liberal democracy can successfully coexist.

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⁸⁷ Wael Nawara, "It's the Egyptian Identity, Stupid," *Al-Monitor*, (2013).

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ Stepan, "Tunisia's Transition and the Twin Tolerations," 89.

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Britain and the European Union: Forty Years of Uncertainty

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Hanna Kimpel

Abstract

The United Kingdom is facing a referendum, to occur by the end of 2017, when British citizens will get the opportunity to vote on whether or not the UK should remain a member of the European Union. For Britain, the referendum is a flashback to 1975, when the nation held a similar referendum where voters decided to remain in the European Economic Community. In the four decades since then, however, Britain has continued to be haunted by its ambivalent and awkward relationship with the rest of the European continent. This study explains why Britain has historically occupied the role as being an outsider within Europe and analyzes the events surrounding the 1975 referendum, as well as the future one. In addition, this study predicts the fate of Britain if it does decide to exit the EU, outlining the numerous effects that Britain would experience if it chooses to abandon its EU membership.

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Introduction

On January 23, 2013, British Prime Minister David Cameron gave a speech on Britain's relationship with Europe, in reference to an issue the United Kingdom has been grappling with for more than forty years: should Britain leave the European Union (EU)? He boldly stated: "If we left the European Union, it would be a one-way ticket, not a return. So we will have time for a proper, reasoned debate. At the end of that debate you, the British people, will decide."¹ With the country continuing to occupy a role as a quasi-outsider within the rest of Europe, and with increasing feelings of disenchantment with the EU, many people in Britain favor exiting the organization and taking a more isolationist approach to foreign policy and trade.

As part of his political campaign during the 2015 election, Cameron promised a referendum on the issue to take place by the end of 2017, when voters will directly decide the fate of Britain's relationship with Europe. For many, the concept of a direct vote on the matter is a flashback to 1975, when Britain held an identical referendum, asking voters whether or not Britain should remain in the European Economic Community (EEC). Although two-thirds of voters supported Britain's ongoing participation in the EEC, the dissent in Britain has lingered. Forty years later, the uncertainty of Britain's role in Europe remains as politicians still dispute the now infamous in/out question for Britain.

¹ David Cameron, "Britain and Europe," Lecture, January 23, 2013.

Although the wording of the referendum will no doubt echo that of the 1975 proposition, much has changed within Britain and the European community in the past forty years. The circumstances surrounding the two referendums are vastly different, as are the potential consequences for Britain if it chooses to leave the European Union this time. In 1975, Britain had only been a member of the EEC for two years after joining under the leadership of conservative Prime Minister Edward Heath. Wary of Britain's entrance into the organization, the Labour Party promised a referendum when they came to power in 1974, allowing the British people to decide for themselves whether or not they wanted Britain to be a member of the EEC. The referendum was held on June 5 1975, and proved victorious for the conservatives with 67 percent of British voters choosing to remain in the organization.²

Today, however, it tends to be the Labour Party that supports Britain's membership in the EU, while the Conservative Party and the fairly new right-wing United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) oppose membership. In addition to changing party lines by the major political parties in Britain, the EU itself has also become a completely different playing field since 1975. It has grown from ten to twenty-eight member states, and has expanded from being an institution for the sake of promoting a common market system, to a much more dynamic organization that exercises authority in many realms of its member states.³ In the past forty years, the EU has changed considerably and has greatly expanded the role that it plays in its member states. Thus, the potential effects of Britain's withdrawal are tremendously more wide-ranging today.

The greatest incentive for Britain to remain in the EU is its current access to the common market. Those in favor of membership argue that without the common market, which allows free trade throughout Europe, Britain's trade will severely suffer, its foreign investors will decrease, and its GDP will fall.⁴ Many Eurosceptics recognize the importance of remaining in the free market, and wish to negotiate a way to exit the EU but still remain in the common market (a system which Norway, Switzerland, Iceland, and Liechtenstein have, although those nations have never before been full members of the EU). However, the EU is no longer just an economic market, but has expanded its authority over several sectors of its member states. Therefore, exiting the EU threatens to not only disrupt the economy of Britain, but many more factors such as national identity, immigration/emigration, jobs, education, Britain's overall influence, and the Scottish independence movement. Many Britons in favor of withdrawal from the EU wish to increase sovereignty that would allow Britain to make more decisions for itself. However, others feel that exiting the EU may cause more harm than good, and that the benefits of EU membership far outweigh the negative ramifications. While it is difficult to estimate just how severe the effects of British withdrawal would be, it is clear that the effects would be experienced in many different areas of British life and threaten to forever define Britain's place in Europe.

The European Economic Community and the 1975 Referendum

When the European Economic Community was first created, it was a much different organization than the European Union we know today. The EEC was formally

² Matthew Elliot, "Seven Lessons from Britain's 1975 EEC Referendum," *The Telegraph* (2015).

³ Michael Chisholm, *Britain on the Edge of Europe*, (London: Routledge, 1995), 6.

⁴ Hugo Dixon, *The In/Out Question*, (S.I.: Scampstonian, 2014), 17.

established in 1957 by six founder states: France, West Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg, Italy, and the Netherlands, though the organization and its member countries already had its roots in the European Coal and Steel Company (ECSC). The ECSC was created in 1951 to facilitate an economic market for the production of coal and steel in Europe. The EEC grew largely out of the ECSC, and its primary purpose expanded to create a common market and customs union, in order to form better trade relations among its member states.⁵

In the 1960s, Britain was not trying to find a way out of the European market, but a way to join it. Hopeful to partake in the union, Britain applied unsuccessfully for membership into the EEC twice: once in 1961 and again in 1969, but both times was told “non” by President Charles de Gaulle of France, who used his veto power to prevent Britain’s entrance, denying both applications.⁶ In the 1950s and 60s postwar era, France was flourishing, experiencing somewhat of a French “renaissance” with a high rate of economic growth, much higher than that of Britain. De Gaulle denied Britain’s application to the EEC, declaring “l’Angleterre, ce n’est plus grand chose,” (Britain is not much any more).⁷ Europeans were also wary of the closeness of Anglo-US relations, and feared that by Britain entering the EEC, the United States would come to have influence in European affairs. De Gaulle eventually resigned in 1969, and Britain’s application was finally approved in 1973 and Britain entered the EEC under the Conservative government of Edward Heath. For a decade, Britain had been essentially begging to join the EEC and was unwelcomed by Europe, mostly out of fear within Europe that Britain was not compatible with the union, and would open the door to American influence in European politics.

Britain had not even been a member of the EEC for two years, however, when the country was already contemplating an exit, due to divided feelings toward its membership within the European community. The Labour Party, led by Harold Wilson, ascended to power in October of 1974. Wilson felt that the Conservatives who had negotiated Britain’s entrance into the EEC had done a poor job, resulting in negative stipulations for Britain’s membership. Under particular scrutiny was the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), which remains one of the most controversial EU policies today. A large percentage of EU funding goes toward the CAP, which subsidizes farmers. Britain has accused the CAP of being a huge financial drain, which has fewer benefits than costs and needlessly raises the price of food.⁸ Moreover, the Labour Party felt that EU membership limited British sovereignty by transferring too much power from Westminster to Brussels. Wilson wished to renegotiate the conditions surrounding Britain’s membership. As part of his Labour Party’s platform in 1974, Wilson promised to attempt renegotiation with the EU and then present the new conditions to the British citizens who would then be able to decide for themselves whether or not they wanted to remain a part of the European community.

After Wilson’s government came to power in 1974, Wilson renegotiated the terms with the EU, resulting in new stipulations, which were passed by the House of Commons and then drafted into a referendum. The referendum, the first in British history, occurred on June 5, 1975, barely two years after Britain originally joined the EEC. With a

⁵ Sam Wilson, “Britain and the EU,” *BBC* (2014).

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Kathryn Hadley, “Back when Britain was Banging on Europe’s Door,” *The Guardian* (2012).

⁸ Stephen Wall, *A Stranger in Europe* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008), 73.

65 percent turnout rate, Britain voted two-to-one in favor of remaining in the EEC.⁹ Conservatives tended to vote in favor of remaining in the organization while Wilson's cabinet and the Labour Party proved to be split over the decision. The "Yes Campaign," advocating for remaining a part of the common market, comprised the majority of the Conservative Party including its new leader, Margaret Thatcher. It was supported by some of the Labour Party, including a majority of Wilson's own cabinet, with 148 Labour parliament members voting against their own party's movement. One hundred and thirty-eight Labour parliament members and many from the Labour Party voted in the "No Campaign," which was led by Wilson.¹⁰

Wilson referred to the result of the referendum as a "historic decision" for Britain. Roy Jenkins, the Home Secretary at the time claimed: "It puts the uncertainty behind us. It commits Britain to Europe; it commits us to playing an active, constructive, and enthusiastic role in it."¹¹ The general prediction following the referendum was that Britain had earnestly made the decision to remain in Europe, and therefore Britain was now a true part of the continent and a powerful member of the EU, who would integrate into its role and make the EU a better organization. Jenkins could not have been more wrong, however. Forty years later, the uncertainty persists, Britain continues to retain its position as an awkward outsider in Europe, and still, Britain is haunted by the in/out question and a looming referendum.

In or Out?

Throughout modern history, Britain has occupied a role as being an outsider—culturally, geographically, and politically—from the rest of Europe, a semi-detached position that contributes to Britain's political isolation within foreign affairs. Geographically, Britain is physically cut off from the rest of the continent, fueling its sense of isolation. Historically, Britain has been more uninterested in the continent than many of its European neighbors. The early development of English identity was driven by the use of a single language and the establishment of English law—which occurred in Britain centuries earlier than in many other European states. This sense of separate identity only strengthened after Henry VIII's split from the Catholic church and the establishment of a national church.¹² Later on, during the heyday of the British Empire, Britain was generally preoccupied with its colonies and did not see a reason to maintain close ties with its European counterparts.¹³ In addition, the rest of Europe has consistently criticized Britain for its "special relationship" with the United States, suggesting that Britain identifies more with American politics and lifestyle than European. This shifted somewhat after the Suez Canal Crisis of 1956, which was an utter humiliation to Britain's power. The event severely decreased Britain's influence in the world and strained Anglo-US relations.¹⁴ It became clear to the world that Britain's long-lived empire was nearing its end. This occurred during the Cold War, and Britain felt a need to join a stable organization during a time of geopolitical chaos. Britain was then more inclined to attempt to mend relations with its European neighbors, although it still did not

⁹ Matthew Elliot, "Seven Lessons from Britain's 1975 EEC Referendum," *The Telegraph* (2015).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ "UK Embraces Europe in Referendum," *BBC On This Day* (1975).

¹² Anthony Smith, "Set in the Silver Sea: British National Identity and European Integration," *Nations and Nationalism* (2006).

¹³ Wall, *A Stranger in Europe*, 2.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

successfully integrate into European culture; today, Britain retains its position as being an outsider within the continent.

The identity as being a “stranger” in Europe resonates with the British population. In 2014, 58 percent of British people polled claimed that they were “not European.”¹⁵ Although Britain is definitively a country geographically in Europe, more than half Britons do not consider themselves to be truly European. The same sentiments are apparent in British politics as well. Throughout its membership in the EU, Britain has been the country that has opted-out the most number of times from EU policies.¹⁶ It has refused to adopt the Euro as its currency. In addition, it contains a number of trivial differences such as driving on the opposite side of the road, operating under a different time zone than most of Europe, the use of different outlet plugs, and the use of common law rather than civil law. While some of these contrasts are minor, collectively they represent Britain’s distinct identity as being different from the rest of the European continent.

Anti-Europe feelings and ideas are becoming more prominent in British society, largely accelerated by the media and tabloids which are notoriously Eurosceptic in their approach to reporting. News outlets often portray the referendum as a chance for Britain to finally stand up for itself and make an escape from a domineering and suppressive EU.¹⁷ The British tabloids have demonized the EU, accusing it of wanting to suppress British culture. Headlines state dramatic exaggerations such as “Now Europe wants to do away with prawn cocktail chips” (an iconic British snack). In reality, the EU was working on a health measure that would limit the amount of legal artificial sweeteners in food, a level that prawn cocktail chips would not pass. The British media has been known for twisting facts in its headlines, stating that Europe is a threat to Britain, and the EU is an organization that steals power from Westminster and attempts to suppress British culture. In the past forty years, the British, with their distinct identity and politics have sought to protect their culture and therefore have been somewhat unwilling to become a fully integrated European nation. Disenchantment with the EU is fueled further by new issues that have more recently arisen such as autonomy over borders. In the last half-century, Britons have become increasingly more mistrustful of the EU, sentiments which are evident in its politics (due to its high level of opt-outs from EU policies) and encouraged by the media.

A Changing Europe

Since the referendum of 1975, the EU has become a completely different playing field in world affairs. Its membership has gone from ten when Britain joined, to twenty-eight member states today under one common market and one currency for the most part.¹⁸ The Cold War is over, and new states such as China, Brazil, and India have risen and altered the geopolitical landscape of the world. In addition, the purpose of the EU is not only to create a common market under which all member states can operate, as it was when the EEC was first founded. The EU has become an entire politico-economic union comprised of a central bank, the Court of Justice that deals with judiciary measures, and the Common Foreign and Security that deals with defense and external

¹⁵ Luke Stanley, "British Public Declare, "We Are Not Europeans," *Breitbart* (2014).

¹⁶ David Charter, *Au Revoir Europe: What if Britain Left the EU?* (London: Biteback Pub, 2012), 152.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 67.

¹⁸ Matthew Elliot, "Seven Lessons from Britain’s 1975 EEC Referendum," *The Telegraph* (2015).

affairs.¹⁹ The EU operates much as if it were a single government comprised of all of its member states, and regulates many aspects of its member nations—everything from the environment to consumer rights. The EU has moved toward becoming a much more wide-ranging and political institution, which at times compromises the sovereignty of a member country's internal government.

Forty years after the first nation-wide referendum in Britain, the issue has persisted and talk of a referendum has resurfaced again. Although the two referendums pose nearly an identical question, the events and sentiments surrounding the two referendums are vastly different. The rise of the relatively new United Kingdom Independence Party has furthered desires to exit the EU. Central to the party's manifesto is its Eurosceptic mentality, in which it demonizes Europe and the EU as being robbers of Britain's sovereignty and culture. This right-wing party, headed by Nigel Farage received 12.6 percent of the votes in the 2015 elections, and has gained traction as being a party promoting Britain's independence and isolation from the rest of Europe for the sake of sovereignty reasons.²⁰ In addition to UKIP, many conservatives are supporting the exit from the EU as well. Central to the conservative party's manifesto in 2015 was the promise of the in/out referendum by the end of 2017, although Conservative leader and current Prime Minister David Cameron advocates for staying in the EU. The Labour Party, meanwhile, tends to heavily favor remaining in the organization. These party lines are opposite from the 1975 referendum, when it was the Labour Party advocating for an exit and the Conservative Party wishing to remain.

While some of the positions have changed, several core arguments have stayed the same throughout Britain's ambivalent relationship with Europe. Britain's sovereignty has always been a key issue in the debate; currently, the UK must adhere to numerous EU policies and regulations. Many Britons feel that business and trade is too regulated, and the numerous red tape wastes money, hurting Britain's economy. Exiting the EU would certainly grant Britain greater autonomy over its internal affairs, including business. In 1975, Wilson was concerned with the high membership costs of the EEC, a complaint that persists. Many British officials complain about the billions of pounds being poured into the EU and feel that not enough benefits are received in return. In 2014, Britain, France, and Germany collectively contributed close to 44 percent of the EU budget, although they represent just three out of the twenty-eight members. Britain alone contributes nearly 10 percent.²¹ The UK has increased its spending on the EU in recent years, but EU spending on the UK is relatively small—resulting in a larger net contribution by Britain over the years. The goal of the EU is not to cater to individual countries but to finance projects that make the union more competitive as a whole. The union often pours money into its weaker, less-developed countries to bolster their economies. This practice has increased in the last fifteen years with the addition of several former Soviet states to the EU after the fall of communism; these new nations require a lot of economic assistance in order to develop their economies and democratic governments.²² This means that developed economies such as the UK get less out of the EU budget than their struggling neighbors. Many in Britain feel this to be unfair, suggesting that the costs outweigh the benefits of membership.

¹⁹ Chisholm, *Britain on the Edge of Europe*, 6.

²⁰ Rowena Mason, "Ukip's Nigel Farage Puts EU Referendum Battle before Party," *The Guardian* (2015).

²¹ European Parliament, *EU Budget Explained: Expenditure and Contribution by Member State* (2015).

²² Charter, *Au Revoir Europe*, 85.

However, as many complaints have continued to persist in the last forty years of membership, new issues have emerged as well. As the EU has expanded to regulate many more areas in the lives of its member nations, sovereignty has become an ever-increasing issue as well. The chief complaints over sovereignty come from the fact that the EU has the power to regulate not only Britain's trade and markets, but also everything from the amount of artificial dyes acceptable in its food to how curvy cucumbers can be. As the EU's power continues to expand, many in Britain are feeling the waning power of their own government and wish to see more autonomy returned to Westminster. Another key difference since the 1975 referendum is the changes in the geopolitical landscape of the world. When Britain joined the EEC, Europe was undeniably one of the most powerful groupings of nations in the world and Britain heavily benefitted from trade with the rest of these highly developed nations. However, the world has since then seen the rise of new powers such as India, China, and Brazil—nations which are appealing to Britain in terms of foreign relations and trade.²³ Some Eurosceptics feel that EU membership cuts Britain off from the rest of the world, hindering its opportunity to potentially create strong relations with other world powers such as these. Lastly, issues of immigration and border control have emerged as possibly one of the largest reasons that Eurosceptics advocate for withdrawal. The EU provides freedom of movement, meaning that a citizen of any EU country has the freedom to live and work in any other EU country without the need of a visa permit.²⁴ With the current immigration crisis, many in Britain, especially conservatives and members of the UKIP political parties, complain about an influx of immigrants seeking residence in Britain and the use of governmental welfare on these immigrants. They would instead favor an end to the EU freedom of movement to allow Britain more autonomy over its borders.

Toward a Second Referendum: Causes and Effects

Citizens of Britain essentially have three options when it comes to the outcome of the future referendum: the country could choose to remain in the EU; Britain could decide to make a complete exit from the EU; or Britain could exit the EU but negotiate favorable terms on which it can still remain a member of the common market without being a member state. Option number two, a full withdrawal for Britain would be economically disastrous for the Gross Domestic Product, as Britain would no longer have access to the common market.²⁵ Options number one and three are therefore the only realistic options for Britain. Most Eurosceptics favor a withdrawal from the EU but to remain a member of the common market, much like Norway, which benefits from the market but has never been a member state. If Britain chooses to maintain membership, it is likely that much will stay the same in British politics. Britain will still have to subvert some of its sovereignty to Brussels, pay dues, and follow the regulations and restrictions of the EU. However, the decision to leave the EU, whether it could still remain a member of the common market or not, holds the power to drastically affect many sectors of British politics and daily life. A British withdrawal would be felt in every aspect from Britain's national identity, trade, markets, and investments, to their world influence,

²³ Katie Allen, Julian Borger, and Arthur Neslen, "Brexit- what would happen if Britain left the EU?," *The Guardian* (2015).

²⁴ Alex Preston, "What would happen if Britain left the EU?," *The Guardian* (2014).

²⁵ *Ibid.*

immigration, jobs, education, and internal affairs such as the Scottish independence movement.

There certainly would be benefits to Britain exiting the EU—Britain's relationship with the EU has indeed worsened in the last forty years with the emergence of new issues facing Europe. An exit would open Britain up to trade and foreign relations with more non-EU countries such as China, India, and Brazil. Britain would gain complete sovereignty over its internal affairs. From border control to business regulation, Britain would be able to create many of its own policies instead of being forced to adhere to numerous EU regulations. Britain would also no longer pay its steep membership fees, where most of the money is funneled into smaller states rather than invested back in the UK. However, with an exit also comes a number of negative effects, and it will be up to the British voters to decide whether or not the benefits of EU membership are worth the costs.

First, a full British withdrawal from the EU holds the power to severely damage Britain's trade, markets, and investments. Exclusion from the common market would make trade from European countries into and out of Britain much more difficult and expensive, as Britain would no longer be under a policy of free trade. As the majority of Britain's trade comes from Europe, this would cause trade to fall and an overall blow to the GDP. Britain needs the common market much more than the common market needs Britain.²⁶ This is why many Eurosceptics advocate leaving the EU upon favorable terms, and retaining membership in at least the Free Trade Agreement, without being a full member of the EU. However, this relationship may not be possible, as an exit from the EU would likely result in some backlash from Europe, making it difficult for Britain to negotiate friendly relations right away. Although Britain would be more available to trade with other nations of the world, it would not be able to trade anywhere as easily or readily as in the EU, so a negative economic impact would still be likely for Britain. Moreover, Britain's exit from the EU would make it a less appealing location for foreign investors. Many investors choose to work in Britain because they then have access to the entire EU, so a British exit would make these investors more likely to relocate to France or Germany. Nestle, Goldman Sachs, Ford, and Hyundai are among a few companies that have already outwardly stated they will look into moving to continental Europe if Britain chooses to leave.²⁷

Jobs in Britain continue to be another key factor dependent on EU membership. Nick Clegg, leader of the Liberal Democrat Party and a pro-Europe advocate, claimed that three million jobs in the UK are dependent on EU membership and that an exit would lead to higher levels of unemployment.²⁸ Although some, such as Farage, claim this number to be an exaggeration, there is no doubt that Britain's withdrawal would initially lead to higher levels of unemployment. This would be due to a decrease in trade, foreign investment, and in the GDP, leading to more lay-offs. Although Farage has acknowledged the fact that Britain would experience an initial loss of jobs and capital, he claims that the UK economy is dynamic and would recover.²⁹ Still, this would be a big risk for Britain. Economists agree that the economy and unemployment would experience negative consequences, but it is difficult to predict just how prominent the ramifications

²⁶ Allen, Borger, and Neslen, "Brexit- what would happen if Britain left the EU?"

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Charter, *Au Revoir Europe*, 248.

²⁹ Allen, Borger and Neslen, "Brexit- what would happen if Britain left the EU?"

would be, and just how long it might take Britain to recover, or if Britain even could recover completely.

Britain's exit from the EU would also give the country more autonomy and security over its borders. As the EU currently allows a freedom of movement, this means that any member of the EU can live, work, and study in any of the other twenty-eight member nations without needing a visa. Many Britons complain that too many unskilled immigrants are entering the country, and are hurting the economy and draining UK welfare. The UKIP campaign platform for the 2015 elections stated that an exit would enable Britain to "take back control of our borders," and full authority over who is allowed to work or study in the country.³⁰ However, statistics do not show an unequal amount of immigrants from the EU entering the UK. Currently, 2.3 million residents of Britain come from other EU countries, while 2.2 million Britons are residing in EU countries, a fairly equal balance.³¹ To end freedom of movement throughout the EU would allow Britain to pick and choose whom they want to allow in their country, but it would also negatively affect their own population. British people currently have the luxury of being able to easily visit Europe for vacations, work, study abroad, or retire to the Mediterranean in their old age. If Britain exited the EU and cracked down on immigration, Europe would be free to retaliate and create the same hardships for British citizens to visit continental Europe.

An end to the freedom of movement between Britain and the other EU member states would also negatively affect education. Currently, students from all of the EU nations can easily study abroad or earn a degree from a university in any European country, while paying EU fees, the same as a citizen from that country. If Britain exits the EU, its citizens will have to pay the overseas price to study in another country, which is typically around four times the cost, making it much less feasible for a British student to be able to study elsewhere in Europe.³² It would also be more difficult for European students to come to Britain, and the country will miss out on having those educated and diverse students. Moreover, Britain would suffer from a lack of culture in its society. The exchange of students through study abroad diversifies a university and allows students to gain firsthand experience of cultural differences. This will make British society and education much more homogenous.³³

Britain's exit from the EU would also affect its overall influence in Europe and the rest of the world. Britain currently is one of the big three in Europe and is known for its political power within Europe. This threatens to diminish in the case that Britain exits the EU. Although critics of membership cite Switzerland and Norway as examples of European countries that are not members of the EU but still maintain friendly relations, Britain is a completely different situation. For starters, Britain has considerable more influence than Norway or Switzerland. Its size, imperial history, and great levels of financial clout and influence make Britain's case for exiting the EU different. Also, Norway and Switzerland have never been members of the EU, so they never deliberately exited the community. Britain's choice to exit could result in bruised egos in Brussels and risk of retaliation from an upset European community. If it is not a member of the EU, Britain will no longer get a vote in European politics, therefore it will have no voice or influence within its own continent. If it remains a member of the Free Trade Agreement,

³⁰ Mason, "Ukip's Nigel Farage Puts EU Referendum Battle before Party."

³¹ Dixon, *The In/Out Question*, 3.

³² Charter, *Au Revoir Europe*, 49.

³³ *Ibid.*

Britain will still have to adhere to all the EU policies on trade, but this time will have no voice in the decision making, which would not increase sovereignty for Britain when it comes to trade, but actually lower it. Within the rest of the world, it is likely that Britain's overall influence would decline as well. At the moment, Britain's power is intertwined within the power all of Europe—without the combined power, Britain on its own is not substantial. Its population accounts for only 1 percent of the world, and its GDP is less than 3 percent.³⁴ Without the backing of the rest of Europe, Britain on its own is not a powerful nation. It will simply not be feasible for Britain to be a major world superpower as an isolated nation.³⁵

Britain's possible decision to exit the EU could also heighten internal tensions in the UK, particularly for the Scottish independence movement. In 2014, Scotland held its own referendum over whether or not Scotland should remain a part of the United Kingdom. The result was close, with 55 percent voting that Scotland should stay.³⁶ Experts warn, however, that if Britain decides to leave the EU, that could be the final straw for Scotland who would then be more inclined to hold another referendum and this time vote to leave the UK. Britain wants to avoid this; Scotland consists of a considerable amount of land mass and GDP within the UK. Exiting the EU and losing Scotland would divide Britain into a fragmented, weaker version of its former power.³⁷ Not only would the UK lose its relations and connection with Europe, but could also lose a considerable piece of its own country as well, a further disadvantage to the likelihood that the British economy would be able to recover.

Conclusion

The Fate of Britain

Britain's historical relationship with the rest of Europe as being an outsider has shaped its relations with the continent. When the EEC was first created, it was the intention of the founder states to purposely exclude the United Kingdom; France in particular wanted the common market to be a strictly European organization, and generally thought Britain's membership would be unnecessary, while also fearing Britain's close relations with the United States. Once Britain infiltrated the organization, it became an unstable member and almost immediately began to question its own membership and role within the European community. Although Britain has risen to be one of the most prominent members and largest contributors to the EU, the uncertainty and instability surrounding Britain's membership has lingered, even forty years after the first referendum. With new issues emerging such as a changing geopolitical landscape, the immigration crisis, and increasing powers of the EU, the in/out question for Britain has resurfaced on the forefront of British politics, leading to the promise of a second referendum.

The current referendum holds the power to affect a much larger realm of potential consequences than the previous, as the EU has grown in the past four decades to encompass a far greater range of powers in its member states' governments. As the EU has expanded, Britain's influence in the organization has decreased, as has as its own

³⁴ Dixon, *The In/Out Question*, 2.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Allen, Borger, and Neslen, "Brexit- what would happen if Britain left the EU?"

³⁷ Dixon, *The In/Out Question*, 32.

sovereignty and powers in Westminster. As many Britons fear this transfer of power to Brussels and a weakening United Kingdom, anti-European sentiments have risen across the nation, particularly evident in the growth of UKIP, an openly eurosceptic political party in Britain. British media tends to be one-sided on the topic of membership in the EU, favoring an exit and British isolation. The media constantly demonizes Europe and the EU as being forces that seek to steal power and money from the British government and destroy British culture. The media reports much less on the positive benefits of EU membership for Britain, most notably access to the common market that supports the British economy, but also membership in the EU gives Britain a substantial amount of clout in Europe and foreign affairs—clout which might otherwise be difficult to come by considering the fact that Britain makes up less than 1 percent of the world’s population.³⁸

With current European issues such as the migrant crisis and the Paris terrorist attacks of November 2015, border control will become of immensely greater importance to countries of the western world. Anxiety amongst Britons following the terrorist attack will work in favor for groups such as UKIP and other eurosceptics, who pounced on this opportunity to claim that the attacks in Paris could occur in Britain if Britain does not gain complete sovereignty over its borders. It is likely that more Britons will come to favor an option that would prevent the freedom of movement that exists within the EU, instead favoring that the UK achieves more autonomy and greater control over the security of its own border as a way of combatting threats of terrorism.³⁹ The Paris attacks have revealed a weakness within the EU, which, for many, adds legitimacy to euroscepticism and the case for Britain to exit the EU.

By the end of 2017, Britons will ultimately receive the chance to decide for themselves the fate of the United Kingdom: will it be to remain an ambivalent yet powerful nation in the European community, or to choose a path of independence and isolation? If Britain chooses to remain in the EU, it is likely that much would remain the same for the country; its awkwardness with Europe would ensue, as would annoyances with having to succumb to EU regulations and policies. However, the country would widely benefit from access to the common market and a strong voice in European affairs. Choosing to exit the EU is a far more risky option, which threatens to upset the preexisting order in Britain. An exit would commit Britain to a future independent of Europe with complete sovereignty over its internal affairs, but could lessen the nation’s GDP, decrease the quality of life of its citizens, and give up its influence in Europe. Either option in the upcoming referendum contains both positive and negative potential effects, and one resolution does not exist which would appease all concerns. What can be expected is that no matter the outcome of the 2017 referendum, the dissent and uncertainty within British and European relations, which have festered for almost half a century, will not suddenly cease to exist. The outcome of the referendum holds the power to severely alter Britain’s future in the world, but what it will not solve is Britain’s unique relationship with Europe. Britain’s place in Europe and the EU will likely be disputed in British politics for another forty years, no matter how the British citizens vote in 2017.

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³⁸ Dixon, *The In/Out Question*, 2.

³⁹ Iain Duncan Smith, “Staying in EU Exposes UK To Terror Risk,” *BBC* (2016).

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Lowering Expectations: The Evolution of UN Peacekeeping and Recommendations for the Future

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Sarah Miles

Abstract

United Nations Peacekeeping Operations have been contested since the first blue helmets arrived in the Gaza Strip in 1956. Peacekeeping Operations can be divided into three temporal categories, each with their own challenges: Cold War, post-Cold War, and twenty-first century. This article analyzes these three periods of peacekeeping in order to proffer advice as to how UN Peacekeeping should be undertaken in the future. Considering that UN member states are shying away from the financial burdens of peacekeeping and that the twenty-first century has been marked by states' desire to engage only in conflicts directly in line with national interests, I suggest that the United Nations should return to limited-mandate peacekeeping missions. By combining limited-mandate missions with a greater focus on conflict prevention, the United Nations may continue to play an important role in global peacekeeping.

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Introduction

The United Nations Charter claims as one of the organization's primary goals "to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security."¹ Such lofty intentions, however, are necessarily complex when implemented. The finer points of UN protocol and powers were and are highly contested as member states fail to agree on just what the UN can and should do to fulfill its humanitarian aims. Today, UN peace maintenance is perhaps most closely associated with the famous "Blue Helmets," yet United Nations peacekeeping operations (PKOs)² have evolved slowly, moving imperfectly towards an idyllic vision of global peace as enforced by well-trained, blue-helmeted troops. From the paralysis of peacekeeping missions in the Cold War to a veritable explosion of peacekeeping in the post-Cold War years to renewed recalcitrance in the twenty-first century, powerful nations today are moving away from PKOs more

¹ United Nations Charter reproduced in Paul Kennedy, *The Parliament of Man: The Past, Present, and Future of the United Nations* (New York: Random House, Inc., 2006), 314.

² United Nations Peacekeeping Operations are generally associated with Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter, which provides for the peaceful settlement of disputes. However, the Security Council does not need to and has never before explicitly invoked this chapter in the passing of a peacekeeping resolution. Peacekeeping operations should not be confused with larger-scaled peace enforcement operations, which are provided for under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. This chapter is related to "Action with Respect to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression" and while the Security Council has, in recent years, invoked Chapter VII in the deployment of peacekeeping operations a Chapter VII operation generally involved an expanded mandate and the SC's implicit approval of a more forceful mission. "Mandates and the Legal Basis for Peacekeeping," United Nations Peacekeeping, accessed April 16, 2015. <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/pkmandates.shtml>.

broadly and instead moving towards a more effective and less costly means of supporting international peace and security. The UN should remain conscious of the problems of peacekeeping and adjust expectations for the future accordingly rather than relying on idealistic expectations of what the future might hold for peacekeeping.

Background

After the creation of the United Nations in 1945,³ the Cold War complicated debates over the proper place of the UN and UN peacekeeping in international affairs. The long-lasting conflict between the United States and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (USSR) meant that two of the Permanent Five (P5) members of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) were “centrally involved in ... struggle” and proved themselves “willing to use the veto whenever necessary,” effectively preventing the Security Council from important action.⁴ It was in this atmosphere that the United Nations undertook its first peacekeeping operation. Peacekeeping Operations in the future, however, would be shaped by the Security Council’s early, imperfect attempts at keeping the peace.

Regardless of major global changes, the problems which initially plagued the UN would remain influential in future affairs. During the Cold War, faulty missions, hesitant member states and UN leadership, and vetoes by the P5 changed UN peacekeeping operations and their role in the world significantly. As the UN has never fully standardized its peacekeeping operations, each new global crises requires a new consensus on the part of member states; though many founders envisioned that the United Nations would have military capabilities, the UN Charter does not provide a standardized framework for peacekeeping. In fact, “the UN Charter contains absolutely no mention of the word *peacekeeping* and offers no guidelines as to this form of collective action.”⁵ Lack of standardized *motus operandi*, therefore, has led to disorganized and often highly flawed attempts at peacekeeping.

In the decades following World War II, Middle Eastern, African, and Asian decolonization movements threatened to destabilize the already fragile world peace. The United Nations understood that in order to sustain global peace and security, the organization would have to enforce it. In some of the world’s most dangerous and tumultuous regions, the UNSC worked through the frost of the Cold War in order to launch ‘peace observation’ missions in the 1940s, which the UNSC later gave military powers in order to monitor and maintain peace agreements.⁶ These observational missions would become the first of over 71 total peacekeeping missions launched by the United Nations between 1948 and 2014.⁷

³ “Overview,” United Nations, accessed April 17, 2015. <http://www.un.org/en/sections/about-un/overview/index.html>.

⁴ Kennedy, *The Parliament of Man*, 81.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁷ Thompson cites 69 missions between 1948 and 2012, but two missions have been established since 2012. The United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) which began in 2013 and the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA), both of which were missions originally undertaken by African Union forces and then taken over by United Nations forces. Thomas W. Jacobson, “UN Peacekeeping Overview and U.S. Support,” *International Diplomacy and Public Policy Center* (January-February 2012), 1.

Traditional UN peacekeeping operations⁸ began with General Assembly resolution number 998 of November 4, 1956, which sent a force of military observers under a neutral military officer to create a physical barrier between Egyptians and Israeli combatants on the Gaza Strip.⁹ Peacekeeping missions have become central to the UN's efforts to maintain global security and to the public image of the UN, however imperfect. Since this first mission, UN PKOs have both altered and been altered by changing global circumstances.

United Nations peacekeeping operations can be divided into three distinct historical phases: those missions which occurred during the Cold War (thirteen missions between November 1956 and April 1989 upon the fall of the Berlin Wall), those which took place in the aftermath of the Cold War (thirty-six missions from April 1989 to 2000),¹⁰ and those which took place in the twenty-first century (sixteen missions between May 2002 and April 2014—the beginning of the most recent PKO). While each of these periods necessarily presented unique challenges to UN peacekeeping, the problem of ad hoc operations, the issue of financing and reimbursement, and the challenge of the primacy of national interest have all shaped peacekeeping from 1948 to the present. The continuing influence of these particular challenges means that they should be considered in any proposition for the future of UN peacekeeping operations.

One can only understand the future of UN PKOs by analyzing the nature of and challenges to UN peacekeeping in each of these three phases. Early United Nations peacekeeping operations observed more than they enforced, as the Cold War prevented them from expanding. The politics of the UN Security Council stagnated peacekeeping efforts in almost all areas, except for cases of decolonization. Moreover, the hypocrisy of major powers during the Cold War delegitimized the UN's peacekeeping operations in the eyes of many non-aligned nations. When the Soviet Union fell in 1989, the number of operative PKOs grew exponentially as the United Nations became infatuated with the new possibilities for international intervention. UN peacekeeping quickly became overworked and overburdened and member states realized that the UN would have to limit these operations if they were to remain financially feasible. The United States, which had originally been a large supporter of PKOs,¹¹ began to push back against such large-scale peacekeeping operations in 1995. In the twenty-first century, peacekeeping has been marked by a reduction in financing of and contributions to operations on the part of major world powers, despite efforts on the part of the UN to make operations more realistic and limited. As international politics and global security remain dominated

⁸ Two UN operations established before 1956 are often considered in historical reviews of UN PKOs, but these are distinguished as “observational” missions rather than “peacekeeping” missions due to the fact that neither were undertaken by armed observers. These first two missions were: the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) and the UN Military Observer Group in Indian and Pakistan (UNMOGIP). The UNTSO was created to maintain peace between Israel and several other Arab nations in 1948 and remains operative today. “The Early Years” United Nations Peacekeeping, accessed April 16, 2015. <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/early.shtml>.

⁹ Kennedy, *The Parliament of Man*, 83.

¹⁰ “Especially as a consequence of the termination of the Cold War, the détente in the relations between East and West (Gorbachev’s ‘new thinking’ in foreign policy matters) and, finally, the disappearance of the Soviet Union the number of UN peace-keeping operations increased” beginning in 1989 and escalating significantly after 1991. Robert Siekman, “The Development of the United Nations Law Concerning Peace-keeping Operations,” *Leiden Journal of International Law* 5, no. 2 (October 1992), 273.

¹¹ “Before 1988, the United States was involved in about two thirds of the cases that provided personnel. That fell subsequently to about one third.” This statistic does not take into account the quantity of troops provided in each particular case, but rather only for number of cases in which the United States was involved. Davis B. Bobrow and Mark A. Boyer, “Maintaining System Stability: Contributions to Peacekeeping Operations,” *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 41, no. 6 (Dec. 1997), 743.

by the War on Terror, member states will become increasingly focused on conflicts which engage their own national interests. Considering current trends, I argue that the UN should move away from expanded peacekeeping operations for which the United States—its primary funder—and other major member states clearly have little patience. Instead, I suggest that in order to maintain the functionality of PKOs, the UN should return to traditional, limited peacekeeping operations for cases of extreme violence and human rights violations. In most other cases, rather than deploy new operations, the United Nations should rely on civil society and NGOs to promote peaceful state-building and the prevention of humanitarian crises.

Peacekeeping in the Cold War

As global powers prepared for what would be a decades-long conflict, the United Nations faced a daunting task: maintaining peace between great powers in a world of emerging nations. Ironically for European nations attempting to create a stable world, ex-colonies proved to be the first significant source of conflict requiring European intervention. When the colonial system collapsed in the 1950s and 60s, “decolonization created demand for a type of peacekeeping that had not really been anticipated”¹² by the United Nations, at that point primarily composed of European nations. The UN was forced to react to these changing global circumstances while its efficacy remained marred by the stalemate between the United States and Russia. Amid these conflicts, the UN faced for the first time what would become long-term problems for peacekeeping operations: inefficiency due to ad hoc procedures, lack of financing and troop support, and less than enthusiastic participation on the part of member states focusing on their own national interests in mind.

The first major UN peacekeeping operation was uniquely of the Cold War. Known as the United Nations Enforcement Force (UNEF), the UN’s first mission was established by the Security Council in 1956.¹³ After the US intervened on behalf of Israel and relations between Egypt and Israel steadily deteriorated after the signing of the 1949 General Armistice Agreement, the conflict became dangerous enough to necessitate intervention. United Nations member states, France, and the United Kingdom in particular,¹⁴ quickly realized that the complex proxy-Cold War conflict between Israel and Egypt was unfortunately an ideal circumstance for the United Nations to fulfill its mission to “maintain international peace and security.”¹⁵ As would become the norm for peacekeeping, the UNEF operation was somewhere between an observation mission and a Chapter VII enforcement mission: “It was armed, but the units were to use their weapons only in self-defense and even then with utmost restraint.”¹⁶ UNEF was intended to “supervise the withdrawal of the three occupying forces...to act as a buffer between the Egyptian and Israeli forces and to provide impartial supervision of the ceasefire.”¹⁷

United Nations Enforcement Force clearly demonstrated the problems of UN’s attempt to maintain peace during the Cold War, though it certainly maintained some

¹² Kennedy, *The Parliament of Man*, 79.

¹³ The UNEF was renamed post-facto after United Nations Enforcement Force II (UNEF II) was created in 1973.

¹⁴ “Middle East-UNEF I: Background,” United Nations, accessed April 4, 2015, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unefIbackgr2.html#one>.

¹⁵ United Nations Charter reproduced in Kennedy, *The Parliament of Man*, 314.

¹⁶ “First United Nations Emergency Force,” United Nations, 2003, accessed April 16, 2015, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unefi.htm>.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

measure of peace in the region. The Security Council first met on the issue of the Egyptian-Israeli conflict on September 26, 1956, yet it was not until November 5 of the same year, after Israeli forces had threatened to cross the Egyptian border, that the Security Council passed the peacekeeping resolution. While troops first landed on Egyptian soil on November 14, 1956, peacekeepers were not permitted to fulfill their mandate until agreements on the status of troop force and a wide range of other problems between the UN and the Egyptian government were finalized in February of 1957.¹⁸ The amount of time it took for UNEF to become operative demonstrates the problems of ad hoc peacekeeping: it takes time, negotiation, and limited, unsteady agreements, all of which dilute the power of what would otherwise be a rapid response force to an international crisis.¹⁹ Ad hoc peacekeeping continues to be the *de facto* standard with the UN; however, the problems of ad hoc missions could be avoided were the UN to have a standardized framework for PKOs or rapid response teams to deploy to crisis areas.

Further weakening UNEF was the primacy placed on state's interests over peacekeeping, an issue that would manifest itself differently, but never cease to plague UN PKOs. Due to the UN's strict acceptance of state sovereignty,²⁰ UNEF was severely limited by Israel's refusal to allow troops into its territory.²¹ By 1967, the question of state sovereignty managed to force the conclusion of UNEF I. In May of that year, the Egyptian government retracted its consent to UN troops and, while Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld could have brought the issue before the Security Council, the United States and USSR's entrenchment on opposing sides of the conflict meant that any action on Hammarskjöld's part would be effectively useless. Moreover, the governments of both India and Yugoslavia declared their intent to withdraw their troops from Egypt due to pressure from the USSR. Regardless of any security considerations, the implicated parties ended UNEF.²² The national interests of UN member states clearly took priority over the humanitarian mission of the United Nations. Indeed, the UN did nothing to curb Israel's and Egypt's influence, nor did the UN undertake anything which might go against the desires of the United States or the USSR. The fact that state interests are so highly respected by the UN, while practical, has remained problematic for PKOs.

The ad hoc nature of UNEF I meant that the operation was neither as fast-moving nor as effective as a rapid deployment force would have been. Perhaps more importantly, the interests of individual players—acting to protect their own sovereignty in the case of the Egyptian and Israeli governments or to maintain their spheres of influence in the case of the United States and the USSR—significantly depleted the power of the PKO. In this first peacekeeping mission, member states considered neither funding nor troop contribution problems, but these quickly became significant as the UN undertook peacekeeping efforts increasingly regularly. Although not a total failure, UNEF was highly problematic and, retrospectively, demonstrates many of the problems which would

¹⁸ "UNEF I: Background," United Nations, 2003, accessed April 16, 2015, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unef1backgr2.html>.

¹⁹ The Brahimi Report notes that "The first 6 to 12 weeks following a ceasefire or peace accord are often the most critical ones for establishing a stable peace and the credibility of a new operation." UNEF did not fulfill this time scale requirement. "Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations" General Assembly Security Council, United Nations, August 2000, accessed April 20, 2015.

http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/55/305, xi.

²⁰ With the advent of R2P and various precedents, the UN today is more willing to violate state sovereignty or to discount the interests of the state in which the intervention is taking place than it once was. However, the extent to which this is acceptable remains a debate in peacekeeping.

²¹ In fact, while the Secretary-General repeatedly raised the question of stationing UNEF troops on the Israeli side of the buffer zone in order to maintain the peace "this was declared entirely unacceptable to Israel." *Ibid.*

²² "UNEF I: Background," United Nations, 2003, accessed April 16, 2015.

plague UN PKOs. As the Cold War raged, however, it is hardly surprising that the UN struggled to achieve meaningful compromise between member states in favor of international intervention.

From this first mission in 1956 until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, only thirteen UN peacekeeping operations were undertaken—even these were primarily for “conflicts that had arisen after European de-colonization.”²³ Missions in emerging nations were generally undertaken both to provide a stable transition out of colonialism and, more subtly, to prevent the expansion of the American or Soviet spheres of influence. However in order to maintain order, any case which directly concerned conflicts between the United States and the USSR was “dealt with outside the UN.”²⁴ Consequently, UN peacekeeping operations in the Cold War were few and far between. When the Security Council could garner enough support to undertake PKOs, missions in this period had little regulation, instead implementing peacekeeping on a case by case basis. Each mission was implemented only as crises arose and was necessarily shaped by the conditions of the Cold War. Peacekeeping at this time held an as yet undecided role:

Peacekeeping evolved in the grey zone between pacific settlement and military enforcement...the UN [aimed] at keeping new conflicts outside the sphere of bloc differences. The technique of preventative diplomacy was to be used to forestall the competitive intrusion of the rival power blocs into conflict situations that were either the result or potential cause of a power vacuum in the Cold War. Preventative diplomacy was a policy designed to contain a peripheral war, to achieve a kind of disengagement before the fact.²⁵

Due both to the UN’s desire to limit the expansion of American and Soviet spheres of influence and to the fear that its actions would be perceived to be neo-imperialistic, UN peacekeeping operations in the Cold War utilized troops donated from non-P5 members which were at least perceived to be neutral.²⁶ In the case of UNEF I and II, almost all peacekeeping troops were donated by Canada and Poland.²⁷ At this time, PKOs were supported more or less willingly by major powers who encouraged their partners to donate troops. Once the Cold War ended, however, the same world powers became unwilling to fund troop contribution and the quality of peacekeeping contingents declined over the following decades.

Too many conflicts during the Cold War which could have benefitted from a UN peacekeeping force were given over to “‘good offices’ diplomacy by the Secretary General” due to their close association with the great power struggle; “because each side possessed the veto and capacity to begin another world war,”²⁸ the UN’s ability to establish peacekeeping operations was limited. Peacekeeping began to see the problems which would continue to mar it in the future: dangers due to the ad hoc establishment of

²³ Muzaffer Ercan Yilmaz, “UN Peacekeeping in the Post-Cold War Era,” *International Journal on World Peace* 22, no. 2 (June 2002), 15.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 15-16.

²⁵ Ramesh Thakur, *The United Nations, Peace and Security* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 34.

²⁶ Kennedy, *The Parliament of Man*, 83.

²⁷ The forced balance of the Cold War. Canada served as a representative of NATO and Western interests in the UN and Poland stood as its counterpart, representing the Warsaw Pact nations and the Eastern or Soviet interests. Henry Wiseman, “United Nations UNEF II: A Basis for a New Approach to Future Operations,” *International Journal* 31, no. 1 (Winter 1975/1976), 124.

²⁸ Kennedy *The Parliament of Man*, 87.

operations and financial and personnel limitations due to the lack of support from those few countries in a position to do so. Perhaps unique to this period, UN PKOs also suffered from a lack of legitimacy in the view of many developing nations which believed that “UN operations led to diplomatic ennui and could not be freed of the Cold War rivalry.”²⁹

The Cold War is Over: A Time of Opportunities

The end of the Cold War significantly reduced tensions in the Security Council, leading to a massive increase in the “sheer number of crises occurring in so short a time”³⁰ as the former USSR, Yugoslavia, and other Communist nations dissolved and thus experienced conflict.³¹ As rivalry between the two world powers diminished, P5 were more likely to be receptive to multilateral action and increasingly less likely to exercise their veto. In fact between 1945 and 1990 the United States vetoed sixty-nine resolutions proposed by the Security Council and the USSR vetoed 114; in contrast, between June 1990 and May 1993 there were no vetoes used at all in terms of peacekeeping.³² As not all world affairs were now predicated on the US-USSR conflict, “the major powers were less likely than before to see an international conflict as part of a challenge from their major global adversary.”³³ The end of the Cold War gave the UN a *carte blanche* to expand global peacekeeping which, while beneficial for some individual nations, was disastrous for the international image of peacekeeping.

Only between 1988 and 1994, “25 new peacekeeping and peacemaking missions...sprung to life”³⁴ causing a massive increase in the demand for personnel, funding, and logistical support necessary to create and maintain these operations. In 1989 UN peacekeeping operations cost a total of \$635 million, to be divided among member states.³⁵ By 1994, the total cost of PKOs had risen to an incredible \$3 billion dollars, annually.³⁶ Moreover, the increased number and size of PKOs taken on by the UN after the end of the Cold War led to a corresponding increase in the number of personnel deployed around the world in missions. In 1978, there were approximately 17,000 military and civil personnel deployed in peacekeeping operations; this number rose to a record high in 1993, reaching almost 79,000 personnel deployed.³⁷ Both financial and personnel increases put an incredible strain on the UN as a whole, but particularly on those member states wealthy enough or generous enough to bear the brunt of these operations. The financing and staffing of peacekeeping operations become a problem in the post-Cold War period—perhaps even more so due to the increasing cost of peacekeeping.

²⁹ Thakur, *The United Nations, Peace and Security*, 38.

³⁰ Kennedy, *The Parliament of Man*, 91.

³¹ Previously the UN only deployed peacekeeping forces to enforce ceasefires after armed engagements, generally in cases of civil war or ethnic conflict. Yilmaz, “UN Peacekeeping in the Post-Cold War Era,” 17.

³² *Ibid.*, 17-18.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Michael Renner, “A Difficult Assignment: UN Peacekeeping in the Post-Cold War Era,” *Ecumenical Review* 47, no. 3 (July 1995), 320.

³⁵ The formula used to divide this cost takes into account the economic capacity of each member state and establishes financial responsibility based on various economic qualifications. Accordingly, wealthier nations are responsible for a much larger share of UN costs than poorer nations.

³⁶ Marjorie A. Browne, “United Nations Peacekeeping: Issues for Congress,” *Library of Congress Washington D.C. Congressional Research Service*, January 30, 2008, 2.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

The UN Verification Mission in Guatemala³⁸ (MINUGUA) which lasted from 1994 to 1997 demonstrates a typical peacekeeping operation of the post-Cold War period reflecting the increased size of operation, complexity of mission, and expanding peacekeeping mandates. After the Government of Guatemala and the Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca (UNRG) signed the “Agreement for Firm and Lasting Peace” in 1994, the United Nations deployed a task force of approximately 250 personnel in order to establish and maintain the peace outlined in this treaty.³⁹ The personnel for this mission included “human rights monitors, legal experts, indigenous specialists and police” who were “posted throughout Guatemala, including in its remotest areas” in order to “focus public attention on human rights and the related problem of impunity.”⁴⁰ Historically used to enforce treaties, various non-military personnel were deployed as peacekeepers, demonstrating a significant departure from the traditional mandate of peacekeeping as established in the Cold War. In order to support such expanded missions, UN member states had to deploy more troops and provide more financing, discouraging continued contributions on the part of wealthier nations.

While peacekeepers initially deployed under MINUGUA provided some sense of stability for Guatemalans, it took more than two years after the initial envoy of troops for the peacekeepers to work on long-term peace through demobilization and disarmament of former UNRG combatants. In order to facilitate this effort, the UN expanded the mandate of MINUGUA in 1997 after the Guatemalan government and the UNRG signed a definitive ceasefire in Oslo. The second, expanded mandate of the MINUGUA mission is perhaps more representative of “traditional” peacekeeping missions, intended to facilitate the transition from a society at war to a society at peace. To this second task force were assigned some 150 additional personnel beyond the humanitarian individuals already on the ground in Guatemala. It took contributions from sixteen different nations in order to muster the 150 troops sent to Guatemala, adding to the complexity of ad hoc PKOs.⁴¹ Having troops from so many different nations, each with different training and abilities leads to inefficient operations; four men died while on mission in Guatemala, all of whose deaths were listed as “accidents.”⁴² Despite the relatively small size of MINUGUA, the mission cost UN member states approximately \$39 million dollars.⁴³

MINUGUA provides a broad image of UN peacekeeping operations in the post-Cold War period. PKOs between 1989 and 2000 were based on a broader interpretation of the UN’s mandate to maintain international peace and security, thus raising both financial and personnel demands on member states. Beginning in this period, the UN also partnered more heavily with civil society organizations, as demonstrated by the multilateral involvement of non-UN organizations in Guatemala. In the post-mission

³⁸ The acronym MINUGUA was created from the Spanish name for this UN PKO: Misión de Verificación de las Naciones Unidas de Guatemala, known in English as the United Nations Verification Mission in Guatemala.

³⁹ “United Nations Verification Mission in Guatemala,” United Nations, accessed April 15, 2015. <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/minugua.htm>.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Troop contributions for MINUGUA were as follows: Spain, 42, Uruguay, 20, Brazil, 18, Canada 15, Ukraine, 8, Venezuela, 8, Argentina, 5, United States, 5, Russia, 3, Ecuador, 3, and Norway 2. Singapore, Germany, and Austria each provided 5 medical personnel to the mission. “Report of the Secretary-General on the Group of Military Observers Attached to MINUGUA” *United Nations Security Council*, June 4, 1997. Accessed April 15, 2015. <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N97/128/04/PDF/N9712804.pdf?OpenElement>, 8.

⁴² “Fatalities,” United Nations, updated April 8, 2015, accessed April 19, 2015. <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/fatalities.shtml>.

⁴³ “Guatemala-MINUGUA: Facts and Figures,” United Nations, accessed April 16, 2015. <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/minuguafacts.html>.

report to the Security Council, Secretary-General Hammerskjold acknowledged “the role of the European Union, USAID, OAS, and the United Nations programmes and agencies that took the lead in provided logistical and other support to the demobilization process...”⁴⁴ Partnering with civil society and other UN affiliated non-peacekeeping agencies began in earnest in this period and may serve as a significant aspect of the future of UN PKOs.

In the Guatemalan mission, smaller nations contributed a significant portion of the overall troops—a necessary, if problematic trend, since by the latter half of the 1990s, most major world powers were hesitant to contribute significant numbers of troops. Troop contributions are, of course, essential to UN PKOs as the organization lacks a standing military; however, contingencies from less stable countries often embark upon missions without the relevant training, education, or equipment necessary for effective peacekeeping, not only lessening the value of contributions, but also endangering missions and peacekeepers themselves.⁴⁵ While these small-state contributions combine to make reasonably sized operative units, they are nowhere near as effective as would be those “of the world’s most capable militaries, including the United States and British military.”⁴⁶ More powerful nations, however, after seeing the danger of post-Cold War peacekeeping in Somalia and Rwanda, edged away from active involvement in the operations.

Despite the relative success of MINUGUA, peacekeeping missions in the post-Cold War period were more violent and dangerous than any previous PKOs.’ In Rwanda, Somalia, and the former Yugoslavia, peacekeeping troops were killed by supposedly treaty-abiding combatants. The increasingly dangerous situations in which peacekeepers found themselves led to unprecedented casualties.⁴⁷ In this generation of peacekeeping, troops were increasingly involved “in a theatre where there was no peace to keep.”⁴⁸ Such failures stymied positive public opinion for peacekeeping, pushing nations whose interest in the financing of troops was already waning by the last few years of the 1990s further away from UN peacekeeping operations. Despite the positive humanitarian intentions behind the increase in UN peacekeeping operations of the post-Cold War period, “having evolved through improvisation”⁴⁹ and being so costly, such ad hoc operations were bound for failure. The financial and human costs of peacekeeping operations, tolerated in the immediate post-Cold War years, would serve to dissuade major nations from participation in the twenty-first century.

By 1995, major UN member nations were reconsidering their commitment to UN peacekeeping due to the seemingly ever-increasing costs of PKOs. Reflecting growing dissatisfaction on behalf of the United States for military action undertaken through the UN, the Clinton Administration issued the Presidential Decision Directive 25 (PDD 25) in 1994 in order to curb American involvement in what was seen nationally as an unnecessary international involvement.⁵⁰ PDD 25 directed the United States to participate in UN PKOs only when missions proposed by the Security Council clearly advance American interests, have exit strategies, permit American forces to remain under

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁴⁵ Renner, “A Difficult Assignment,” 321.

⁴⁶ Yilmaz, “UN Peacekeeping in the Post-Cold War Era,” 22.

⁴⁷ Between 1993 and 1995, 546 peacekeepers died in PKOs around the world, whereas no more than 40 peacekeepers were killed in any given year between 1962 and 1991. “Fatalities,” United Nations Peacekeeping.

⁴⁸ Thakur, *The United Nations, Peace and Security*, 40.

⁴⁹ Yilmaz, “UN Peacekeeping in the Post-Cold War Era,” 22

⁵⁰ Browne, “United Nations Peacekeeping: Issues for Congress,” *Library of Congress Washington D.C. Congressional Research Service*, 1-2.

American control, are reimbursable by the UN, and could not otherwise succeed without the participation of American forces.⁵¹ In essence, the Clinton Administration's directive meant that the United States could limit itself to as few or as many peacekeeping operations as it desired, knowing full well that the United Nations could not guarantee most of the provisions stipulated in the PDD 25. In addition to the presidential directive, the United States pushed back against the post-Cold War explosion in peacekeeping by limiting financial contributions; the United States Congress mandated in 1995 that "U.S. peacekeeping payments had [to be] limited to 25 percent"⁵² of the assessment total estimated by the UN.

Table 1. U.N. Peacekeeping Assessment Levels for the United States, Calendar Years 1992-2007

Year	U.N. Assessment	Recognized by U.S.	Year	U.N. Assessment	Recognized by U.S.
1992	30.387% (30.4%)	30.4%	2000	30.2816% (30.3%)	25%
1993	31.739% (31.7%)	30.4%	2001	28.134% (28.13%)	25% // 28.15% *
1994	31.735% (31.7%)	30.4%	2002	27.3477% (27.35%)	27.90%
1995	31.151% (31.2%)	30.4%; Oct. 1: 25%	2003	26.927% (26.93%)	27.40%
1996	30.965% (30.9%)	25%	2004	26.690% (26.69%)	27.40%
1997	30.862% (30.9%)	25%	2005	26.4987% (26.5%)	27.1%
1998	30.5324% (30.5%)	25%	2006	26.6901% (26.7%)	25%
1999	30.3648% (30.4%)	25%	2007	26.0864% (26.08%)	25%

Figure 1 Taken from Browne, "United Nations Peacekeeping: Issues for Congress," 7.

Peacekeeping in the post-Cold War period was plagued by many of the same problems which had previously marked UN PKOs. The end of the conflict between the US and the USSR permitted the Security Council to increase its global peacekeeping presence, expanding its understanding of threats to international peace and security to include humanitarian crises and economic problems and thus implementing peacekeeping operations in more than just truce-enforcement. This increase in operational complexity, size, and quantity led to massive increases in cost and troop demands. In the immediate post-Cold War years, major UN member nations were willing to bear these costs. Yet as they continued to expand, largely without improvement, member nations demonstrated their hesitancy to become involved in conflicts where they had little national interests and which would require consistently larger contributions to maintain.

⁵¹ Under President Bill Clinton, *U.S. Policy on Reforming Multilateral Peace Operations*, Presidential Decision Directive/NSC-25, Washington, D.C., May 3, 1994.

⁵² Browne, "United Nations Peacekeeping," 7.

Peacekeeping and the War on Terror: PKOs in the Twenty-First Century

Due largely to the over-zealous increase in peacekeeping efforts of the post-Cold War period, in 1995 UN member states began to push back against an ad hoc system which had begun to outgrow the capabilities and wills of its funders. Problems with peacekeeping already evident in the Cold War were exacerbated by the post-Cold War expansion of operations and have served as reasonable excuses for major UN member nations in the twenty-first century to avoid extensive involvement. Due to skyrocketing costs and the increasing danger and complexity of missions, UN member states in the twenty-first century have worked strenuously to avoid involvement with UN peacekeeping operations unless doing so would directly contribute to their interests.

The UN itself acknowledged the problems of the post-Cold War period. At the behest of Secretary-General Kofi Annan the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations was created to address the problems PKOs as evidenced by the missions in Rwanda and Srebrenica. Known as the Brahimi Report, the UN's panel openly admitted many of the problems of peacekeeping in the past and optimistically provided suggestions for the future. These will be discussed in the final portion of this paper. Interestingly peacekeeping in the twenty-first century has meant both the continued implementation of operations on the part of the UN and the diminishing participation on the part of member states as many refocus their military and economic capabilities towards more specific security interests. As long as conflict exists, the UN will continue to intervene. However, due to the nature of world conflict in the twenty-first century, great powers such as the United States, Britain, Russia, and China are choosing to invest their economic and military strength in interventions which suit their needs rather than humanitarian interventions, regardless of idealistic desires of UN diplomats.

Following the trend of the previous two periods, UN PKO troop contributions in the twenty-first century have come primarily from smaller, non-P5 nations. The UN's insistence on expansive interventionism has continued to increase the demand on such nations for troop contributions; as of mid-2005, there were over 78,000 military and civilian UN operatives in missions around the world,⁵³ nearly matching the peak of post-Cold War troops. For admittedly different reasons in the 21st century,⁵⁴ P5 nations today contribute few troops: the United States and Russia contribute approximately 1 percent of troops, EU member states taken as a whole give only ten percent of PKO troops, China contributes six percent of peacekeepers, and Japan provides no troops.⁵⁵ Instead, troops for twenty-first century PKOs come by and large from poorer, less politically-dominant nations—often to the detriment of troop quality and capability. The four largest contributory nations as of 2015 were: Bangladesh with 9,446, Pakistan with 8480, India with 8116, and Ethiopia with 7858.⁵⁶

⁵³ Yilmaz, "UN peacekeeping in the Post-Cold War Era," 21.

⁵⁴ Primarily in the Cold War period of peacekeeping, major UN member states declined to provide troop contributions to peacekeeping efforts due to a reasonable desire to prevent the image of neo-imperialism. By using troops primarily from less influential countries, the P5 could deny accusations of undue influence. In the 21st century, P5 nations have declined to provide troops for more self-interested reasons—most are not willing to sacrifice the personnel or provide the material required to provide these and, especially in the case of the United States, states are unwilling to place their personnel under the command of non-national forces.

⁵⁵ Yilmaz, "UN peacekeeping in the Post-Cold War Era," 22.

⁵⁶ These figures are calculated based on donated troops, military experts, and police forces. United Nations Peacekeeping, "Troop and Police Contributions," accessed April 10, 2015. <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors.shtml>.

As of 2012, only 10 nations provide 59 percent of the UN peacekeeping personnel,⁵⁷ which suggests an overall reticence to provide personnel on the part of member states. Those nations still willing to contribute significant troops are, in large part, those with less powerful military capabilities and thus those more likely to be problematic. As the UN needs troops in order to staff its operations, it maintains financial incentives for minor states to contribute, despite the clear problems this has caused. The UN's reimbursement of personnel is fixed at approximately \$1,000 per soldier, per month meaning that, "UN peacekeeping is a source of revenue for governments that pay their personnel less than the flat rate,"⁵⁸ yet a source of loss for those nations which pay soldiers more. Not only does this limited reimbursement de-incentivize more capable nations from contributing troops, it encourages the contribution by poorer nations which are less likely to be capable of coping with the increasingly complex situations into which UN PKOs are being sent in the twenty-first century. Increased accidental deaths of UN peacekeepers further supports the idea that those troops donated by smaller states are less able; as of 2012, a full 39 percent of troop losses in UN peacekeeping operations were caused by accidents rather than combat deaths.⁵⁹ So long as troop contributions continue to come from primarily poorer nations, UN PKOs will be unable to operate as well as any unilateral operation might.

Major world powers have even shied away from financing UN peacekeeping operations in the twenty-first century. While "legally, all members states are obliged to pay their share of peacekeeping costs...member states have been reluctant to pay."⁶⁰ As peacekeeping operations became more expensive in the post-Cold War, member nations' contributions failed to match the trend. As discussed previously, the United States officially limited its financing of UN operations to 25 percent in 1995, causing significant arrears in the UN's peacekeeping budget. The United States is not alone in this: both the Russian Federation and the United States top this list, with debts of \$500 million and \$743 million, respectively.⁶¹ The United States still shoulders the largest burden of peacekeeping financing, but the percentage of contributions given by the United States continues to lessen and generally remains unpredictable. Between 1995 and 1997, the United States undertook a 55 percent decrease in UN funding—from paying 22.5 percent of its calculated debt to owing 33.5 percent of it. France, Argentina, Belgium, Iran, and several other nations undertook similar trends in subsequent years.⁶² "This fact suggests the possibility of emulation of, if not downright leadership by, the United States."⁶³ There can be little hope that larger member nations which can afford to pay off the costs of UN peacekeeping efforts will begin to do so in years to come. As the cost of peacekeeping continues to skyrocket after the liftoff in 1989, the UN will not be able to count on increasing contributions from member nations.

Following the example of the United States, other nations in the twenty-first century have been increasingly hesitant to both finance and staff peacekeeping operations. Describing the limits of UN peacekeeping operations in 2003, then Chef de Cabinet to the UN Secretary-General Iqbal Riza argued a two-fold system of limitation; "First, in terms of financing. Is the rest of the membership willing to pay the rather heavy bills that comes with peacekeeping?...Then the question becomes whether the other

⁵⁷ Jacobson "UN Peacekeeping Overview and U.S. Support," 3.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁶⁰ Yilmaz, "UN peacekeeping in the Post-Cold War Era," 23.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁶² Bobrow and Boyer, "Maintaining System Stability," 740.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

resources are available.”⁶⁴ Even in 2003, Riza said that “more and more we have had difficulty in finding the human resources...Western countries, although supporting [PKOs] politically...are reluctant to contribute troops.”⁶⁵ UN diplomats have demonstrated continued interest in supporting expanded peacekeeping operations in the 21st century and Western politicians pay peacekeeping extensive lip service, yet trends in both financing and troop contributions indicate that such extensive interventionism will soon be unfeasible.

Though the post-Cold War period was devoid of large-scale international conflict, the twenty-first century War on Terror has forced major nations to focus on more vital national security interests. Certainly, major UN member states maintain interest in the benefits of multilateralism, as reflected by the PDD 25, these states are only willing to undertake such operations where they will clearly benefit the interest of the state. The 9/11 terrorist attacks, which in many ways began the modern War on Terror, “prompted governments worldwide...to re-examine their foreign policy and place a stronger emphasis on national security”⁶⁶; often times, this has meant that both great power nations and middle powers have prioritized national security over humanitarian issues. This is especially true of the United States. As the United States has deployed its own military around the world, American policy makers have demonstrated their intent to preserve America’s “freedom to act unilaterally where ‘national interests’ are at stake, not to get drawn into what are seen as quagmires abroad, and thus [join] UN operations only in a commanding role....”⁶⁷

United Nations peacekeeping today remains limited by the same general factors which have plagued such missions since 1948. Increased expectations by idealistic diplomats have continued to expand the use of PKOs in global conflict, both in size and complexity, yet the ad hoc nature of a peacekeeping system which still lacks a unified operational framework has prevented it from achieving exceptionalism. Moreover, the reluctance of wealthy nations to contribute significant troops or monetary provisions has led to more problematic PKOs—limited by the poor quality of peacekeeping troops. Finally, the War on Terror in which major UN member states have taken part has led to a refocusing of these states’ resources towards their own national interests over those activities pertinent more specifically to the interests of the UN. Without an independent military or steady revenue, the UN will continue to be limited by the desires of the wealthier nations which support its operations. More specifically, “because the USA will remain the main financial underwriter of the costs of UN peacekeeping, it will continue to exercise unmatched influence on the establishment, mandate, nature, size and termination of UN peace operation.”⁶⁸ For better or worse, if the United States and other major powers do not want the UN to undertake peacekeeping missions, they will not be executed well, if at all.

⁶⁴ The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs, “Iraq, U.S., and the War on Terror: The UN and the Future of Multilateralism: An Interview with Chef de Cabinet to the UN Secretary-General S. Iqbal Riza,” *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* 27, no. 39 (Spring 2003).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Noha Shawki, “Civil Society, Middle Powers, and R2P: An Analysis of Canada’s Response to the Crisis in Darfar,” *Peace Research* 40, no. 1 (2008), 27.

⁶⁷ Renner, “A Difficult Assignment,” 322.

⁶⁸ Thakur, *The United Nations, Peace and Security*, 65.

Suggestions for Peacekeeping in the Future

Without renewed commitment on the part of Member States, significant institutional change and increased financial support, the United Nations will not be capable of executing the critical peacekeeping and peacebuilding tasks that the Member States assign to it in coming months and years. There are many tasks which United Nations peacekeeping forces should not be asked to undertake and many places they should not go. But when the United Nations does send its forces to uphold the peace, they must be prepared to confront the lingering forces of war and violence, with the ability and determination to defeat them.⁶⁹

In 2000, the United Nations itself acknowledged the limitations of peacekeeping operations through the Brahimi Report, quoted above. Yet the Report remained optimistic for future PKOs, urging member states to contribute greater financial and operational support to missions in order to make them more effective. While many of the suggestions made in the Brahimi Report are quite reasonable—it suggests that nations train and maintain troops that can be deployed within thirty days of a crisis and that peacekeeping troops be permitted a much larger mandate, among other things—it does not take into account many of the political realities of the twenty-first century that might make the implementation of these recommendations unlikely or impossible.

Unlike at any other point in modern history, the greatest international conflict in the twenty-first century will not be played out between states or between vast, organized world powers. It is clear that the greatest threat to global peace and security, at least in terms of military conflict, is terrorism. In no way does the advent of the War on Terror mark a drastic change in *quantity* of conflicts, but rather a change in the *nature* of conflict. World powers have necessarily focused on terrorist threats which put them at particular risk and, due to the nature of the War on Terror, the national interests of states are less likely to coincide with the security threats targeted by UN peacekeeping. “The ‘War on Terrorism,’ the ultimate paradigm of the asymmetric conflict, will continually remove militaries from routine peacekeeping operations in favor of missions more in line with the budget and capacity of [states] as they operate as a tool for national defense.”⁷⁰

These suggestions are perhaps not the most idealistic mindset nor one most in-line with non-partisan humanitarian intervention, but *realpolitik* demands that we reconsider our expectations of UN peacekeeping. The United Nations is in desperate need of “a reliable source of funding and resources for peacekeeping,”⁷¹ but such a provision is unlikely to be achieved in the near future. Even the Brahimi report acknowledges the limitations of PKOs so long as they remain without funding: “the changes the Panel recommends will have no lasting impact unless Member States summon the political will to support the United Nations politically, financially, and operationally.”⁷² So long as those nations which determine when and where the UN can intervene are not interested in intervention, should we continue to push limited, ad hoc, and highly flawed peacekeeping missions through the UN? In the post-Cold War explosion of peacekeeping operations,

⁶⁹ “Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations” General Assembly Security Council, United Nations, August 2000, accessed April 20, 2015.

http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/55/305, viii.

⁷⁰ Jean-Paul Hanon, “Militaires et lutte antiterroriste,” *Cultures et Conflits* 56 (Hiver 2006), 121: “La ‘guerre au terrorisme’, paradigme ultime du conflit asymétrique, serait venue tirer les militaires de la routine des opérations de maintien de la paix pour des missions plus en accord avec leurs capacités réelles et les budgets consentis par les États pour l’entretien d’un outil de défense.”

⁷¹ Browne, “United Nations Peacekeeping,” 1.

⁷² “Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations,” United Nations, x.

“UN peacekeeping efforts have expanded far...beyond the financial capacity of member nations”⁷³ and while the ability to intervene in every case of intra and international conflict would be ideal, this approach to peacekeeping is simply unrealistic.

Powerful nations have a moral responsibility to prevent, protect, and monitor international humanitarian crises. As the post-Cold War shift in peacekeeping has demonstrated, the UN has expanded its understanding of what constitutes a threat to international peace and security to include “non-military sources of instability in the economic, social, humanitarian, and ecological fields.”⁷⁴ Increasingly, the UN Security Council has cited internal humanitarian crises as appropriate motivation for intervention, as per Article 39.⁷⁵ Yet the limitations inherent to the way UN PKOs have been undertaken in the past do not remove all hope for international peace; perhaps there is a way to prevent human rights violations which falls short of the commitment required by traditional United Nations peacekeeping missions.

It is true that “peacekeeping... emerges as a necessary element of conflict management and has a role to play in the overall process of peacemaking.”⁷⁶ In cases wherein parties “are engaged in mutual violence or armed clashes, peacekeeping appears to be the most urgent strategy.”⁷⁷ Indeed, in any case of mass atrocity,⁷⁸ the post-Cold War global community is increasingly willing to see these “offences against the ethical norms of the society of states”⁷⁹ as necessitating intervention. Peacekeeping Operations aimed at rapid-deployment preventionism should not be curbed. A non-partisan, fast-action prevention force—United Nations peacekeeping fulfills this definition as much as can be hoped for in an international political context—in cases of mass atrocity such as genocide, crimes against humanity, or large-scale war crimes, is ideal. Yet in the more expanded cases where the UN has been increasingly willing to send troops in the post-Cold War boom, the international community should distance itself from over-hasty UN peacekeeping interventionism.

For the maintenance of ceasefire agreements and attempts to disarm and disengage conflicting parties, the UN should create a more unified standard for intervention to dispel the problems inherent in ad hoc interventionism. Much of the criticism leveled at the UN for its operations is directed at the vulnerability of ad hoc missions in places where even the best militaries are likely to suffer casualties. How, many argue, can poorly trained contingents of for-profit troops hope to maintain peace between armed camps? The ideal solution to this would be to establish a permanent UN-affiliated military group, but such a suggestion is naïve. Despite the inclusion of a relatively similar provision in the original UN Charter, member states, both large and small, have demonstrated an unwillingness to permit the creation of a standing UN military force. Operating realistically, a standardized policy and readily accessible multilateral military force deployed in cases where rapid-action peacekeeping forces would prevent large-scale death and destruction would be ideal. The Brahimi Report

⁷³ Jacobson, “UN Peacekeeping Overview and U.S. Support,” 5.

⁷⁴ Emma McClean, “The Dilemma of Intervention: Human Rights and the UN Security Council” in eds. Marco Odello and Sofia Cavandoli, *Emerging Areas of Human Rights in the 21st Century: The Role of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 29.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁷⁶ Yilmaz, “UN Peacekeeping in the Post-Cold War Era,” 18.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ I appreciate the irony in my use of vague language here. While critics of the UN may be highly skeptical of its typical use of vague, “catch-all” language, one finds that this is occasionally necessary when attempting to make a sweeping generalization capable of holding its own weight.

⁷⁹ Jack Donnelly, “Genocide and humanitarian intervention,” *Journal of Human Rights* 1, no. 1 (March 2002), 96.

suggests the creation of such a system: “the panel recommends that the United Nations define ‘rapid and effective deployment capacity’ as the ability to fully deploy traditional peacekeeping operations within 30 days of the adoption of a Security Council resolution.”⁸⁰ How this would be established is beyond the scope of this paper, but doing so would respond to many of the problems which have historically plagued UN PKOs.

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) coupled with middle power member nations which are generally more willing to undertake humanitarian missions are more likely to be able to enact change and establish peace support operations than the UN alone.⁸¹ Proactive, non-military interventionism such as economic support for developing nations, encouragement of education, and humanitarian aid is increasingly favored by those very same nations attempting to distance themselves from United Nations peacekeeping. The international community in the twenty-first century has turned increasingly towards peace support operations which aim to prevent conflict and the occurrence of atrocities before they break out by improving economic and social conditions of individuals so that they do not resort to violence in order to solve conflict. Peace support operations are generally undertaken outside of the UN and aim to create “political change...by reducing the level of violence and addressing the deep roots of structural violence to end the conflict.”⁸² By providing aid both through national programs like USAID and the American Red Cross and through various, more specific NGOs, the international community and civil society can hope to create situations in which violence is less likely to erupt and therefore where military intervention is unnecessary. Certainly, this does not mean that we can hope to prevent all violent conflict in this century. Prevention before the fact is not only preferable from a humanitarian and moral point of view, but is in fact more feasible from an international perspective.

Conclusion

The approach outlined here resolves the three primary problems of UN peacekeeping operations which have developed over the three previously discussed periods of peacekeeping. Firstly, the problem of ad hoc interventions, which take far too long to take effect as they must be re-considered and re-created every time a crisis arises, would be solved by creating a norm of intervention in the case of large-scale atrocity requiring intervention. If the UN were to create a framework delineating when and how it would intervene in crises, peacekeeping would be able to perform the rapid-deployment prevention for which it is most needed. Secondly, the problems posed by nations’ desires to avoid financing and staffing such expansive peacekeeping would be circumvented if the UN were to limit the cases in which it intervened. If peacekeeping operations were only established in traditional, more limited instances, then both great and middle powers would be significantly more likely to fund them. The problem of incapable troops and

⁸⁰ “The Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations,” United Nations, *xi*.

⁸¹ “Middle powers are defined as non-nuclear powers that are politically and economically significant actors and that enjoy respect in the international community. They are ‘good international citizens with the resources and motivation to focus on complex global issues such as persistent conflict and Third World poverty...Middle powers are often key allies for global civil society.’ There are not enough middle powers to underwrite UN peacekeeping at the rate at which diplomats might desire it, but middle powers in combination with civil society actors have the best chance to contribute to global peace and security within or without of the UN. There is no clear consensus as to what constitutes a middle power, but most often included on this list are nations such as Canada, Australia, Brazil, and some smaller European nations such as the Netherlands and Switzerland. Shawki, “Civil Society, Middle Powers, and R2P,” 24.

⁸² Kobi Michael and Eyal Ben-Ari, “Contemporary Peace Support Organizations,” *Armed Forces & Society* 37, no. 4 (2011), 658.

unsupported missions would thus be eliminated. In order to make this limited mandate feasible, the UN would necessarily have to rely more heavily on civil society and NGOs to provide much of the relief which they have been undertaking in the last several decades. Such non-UN organizations have proved themselves capable. Finally, the problem of national interests would be resolved by the same solution as the previous problem. Were nations permitted to engage in only limited peacekeeping operations, they would be more likely to perceive these few missions as absolutely necessary and within their best interest to undertake. While nations necessarily follow the limits of their own interests, the UN could work to frame all the more limited PKOs it does undertake as absolutely necessary and thus encourage not only hesitant participation, but perhaps active involvement in such missions.

United Nations peacekeeping has evolved imperfectly since its advent in 1948. Throughout its three relatively distinct periods of peacekeeping—the Cold War, the post-Cold War, and the twenty-first century—however, UN PKOs have been plagued by reoccurring problems. PKOs have been troubled by ad hoc and thus heavily flawed operations, the refusal of major powers to fund and staff missions—leading to poorly equipped and less capable troops—and the primacy of state interest over humanitarianism which has prevented otherwise generous nations from contributing to peacekeeping and has limited the UN’s mandate. In order to address all of these issues, the UN should strive to return to a more limited framework for intervention—minimizing the number and mandate of peacekeeping missions. Instead, more of the burden for humanitarian intervention, excepting cases of mass atrocity and human rights violations which necessarily require military intervention, should be placed on civil society and non-governmental organizations which can strive to fulfill the modern notion of R2P with much more ease than a non-military organization can do.

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Conflict and Security

Russian-Syrian Relations: Past and Present

Luke Bartz

Abstract

Drawing heavily on Andrej Kreutz's *Russia in the Middle East* and Robert Freedman's "Russia and the Arab Spring: A Preliminary Appraisal" along with numerous news sources, this essay serves a two-fold purpose of sketching out a broad history of Russian-Syrian relations and of analyzing in depth Russia's response to the recent conflict in Syria. The purpose of this essay is to update and synthesize a broad-but-scattered literature on Russian-Syrian relations and to combine it with recent works examining the influence of Russia on the Syrian Civil War. The author ultimately asserts that for better or for worse Putin's Russia has decided to risk significantly damaging the relationships it has built with the broader Arab world, Israel, and the West in order to maintain its strategic and historic ties to Iran and Syria, protect its economic interests in the Middle East, and hamper Western efforts to orchestrate Middle-Eastern politics.

Pre-Soviet and Soviet Relations with Syria

Russian-Syrian relations stretch back far before the creation of the modern Russian and Syrian states. In fact, interactions have been recorded as far back as the tenth and eleventh centuries as Russian merchants and pilgrims traveled to the Levant for reasons of religion and trade.¹ The Russian Orthodox Church in particular devoted a considerable amount of time and resources to influencing the region and protecting its pilgrims traveling there.² Though this long history of cross-cultural interactions created indelible social ties, political relations between the two areas were drastically changed in 1917 with the October Revolution and the creation of the Soviet Union (USSR).

As a militantly atheist state, the USSR had little interest in the religious ties its Christian and Muslim populations had established through their pilgrimages to their historic holy lands. What the Soviet government was interested in, however, was the development of communist movements in the Arab East.³ Ideologically, the Soviets identified with and supported whom they saw as peoples colonized and suppressed by capitalist, bourgeoisie forces.⁴ To this end, they worked to influence the region with the hopes of inspiring Bolshevik-style uprisings and supporting the development of friendly

¹ Andrej Kreutz, *Russia in the Middle East Friend or Foe?* 12 (Westport, Conn.: Praeger Security International, 2007).

² Denis Vovchenko, "Creating Arab Nationalism? Russia and Greece in Ottoman Syria and Palestine (1840–1909)," *Middle Eastern Studies* 49, no. 6 (2013), 901-918.

³ Kreutz, 13.

⁴ Robert Freedman, "Russian Policy Toward the Middle East: The Yeltsin Legacy and the Putin Challenge," in *The Middle East's Relations with Asia and Russia*. (London: Routledge Curzon, 2004), 59.

communist governments.⁵ Chief among the relations they developed in the Middle East was the one they fostered with Syria.

At first, the Bolshevik government's relationship with Damascus was inconsistent. Seeking to gain influence on the Syrian state soon after its establishment, "Moscow established its diplomatic links with Syria in 1944, even before the country was formally recognized as an independent state on April 17, 1946."⁶ Thanks to the efforts of the Syrian Communist Party and its allies, Moscow already had acquired some political presence in the area before this happened, and this overt display of political support positively affected their relationship.⁷ In spite of these friendly moves, however, "[d]uring the first decade after World War II, [...] Moscow's relations with Damascus were cold and Soviet leaders often condemned Syrian rulers for oppressing their people and acting as tools of Western Imperialism."⁸ As time went on, relations improved and normalized as the Soviet and the Syrian governments realized the potential benefits that could arise from mutual cooperation.

From the Soviet point of view, a partnership with Syria had many possible advantages. Andreij Kreutz asserts in his book *Russia in the Middle East* that "Syria was probably more important to the USSR than [any] other Arab nation."⁹ In part, this was due to its geopolitical location. Located on the Mediterranean Sea, Syria offers Russia not only a foothold in the Middle East and the heart of the Arab world, but also a port on the coast of the Mediterranean. This position saves Russian ships from traveling all the way back through the narrow straits controlled by Turkey to its eastern Black Sea ports. Further, at the time both Turkey and Iraq were firmly in the Western camp and Syria provided an opportunity to outflank these countries.¹⁰ Syria also offered great economic promise to the Soviet Union as a buyer of both civilian and military products. A Soviet-Syrian trade agreement concluded in November of 1954 was only the first of many to come: "In addition to extensive military supplies, the Soviet bloc offered Syria its help in large-scale construction of hydroelectric plants and irrigation projects."¹¹ This not only served as a revenue stream for the USSR, but also helped the communist government to assert its role as a global superpower by allowing it to flex its economic, technological, and military muscles in a less-developed region of the world.

As the Syrian state developed politically, the Soviets kept stride: "when Syria seceded from the UAR [United Arab Republic] on September 29, 1961, the USSR was the first great power to recognize the reestablishment of the Syrian state [doing so] only nine days after the coup."¹² Though the Soviet and Syrian communists did not match well with the Ba'ath Party, they were willing to work together.¹³ After two more coups occurred and despite the fact that the rise of Hafez Al-Assad meant more focus on Damascus's autonomy from foreign influence, Soviet support nevertheless increased; "between 1970 and the advent of Gorbachev's perestroika in the late 1980's, Syria greatly benefited from an uninterrupted stream of Soviet military equipment and a tremendous variety of civil goods

⁵ Kreutz, 13; Walter Laqueur, "Russia Enters the Middle East," 297. *Foreign Affairs* 47, no. 2 (1969): 296-308.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Tareq Y Ismael and Jacqueline S. Ismael, *The Communist Movement in Syria and Lebanon* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), 12-13.

⁸ Kreutz, 13.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Harry N. Howard, "The Soviet Union in Lebanon, Syria and Jordan," in *The Soviet Union and the Middle East: The Post-World War II Era* (Stanford: Stanford University Hoover Institution Press, 1974), 134.

¹¹ Kreutz, 13.

¹² Ibid., 14.

¹³ Ibid.

and services.”¹⁴ Indeed, this support was so great, about 90 percent of Syria arms imported between 1974 and 1985 came from the USSR.¹⁵ As relations reached a historic peak, however, disagreement flared up suddenly between the states.

Kreutz offers two related explanations for the abrupt tension: “The first was the Syrian quest for military parity with Israel and the heated debate with Moscow over the quality and quantity of its arm supply, and the second was the noticeable improvement in Soviet-Israeli relations and mass scale Soviet-Jewish immigration to Israel.”¹⁶ With Israel firmly backed by the United States, Syria sought to achieve military equality with its rival through support from the Soviet Union. Hoping to improve relations with Israel and avoid increasing tensions with the West, Moscow was loath to cooperate, however. Indeed, Moscow refused to arm Syria “to the degree that the US armed Israel,” stating that “Syria should pursue a political strategy to solving its problems with Israel and that in the nuclear age, resorting to force was unwise.”¹⁷ As Soviet-Israeli relations improved, Damascus grew more worried, as it saw one of its biggest allies cozying up to one of its biggest enemies. With arms supplies from Russia decreasing and Assad searching for new allies, relations took their biggest hit yet as the USSR collapsed and the political dimensions of Russia’s government and economy were fundamentally redefined and reoriented.¹⁸

Syrian Relations with Yeltsin’s Russia

Syrian-Russian relations took a three-fold hit with the collapse of the USSR. First, though the Russian Federation inherited the majority of the military and economic legacy of the Soviet Union, its capabilities were drastically diminished by the loss of nearly a quarter of its landmass and almost half of its population.¹⁹ While Russia rebuilt its domestic infrastructure in the 1990s, it lacked the political or economic influence to participate significantly in the Middle East. Second, after the Fall, Russia suddenly found itself with fourteen new neighbors closer and strategically more worrisome than the now-further-off Middle East.²⁰ This change was made even worse by the fact that the previous Soviet border fortifications now largely resided within the breakaway territories and made those states’ proximity to Russia much more worrisome as Russia did not have solid military defenses in place. Beyond even this, with the death of the USSR went the hopes of a global communist revolution. The new Russian government simply did not have the ideological motivation that propelled much of the Soviet Union’s foreign policy.²¹ Temporarily conceding to the United States in the war of cultures, the new Russian bear was a much more self-interested and pragmatic creature.

As with any great political change, the political transformations Russia saw brought many great disagreements. For Russian-Syrian relations, the largest point of tensions were “disputes concerning Syria’s repayment of former USSR credits to Russia and the continuity of the Russian arms supply to Syria.”²² For example, when Syria threatened to withhold from Yeltsin’s government repayment of the Syrian debt to the

¹⁴ Ibid., 15.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid., 17.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., 18.

¹⁹ Roland Dannreuther, "Russia and the Middle East," in *The Middle East's Relations with Asia and Russia*. (London: Routledge Curzon, 2004), 22.

²⁰ Freedman, "Russian Policy Toward the Middle East," 59.

²¹ Dannreuther, "Russia and the Middle East," 34.

²² Kreutz, 18.

Soviet Union, Moscow saw this as a plot to manipulate their relationship and coerce Russia to continue to provide weapons to Syria.²³ Rejecting this manipulation, Yeltsin applied political pressure to Assad's government, marking "an end to the era when Syria had been able to use Moscow as an effective counterbalance against American and Israeli powers."²⁴ Positive relations, nevertheless, still had the potential to be mutually beneficial and were thus maintained.

Kreutz notes four motivational factors that encouraged continued cooperation. First, possibly the most important factor for the Syrians, was the fact that "the Syrian army, still largely equipped with Russian weapons, needed a continuous supply of spare parts and repairs by Russian experts. Due to political and logistical reasons Syria also found it difficult to buy new weapons in the West or Far East."²⁵ In this regard, a positive relationship with Russia was a direct security issue. Second, more importantly to Russia, Syria still carried an estimated debt of \$7-\$11 billion USD.²⁶ Naturally, Russia desired continued cooperation to ensure its payment. Kreutz also notes Russia's desire to influence the Arab-Israeli peace process and deep-seated ties between Syrian and Russian leaders.²⁷ That said, the need for Syria to maintain its military infrastructure and Moscow's desire to collect on Syria's debt were reason enough to maintain ties.

Proof of positive relations can be seen most easily in the two states' economic interactions. For example, Moscow wrote off \$2 billion of Syrian debt in 1994 in an effort to improve relations: "Comments made by Minister Kozyrev and officials in the Russian Foreign Ministry's Middle East Department indicated that Moscow hoped Syria would become Russia's main partner in the region at the time when cooperation with other former Soviet allies, such as Libya and Iraq, had been greatly diminished or even made impossible."²⁸ Despite a few disagreements because of Russia's continued efforts to work with both the Israelis and the Syrians, arms deals continued and Syrian-Russian relations steadily improved over the course of the nineties.²⁹ The election of Vladimir Putin to presidency only accelerated this trend.

Putin and Syria

Overall, Putin has maintained a positive foreign policy in his dealings with Syria. Kreutz argues that this is because "Putin wants to preserve and if possible expand Russian-Syrian relations in order to maintain positive aspects from previous Moscow-Middle Eastern involvement, and to promote Russia's image as a country friendly toward Islamic peoples."³⁰ One clear aspect of this friendly relationship can be seen by examining Syria's military: "Russia has continued to modernize and repair military hardware, and the weapons used by the Syrian army are 90 percent Soviet or Russian in origin."³¹ Though Israel and the US have continually reproached Russia for these deals, the sales have continued unabated (though Moscow has limited which weapons it they will sell to Syria, withholding many of the most technologically advanced in an effort to placate the West).³²

²³ Ibid., 18.

²⁴ Ibid., 19.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid., 20.

²⁹ Ibid., 23.

³⁰ Ibid., 26.

³¹ Ibid., 27.

³² Ibid., 28.

Not only does this benefit Russia economically, but it is also a calculated foreign policy decision.

The foreign policy benefits of this relationship are two-fold. First, like many of Putin's foreign policy choices, it serves "to balance US world hegemony and to promote the prospect of a future multipolar world order."³³ With the fall of the USSR, many scholars have noted a relative global rise in the influence of the United States. Because Russia views the US as an economic and political competitor, Putin believes that one of the key roles of his country is to balance American influence and provide an alternative source of global power.³⁴ Beyond this, good relations with Syria are vital to preserving Russia's influence on the Arab world.³⁵ "This enables Russia to claim the role of an Arab-Israeli mediator and cosponsor of the Middle Eastern 'Peace Process,'" alongside helping it to maintain cultural legitimacy in regards to "the ongoing civil war in Chechnya and the growing Muslim population in Russia itself."³⁶ In order to maintain cultural credibility with its populace, the Russian government must prove that it is involved in and respected in the broader Arab world. Already a challenging feat in times of political stability, the events of the Arab Spring made this task more difficult than ever.

Russia, Syria, and the Arab Spring

Russia has faced a difficult situation in responding to the Arab Spring and the ensuing civil war in Syria. On one hand, Putin has devoted considerable time and political capital into developing positive relations between Russia and Syria. Alongside Iran, Syria is Russia's closest ally in the Middle East and extremely important economically. Further, some scholars suggest that the Arab Spring set off a dangerous trend of regime change that put Putin at risk of falling victim to the same fates as Zine El Abidine Ben Ali and Hosni Mubarak.³⁷ On the other hand, Bashar al-Assad's blatant disregard for human rights and international law puts anyone who offers him support at risk of international condemnation. In particular, Russia risks damaging the relations it has built up with Israel and the Arab League. Beyond this, after the UN-sanctioned civilian-protection-based intervention in Libya turned into NATO pushing regime change, Moscow feared that any external intervention in Syria might warp into an effort to put a Western-backed leader in power. Though it at first tried to toe the line, supporting Assad overall while nominally criticizing his crackdown on political protests, this strategy has proved ultimately untenable and Moscow has committed to backing Assad, consistently vetoing UN resolutions, continuing to supply arms, and sparking much international anger in the process.

The Syrian Civil War began in 2011 during the broader Arab Spring as Syrians fed up with corruption, despotism, and widespread human rights violations felt emboldened by successful demonstrations occurring in Egypt, Tunisia, and Libya, and took to the streets to protest. Seeking to suppress dissent and maintain a firm grasp on power, Assad cracked down violently, sanctioning the use of deadly force from the police and military against civilians. After the initial attacks, some of the protesters responded in kind, and soon the protests morphed from mild demonstrations into a full-on civil war. The fighting has seen hundreds of thousands of casualties, millions of refugees, and an extensive violations of

³³ Ibid., 28.

³⁴ Vladimir Putin, "Putin's Prepared Remarks at 43rd Munich Conference on Security Policy," *Washington Post* (2007), accessed November 24, 2014, <http://goo.gl/1o3bjN>.

³⁵ Kreutz, 28.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Robert Freedman, "Russia and the Arab Spring: A Preliminary Appraisal," in *The Arab Spring: Change and Resistance in the Middle East* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2013), 208.

international law.³⁸ The international response has been varied, with much talk and little action from the West. Numerous rebel groups have appeared, and though many have been armed and advised by external sources, little progress has been made by any group. Over five years after the start of the conflict, hope for a quick or clean resolution is nearly nonexistent.

To understand Russia's behavior during the Syrian conflict, it is helpful to first examine its relationship to the Libyan conflict. Like Syria, when protests began in Libya during the Arab Spring, the reigning dictator, Muammar Qaddafi, responded with violence and the situation quickly descended into armed conflict. Unlike Syria, however, the international response was quick and fairly unified. Though there was some disagreement in the Russian political sphere, Russia agreed to sanctions, including an arms embargo, and joined "a unanimous Security Council Resolution (No. 1970) that also called for Qaddafi's actions to be referred to the International Criminal Court."³⁹ When Qaddafi ignored these demands and commanded his military to advance on rebel-held Benghazi, the US, the EU, and the Arab League responded by collectively calling for the implementation of a No-Fly Zone over Libya. Despite considerable internal debate, Russia eventually decided to abstain from voting in the UN Security Council (implicitly conferring its approval) and the resolution was approved. Not long after the vote, however, NATO took control of the No-Fly Zone and its implementation strayed drastically from the ideas debated in the UN: "Soon what was billed as protection of innocent civilians from a massacre in Benghazi turned into NATO's offshore war against the Libyan government, which finally resulted in the overthrow of the Qaddafi regime and the killing of the dictator along with many of his supporters and probably a number of civilians."⁴⁰ This greatly distressed Moscow, not only because "Russia had signed \$2 billion in arms contracts with Libya and had another \$1.8 billion in contracts under negotiation,"⁴¹ but also because one of its historic allies in the Middle East was deposed with the aid of Western militaries, who, in the eyes of Moscow, "went way beyond the terms of the U.N. resolution."⁴² Though attempted preserve both its investments and its markets in Libya no matter the outcome the civil war, its efforts proved ultimately unsuccessful and, in the words of Robert Freedman, "Russia turned out to be the major loser, diplomatically, economically, and militarily."⁴³ Beyond having earned great dislike and distrust from the new Libyan government for its support of Qaddafi, Moscow was forced to wait to see if the new government would honor an estimated \$10 billion worth of business contracts that had been agreed upon between the two countries before the fighting started.⁴⁴ Because of the damage done from this scenario, Moscow has since been adamantly opposed to any UN Security Resolutions or foreign action that could potentially lead to regime change.

This resulted in Russian support of Assad's brutal attempts to suppress dissent in his country: "[a]lthough the crackdown by the Bashar al-Assad regime on its citizens has been every bit as brutal as that by Gaddafi, not only has Moscow opposed Libya-type

³⁸ Megan Price, Anita Gohdes, and Patrick Ball, "Updated Statistical Analysis of Documentation of Killings in the Syrian Arab Republic," Human Rights Data Analysis Group, August 1, 2014, accessed November 24, 2014, <http://goo.gl/MlfF6t>; "Statistics for the Number of Martyrs," Violations Documentation Center in Syria, Accessed November 24, 2014, <http://goo.gl/DSxBKj>.

³⁹ Freedman, "Russia and the Arab Spring," 202.

⁴⁰ Dmitri Trenin, "Why Russia Supports Assad," *The New York Times*, February 9, 2012, accessed November 24, 2014, <http://goo.gl/YeldKX>.

⁴¹ Freedman, "Russia and the Arab Spring," 202.

⁴² Trenin, "Why Russia Supports Assad."

⁴³ Freedman, "Russia and the Arab Spring," 202-204.

⁴⁴ Howard Amos, "Billions of Dollars of Russian Business Suffers Along with Syria," *The Moscow Times*, September 2, 2011, accessed November 24, 2014, <http://goo.gl/xPI9JI>.

military intervention in Syria, it has also opposed sanctions against the Assad regime.”⁴⁵ Alongside China, Russia has vetoed four separate attempts by the other members of the UN Security Council to pass resolutions against Assad’s regime and in support of the rebels. These resolutions have included sections condemning “the widespread violations of human rights and international humanitarian law by the Syrian authorities and pro-government militias,”⁴⁶ attempts to refer the situation in Syria to the International Criminal Court, and various plans designed at facilitating political transformations.⁴⁷ In response to the most recent resolution in May 2014 (which Russia vetoed) Vitaly Churkin, Russia’s representative in the Security Council asserted that “pursuing regime change by force in Syria at all costs will prolong the crisis and undermine the Geneva negotiations.”⁴⁸ In rebuffing the resolution, Churkin not only accused the equivalent resolution for the Libyan conflict as “adding fuel to the flames of conflict,” but also accused the West of pursuing a “futile, dead-end policy of endlessly escalating the Syrian crisis.”⁴⁹ Indeed, the only UN actions that have been possible have been those which Russia cannot block, such as a UN General Assembly resolution condemning the Syrian crackdown (yet without an action) which Russia nevertheless stubbornly voted against.⁵⁰

Besides preventing UN-sanctioned foreign intervention, the main support Russia has provided the Syrian government during the conflict has been through arms supplies: “According to data from the Moscow Defense Brief, the capital has more than \$4 billion in active arms contracts with Syria, including MiG-29 fighters, Pantsir surface-to-air missiles, artillery systems and anti-tank weaponry.”⁵¹ In 2013 alone Russia sold over \$1.2 billion.⁵² Because, as mentioned earlier, 90 percent of the weapons used by the Syrian army are Soviet or Russian in origin, Syria must rely on Russian engineers to maintain its army.⁵³ This has led to a sizable, largely covert Russian military presence in Syria: “Russia has military officers in Syria under the auspices of its embassy and civilian technical advisers working irregularly on Russian-made air defense systems and repairing airplanes and helicopters in Syria.”⁵⁴ It also maintains a small garrison at Tartus, a Syrian city that contains Russia’s only Mediterranean seaport. Though this port is little more than a naval resupply facility, Russia has nevertheless used it to deliver weapons and ammunition to the Assad regime and to flex its military muscles by visiting it with naval flotillas.⁵⁵ Despite the fact that “[d]elivering arms into a country going through civil war is damaging, both politically and morally,”⁵⁶ Russia has persisted in order to preserve its economic and political investments. This stance has caused considerable anger and frustration among other nations.

Chief among the relations strained by Russia’s backing of Assad are those between Russia and Israel. As explained before, Russia and Israel have a complicated

⁴⁵ Freedman, "Russia and the Arab Spring," 204.

⁴⁶ "United Nations Official Document," UN News Center, May 22, 2014, accessed November 24, 2014, <http://goo.gl/7hhW3U>.

⁴⁷ "Security Council—Veto List," Dag Hammarskjöld Library, accessed November 24, 2014, <http://goo.gl/yBGpNh>.

⁴⁸ "United Nations Official Document," <http://goo.gl/7hhW3U>.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Freedman, "Russia and the Arab Spring," 210.

⁵¹ Amos, "Billions of Dollars of Russian Business."

⁵² Allan Gould and Skye Gould, "US/Russia Arms Sales Race," *Business Insider*, August 13, 2014, accessed November 24, 2014, <http://goo.gl/McrJyA>.

⁵³ Kreutz, 28.

⁵⁴ Trenin, "Why Russia Supports Assad."

⁵⁵ Freedman, "Russia and the Arab Spring," 207; Trenin, "Why Russia Supports Assad."

⁵⁶ Trenin, "Why Russia Supports Assad."

history. Though Stalin initially supported the creation of the state in the late forties, anti-Semitism in Soviet Union was strong and Moscow cut diplomatic ties after the Six-Day War in 1967. It then went on to train and arm Arab forces, much to the displeasure of Israel.⁵⁷ Conflict continued until ties were re-established in October 1991, weeks before the collapse of the USSR, and relations have slowly improved ever since.⁵⁸ Despite the fact that the trade ties between the two countries started from scratch twenty years ago, they now exceed \$1 billion.⁵⁹ Though Jerusalem remains upset with Moscow's continuing support for Iran's nuclear program and for Palestinian independence, there have been signs of improvement.⁶⁰ Putin is the first Russian leader to visit Israel (he has done so twice), and one analyst has commented that he "seems to admire Israel's ruthlessness in dealing with its enemies and particularly its tough stance when talking to its biggest friend, America."⁶¹ Though Putin's government has tried to frame Russia's support for Syria as advantageous for Israel by arguing that Assad's "fall would almost certainly result in the rise of Islamic fundamentalists in Syria,"⁶² Israel has refused to buy into this argument and has twice carried out airstrikes on shipments of Russian military equipment in Syria.⁶³ Incidents like these have angered Russians and anti-Israeli sentiment in the military and media has been growing. Needless to say, none of this has served to improve Russian-Israeli relations.

Examining how Russian-Israeli relations have changed in the face of the Syrian conflict broadly reflects the changes that have occurred between Russia and much of the rest of the world: "as the Syrian regime intensified its crackdown on anti-regime protesters, the Syrian opposition and much of the Sunni Arab world, led by Saudi Arabia, became highly critical of Russia, thereby threatening Russia's current position in the Arab world, which Putin had tried so hard to rebuild."⁶⁴ These actions have also angered both the Gulf Cooperation Council (led by Saudi Arabia) and the Arab League (whom Russia criticized after they ejected Syria from their ranks).⁶⁵ Naturally, Russia's policies have also worsened Russian-US and Russian-EU relations.⁶⁶ Some scholars have speculated that Moscow in part behaves favorably toward Syria because Syria and Iran are closely tied, and Putin doesn't want to alienate Tehran any more than he already has in the past few years.⁶⁷ Some Russians even "suspect that the real reason for the West's pressure on Damascus is to rob Tehran of its only ally in the region."⁶⁸ Indeed, one Russian commentator has been quoted describing "the civil war in Syria as a proxy conflict between NATO and Saudi Arabia on one side and Russia and Iran on the other."⁶⁹ No matter how true this statement actually is, as matters stand now, Russia's support for Iran and Syria have remained strong, despite international pressure.

⁵⁷ "Vladimir Putin and the Holy Land," *The Economist*, March 16, 2013, accessed November 24, 2014, <http://goo.gl/MX3pA4>.

⁵⁸ Mark N. Katz, "Putin's Pro-Israel Policy," *The Middle East Quarterly* 12, no. 1 (Winter 2005): 51-59.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Katz, "Putin's Pro-Israel Policy.," "Vladimir Putin and the Holy Land."

⁶¹ "Vladimir Putin and the Holy Land."

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Michael Gordon, "Israel Airstrike Targeted Advanced Missiles That Russia Sold to Syria, U.S. Says," *The New York Times*, July 13, 2013, accessed November 24, 2014, <http://goo.gl/XOD9S2>.

⁶⁴ Freedman, "Russia and the Arab Spring," 205-206.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 208.

⁶⁶ Trenin, "Why Russia Supports Assad."

⁶⁷ Freedman, "Russia and the Arab Spring," 204.

⁶⁸ Trenin, "Why Russia Supports Assad."

⁶⁹ "Vladimir Putin and the Holy Land."

Backing a regime despised in the West has also had a significant impact on Russian businesses. In particular, the various sanctions and tariffs the West have implemented in response to the Syrian Civil War have hurt Russian businesses, as it has become inconvenient, undesirable, or even illegal for European and American companies to work with companies connected to Syria (as many Russian companies are).⁷⁰ Issues detailed by one Russian business owner include “European suppliers who failed to deliver the equipment they were obligated to provide, transport companies who raised their tariffs, and breakdowns in the banking sector.”⁷¹ Still, these are minor inconveniences compared to the great economic and security troubles these business would face if Assad’s regime fell. “As well as lucrative arms contracts, Russian firms have a substantial presence in the Syrian infrastructure, energy and tourism industries. And with exports to Syria worth \$1.1 billion in 2010 and investment in the country valued at \$19.4 billion in 2009, there is a lot at stake.” The ensuing turmoil would certainly put this investment at risk, significantly decreasing Syria’s viability as a market for Russian goods, military and otherwise. This fact may explain to a degree why there is so much domestic support in Russia for backing Assad’s regime.

Conclusion

For better or for worse, Putin’s Russia has decided to risk significantly damaging the relationships it has built with the broader Arab world, Israel, and the West in order to maintain its strategic and historic ties to Iran and Syria, protect its economic interests in the Middle East, and hamper Western efforts to orchestrate Middle-Eastern politics. However, the Syrian Civil War plays out, Russia is committed to Assad’s regime for the long haul and nothing it does now can change the decisions it has made thus far.

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⁷⁰ Amos, "Billions of Dollars of Russian Business."

⁷¹ *Ibid*.

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Transnational Water Issues in Turkey, Syria, and Iraq: Planning and Investing for the Future

A Multi-Agency Policy Paper to Establish the Euphrates-Tigris River Basin Commission

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Collin Douglas

Abstract

The connection between access to clean and reliable water and social unrest is a relationship that is beginning to be fully understood. The Euphrates River provides drinking water for nearly 27 million people, water for irrigation, and hydroelectric power for millions of people in Turkey, Syria, and Iraq. Due to reduced rainfall and increased temperature, combined with overuse, the amount of water running through the Euphrates River has reached a new low point in recent decades. This phenomenon is a serious threat to peace and stability. Turkey, the upstream country, is heavily reliant on the Euphrates for drinking water, irrigation water, and for producing hydroelectricity. Water infrastructure and management in Syria has been degraded due to conflict. Before the war, water resources were managed poorly, which led to political unrest due to loss of livelihoods and urban migration. Agriculture in Iraq has been devastated due to reduced water flow and poor water management practices. Iraq receives roughly 98 percent of its water resources from the Tigris-Euphrates Basin, and Iraq has seen its share of river flow plummet in recent years. There exists no trilateral agreement between all riparian states dealing with the Euphrates. There have been several bilateral agreements regulating flow, but these have often been ignored, or are impossible to enforce. The necessary measures needed to create sustainable practices regarding the river cannot be taken without an enforceable trilateral agreement.

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Introduction

The importance of Turkey, Syria, and Iraq to United States national security cannot be overstated. Turkey is a NATO member on the frontlines of the war against the Islamic State in Syria and both a destination and gateway for millions of refugees. Syria is in the midst of a massive civil war that has turned into what some may call a global proxy war. The power vacuum in Syria has aided the flourishing of terrorist groups like the Islamic State. Iraq is a potential counter to the influence of Iran in the region, and a strong

Iraq could begin to stabilize the situation in Syria. Iraq is a potentially strong future ally of the United States in a region where there are many enemies.

Therefore, the goals of the United States should be a politically stable and economically strong Turkey; the creation of a Syrian government post-conflict that addresses the grievances that led to the war, and a growing and viable Iraq. Connected to all of these goals is the management of water resources, especially the resources of the Tigris-Euphrates River Basin. Issues of resource allocation have taken a backseat to the civil war in Syria, and rightfully so. But these issues should be at the back of the minds of every player because they have importance for the war itself and any attempt to maintain peace after the war.

The Connection Between Water and Conflict

While the connection between water and conflict is not a new revelation, it is a relationship that is still in the process of being understood and defined. Peter Gleick, of the Pacific Institute, has done much to explore the relationship between conflict and water. He has researched the effects of water on conflicts in Kenya, Yemen, and Syria among others.¹ Here, Syria will be used as an example to partly illustrate the importance of water to political stability.

Between 2006 and 2011 Syria suffered an unprecedented and devastating drought that led to widespread failure of crops across the country. These crop failures set off a chain reaction of loss of livelihoods, migration to cities, unemployment, social unrest, and finally political unrest.² The drought was exacerbated by poor management of water resources by the Assad government. The government's subsidization of water for crops that required a large volume of water, coupled with over pumping of groundwater and inefficient water delivery systems made the bad situation of the drought much worse.³ Gleick estimates that, "more than 1.5 million people—mostly agricultural workers and family farmers—moved from rural regions to cities and temporary settlements near urban centers, especially on the outskirts of Aleppo, Hama, Homs, Damascus, and Dara'a."⁴

Gleick quotes the Syrian Minister of Agriculture as saying in 2008 that the drought was, "beyond our capacity as a country to deal with."⁵ It seems that the Minister was right, and in 2011 when political unrest began it was in places populated by displaced and unemployed farmers, like Dara'a.⁶ Gleick and many others writing on this water-conflict nexus are not claiming that the civil war was caused by water scarcity, only that it was among the contributing factors sparking the civil war.⁷

¹ Peter Gleick and Matthew Heberger, "Water and Conflict: Events Trends and Analysis" Brief 3, in *The World's Water* (Washington: Island Press, 2014).

² Peter Gleick. "The Syrian Conflict and the Role of Water" Brief 1, in *The World's Water* (Washington: Island Press, 2014).

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Francesco Femia, Troy Sternberg, and Caitlin E. Werrell, "Climate Hazards, Security, and the Uprisings in Syria and Egypt," *Seton Hall Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations* 26, no. 1 (2014): 71-84.

Existing Transnational Water Agreements

There are existing examples of successful transnational water agreements between countries that have tense relationships, like the Permanent Indus Commission, consisting of Pakistan and India, concerning the Indus River and the Mekong River Commission between Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos. Both of these commissions are made up of countries that are familiar with conflict among member states.

The Mekong Commission has initiatives concerning agricultural irrigation and climate change adaptation and acts as a platform for information exchange and technology sharing. The original Mekong Committee was seen as a counter to communist influence and was supported by the United States. During the war the committee was a helpful platform for discussion of issues.⁸ This commission and its successes serve as a direct example of what is needed for the Euphrates River.

Transnational Water Issues and the Euphrates River

The Euphrates River, running from Turkey through Syria and Iraq and into the Persian Gulf, makes up part of the Tigris-Euphrates River Basin. This area is known as the cradle of civilization and the birthplace of agriculture. The nearly 1,700 miles of the Euphrates River are important for energy, agriculture, sanitation, and drinking water. Now, due to anthropogenic climate change causing increased temperatures and decreased precipitation and other human-caused problems, the viability of the river basin itself is threatened. The main risk posed to the Euphrates and those reliant on it is the fact that the amount of water flowing downstream in the river has decreased by 40-45 percent since the 1970s.⁹

The Euphrates provides the drinking water for roughly 27 million people across the riparian states, and also irrigates the crops and creates the hydroelectric power for millions more.¹⁰ The reliance of the region on the benefits provided by the river is striking when compared to the precarious position of the river today. And yet, there exists no trilateral and all-encompassing treaty between the three riparian states concerning the flow of the Euphrates. Historically, treaties have been negotiated between two of the three states, usually at the expense of the third state.¹¹ Turkey, as the originating country, is in the position to control flow to downstream countries. There are 141 dams in the river basin across Turkey, which give Turkey an estimated 90 billion cubic meters of water storage capacity.

This capacity gives Turkey the capability of, “preventing all flow of the Euphrates from entering Syria for two or three years (based on average yearly flows).”¹² This ability, among other things, has often made Turkey the target of complaints from both Syria and Iraq. There is a record of Turkey abusing its upstream power over its neighbors in the past, even going as far as nearly cutting off flow of water entirely. Turkey has often expressed its self-proclaimed right over the river’s resources. Turkey has repeatedly returned to the

⁸ Mekong River Commission, “History,” accessed December 11, 2015, <http://www.mrcmekong.org/about-mrc/history/>.

⁹ Nouar M. Shamout and Glada Lahn, *The Euphrates in Crisis: Channels of Cooperation for a Threatened River* (London: Chatham House, 2015).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

mode of thinking in line with the doctrine of absolute territorial sovereignty, which states, “that upstream states have national sovereignty over the rivers within their territory.”¹³ Under this line of thinking, also known as the Harmon Doctrine, the only options available to downstream countries are to hope for cooperation or prepare for war. To further illustrate Turkey’s views on this issue, Zawahri quotes Turkey’s former Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel, “Neither Syria nor Iraq can lay claim to Turkey’s rivers any more than Ankara could claim their oil. We have a right to do anything we like. The water resources are Turkey’s, the oil resources are theirs.”¹⁴ This mode of thinking has prevented many past chances for agreements, and could stand in the way of any future agreement if Turkey is not shown the benefits of cooperation.

There have been agreements about the river between the three countries, but none with mechanisms powerful enough to be enforced. Agreements during colonial rule went relatively smoothly because the countries were much less reliant before the construction of hydroelectric plants and a population boom. After the mid-twentieth century things became more difficult, however. Between 1964 and 1975 Syria and Turkey were filling reservoirs at their new dams. After a failed process to somewhat lessen the damage to Iraq, no agreement was made and the countries carried on filling their reservoirs. This devastated the Iraqi agricultural industry because the flow of the Euphrates went from an average of 920 cubic meters per second to 197 cubic meters per second. A failed mediation attempt by the Arab league led to Iraq threatening to bomb the Syrian dam, which caused Syria to send troops to the Iraqi border.¹⁵ While this period of tension was ended by intense Saudi diplomatic work, it highlights the vital importance of these water resources to the survival of the three riparian states.

Possibly the most important previous bilateral agreement is the 1987 Protocol on Technical and Economic Cooperation, which dictated that Turkey would release an average of 500 cubic meters per second yearly. This agreement is generally adhered to by Turkey but sometimes inconsistently. Syria and Iraq also have a bilateral agreement which distributes 58 percent of the flow to Iraq and the remaining 42 percent to Syria.¹⁶

Issues in Turkey

Turkey is heavily reliant on hydroelectricity for its power generation, which produces 45,000 Gigawatt hours (GWh) per year, or around 25 percent of Turkey’s total power generation.¹⁷ Combined with the decreases in the flow of the Euphrates, it is clear that Turkey’s power generation is at risk. Since the 1970s Turkey has invested heavily in hydroelectricity to meet its needs, especially through the Southeastern Anatolian Project (GAP). The GAP has already invested \$16 billion into developing Turkey’s agricultural irrigation and hydroelectricity infrastructure.¹⁸ The GAP has already completed twelve dams and 80 percent of planned hydroelectric capacity of the twenty-two dams and

¹³ Neda A. Zawahri, “Stabilising Iraq’s Water Supply: What the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers Can Learn from the Indus,” *Third World Quarterly* 27 (2006): 1041-1058.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Turkey’s Policy on Water Issue,” http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey_s-policy-on-water-issues.en.mfa.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

nineteen hydropower plants planned for construction.¹⁹ A hoped-for positive side-effect of the GAP for Turkey is to make regions populated by Turkey's Kurdish minority more prosperous through improving employment and economic prospects.²⁰ Some nationalistic groups among the Kurds, which form the majority in several Southeastern provinces, have been engaged in a low-intensity war with Turkey for several decades, and improving their economic position is a tactic to undercut popular support for their cause.

Energy consumption is rising in Turkey in pace with population growth and increasing urbanization. Current energy consumption growth in Turkey is 5.7 percent yearly, with an estimated total consumption growing from 265 billion kilowatt hours (kWh) in 2010 to 528 kWh in 2020.²¹ Water consumption is also expected to rise, and the Turkish government expects overall water demand to more than double between 2012 and 2023.²² Another factor to consider in Turkey's water situation is the impact of Syrian refugees. There are currently almost 2.3 million Syrian refugees in Turkey, and that number will continue to rise until the conflict is resolved.²³ This rapid influx of people has added to water demand. Turkey has been receiving international aid, especially from Europe, to support its refugee programs, but how long this will continue into the future is unclear. If these refugees stay in Turkey indefinitely, then this will add to the future water stress of the country.

While Turkey does not presently suffer from water scarcity issues, it is very likely in the near future if trends continue. One study estimates a possible reduction of surface waters in Turkey, "of 20%, 35% and 50% for 2030, 2050 and 2100."²⁴ With a population of roughly 15 million Turks working in agriculture a decrease in per capita water resources will lead to unemployment and possibly further urbanization.²⁵

Issues in Syria

Syria is in a potentially disastrous situation regarding water security. Before the conflict Syria's water system was stressed by rapid urbanization and the prevalence of water-intensive crops. The mismanagement of these resources led to an estimated 800,000 Syrians losing their livelihoods by 2009, and many thousands more moving to cities.²⁶ The Syrian water system is dependent on the Euphrates, with the river providing, "70 per cent of surface water resources and 50 per cent of total renewable water resources in Syria."²⁷ The Euphrates is the sole source of water for many of Syria's largest cities. Prior to the civil war, 60 percent of Syria's energy was provided by hydroelectricity. Also, due to Syria's reliance on water-intensive crops for its economy, the agricultural sector pre-war employed a quarter of the Syrian workforce and comprised 30 percent of Syrian Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The industries revolving around tobacco, olive oil, and cotton,

¹⁹ Nouar M. Shamout and Glada Lahn, *The Euphrates in Crisis*.

²⁰ Zawahri, "Stabilising Iraq's Water Supply."

²¹ Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Turkey's Policy on Water Issue."

²² Nouar M. Shamout and Glada Lahn, *The Euphrates in Crisis*.

²³ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, "Syria Regional Refugee Response," accessed December 12, 2015, <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=224>.

²⁴ European Union Centre for Climate Adaptation, "Freshwater resources in Turkey," accessed December 12, 2015, <http://www.climateadaptation.eu/turkey/fresh-water-resources/>.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Shamout and Lahn, *The Euphrates in Crisis*.

²⁷ Ibid.

all reliant on water from the Euphrates, represented half of the manufacturing sector of Syria before the war.²⁸

Much of the river and water infrastructure today is controlled by militants, namely the self-described Islamic State (IS). The Islamic State controls the Tabqah dam, “the largest dam and main water-storage and flow-regulating body on the Syrian section of the Euphrates.”²⁹ Lowered water levels at the dam have cut off drinking water for many Syrians. The Islamic State has proclaimed in a released statement that the dam has been wired with explosives, and IS has threatened to blow the dam if they are attacked. This would release 11 million cubic meters of water from the dam, possibly threatening millions and doing untold damage.³⁰ The rules of war have often been ignored in the Syrian civil war, which means that water infrastructure and other types of infrastructure have not escaped air strikes. Articles 51 and 54 of Protocol I of the Geneva conventions forbid attacks on water supplies.³¹ A water treatment plant near Aleppo was bombed in December 2015, threatening the water supply of millions of Syrians. Although it is unclear who carried out the airstrike, some believe it was the US-backed international coalition.³² This is not the first time this kind of attack has happened in Syria.

The resources to manage Syria’s water infrastructure are sparse after years of war. Information and records have been destroyed, technicians have been killed or fled the country, and the infrastructure itself has been utterly destroyed in some places.

Issues in Iraq

The Islamic State has also come to control some of the water infrastructure of Iraq. The Islamic State in Iraq has used their control over water as a weapon against the Iraqi government, going so far as to cut off the flow of water to some southern Iraqi cities using the Fallujah regulator, which also caused flooding upstream. The United States has already publicly stated the importance of water infrastructure in Iraq by supporting Peshmerga efforts to recapture Mosul dam from IS in 2014. President Barack Obama publicly stated, ““The failure of the Mosul Dam could threaten the lives of large numbers of civilians, endanger US personnel and facilities, including the US Embassy in Baghdad, and prevent the Iraqi government from providing critical services to the Iraqi populace.”³³

A stable and prosperous Iraq is contingent on a stable, clean, and reliable source of water. Iraq gets 98 percent of its water supply from the Tigris-Euphrates River Basin.³⁴ The flow reaching Iraq today has dropped over the past decades, and is estimated to be as low as 44 billion cubic meters (bcm). To explain the direness of this situation, the Iraqi Ministry of Irrigation has projected Iraq’s water needs to be 101 bcm in 2020. Crops all over Iraq have been failing, and the agricultural industry is feeling the squeeze. Large-scale internal migrations are happening in Iraq, with many rural poor moving to the cities. This

²⁸ Zawahri, “Stabilising Iraq’s Water Supply.”

²⁹ Shamout and Lahn, *The Euphrates in Crisis*.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts (Protocol I), 8 June 1977, 1125 UNTS, accessed December 15, 2015, <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b36b4.html>.

³² Ammar Abdullah, “U.N. condemns air strike that cut water supplies to Syria’s Aleppo,”

<http://www.reuters.com/article/us-syria-crisis-aleppo-water-idUSKBN0TK4F020151201#BMDEuYsrs4GpLDsD.97>.

³³ Shamout and Lahn, *The Euphrates in Crisis*.

³⁴ Zawahri, “Stabilising Iraq’s Water Supply.”

migration is a direct result of the failing agriculture industry and is a threat to Iraqi stability.³⁵

Iraq is also plagued by aging and inefficient water systems and management that is rampant with corruption and incompetence. Much of the water infrastructure is decades old and barely functioning, including nearly 8,000 miles of drains and canals that move water across the country. Not all of the infrastructure is antiquated, however. By 2009 the US Army Corps of Engineers had finished twenty five large water projects and 800 smaller ones distributing drinking water to Iraqis, with the total price tag of \$65 million.³⁶ But the US Army Corps of Engineers is gone, and Iraqis still lack reliable access to drinking water. An overhaul of Iraq's nationwide water distribution system would cost millions of dollars and likely take years to be completed. The need for modern methods of irrigation is understood in the Iraqi government, but the finances and the focus are harder to track down.³⁷

Iraq's rebuilding process was making some progress before the Syrian civil war spilled across the border. Water issues had been pushed off, along with other state services, in order to focus on security and stability. This process makes sense when addressing the basic needs of the state, but the next step was never taken. Prime Ministers Maliki and Abadi did not and have not had time to address these issues, let alone the resources or political will. When the state is under direct threat, the future is disregarded until the present is secure.

Recommendations

For Turkey: To ensure that Turkey's energy mix is less reliant on a water source that is shrinking, and in order to make more water available for agriculture, Turkey needs to diversify energy sources, and diversify water sources.

Turkey has had trouble financing the later stages of its massive GAP and timetables have been pushed back.³⁸ There are two options to ease the burden of the GAP and hydroelectric reliance in Turkey. First, the trilateral agreement addressed below will likely bring outside financial sources by stabilizing the atmosphere within Turkey. Second, the United States should invest in the energy security of its ally Turkey by encouraging energy source diversification. This same notion could be applied to Turkish imports of Iraqi oil and Iranian natural gas, but for the purposes of this paper the reliance on domestic hydroelectric power is most important. Through the Department of State's Clean Energy Solutions Center, advice and analysis should be provided to Turkey in developing a renewable energy sector that does not rely on hydroelectricity.

These techniques could also be applied to the development of a desalination industry in Turkey to provide an alternative to drinking water from the Euphrates, freeing up more water for agriculture. Payment for this could be included as part of the trilateral agreement or as a separate issue. Although these plants may not directly reduce consumption from the Euphrates, they will strengthen the water source mix in Turkey.

³⁵ Martin Chulov, "Iraq: Water, Water Nowhere," *World Policy Journal* 26 (2009): 33-41.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ IRIN News, "Iraq: Call to adopt modern irrigation techniques," <http://www.irinnews.org/report/94921/iraq-call-to-adopt-modern-irrigation-techniques>.

³⁸ Zawahri, "Stabilising Iraq's Water Supply."

For Syria: During the conflict, the international coalition led by the United States should avoid bombing and damaging water infrastructure because it will be critical after the war. During Vienna negotiations, negotiators should require that a replacement government address grievances, including proper management of water resources.

The Department of Defense should work to identify and communicate the location of all critical water infrastructure in Syria with other combatants, including the United Kingdom, France, and Russia. This includes dams, reservoirs, pumping stations, pipelines, and any and all other infrastructure that could not be easily and cheaply rebuilt after the war. This infrastructure will be sorely needed once peace is restored if Syria is to become a functioning and stable society.

The Department of State must include in any political transition agreement assurances that the question of water management is addressed. While this is obviously not an immediate concern while the conflict still rages, it is essential for the future of Syria. No new government, no matter its make-up, will be effective without attempting to solve Syria's water problems. The peace talks planned for January 1, 2016, if successful, should provide the opportunity to begin to address resource management and governance issues.

To reduce the reliance of Syria on the Euphrates for providing drinking water, investments in desalination plants should be made. Like the proposed plants in Turkey, these could be financed outside of the Euphrates River Commission or from within. These plants would be a large expense for a young government but would be an important step for water security in Syria.

For Iraq: Through USAID, the US government should invest in rebuilding water infrastructure, and training farmers and civil servants to support efficient water use.

USAID has similar programs in different countries to improve water delivery systems and to train those connected to the agricultural industry, be they farmers or civil servants, in more water efficient practices. This program would include providing funds for efficient irrigation technology. USAID, through its Securing Water for Food grand challenge development goal, should distribute grants to groups working in Iraq to strengthen the agricultural sector.³⁹ These projects should focus on a number of things: building an efficient water delivery system for the country, promoting the use of and teaching farmers about the benefits of planting crops that are less water-intensive and general water efficiency, and the training of a professional and knowledgeable water resource civil service.

These projects would necessarily be long-term, especially considering the atmosphere in Iraq today. The Department of Defense has maintained a presence in Iraq, and has recently expanded that presence. The US Army Corps of Engineers should resume work on laying pipes and rebuilding infrastructure in Iraq. This would provide a step in the right direction for the Iraqi economy and would do much to quell anti-US sentiments.

Barley and wheat, two common crops grown in Iraq, are highly water intensive. Substituting these for crops with lower water intensities would reduce consumption and

³⁹ USAID, "Securing Water for Food: A Grand Challenge for Development Announces 12 New Awardees," <https://www.usaid.gov/news-information/press-releases/nov-3-2015-securing-water-food-grand-challenge-development-announces-12-new>.

increase agricultural production numbers. This is another area in which USAID should pursue organizations to receive grants. The training of the Ministry of Water Resources civil service would most likely not fall to USAID, but could possibly be facilitated through an exchange and training program with a US organization like the Environmental Protection Agency.

The United States Department of State and the Department of Energy are already cooperating on strengthening the energy sector in Iraq through the protection of critical infrastructure, providing expert analysis, and improving Iraqi government capacity. Technical assistance is provided and a working group has been established to promote renewable and efficient energy.⁴⁰ A similar relationship needs to be established concerning water, a resource that is vitally more important to the success of Iraq than oil.

Overall: Support the establishment of a trilateral agreement with clear standards that include broad climate change adaptation measures.

After the resolution of the Syrian civil war, the United States should broker a trilateral agreement between the three riparian states to define usage standards while also addressing climate change adaptation measures. While the region is currently unstable, any hope of future stability partially hinges on reliable water resources and the responsible management of those resources.

Taking into account the successes and failures of previous transnational river agreements, like the Mekong River Commission and the Permanent Indus Commission, the United States Department of State should spearhead the creation of an independent Euphrates-Tigris River Basin Commission (ETRBC) to oversee monitoring and information sharing systems, act as an effective dispute mediator, and provide guidance on future climate change adaptation projects.

The largest obstacle to forging a trilateral agreement is enticing Turkey to cooperate. In its current position, Turkey can maintain its strategy of consuming what it wants and leaving the rest for Syria and Iraq. For Turkey to be willing to cooperate with the other riparian states, there must be an incentive. The most viable option for enticing Turkey is for the other riparian states to provide partial financing for Turkey's renewable energy transition in exchange for increased river flow. The details of this arrangement would be decided through the ETRBC process, but Syria and Iraq would provide partial financing for Turkey's development of solar and wind energy, and in return Turkey would increase downstream flow into the Euphrates. This financing would be implemented by the ETRBC and would be subject to monitoring to ensure agreements are being respected. This commission hinges on Turkey's willingness to participate and work with its neighbors to address a common threat and to benefit mutually.

Strategic Benefits to the United States and Concluding Remarks

This large multi-agency plan would boost US influence in the region considerably. With the recent progress in Turkey's EU ascension, interest has been renewed in the process. Leading Turkey toward energy and water security would help

⁴⁰ U.S. Embassy Baghdad, "Joint Statement of the Iraq-U.S. Joint Coordination Committee on Energy," <http://iraq.usembassy.gov/pr020514.html>.

strengthen the Turkish economy and be a step toward EU membership for Turkey. This would prevent Turkey's recent moves to re-engage with the East and put in place the popular notion of neo-ottomanism.

Being involved in the first steps of creating a new democratic government gives the US a chance to have considerable influence in the new government. A stable and functioning Syria is in the interest of the US, and water security is a cornerstone of that stability. Employment, a prosperous agricultural industry, and reliable water resources will ensure the long-term stability of Syria. The same can be said for Iraq which is in the middle of a troubling time. A prosperous economy and a vibrant agricultural industry will stabilize and strengthen Iraq.

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Conflicting Narratives of the 1948 War

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Lindsey Weiss

Abstract

The 1948 War was a triumphant victory for the Jews of Israel and a tragic disaster for the Arabs of Palestine. The traditional Zionist rendition of the war, or “old” history, depicts Israel as a fledgling Jewish state heroically thrust into a survivalist fight for independence. Revisionist works of “new” history challenge these accounts, and reject Israel’s role as an innocent protagonist in the conflict. While there is extensive literature analyzing these conflicting narratives in depth, there exists a lack of academic writing that objectively compares the two accounts through the lens of specific historical events. This paper discusses the differences in new and old history in the context of the 1948 War, specifically focusing on the issues of the Arab-Israeli military balance, the motivation behind Arab war objectives, and the origins of the Palestinian refugee crisis. It concludes that no narrative has a complete monopoly of historical accuracy, and that it is necessary to consider information from both sides in order to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the 1948 War.

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Introduction

The discrepancy between Israeli and Palestinian narratives of the 1948 War is so pervasive that it manifests itself in the names that the two sides give the conflict. While Israelis know it as “The War of Independence,” Palestinians refer to the time between 1947 and 1949 as “*al-Nakba*,” meaning “the Disaster.”¹ Traditional Zionist, or “old” history, literature portrays the 1948 War as the Jewish state’s first fight for survival, resulting in a miraculous Israeli victory against a powerful, unified, and overall superior Arab military force. The public generally accepted this Zionist history, and it dominated the academic and political arena until Israel released its war archives in the 1980s. The new information in these unearthed documents inspired the wave of revisionist, or “new” history—a critical sociological quest to analytically examine conventional Zionist accounts of the Israeli Arab conflict. New historians argued that old literature was misleading and driven by a political agenda that sought to exonerate Israel from any conflict-related liability. While new history is not characterized as “pro-Palestinian,” it emphasized the need for formerly blameless Israel to assume a portion of the responsibility and acknowledge that the state was not always acting with peaceful intentions. This paper will outline the fundamental disagreements between the Zionist and revisionist historical narratives of the 1948 War, specifically those exhibited in the

¹ Avi Shlaim, “The Debate about 1948,” in *Making Israel*, ed. Benny Morris (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2007), 133.

opposing accounts of the Arab-Israeli military balance, the motivation behind Arab war objectives, and the origins of the Palestinian refugee crisis.

Discussion

One of the most hotly debated aspects of the 1948 War is the military balance between the Israelis and their Arab opposition. The traditional Zionist account depicts a heroic battle in which Israel's Haganah—later renamed the Israel Defense Force (IDF)—miraculously defeated a militarily superior Arab adversary. Literature of the old history remembers that on May 12, 1948, Israeli senior military advisors warned the political leadership that the newly formed Jewish state had only a 50 percent chance of surviving the inevitable Arab invasion.² The members of the *Yishuv*, the Jewish community in Israel, totaled a meager 650,000 compared to the 1.2 million Palestine Arabs and 40 million Arabs in bordering countries.³ Proponents of the Zionist account hold that the war was fought between an Israeli David and an Arab Goliath—"the few against the many."⁴ The Zionist narrative portrays the Jewish population as a vulnerable, underdog community that astoundingly emerged from the 1948 War victorious due to their determination and heroism, but new history questions whether the Israeli victory was truly as miraculous as old history claims.⁵ New historians do not deny the bravery of the Jewish fighters, but they do contest the conventional Zionist belief that the Arabs had a significant numerical and technological advantage over Israel. The new history narrative asserts that the *Yishuv*'s forces enjoyed some advantages that are omitted from Zionist literature. According to the new narrative, Israel won the war because of its larger, better trained and technologically superior military forces.⁶ The IDF experienced initial setbacks, but the fighting during the preliminary, unofficial phase of the war strengthened the *Yishuv* and allowed it to gain the upper hand by the time Arab states enlisted their regular armies. Contrary to the Zionist description of the IDF as a rag-tag militia, Israel's forces were full of Western-trained officers with extensive military experience.⁷ Israel lacked weapons during the early stages of the war, but soon gained firepower advantage by importing rifles, machine guns, airplanes, and ammunition from Europe during the first truce.⁸ In addition to military expertise, new history literature points out that unlike the armies of the Arab states, Israeli forces had an "effective centralized system of command and control," and "short, internal lines of communication" which allowed them to function quickly and with more mobility than their Arab counterparts.⁹ Finally, new historians reject the Zionist claim that Israel was overwhelmingly outnumbered on the battlefield. In fact, they argue that Israeli ground forces were larger in size and that the IDF numerically reinforced its troops at a rate that the Arabs states could not match. In May 1948, Arab states had only 25,000 troops in Palestine while the IDF boasted over

² Shlaim, "The Debate about 1948," 135.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Avi Shlaim, "Israel and the Arab coalition in 1948," *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the history of 1948*, ed. Eugene L Rogan and Avi Shlaim (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2007), 81.

⁵ Said Aly, Abdel Monem, Shai Feldman, and Khalil Shikaki, *Arabs and Israelis: Conflict and Peacemaking in the Middle East* (New York City: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 61.

⁶ Alan Dowty, *Israel/Palestine* 3rd ed. (Malden: Polity, 2012), 95.

⁷ Shlaim, "The Debate about 1948," 134.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

35,000 soldiers in the field. By December of 1948, the IDF mobilized 96,441 men under arms, which outnumbered Arab soldiers at a ratio of almost two to one.¹⁰ According to new history, an Israeli victory was not a miracle, but the inexorable result of a war fought between two sides with an unequal balance of power.

Related to the military balance is the question of the motivation behind Arab war objectives in 1948—why did the Arab states simultaneously attack Israel once it proclaimed statehood? Old historians answer that the invasion was a monolithic attempt to support the formation of the Arab state of Palestine, destroy Israel, and push all the Jews into the sea.¹¹ The Zionist narrative refers to the fact that all the Arab states involved in the 1948 War, with the exception of Jordan, rejected the United Nations partition plan. The day that the British mandate expired, seven surrounding Arab states invaded Israel, spewing anti-Semitic rhetoric and threatening to wipe out the Jewish population. Old history also focuses on the Arab League's original unified plan for invasion which was obtainable, functional, and dangerously realistic. The new history does not reject the entire Zionist account, but looks into the intentions of the individual Arab states after the beginning of the 1948 War. In contrast with the Zionist narrative, new historians argue that the Arab states were not unified under a common goal to establish Palestinian statehood, but were instead divided by their own self-serving aims. Many of these new narratives focus on the relationship between Israel and King Abdullah of Jordan who held "nominal command" over Arab forces in Palestine.¹² King Abdullah was a destabilizing force in the Arab League's plan because he entered the war in order to gain control over the Arab territory within Palestine, not to help create an independent Palestinian state. This opened a Pandora's Box of mistrust and division between the Arab countries. Ineffective political systems, weak militaries, and shaky alliances with Western countries plagued many of the Arab states. Countries such as Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon entered the 1948 War not to answer the call of beleaguered Palestinian victims, but to respond to Jordan's quest to control the territory which the victims inhabited.¹³ The war became a decentralized effort to check the growth of Jordanian power, with each country carrying out different political agendas and military plans. This disunity proved to be a liability and ultimately led to the Arab defeat against the unified, well-organized, and coordinated Israeli forces.¹⁴ The 1948 War evolved into a land grab wrought with national selfishness and decentralized motives that were unrecognizable from the Zionist accounts of pan-Arab rhetoric calling for an independent Palestine.¹⁵

Another notable bone of contention between the traditional Zionist/old history narrative and the new history account concerns responsibility for the Palestinian refugee problem. The debate centers around the question: did the Palestinians leave or did Israeli forces push them out? Old historians answer that, with the exception of a few deplorable events such as the massacre at Deir Yassin, Palestinians were not forced out but instead left on their own accord. Zionists also attest that many Palestinian refugees fled due to the

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid., 139.

¹² Ibid., 140.

¹³ Aly, Monem, Feldman, and Shikaki, *Arabs and Israelis*, 75.

¹⁴ Rashid I Khalidi, "The Palestinians and 1948: The Underlying causes of failure," *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the history of 1948*, ed. Eugene L Rogan and Avi Shlaim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 28.

¹⁵ Shlaim, "The Debate about 1948," 140.

encouragement of local leaders who wanted to clear the way for invading Arab forces.¹⁶ These Zionist accounts reject any attempt to place blame on Israeli shoulders—they believe strongly that the refugee problem could have been avoided if the Arab states had not rejected the UN partition plan. Old historians hold that the Arabs’ unwillingness to compromise caused the 1948 War, and this war of aggression the root of the refugee crisis.¹⁷ The Palestinian narrative maintains that the IDF forced 750,000 Arabs from their homes in an Israeli attempt to ethnically cleanse the new Jewish state¹⁸. The displaced Palestinians insist that the uprooting was deliberate and systematic, and that under UN Resolution, 194 all refugees have the right to return to their homeland or receive reparation.¹⁹

The complex nature of the 1948 War manifests itself in every conflicting narrative, but the contending accounts of the Palestinian refugee crisis are particularly strong indicators of the importance of both the old and the new history. In his book, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem*, historian Benny Morris investigates the topic in an objective and dispassionate manner unique to most literature covering the crisis. Despite thorough and detailed research, his conclusion is simple: neither the Arabs nor the Israelis were innocent in the birth of the Palestinian refugee crisis. His findings show that the events between 1947 and 1949 were so varied and the situation so volatile that it is impossible to assign a “single-cause explanation” to such a multifaceted issue.²⁰ Morris asserts that the cause of the refugee problem is not exclusively Arab or Israeli—the crisis was due to a war between two guilty parties.²¹ The Palestinian refugee crisis is simply one instance that proves neither narrative is completely correct.

Conclusion

The 1948 War was not a bilateral conflict, but instead a multidimensional event in history. In a situation so fueled by passion and emotion, it is unfeasible to believe that any existing narrative is entirely objective. Both the old history and the new history hold dimensions of truth, but the truth is often hidden between layers of prejudice, propaganda, and nationalism. Considering only one interpretation, given conflicting versions of the same event, is detrimental—it compromises the overall accuracy of historiography. A one-sided approach excludes the essential information that is only found by comprehensively examining a broad range of accounts. This holds especially true when deciphering old and new historical accounts of the 1948 War, in which it is necessary to recognize both the merits and bias in every narrative.

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¹⁶ Aly, Monem, Feldman, and Shikaki, *Arabs and Israelis*, 60.

¹⁷ Efraim Karsh, “Were the Palestinians expelled?,” *Commentary* 110.1 (July 2000), 29.

¹⁸ Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, 3rd ed., 98.

¹⁹ Walter Z. Laqueur and Barry M. Rubin, eds., *The Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary history of the Middle East conflict*, 7th revised and updated ed. (New York City: Penguin Books, 2008), 83.

²⁰ Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian refugee problem revisited*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 599.

²¹ *Ibid.*

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Energy and the Environment

The Intersection of Slums and Environmental Justice in Morocco

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JoAnne Kosta

Abstract

The purpose of this research paper is to address environmental justice in Morocco as it relates to slum life and slum relocation efforts. As such, the paper deals with the kingdom's waste management activities in both rural and urban areas, and political policies that shape slum life and slum relocation. The research was gathered through close readings of Moroccan and non-Moroccan academic books and online publications, official reports, newspaper clippings, and websites regarding the topics at hand. After analysis of the data, it was concluded that throughout the past few decades the Moroccan government has been instituting top-down policies that marginalize slum communities and deny them environmental justice. However, evidence collected through this research also shows the government has been taking an increasing interest in environmental protection and waste management since 2006, and hopefully this trend offsets some of the negative impacts of its authoritarian policies on Moroccans' access to environmental justice.

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Introduction

Mike Davis, author of *Planet of Slums*, argues, "very poor people have little choice but to live with disaster."¹ This simple yet profound statement reveals a side of the social and environmental justice debate that may be hard for some to swallow. Particularly in underdeveloped countries such as Morocco, where authoritarian regimes often exist in the place of democratic institutions, this quote may indeed summarize the seemingly hopeless situations many experience on a daily basis.

Environmental awareness is a relatively new phenomenon in Morocco, and this is even more true for the environmental justice movement. It is unclear whether Moroccans are simply unaware of the implications of environmental degradation on society or whether they are not empowered to make significant changes as a result of the political system. Despite this, there is evidence that the Moroccan government has been slowly but surely moving in the direction of progress in this realm. The few improvements the king has implemented in this regard may have been the result of mounting pressure from foreign powers and investors rather than his own foresight. Either way, it is well-known that Morocco still suffers from many waste management-related issues. This paper will argue that waste mismanagement in Morocco is a serious threat to realizing environmental justice

¹ Mike Davis, *Planet of Slums* (London: Verso, 2006), 122.

in the kingdom and that both waste mismanagement and environmental justice play out very clearly in Moroccan slums, where poor living conditions both perpetuate and exacerbate social inequalities on a large scale. This paper will also pose the argument that the authoritarian Moroccan government, which controls waste management to a large extent, is quite unconcerned with ensuring environmental justice because it is detached enough from the negative repercussions of its environmentally destructive policies.

These topics will be addressed through a discussion of environmental justice as it relates to the government's policies with slums and the public trash collection system and its shortcomings. These deficiencies include the negative impacts of trash burning on local communities, the presence of landfills, and the government's safety standards for dangerous compounds such as landfills may contain. These subjects will be tied together through the discussion of waste management's intersection with slum life and political policies, because waste mismanagement disproportionately affects poor, disaffected communities such as those dwelling in slums. Another reason for this paper's focus on this particular aspect of waste management in Morocco is that research on the intersection of waste mismanagement and slum life is readily available. This discussion of slums and their relationship with environmental justice in Morocco will also address slum relocation. This subject provides a closer look at the societal impacts of environmental justice, where other research on the human perspective is lacking.

Environmental Justice vs. Environmentalism

First and foremost, it is necessary to address the definition of environmental justice as well as its significance. It is also important to discuss how environmental justice differentiates from the more well-known mainstream environmentalist movement, in order to ensure that the following materials as well as the arguments pertaining to them are absolutely clear. In her contribution to *Uncommon Ground*, Giovanna Di Chiro underlines the differences between environmentalism and environmental justice when she states that the mainstream environmentalist movement creates a strict dichotomy between humankind and nature.² This outlook is troublesome for a number of reasons, perhaps the greatest of which is the fact that it endorses a paternalistic domination of humans over the natural world, with humans often ascribing to the ideology that it is their God-given right to regulate, control, preserve, and even extract what they so desire from the environment.³ Oftentimes these tasks entail the forced separation of humans from what are deemed to be "pure" environmental landscapes in need of protection.

Environmental justice, by contrast, seeks to define the environment as "the place you work, the place you live, the place you play."⁴ This point of view notably includes human interaction with their surroundings in its depiction of nature, which in turn leads proponents of the environmental justice movement to approach issues like nature conservation and the preservation and extraction of resources more holistically than

2 Giovanna Di Chiro, "Nature as A Community: the convergence of environment and social justice," *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon (United States: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1996), 300.

3 Ibid., 302.

4 Ibid., 301.

mainstream environmentalists. Environmental justice's main goal, as the name suggests, is to foster justice, particularly as it applies to the relationship between humans and nature. Environmental justice is important in that it showcases the relationship between the government's maldistribution of justice and the high likelihood of disenfranchised communities experiencing less justice than richer communities as a result. In so doing, the environmental justice movement enables policymakers and activists to identify and tackle solutions that have realistic chances of successfully employing equal access to justice everywhere. Some scholars argue that one must focus on more than simply the distribution in order to properly define justice, because failure to do so overlooks factors that "construct maldistribution."⁵ However, exploring all these aspects of the Moroccan system of justice in their entirety is not possible due to a shortage of academic research regarding topics of demographics and their relationship with access to environmental justice within the kingdom.

Environmentalism and environmental justice broadly relate to Morocco's treatment of waste management in that Moroccan environmental policies indicate the prevalence of the former movement's definition of nature over the latter. I will demonstrate this by addressing the aforementioned environmental threats in the kingdom, as well as the ways in which the Moroccan government responds to them. I will also shed light on the reactions of the Moroccan people to some of these issues, as they may differ drastically from what the government's actions indicate.

Slums and Environmental Justice

Let us first analyze the subject of slums and slum relocation in Morocco. In the Middle East in particular, slums and other types of unplanned settlements form due to "a lack of basic services such as infrastructure, schools, hospitals and safe areas." More generally, spikes in the population growth and urban migration are catalysts for the formation of slums.⁶ Slums are relevant because they are environments in which generally low-income and disempowered humans are constantly interacting with many social and environmental negatives. The experiences of this particular socioeconomic class with these unfavorable circumstances often perpetuate their existence in such poorly maintained locations.⁷ In effect, slums are a prominent focal point for the interaction of government policy with disempowered citizens in an environmental context. Davis demonstrates this point in *Planet of Slums*, in which he elucidates the connection between the Algerian government's anti-terrorist activities in 2001 and the devastation of a local slum built on a precarious risk zone.⁸ The reason I am focusing on the poor social stratum in particular is that these communities—especially when they are displaced—are statistically more likely to bear the burden of environmentally devastating or hazardous policies.⁹ In addition to

5 David Schlosberg, "Defining Environmental Justice: theories, movements, and nature," *Oxford Scholarship Online* (2007), 3-4, doi: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199286294.001.0001.

6 Naif Alsharif, "Planning for the Unplanned: a case study of slum settlements in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia," (master's thesis, Ball State University, 2013), 2.

7 Davis, *Planet of Slums*, 122.

8 Ibid., 125-126.

9 Ibid., 122.

Davis' support of this claim, Di Chiro makes this observation of American ethnic minority communities—which are politically underrepresented and disempowered,¹⁰ and David Abbot and Sue Porter make a similar observation of disabled people—yet another underrepresented, disempowered social group—in their article “Environmental Hazard and Disabled People: from vulnerable to expert to interconnected.”¹¹ Therefore, it is reasonable to argue the same for poor, slum-dwelling communities in Morocco.

The Moroccan government's policies and stances toward addressing the topic of slums in the kingdom have evolved throughout the years. For instance, the government initially ignored slum communities and their pressing needs. However, as the government's interest in keeping slums under control escalated, its approach eventually became more authoritarian, and finally it began resorting to means that were more inclusive of slum residents' opinions.¹² The Moroccan government's movement towards a more authoritarian approach to slums and slum relocation came after both the 1981 Casablanca riots and the 2003 Casablanca suicide bombings.¹³

Slums and Terrorism

As it turns out, Casablanca holds 25 percent of the entire country's slum residents, which is more than any other Moroccan city holds.¹⁴ Perhaps unsurprisingly, eleven out of the twelve suicide bombers from the 2003 incident—which killed thirty-three innocent passers-by along with themselves in the explosion—hailed from a nearby slum on the outskirts of central Casablanca.¹⁵ The environmental conditions in these slums are detrimental to the stability, health, and functionality of the communities they harbor. Thomas Omestad discusses this topic in a news report, in which he describes the shantytowns of Casablanca as being characterized by incredibly unsanitary conditions. For instance, he states that the earth surrounding the ramshackle tin houses of the residents is smothered by rot and garbage, from which their chickens and the occasional cow graze.¹⁶ Their children are also exposed to these deplorable and unsanitary living conditions, which unfortunately create desperate people and provide fertile ground for terrorist cells to spread their hardline conservative doctrines and to gain traction.

The situation is so desperate, in fact, that residents of slums like the ones Omestad describes recall recruiters from a handful of terrorist cells visiting in order to gain the people's favor through various means, sometimes even paying for their sundry medical and

10 Di Chiro, “Nature as A Community,” 304.

11 David Abbott and Sue Porter, “Environmental Hazard and Disabled People: from vulnerable to expert to interconnected,” *Disability & Society* 28, no. 6 (2013), 840.

12 Christian Arandel and Anna Wetterberg, “Between 'Authoritarian' and 'Empowered' Slum Relocation: Social Mediation in the Case of Ennakhil, Morocco,” *Elsevier*, no. 30 (2013), 142-143.

13 *Ibid.*, 142.

14 Hassan Rhinane, Atika Hilali, Aziza Berrada, and Mustapha Hakdaoui, “Detecting Slums from SPOT Data in Casablanca Morocco Using an Object Based Approach,” *Journal of Geographic Information System*, no. 3. (2011), 217.

15 Thomas Omestad, “Why Morocco Is Producing Some of the World's Most Feared Terrorists,” *U.S. News & World Report*, no.13 (2005).

16 *Ibid.*

educational expenses during times of great need. Omestad writes, "...[t]he young here ... say they haven't seen any of the terrorist recruiters who used to play soccer with the Casablanca bombers and who spun visions of paradise for the would-be martyrs," indicating that the recruiters provided what could have been the only glimmer of hope people like the suicide bombers and other slum residents knew.¹⁷ He continues, "Recruiters or not, the disillusionment is such that it's hard not to see a potential breeding ground for terrorists."¹⁸ His commentary emphasizes a dire need for the Moroccan government to address the threat terrorist cells pose to slum communities, and in the long run, the kingdom as a whole. These terrorist activities are important for the implementation of environmental justice because they act as a catalyst prompting the Moroccan government to take action.

Slum Relocation Efforts

As stated above, the government recognized this threat and acted accordingly: due to the fears of security risks that slums posed, it expressed after the 1981 Casablanca riots a desire to eliminate all of the kingdom's slums, and after the 2003 Casablanca suicide bombings, its new goal was the elimination of all slums from Moroccan cities, with the desired project completion date set in 2010.¹⁹ Clearly, the first of these plans was authoritarian in nature, and strongly suggests that residents had absolutely no representation in the matter of their new living arrangements. In other words, the Moroccan government was not ensuring the dissemination of environmental justice where possible. The complaints of one slum resident in Ennakhil to a Near East Foundation organizer in 2006 strongly support this paper's postulation of Moroccan slum dwellers' lack of representational justice. The slum resident lamented, "I have been living here for thirty years, I have lost my teeth and my sight in this wretched place, the authorities never came to our help before, and until today nobody ever asked for my opinion."²⁰ It is worth mentioning that the Ennakhil slum is located in the Greater Casablanca metropolitan area, and therefore, in relatively close proximity to the sites of the 1981 and 2003 incidents.²¹

The government's plan to demolish all of the slums also failed to include the financial capabilities of the displaced communities, and unfortunately, even the heavy subsidies on the new housing sites were still not enough to make the facilities affordable to them.²² These are both blatant examples of the Moroccan government ignoring its responsibility to implement both environmental and social justice to the greatest degree possible in situations where it could have. Just like the situation Davis cites concerning the Algerian government and the Bab el-Oued slum, in which flash flooding killed approximately 900 people due to government apathy or oversight in its various attempts to weaken Islamist insurgents in the region,²³ the Moroccan government's handling of slum

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

19 Arandel et al., "Between 'Authoritarian' and 'Empowered' Slum Relocation," 142.

20 Ibid., 144.

21 Ibid., 143.

22 Omestad, "Why Morocco Is Producing Some of the World's Most Feared Terrorists."

23 Davis, *Planet of Slums*, 125.

relocation during this period demonstrates similar lack of genuine interest in the wellbeing of slum communities in favor of pumping more resources into curbing terrorism.

At this point, it is quite clear that slums are a point of intersection for the arenas of social and environmental justice, and that the Moroccan government, though keen on solving many of the problems that these shantytowns produce, is exercising its power in a way that distances its people from any semblance of control over these factors and that in turn perpetuates the disempowerment of its people. The solutions the government has sought for terrorist threats and mounting discontent—namely, dismantling all of the kingdom’s slums and plucking out its former residents in order to move them to more tightly controlled locations, serve first and foremost the government’s interests while sidelining those of the people. One of the primary reasons the government’s top-down policies continually shortchange slum residents is that policymakers are distanced enough from the repercussions of these decisions that they do not have to experience them first-hand as do slum communities.²⁴ Environmental justice proponent Leanne Simpson succinctly describes this relationship in an interview with Canadian social activist Naomi Klein on the topic of globalization and resource extraction. As a result of this distance between policymakers and shantytown residents, the government has very little incentive to approach the topic of slums in a more democratic way that takes into consideration the opinions of residents.

It is safe to say that this top-down approach fits academics Christian Arandel and Anna Wetterberg’s definition of the authoritarian method of slum relocation, on which I will elaborate when I discuss the intersection of waste mismanagement, slum life, and political policies in Morocco. But that fact still leaves the question of where all the rotting garbage and squalor—such a definitive part of slum life as Omestad described it - came from. Also, another question remains: why does this waste exist to such a degree in these particular areas, while the more elite residential areas of Morocco—some of which are actually in striking proximity to the slums, particularly in Casablanca—enjoy picturesque vistas, classy metropolitan centers resembling those in Europe, and streets that are regularly maintained and cleaned?²⁵

The answers to these questions lie in a combination of two factors: the amount of money or funding that is available to said communities, and the deficiencies in the waste management system in Morocco. Though some scholars have provided detailed descriptions of Morocco’s economic situation on a macroeconomic level,²⁶ there is unfortunately not much scholarly research available that provides a clear comparison of the amount of government or private funding across various Moroccan communities. Such an account would have been useful in determining some of the reasons behind waste management in richer versus poorer areas of Morocco. Despite that, there is a surprising abundance of information concerning Moroccan slums and the welfare of the communities

24 Naomi Klein and Leanne Simpson, “Dancing the World into Being: a conversation with Idle No More’s Leanne Simpson,” *Yes! Magazine*, last modified March 5, 2013, <http://www.yesmagazine.org/peace-justice/dancing-the-world-into-being-a-conversation-with-idle-no-more-leanne-simpson>.

25 Ibid.

26 Christian Morrisson, “Adjustment, Incomes and Poverty in Morocco,” *World Development* 19, no.11 (1991), 1633.

residing in them. Research and statistics on topics that link both waste management and financial status of residents can help draw a more detailed picture of the reality of the waste management situation in the kingdom. Examples of such resources include slum demographics indicating average family income; and designated risk areas in Morocco, which could overlap with areas in which slums are located, affecting investments in these impoverished regions. The next section will integrate information from these types of sources with research relating to waste management. From there this paper will draw educated conclusions in response to the questions posed earlier in the absence of in-depth scholarly research regarding certain aspects of the subject.

Waste Management in Morocco

The vast majority of scholarly research regarding waste management in Morocco focuses on chemical and bacterial contamination of the environment rather than an overview of the government's waste-collecting institutions themselves.²⁷²⁸²⁹³⁰³¹ While this research is important, not many of these scholars who focused on environmental contamination addressed topics of environmental justice along with their findings. In fact, even the *Country Report on Solid Waste Management in Morocco* is rather vague on the specifics of the waste collection process,³² though it is worth mentioning that the report does provide many helpful yet broad statistics regarding this topic.³³ According to the report, "Urban solid waste collection is regular and almost daily for an estimated 5.5 million metric tons [MT] per year," but at the same time it fails to make any mention of waste collection in rural areas or in slums aside from vague statements about the necessity of improving "waste collection and disposal services" for these communities.³⁴

Despite this drawback, it does provide that waste generation in urban areas is about "0.76 kilos per day per capita." whereas in rural areas it is approximately "0.3 kilos per day," indicating that urban areas have a more pressing need for a functioning waste management system than do rural ones, and that in the absence of sufficient financial resources, the Moroccan government should perhaps allocate the majority of its funds

27 K. Ibenyassine, R. Ait Mhand, Y. Karamoko, B. Anajjar, M. Chouibani, and M. M. Ennaji, "Bacterial Pathogens Recovered from Vegetables Irrigated by Wastewater in Morocco," *Journal of Environmental Health*, no. 69 (2007), 47.

28 Loubna Amahdar, Adbellah Anouar, Bouchra Ababou, Luc Verschaeve, and Abderraouf Hilali, "In Vitro Genotoxicity of Settled Town Landfill Leachate, Morocco," *Arh Hig Rada Toksikol*, no. 60 (2009), 179.

29 Fatima-Zahra Moubarrad and Omar Assobhei, "Health Risks of Raw Sewage with Particular Reference to *Ascaris* in the Discharge Zone of El Jadida (Morocco)," *Desalination*, no. 215 (2007), 120.

30 Ameziane Nour-Eddine, Hassouni Taoufik, Benaabidate Lachen, and Chahlaoui Abdelkader, "Evaluation of the Effect of Solid Waste Burning at Moulay Ismail Hospital of Meknes City on the Soil," *European Scientific Journal*, no. 10 (2014), 188.

31 Meriem El Bakkali, Meriem Bahri, Said Gmouh, Hassan Jaddi, Mohammed Bakkali, Amin Laglaoui, and Mohammed El Mzibri, "Characterization of Bottom Ash from Two Hospital Waste Incinerators in Rabat, Morocco," *Waste Management & Research*, no. 31 (2013), 1228.

32 Nicole Perkins and Abdelkader Ajir, "Country Report on the Solid Waste Management in Morocco," *Deutsche Gesellschaft fuer Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ)* (2014), 23-24.

33 Ibid., 11-2.

34 Ibid., 51.

intended for waste collection to urban areas.³⁵ But the fact that Moroccans residing in rural areas produce less waste compared to urban Moroccans does not excuse the government from neglecting poor regions in its handling of waste management policies.

Waste Posing an Environmental Threat

Regarding the topic of governmental negligence of poor slum communities in favor of wealthier communities established on similarly danger-prone areas, Davis argues that “[f]ragility”—referring to untreated vulnerability of slum locations in the face of both natural and manmade disasters—“is simply a synonym for systematic government neglect of environmental safety, often in the face of foreign financial pressures.”³⁶ On that note, it is unclear whether many of the controlled landfill sites the *Country Report on Solid Waste Management in Morocco* boasts—in addition to the dumpsites it lists as closed, rehabilitated, or planned for remediation—spill over into areas that poor, disenfranchised communities occupy.³⁷

According to these findings, it may seem like both waste management and environmental justice in Morocco are highly segregated along classist lines, but in reality, the situation is not so clear-cut. Widely-practiced solid waste disposal activities such as trash burning—a cheap alternative to safer disposal methods—affect not just certain social strata or ethnic groups, but entire ecosystems.³⁸ Without the implementation of safe filtering methods³⁹, incineration of solid waste can produce highly toxic dioxins, which then seep into plant leaves on which farm animals later feast and subsequently ingest. The toxins lodge themselves in the fatty tissue of these livestock, which humans across all social classes later consume as part of their regular diet.⁴⁰

Unfortunately, ingestion of these toxins is not the only danger waste burning poses to upholding environmental justice in Moroccan society. The chemical particles this process produces threaten human and animal health in that they are liable to be inhaled into the lungs, where they can cause illnesses such as asthma and bronchitis.⁴¹ What is more is that these chemicals, which the incineration process releases into the air, can travel far distances - affecting more than simply a select segment of Moroccan society - and can even contaminate the soil.⁴² This is not to mention the host of other medical issues particle pollution may wreak on the body, such as cancer, skin irritation, and damage to internal organs such as the liver and kidneys.⁴³ While the Moroccan government has been working

35 Ibid., 11.

36 Davis, *Planet of Slums*, 125.

37 Perkins et al., “Country Report on the Solid Waste Management in Morocco,” 12.

38 Catherine Hansen, “Waste Management in Morocco,” *EcoMENA: echoing sustainability*, last modified April 29, 2014, <http://www.ecomena.org/waste-management-morocco/>.

39 Nour-Eddine et al., “Evaluation of the Effect of Solid Waste Burning at Moulay Ismail Hospital of Meknes City on the Soil,” 188.

40 Hansen, “Waste Management in Morocco.”

41 Ibid.

42 Nour-Eddine et al., “Evaluation of the Effect of Solid Waste Burning at Moulay Ismail Hospital of Meknes City on the Soil,” 189-90.

43 Hansen, “Waste Management in Morocco.”

since 2006 to create laws aiming to control the disposal of hazardous waste, it is unclear to what extent authorities are ensuring their implementation.⁴⁴ This disconnect between the written law and the ways in which it is carried out could further complicate efforts to bring environmental justice to the disenfranchised poor of Morocco, including slum communities.

Landfills

While a great deal of waste—much of which is probably hazardous—eventually ends up in landfills, the *Country Report on the Solid Waste Management in Morocco* suggests that attempts at landfill regulation have been largely successful. As indicated earlier, the report refers to numerous dumpsites, many of which are rehabilitated and some of which are not.⁴⁵ Additionally, it outlines—albeit quite vaguely—plans to “[r]ehabilitate or close all existing disposal sites (100 percent) by 2020.”⁴⁶ Although the report does not specify what exactly it means by “rehabilitate,” other sources addressing the status of Moroccan landfills make frequent use of the term “sanitary landfills,” which is a positive term meaning landfills that have “completely degraded biologically, chemically, and physically.”⁴⁷ Based on the context in which the report discusses the Moroccan government’s goal of 100 percent dump site rehabilitation as well as the government’s broad policies aiming to somehow achieve these goals, it is safe to assume that the term “rehabilitated landfills” is synonymous with “sanitary landfills.”

While it is good news for environmental justice proponents that the government has high hopes for the future of waste management in the kingdom and for ensuring high safety standards for the treatment of dangerous waste materials, quite a few sources note that in order for these plans to truly be effective, the government must first strengthen its “legal and organizational framework.”⁴⁸ Also, though the *Country Report on the Solid Waste Management in Morocco* refers multiple times to recently instituted legal citations - of which it notes there exist 855, the link it provides in order for readers to view these laws on the official government website is not functional, and intensive internet searches in both English and Arabic do not turn up any sign of such citations either.⁴⁹ Therefore, it is likely that the government’s comprehensive list of environmental laws is either not available to the public, or it is available but only in French.

44 Perkins et al., “Country Report on the Solid Waste Management in Morocco,” 11-2.

45 Ibid., 12.

46 Ibid., 15.

47 “Solid Waste,” *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*, accessed November 4, 2015, <http://web.mit.edu/urbanupgrading/urbanenvironment/sectors/solid-waste-landfills.html>.

48 Ej'ir Abdelqader, “The Moroccan Experience in the Realm of Managing Waste,” 167, <http://www.msc.gov.jo/pdf/9.pdf>.

49 Perkins et al., “Country Report on the Solid Waste Management in Morocco,” 13.

Intersection of Waste Mismanagement, Political Policies, and Slum Life

Now that a relatively substantial background on waste management in Morocco has been provided, this paper will now address the ways in which the topics of environmental justice, slum life, and government policies interact with one another. According to authors Lisa Sun-Hee Park and David Naguib Pellow, it is impossible to discuss environmental injustice without also accounting for environmental privilege, for the two concepts are strongly and intrinsically interconnected, and one cannot exist without the other.⁵⁰ Their discussion of the environmental degradation experienced by disaffected immigrant communities living on the outskirts of one of the wealthiest communities in the United States of America compels one to imagine the iteration of that same socio-ecological dynamic playing out in other parts of the world. Park and Pellow's argument largely pertains to the racist, xenophobic tendencies of entitled white American communities.⁵¹

Circumstances in Morocco are only partially comparable. While Morocco has its fair share of immigration-related problems,⁵² the North African country differs from the United States in terms of the ways in which citizenship is defined or established, and this is exemplified in the simple well-known fact that the US is a nation of immigrants whereas Morocco is not. For that reason, one can assume that environmental privilege in Morocco generally takes on a non-racialized form. In fact, the majority of scholars writing on slums and slum relocation in Morocco describe money as a factor in their substandard living situation as opposed to race, of which they make no mention at all.^{53,54} This is true also of local news sources' accounts.⁵⁵ It is otherwise unclear whether residents of Moroccan shantytowns are more likely to be nomadic or immigrants.

But money is not the only factor in slum dwellers' persistence in living in unsanitary shantytowns; their representation or lack thereof in political policies concerning their living situation also play a major role in the affordability of government-subsidized housing during the relocation process, for instance. This note brings us back to an earlier point on the Moroccan government's evolving approach toward slum relocation, as it further elaborates on the reasons people reside in such substandard living conditions as those existing in slums. As such, clarification on the government's approach to slum relocation will supplement Park and Pellow's description of environmental privilege and environmental injustice.

Arandel and Wetterberg argue that there are three possible types of approaches to slum relocation: authoritarian, empowerment, and social mediation, and that the social

50 Lisa Sun-Hee Park and David Naguib Pellow, *The Slums of Aspen: immigrants vs. the environment in America's Eden* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 4.

51 Ibid., 9.

52 Fou'ad El-Fatehy, "The Challenges of Illegal Immigration into Morocco," *El-Araby El-Jadid* (September 25, 2014), doi: <http://tinyurl.com/gw5a8rr>.

53 Arandel et al., "Between 'Authoritarian' and 'Empowered' Slum Relocation," 141.

54 Rhinane, "Detecting Slums from SPOT Data in Casablanca Morocco Using an Object Based Approach," 217-224.

55 Ibrahim, "Slums in Morocco. A Suffering That Never Ends."

mediation approach produces the best results for the displaced communities and governments alike.⁵⁶ The authoritarian method, which the Moroccan government has traditionally wielded, results in the complete disempowerment of slum dwellers, and is driven by both political and financial ends.

Meanwhile, the empowerment approach includes slum residents to the largest extent possible in negotiations for new living arrangements.⁵⁷ Both of these methods risk a disproportionately high chance of failure. On the other hand, the social mediation approach is supposedly ideal because it allows for the optimal amount of resident inclusion in negotiations without overwhelming them with information in which they have no education or background knowledge, and because it seeks the relative satisfaction of the displaced residents.⁵⁸

Arandel and Wetterberg's argument seems plausible, but their differentiation between the empowerment and social mediation approaches is rather unclear and significantly lacking. Both methods require consultation of slum residents, which they regard as risky when describing the empowerment approach,⁵⁹ yet deserving of commendation when describing the "social dimension."⁶⁰ Despite these vague points in their argument, their portrait of Moroccan slum policies throughout the past three decades is clear and rather straightforward. In short, this is one example for how the government plays a role in slum life, which logically intersects with poor waste management policies by virtue of policymakers' lack of interest in prioritizing waste collection in slums.

Risk Zones, Slums, and Preventative Safety Measures

Additionally, there remains the issue of risk zones and how they overlap with slum communities, on which this paper cites Davis earlier. The point is worth reiterating here because Davis' examples were not specific to Morocco, nor did this paper clarify how they intersected with political policies and waste management. According to the research of some scholars who studied pictures of Moroccan slums from high-resolution satellite images of the region of Tanger Tetouan, the primary slum of their focus (Moulay Bouselham) intersected with a wide variety of ecological threats, including salt water contamination from the Atlantic Ocean, water pollution, risk of collapse, risk of erosion, risk of flooding, and close proximity to seismic zones.⁶¹ Moulay Bouselham was the only slum the scholars chose to label on the risk map they provided, so it is unclear how many Moroccan slums likewise intersect with dangerous risk zones. However, supplementing these gaps with Davis' *Planet of Slums* paints a very clear image of what the situation in Moroccan slums probably resembles—and it is not far from the example of Moulay Bouselham.

56 Arandel et al., "Between 'Authoritarian' and 'Empowered' Slum Relocation," 140-141.

57 Ibid., 142.

58 Ibid., 144.

59 Ibid., 141.

60 Ibid., 144.

61 R. Dahmani, A. Ait Fora, and A. Sbihi, "Extracting Slums from High-Resolution Satellite Images," *International Journal of Engineering Research and Development* 10, no. 9 (2014), 4.

When it comes to identifying risk zones, the government has an obvious role in monitoring these disaster-prone areas out of safety and national security concerns. One of the reasons the Algerian government failed to ensure the safety of residents of Bab el-Oued in 2001, according to Davis, is that it shirked this responsibility, “to deny insurgents hiding places and escape routes, the authorities had deforested the hills above Bab el-Oued and sealed the sewers.”⁶² Davis continues, quoting social scientist Azzedine Layachi, “The blocked drains...left rain waters with nowhere to go. Corrupt authorities also gave permits for shoddy housing and other construction in the riverbed, enriching individual contractors at the expense of public safety.”⁶³ This simple quote perfectly sums up the relationship between the government, slum residents, and waste management. Because the government is distanced enough from the negative consequences of its environmentally unfriendly anti-terrorism measures, and because terrorism perhaps seemed more urgent than environmental degradation, it did not empathize enough with the residents of Bab el-Oued.

Despite the Moroccan government’s past tendency to deal with slums and slum relocation in an authoritarian manner as shown above, there is evidence that Moroccan activist groups exist and voice their concerns over government actions that exacerbate negative social and environmental conditions in the kingdom.⁶⁴ Additionally, some Moroccan communities have demonstrated that they are proactive about initiating informal environmental cleanup activities where the government has failed to follow through. For example, the Douar el-Koura slum on the periphery of Rabat consists of a conglomeration of run-down tin houses that reek of sewage due to the lack of a running sewage system, although government policies did institute a communal water faucet and working electricity. One resident of this slum describes how the youth take it upon themselves to frequently clean up the alleys of their community in order to make their environment more livable.⁶⁵

Conclusion

Returning to the central argument of the research, the examples provided throughout this paper clearly demonstrate that there is much more ground the Moroccan government must cover before it can truly implement environmental justice. For instance, the government could make more measures to ensure sturdy and working basic infrastructure in poor neighborhoods and slums, and particularly those that are located in designated risk zones, in order to significantly raise their standard of living to more acceptable levels. While antiterrorism activities are important, and although the government may not feel a pressing need to address issues that don’t directly impact it

62 Davis, *Planet of Slums*, 125-126.

63 Ibid., 125-126.

64 “Because of its Environmentally Destructive Repercussions in the Region: Moroccan associations and organizations demand the cancellation of Moroccan-American military maneuvers throughout the month of Nisan in Tan-Tan,” *Horizons of the Environment and Growth: Environmental Problems.. National Priorities.. Collective Solutions*, no. 53 (Nisan 2013), <http://www.maan-ctr.org/magazine/Archive/Issue53/news.php>.

65 Muhammad Ibrahim, “Slums in Morocco: A Suffering That Never Ends,” *El-Araby El-Jadid*, (September 23, 2014), doi: <http://tinyurl.com/goubsjt>.

negatively, Moroccan officials should also consider investing resources into disempowered communities to improve the overall quality of life in the kingdom. Instead, we have seen a trend throughout the past few decades of the Moroccan government instituting top-down policies that tend to marginalize slum communities and devalue their opinions. But the government’s increasing interest in environmental protection and waste management since the year 2006 has hopefully offset some of the negative impacts of its authoritarian policies on Moroccans’ access to environmental justice. This scenario is a possibility, since access to environmental justice is largely determined not only by the amount of funding available in individual communities, but also by the efficiency of the government’s waste management system. Therefore, fixing the system is a necessary part of the solution. As observed in the case of antiterrorism activities in North Africa, governments often experience a conflict of interest that divides their attention and prevents them from addressing environmental justice issues to the best of their abilities. It is important for leaders and policymakers to keep in mind during these times that, though environmental justice may appear trivial or non-time sensitive, its repercussions are actually quite serious and grow more threatening the longer they are ignored. Access to justice, healthy and affordable food, education, representation, and a clean environment all play vital roles in the ultimate mental and physical health of a given nation, and denying that access leaves people—especially the financially and environmentally vulnerable—susceptible to threats that could otherwise be prevented. Moroccan slum dwellers’ accounts of recruitment attempts from various terrorist cells demonstrate this fact rather clearly. Despite this, the fact of the matter is that governments appear to be prioritizing their own interests over the interests of their citizens and the environment, and the Moroccan government in particular is guilty of this behavior. The continuation of this pattern will further aggravate the slum-dwelling populations of Morocco and may also affect other communities. There is a possibility that this has already begun to happen, since the 2003 Casablanca suicide bombings were likely fueled by terrorist recruitment efforts in disadvantaged slum communities. As such, ignoring the environmental justice concerns of Morocco’s slum communities could eventually lead to a dissatisfied nation.



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Going Out:

The Globalization of the Chinese Nuclear Sector

Patrick Madaj

Abstract

Over the past decade, the Chinese government has aimed to further incorporate nuclear technology into its plan to meet China's growing energy needs, and the nation's major nuclear firms have acted enthusiastically to both secure the necessary resources for this expansion and promote Chinese technology within the nuclear-reactor market. This paper outlines the motivations and trends associated with each of these efforts. Following a description of the possible reasons behind this global expansion, both the private and state-controlled actors on the frontlines of this endeavor are introduced, and examples of cooperation between these groups are provided. Finally, this paper examines the methods by which these actors have sought to widen their shares of the uranium and nuclear-reactor markets. Because the Chinese government holds ownership over several of the major actors in this campaign to globalize, this section includes descriptions both of these actors' strategies and of the governmental support provided to these corporations. Further use of these tactics and sustained support from Beijing may swiftly propel China's nuclear companies to levels of prestige that are comparable to those of their American and French counterparts.

Introduction

Chinese companies have become well known for their vast expansion across the planet, and this growth continues at an impressive rate. China's nuclear companies are no exception to this rapid expansion. These corporations, like the Chinese government itself, are remarkably ambitious in their goals and have been met with substantial success in their quest to globalize. From purchasing uranium mines and mining companies around the world to signing multimillion-dollar supply contracts with corporations based in uranium-rich nations, China's nuclear companies have spared no effort to acquire the resources necessary for their survival, and they are working with both public and private partners in order to meet their uranium needs. In addition to procuring this precious resource around the globe, Chinese nuclear companies are eager to expand their shares in the intensely competitive nuclear-reactor market by seeking potential buyers abroad and engaging in other activities in hopes of gaining global recognition. Against the backdrop of a multitude of drivers, including following the Chinese government's enthusiastic Going Out policy, China's nuclear companies and their partners are utilizing a variety of

tactics in conjunction with heavy support from government agencies in order to become truly global players.

The Context and Drivers of Globalization

Fully understanding this international quest requires understanding the reasons behind it. The government's Going Out policy, which through various incentives has encouraged numerous companies across various sectors to invest overseas, no doubt drives the expansion of the nuclear sector. China's quest to secure an adequate supply of uranium is a major driver and is directly related to the Going Out policy, one of the main purposes of which is to procure resources for China's rising energy needs. Other goals related to this policy also drive nuclear companies and their partners, such as boosting their competitive edge abroad and increasing exports. Strengthening relations with foreign governments also seems to serve as a motive for expanding the Chinese nuclear sector's presence abroad and for increasing cooperation with foreign companies. Taken together, these drivers indicate that the global expansion of the nuclear sector satisfies both the desires of the state and individual companies.

China's growing presence in the global uranium and nuclear-reactor markets is closely linked to the Chinese government's Going Out policy, which has significantly increased the amount of Chinese outward foreign direct investment (OFDI) since the beginning of the twenty-first century. Encouraged by the nation's growing exports in the 1990s, China's State Council paved the way for the Going Out policy when it began incentivizing and significantly relaxing regulations on OFDI in 1997 through policies formulated by the Ministry of Finance, the State Economic and Trade Commission, and the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation.¹ The Going Out policy was incorporated into China's economic plan in 2001 and established that increasing investment overseas would be a strategic component of the country's economic development moving into the new century.² In the first few years after the implementation of the policy, the regulatory arms of the government, seeking to spur OFDI, began making it easier for firms to access China's massive foreign exchange reserves, and agencies and state banks began jointly establishing special funds to provide credit for OFDI projects.³ In order to further increase OFDI, state agencies have also expanded the number of incentives they offer to include credit support and special tax deductions.⁴ Thus, the globalization of the Chinese nuclear sector is not an anomaly. Rather, it is partially the result of firms responding to an array of incentives that push them to expand abroad.

One of the most prominent issues that the Going Out policy and Chinese nuclear firms have strived to address through OFDI is that of China's growing need for uranium. Uranium is of course needed to supply China's burgeoning nuclear sector, which the government has requested produce 70 gigawatts of power by 2020 in order to meet about

¹ Xiaomei Tan, "China's Overseas Investment in the Energy/Resources Sector: Its Scale, Drivers, Challenges and Implications," *Energy Economics* 36 (March 2013): 752, accessed April 7, 2015, ScienceDirect, <http://www.sciencedirect.com.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/science/article/pii/S0140988312003179>.

² Huang Wenbin and Andreas Wilkes, *Analysis of China's Overseas Investment Policies*, report (2011), 9-10, accessed April 6, 2015, http://www.cifor.org/publications/pdf_files/WPapers/WP-79CIFOR.pdf.

³ *Ibid.*, 7, 11-12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 13-14; Karl P. Sauvant and Victor Z. Chen, "China's Regulatory Framework for Outward Foreign Direct Investment," *China Economic Journal* 7, no. 1 (February 22, 2014): 17, 22, accessed March 31, 2015, http://ccsi.columbia.edu/files/2014/04/KPS_VC-Chinas-OFDI-framework-website-version-Feb23_2014.pdf.

5 percent of the nation's overall energy needs.⁵ China's reactors consumed approximately 4,200 metric tons of uranium in 2012, and consumption is expected to grow with the increasing number of power plant projects planned by the country's nuclear firms.⁶ Without an increased supply of this vital resource, China will simply not be able to sustain growth in its nuclear sector, and this could lead to serious problems for the nation's economic well-being.

The issue of the growing demand for uranium is compounded by the fact that many of China's own uranium deposits are of low quality or are not large in scale, which has prompted nuclear firms to expand abroad in order to find better quality product.⁷ China's domestic uranium production reached around 1,500 metric tons in 2012, indicating that domestic production comprised only 36 percent of the amount of uranium required for China's reactors that year.⁸ These statistics prove that China is heavily reliant on foreign uranium, and by expanding abroad, China's nuclear firms have been able to diversify their supply sources and take advantage of economies of scale as they acquire the resource from uranium-rich countries in Central Asia and Africa.⁹ As the future of the nuclear sector depends on the procurement of adequate uranium supplies, expansion abroad has proven to be an absolutely essential tactic in order to provide China with the energy it requires to continue on its path of economic development.

Rising and falling competition within the global uranium market has also prompted China's nuclear firms to expand at a fairly rapid rate. The spot price of uranium has varied considerably since the beginning of the twenty-first century and experienced a general decline after the Fukushima Daiichi incident in March 2011.¹⁰ After this disaster, several developed countries decided to either scale back or phase out their civil nuclear programs, leaving a void that Chinese companies were able to exploit as uranium prices fell.¹¹ Moreover, Central Asia is now a major supplier of uranium, and increased

⁵ Qiang Yang et al., "Nuclear Power Development in China and Uranium Demand Forecast: Based on Analysis of Global Current Situation," *Progress in Nuclear Energy* 53, no. 6 (August 2011): 742, accessed January 26, 2015, ScienceDirect, <http://www.sciencedirect.com.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/science/article/pii/S0149197010001411>; Tamara Schell, *Governing Uranium in China*, report, March 17, 2014, accessed February 13, 2015, 7, http://pure.diis.dk/ws/files/104212/DIIS_Report_2014_3_final1703web_pdf.pdf.

⁶ OECD Nuclear Energy Agency and the International Atomic Energy, *Uranium 2014: Resources, Production and Demand*, report, 2014, accessed February 4, 2015, 104, <http://tinyurl.com/h4wvwm3>.

⁷ Eric Ng, "China in Race to Secure Overseas Uranium Supply," *South China Morning Post*, November 9, 2009, accessed March 9, 2015, <http://www.scmp.com/article/697766/china-race-secure-overseas-uranium-supply>; Yanjia Wang, Alun Gu, and Aling Zhang, "Recent Development of Energy Supply and Demand in China, and Energy Sector Prospects through 2030," *Energy Policy* 39, no. 11 (November 2011): 6753, accessed January 15, 2015, ScienceDirect, <http://www.sciencedirect.com.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/science/article/pii/S0301421510005240>; Bo Yang, *China Nuclear Energy Development*, report, June 13, 2012, accessed March 8, 2015, 49, <http://wenku.baidu.com/view/d1b05455f46527d3240ce078.html>.

⁸ "Uranium Production Figures, 2004-2014," *World Nuclear Association*, last modified July 2015, accessed January 31, 2015, <http://www.world-nuclear.org/info/Facts-and-Figures/Uranium-production-figures/>; Westpac and Bureau of Resources and Energy Economics, *China Resources Quarterly: Southern Summer/Northern Winter 2015*, report, February 2015, accessed February 23, 2015, 32, <http://www.industry.gov.au/Office-of-the-Chief-Economist/Publications/Documents/crq/WESTPAC-IndustryScience-CRQ-201502.pdf>; Westpac and Bureau of Resources and Energy Economics, *China Resources Quarterly: Southern Winter/Northern Summer 2013*, report, August 2013, accessed February 23, 2015, 32, <http://www.industry.gov.au/Office-of-the-Chief-Economist/Publications/Documents/crq/westpacbree-crq-201308.pdf>.

⁹ Pascale Massot and Zhan-Ming Chen, "China and the Global Uranium Market: Prospects for Peaceful Coexistence," *The Scientific World Journal* 2013 (2013): 7, accessed February 15, 2015, doi: 10.1155/2013/672060, <http://www.hindawi.com/journals/tswj/2013/672060/>.

¹⁰ OECD Nuclear Energy Agency and the International Atomic Energy Agency, *Uranium 2014*, 119-20.

¹¹ Xiang Li, "Nuke Companies Pursue Future Power Abroad," *China Daily*, November 3, 2012, accessed March 8, 2015, http://europe.chinadaily.com.cn/business/2012-11/03/content_15871980_2.htm.

competition between firms from Russia, India, and other Asian nations may have significantly spurred Chinese firms to gain access to this market quickly in order to secure the abundant resources available in the region.¹² The slowdown of developed nations' nuclear energy growth and intensifying competition within uranium hotspots like Central Asia have thus encouraged Chinese firms to increase their rates of expansion around the world.

In addition to the collection of uranium, China's nuclear firms are also expanding abroad in order to reap strategic assets, like increased brand recognition, that will boost their competitive edge against foreign companies. According to a 2012 presentation by Chinese nuclear expert Yang Bo, like with other firms engaged in foreign direct investment, popularizing brand names is important to Chinese nuclear companies.¹³ Ma Yi, a nuclear expert at China Nuclear Power Engineering Company, a subsidiary of China National Nuclear Corporation (CNNC), stated in a 2015 interview that letting Chinese firms participate in the building of new plants abroad boosts the international competitiveness of Chinese nuclear technology.¹⁴ Furthermore, in a January 2015 speech, Chinese Premier Li Keqiang said that the government would push Chinese nuclear firms to globalize in order to "improve their competitiveness and boost their presence overseas" while promoting Chinese technology.¹⁵ Thus, the intent of Chinese firms and the Chinese government to expand the nuclear industry in order to increase its international recognition and competitiveness appears to be quite strong.

The example of the Hinkley C power plant project in the United Kingdom may demonstrate this desire. After Premier Li Keqiang and British Prime Minister David Cameron reached an agreement in June 2014 that allowed Chinese firms to invest in nuclear projects within the United Kingdom, Chinese state-owned firms CNNC and China General Nuclear Power Group (CGN) agreed to partner with French nuclear giants Areva and Électricité de France in the high-profile Hinkley C project.¹⁶ Despite months of delays, a final agreement on the project was settled in October 2015.¹⁷ The project has attracted a substantial amount of media attention in Great Britain and has been a way for Chinese nuclear companies to get more involved in foreign nuclear projects and gain recognition as globally competitive firms.

Chinese nuclear companies, like other firms taking part in the Going Out policy, are of course motivated by a desire to locate foreign markets for their products and

¹² Massot and Chen, "China and the Global Uranium Market," 7.

¹³ *China Nuclear Energy Development*, 7.

¹⁴ Yao Yang, "China to Build Two Nuclear Power Plants in Argentina," *China Daily USA*, February 9, 2015, accessed February 9, 2015, http://usa.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2015-02/09/content_19524269.htm.

¹⁵ David Stanway and Charlie Zhu, "China's Premier Urges Nuclear Firms to Boost Overseas Presence," *Reuters Africa*, January 16, 2015, accessed January 27, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/china-nuclear-idUSL3N0UV2JX20150116>.

¹⁶ "UK Government Paves Way for Chinese Nuclear Plant," *World Nuclear News*, June 18, 2014, accessed January 21, 2015, <http://www.world-nuclear-news.org/NP-UK-government-paves-way-for-Chinese-nuclear-plant-18061401.html>.

¹⁷ Michael Stothard, "Areva Warns of Looming €4.9bn Full-year Loss as Writedowns Grow," *Financial Times*, February 23, 2015, accessed February 23, 2015, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/b73fb548-bb3c-11e4-b95c-00144feab7de.html#axzz3xqdGNtKz>; Tim Webb, "Nuclear Reactor Is Stalled by Costs Fallout," *The Times* (London), February 7, 2015, National ed., Business sec., accessed February 23, 2015, LexisNexis Academic, <http://www.lexisnexis.com.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/hottopics/lacademic/>; "Hinkley Point Nuclear Agreement Reached," *BBC News*, October 21, 2015, accessed January 6, 2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/business-34587650>; Christopher Adams, "China to Take One-third Stake in Hinkley Nuclear Project," *Financial Times*, October 19, 2015, accessed March 8, 2016, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/d96226f2-76a7-11e5-a95a-27d368e1ddf7.html#axzz42MaGBK1A>.

technology.¹⁸ Chinese nuclear firms have strived in recent years to promote their reactors, such as the CNP-300 and ACP1000 models. The Chinese government, through its various agencies and banks, such as the Export-Import Bank of China (China EximBank), has expressed its desire to promote Chinese nuclear technology by attaching certain benefits to partners who agree to use this technology. For example, as part of a February 2015 agreement between China and Argentina involving the construction of two nuclear reactors in the South American country, the parties agreed that CNNC would play a central role in negotiations to build the reactors and that China would provide financial support for the \$12 billion project if Argentina agreed to use Chinese nuclear technology and equipment.¹⁹ Thus, encouraging the sale of Chinese nuclear technology is a clear driver that has led China's nuclear firms and its government to use incentives to attract potential buyers.

Although it is not a driver that is explicitly related to the Going Out policy, strengthening China's cooperation with other nations may serve as yet another motivator for the expansion of China's nuclear firms. For example, the February 2015 deal between China and Argentina was part of a series of fifteen agreements signed between the two countries that month, providing evidence that China's desire to form closer strategic and commercial relationships with other nations may motivate the signing of nuclear technology export agreements.²⁰ Indeed, as he spoke of the slew of deals signed with the South American nation that month, Chinese President Xi Jinping stated that both China and Argentina were committed to strengthening cooperation in various fields and to the "sound and stable development of bilateral trade."²¹ Thus, encouraging firms to share nuclear technology with other nations may serve as a profitable means of enhancing cooperation with foreign governments, particularly those thirsting for nuclear power.

The Actors

The story of this globalization involves numerous actors, including both private and state-owned companies. While private firms are actively involved in procuring uranium abroad, state-owned enterprises are the dominant actors in this expansion. Nuclear enterprises are of course at the forefront of activities like uranium procurement and reactor sales, but several non-nuclear companies, such as mining and financial firms, which have substantial experience in overseas mining and investment, are also motivated by some of the previously mentioned drivers and have become closely involved in securing uranium for China.

CNNC, the nation's largest nuclear firm, is owned by the state and is therefore extremely influential within the nuclear sector and a major player in the sector's global expansion.²² According to Xu Yi-chong, a professor of politics and public policy at Griffith University, CNNC promotes an image of itself as the main voice within China's nuclear community and exercises a great deal of control over "R&D, engineering design,

¹⁸ Peter J. Buckley et al., "The Determinants of Chinese Outward Foreign Direct Investment," *Journal of International Business Studies* 38, no. 4 (July 2007): 511, accessed March 6, 2015, ABI/INFORM Complete, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/197133808?accountid=12964>.

¹⁹ Yang, "China to Build."

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Richard Weitz, "China's Uranium Quest Part 2: The Turn to Foreign Markets," *China Brief* 11, no. 16 (2011): 12, accessed January 21, 2015, http://www.jamestown.org/programs/chinabrief/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=38363&cHash=bc603b403d4967dd357139d3c75e128#.VqFuwGD4vFI.

uranium exploration and mining, enrichment, fuel fabrication, reprocessing and waste disposal.”²³ The company also cooperates extensively with entities outside of China, having established technology exchanges and trading agreements with over 40 countries.²⁴ Given that it is a massive entity with increasing influence in nuclear energy policy, CNNC and its numerous subsidiaries have been virtually destined to stand at the forefront of the Chinese nuclear sector’s expansion abroad, in which they have participated both by obtaining uranium from various sources around the world and by attempting to sell nuclear technology in several nations.

Formerly known as China Guangdong Nuclear Power Group, CGN has played an equally prominent role in the globalization of China’s nuclear sector. Significantly smaller than CNNC, this state-owned corporation changed its name in 2013 with the expressed goal of promoting “the coordinated development of nuclear power, uranium resources and non-nuclear clean energy,” according to company spokesman Hu Guangyao.²⁵ In recent years, CGN has aimed to close the competitive gap between CNNC and itself, particularly by becoming increasingly aggressive in obtaining uranium from foreign sources.²⁶ When CGN was established in 1994, CNNC held 45 percent of the company, and it was not until 2012, when the State-Owned Assets Supervision and Advisory Commission (SASAC) increased its stake in CGN to 82 percent, that CNNC’s vast holdings in the company dropped to a mere 8 percent.²⁷ After this extensive change in ownership, the relationship between CGN and CNNC changed dramatically as the two became competing entities in activities like foreign uranium procurement and reactor construction.²⁸ CGN and its subsidiaries have indeed acted enthusiastically to acquire enormous supply contracts and large mining projects across the globe.²⁹ Eager to diversify its operations and occupy a larger role in nuclear-related activities within China, CGN has made impressive efforts to globalize.

State Nuclear Power Technology Corporation (SNPTC), another state-owned nuclear firm, has also figured prominently into the story of the Chinese nuclear sector’s global expansion. Established in 2007, this young company has been tasked by the government to engineer the Chinese-developed CAP1400 nuclear reactor using technology adopted from the AP1000, a model produced by American nuclear giant Westinghouse Electric Company.³⁰ As mentioned earlier, SNPTC, which merged with plant operator China Power Investment Corporation in May 2015 to form State Power Investment Corporation, is eager to expand its operations overseas and to sell its CAP1400 reactor to foreign buyers.³¹ For example, the company signed a series of agreements with South Africa Nuclear Energy Corporation in 2014 that may eventually

²³ "Nuclear Energy in China: Contested Regimes," *Energy* 33, no. 6 (August 2008): 1201, accessed January 16, 2015, ScienceDirect, <http://www.sciencedirect.com.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/science/article/pii/S0360544208000881>.

²⁴ Schell, *Governing Uranium in China*, 25.

²⁵ "CGNPC Renamed to Reflect Expansion," *World Nuclear News*, May 15, 2013, accessed March 8, 2016, http://www.world-nuclear-news.org/C-CGNPC_renamed_to_reflect_expansion-1505134.html, quoted in Schell, *Governing Uranium in China*, 26.

²⁶ Schell, *Governing Uranium in China*, 26.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 27.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ "Corporate Profile," *SNPTC*, accessed April 27, 2015, <http://www.snptc.com.cn/en/index.php?optionid=911>.

³¹ *Ibid.*; "Chinese Nuclear Giant Officially Launched," *World Nuclear News*, July 16, 2015, accessed January 25, 2016, <http://www.world-nuclear-news.org/C-Chinese-nuclear-giant-officially-launched-1607155.html>.

lead to the purchase of CAP1400 reactors from China.³² SNPTC also began talks with Westinghouse and the Turkish government in November 2014 on building the Mediterranean country's third nuclear power plant.³³ Thus, while SNPTC is not involved with foreign uranium procurement, the company is expanding its presence overseas and may soon become a major seller of advanced Chinese-designed nuclear reactors.

Through aiding the government in procuring uranium overseas, large state-owned enterprises outside of the nuclear sector are actively taking part in expanding China's presence abroad. For instance, in 2008 Sinosteel, known for its extensive mining and mineral trade operations both inside and outside China, began a uranium exploration partnership with CNNC, which was reportedly interested in the steelmaker because of its vast experience with metal trading and mining project investment in uranium-rich Australia.³⁴ Sinosteel has been engaged in uranium exploration and mining operations in Australia and Kyrgyzstan, projects that have all been associated with Australian corporations.³⁵ Serving as another example, China Railway Resource Company is the majority shareholder of Australian uranium explorer and miner RMA Energy through a subsidiary.³⁶ Due to their expertise in gathering natural resources abroad, these state-owned enterprises have made effective partners to Chinese nuclear firms in their global search for uranium.

A number of private firms have also helped supplement state-owned enterprises' overseas endeavors, investing in both uranium mines and mining companies. These companies mostly come from the energy and mining sectors, and there are also several property investment companies involved in uranium procurement operations throughout the world. Chinese mining and energy companies, as well as private investment firms, have purchased shares in several uranium mines and mining companies in countries like Namibia, Niger, and Canada. Moreover, these entities have also been active in launching numerous joint exploration ventures with foreign companies and other Chinese firms. While most of these private firms do not depend on uranium in order to fuel their primary operations, these companies are most likely attracted by the incentives offered as part of the Going Out policy and by the profits they are able to make through uranium sales. Whatever the reason for their participation, private firms are clearly playing an active role

³² *GlobalData—Events: South Africa Nuclear Energy Corporation*, GlobalData, December 16, 2015, accessed January 28, 2015, 1, LexisNexis Academic, <http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic>.

³³ "Turkey to Hold Talks with Westinghouse and SNPTC for Third Nuclear Plant," *Daily Sabah*, November 25, 2014, accessed February 2, 2015, <http://www.dailysabah.com/energy/2014/11/25/turkey-to-hold-talks-with-westinghouse-and-snptc-for-third-nuclear-plant>.

³⁴ Eric Ng, "Nuclear Uranium Increases Budget to Boost Reserves; Heavy Investment Planned to Meet Ambitious Energy Goal," *South China Morning Post* (Hong Kong), November 17, 2008, Business sec., accessed February 12, 2015, LexisNexis Academic, <http://www.lexisnexis.com.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/hottopics/lnacademic/>.

³⁵ "Sinosteel and Monaro to Assess Kyrgyz Uranium Projects," *World Nuclear News*, February 5, 2008, accessed February 12, 2015, http://www.world-nuclear-news.org/ENF/Sinosteel_and_Monaro_to_assess_Kyrgyz_uranium_projects_050208.html; Cameron England, "Chinese Company Sinosteel to Buy Pepinini Minerals' South Australian Uranium Project," *The Advertiser*, July 14, 2014, accessed January 31, 2015, http://www.adelaidenow.com.au/business/chinese-company-sinosteel-to-buy-pepinini-minerals-south-australian-uranium-project/news-story/767b0024a2eb4d11fb1cae8c32848465?from=public_rss.

³⁶ RMA Energy Ltd., *RMA Energy Limited Annual Financial Report*, RMA Energy Ltd., report, December 31, 2013, accessed February 7, 2015, 31, http://www.rmaenergy.com.au/annualreports/RMA_Financial_Report_2013.pdf; Sarah-Jane Tasker, "Green Lights for Chinese Investments," *The Australian*, November 6, 2009, accessed February 7, 2015, <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/business/mining-energy/green-lights-for-chinese-investments/story-e6frg9df-1225794861013>; "China Railway Has 50.27% of RMA Energy," *News Bites—Australian Stock Exchange*, November 12, 2009, accessed February 7, 2015, LexisNexis Academic, <http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic>.

in expanding China's presence abroad as the country struggles to locate adequate uranium supplies.

Tactics and State Support in China's Quest for Uranium

The uranium procurement data collected for this paper showcases the vigor with which Chinese nuclear firms and their partners have been globalizing. Such a campaign has required companies to use a variety of tactics in order to successfully carry out their objectives. Because the government has a vested interest in the globalization of nuclear firms and their Chinese partners, many state-owned entities, notably China's largest banks, play a central role in this process, contributing vital support to firms that are in search of uranium. Because the Chinese government owns several of the firms engaged in globalization, it is often difficult to separate the tactics that companies are able to utilize by themselves and the support they receive from the state to expand their operations abroad. Nevertheless, what can be noted for certain is that the tactics used and state support given in China's global search for uranium have been quite successful in increasing the nation's supply of the precious resource.

In recent years, China's largest state firms have been aggressively pursuing uranium supply agreements with an assortment of countries, a method that has been aided by diplomatic support on the part of China's leaders. For example, during a visit to Beijing in May 2008, Russian President Dmitri Medvedev issued a joint statement with President Hu Jintao calling for stronger cooperation between their nations in the nuclear sector, and during the same visit, China Nuclear Energy Industry Corporation, a subsidiary of CNNC, and Russian nuclear fuel exporter Techsnabexport signed a deal that guaranteed the sale of billions of dollars worth of low-enriched uranium to China from 2010 to 2021.³⁷ Similarly, during a visit to Uzbekistan in June 2010, President Hu stated that China and Uzbekistan needed to cooperate to develop uranium procurement projects.³⁸ During the same visit, CGN signed a deal with Uzbekistan's Navoi Mining & Metallurgy Combine for an undisclosed amount of uranium.³⁹ In yet another example, during a state visit by President Hu to Paris in November 2010, CGN and French nuclear giant Areva signed a long-term contract for 20,000 metric tons of uranium that were to be sent to China over the course of 10 years.⁴⁰ The involvement of President Hu in all of these examples, as well as the

³⁷ "Russia and China Sign Enrichment Plant Agreement," *World Nuclear News*, May 27, 2008, accessed February 15, 2015, http://www.world-nuclear-news.org/NP-Russia_and_China_sign_enrichment_plant_agreement-2705085.html; "China's Nuclear Fuel Cycle," *World Nuclear News*, last modified November 24, 2015, accessed January 31, 2015, <http://www.world-nuclear.org/info/Country-Profiles/Countries-A-F/China--Nuclear-Fuel-Cycle/>.

³⁸ "China, Uzbekistan Sign Accords on Gas, Uranium," *UzReport*, January 18, 2010, accessed January 30, 2015, http://news.uzreport.uz/news_4_e_76017.html.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ "China: AREVA Signs Major Agreements with CGNPC and CNNC," *Areva*, November 4, 2010, accessed January 30, 2015, <http://www.areva.com/EN/news-8601/china-areva-signs-major-agreements-with-cgnpc-and-cnnc.html>.

involvement of top Chinese officials in other deals, proves the commitment of China's leaders to secure an adequate supply of uranium for China's growing nuclear sector, and the massive size of these deals also proves how essential this diplomatic support has been for nuclear companies seeking to form partnerships with foreign firms.

Aside from directly purchasing mass quantities of uranium from foreign enterprises, China's nuclear firms and their partners have widened their presence abroad by purchasing large stakes in joint-venture mines and mining companies, as well as by launching joint exploration ventures. Chinese companies have purchased both small and large stakes in various mines, with some even purchasing complete ownership of mines from competitors, as in the case of Sinosteel and the Crocker Well and Mount Victoria mines in Australia.⁴¹ Chinese firms have also launched joint ventures with foreign companies, such as in the case of Afri-Sino Mining Resources Ltd., an exploration venture between Chinese entities, including China Uranium Corporation, and Zimbabwe Mining Development Corporation.⁴² Lastly, Chinese firms have acquired stakes in foreign uranium mining companies, sometimes increasing their shares overtime, such as in the case of China Railway Resource Company's stake in Australia's RMA Energy, which increased 9 percent between 2009 and 2013.⁴³ These purchases and partnerships have ensured a diversified supply of uranium for Chinese firms and have spread these firms' presence throughout the world.

Cooperation with private firms is another strategy that has been employed by state-owned enterprises like CNNC in the search for uranium. Partnering with private companies provides financial benefits, giving state companies access to private funds that help meet the costs of establishing exploration and mining projects abroad.⁴⁴ For example, in 2007 CNNC and Century City International, a Hong Kong-based property investment company, signed an agreement to explore and develop uranium in eastern Mongolia.⁴⁵ Century City claimed an 80-percent stake in the joint venture but agreed to grant CNNC the power to underwrite the sale of any uranium produced by the venture.⁴⁶ Private firms also carry the benefit of being able to mine without attracting unwanted media attention in countries like Canada and Australia, where large state-owned Chinese companies are often seen as exploitative.⁴⁷ In

⁴¹ England, "Chinese Company Sinosteel to Buy."

⁴² "Uranium Mine Ownership—Africa," *WISE Uranium Project*, last modified December 20, 2015, accessed January 31, 2015, <http://www.wise-uranium.org/uoaf.html>; Yi Zhang, *Recent Development of Uranium Industry in China*, report, June 4, 2012, accessed February 4, 2015, 26, https://www.unece.org/fileadmin/DAM/energy/se/pdfs/UNFC/ws_IAEA_CYTED_UNECE_Oct12_Lisbon/21_Zhang.pdf.

⁴³ "China Railway Has 50.27% of RMA Energy;" RMA Energy Ltd., *RMA Energy Limited Annual Financial Report*, 59.

⁴⁴ Ng, "China in Race."

⁴⁵ "Century City Seeks Mongolian Uranium," *World Nuclear News*, August 14, 2007, accessed February 5, 2015, <http://www.world-nuclear-news.org/newsarticle.aspx?id=13868&LangType=2057>.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Ng, "China in Race."

Canada, low-profile private firms like Shaanxi-based miner Allway Minerals and Science Technology have already set up co-ventures with Canadian firms in order to explore for uranium in the northern part of the country.⁴⁸ Private firms therefore benefit from attracting little media attention and have proven to be indispensable partners for uranium-seeking state firms that are looking to share costs.

Chinese companies, whether public or private, have used a variety of creative tactics in order to convince foreign governments or mining companies to allow them to exploit uranium mines. For example, in 2007 Moukhtar Dzhakishev, the president of Kazakh state nuclear firm Kazatomprom, stated that the corporation was to receive equity in “Chinese nuclear fuel processing or electricity generation plants” in exchange for granting CGN and CNNC a 49-percent stake in a joint uranium mining venture created between the firms and the Kazakh corporation.⁴⁹ In 2008 Sinosteel signed a memorandum of understanding with Australian uranium miner Monaro Mining NL that allowed the Chinese steelmaker to receive up to 60 percent of any two of Manaro’s mines in Kyrgyzstan upon completion of successful feasibility and developmental studies, which were to be funded by Sinosteel.⁵⁰ By appealing to the host country’s technological needs, a need many Chinese companies have exploited in their overseas investments, CGN Uranium Resources Corporation, a subsidiary of CGN, helped fund a joint uranium exploration and mining venture with the Uzbekistan State Committee for Geology and Mineral Resources in 2009 by contributing Chinese mining equipment toward the effort.⁵¹ Forming agreements such as these, which benefit foreign companies by providing them with either financial incentives or the tools necessary to exploit natural resources, have thus proven quite effective in granting Chinese firms opportunities abroad.

The tactic of acquiring uranium directly from the source through purchases of mines and mining companies has greatly increased China’s control of the resource over the world, and companies have received extensive state financial support through special funds created by various government entities in order to carry out this strategy. Through these special investment funds, China’s banks have been able to aid in the purchase of mines and mining companies. For instance, in 2011 the China-Africa Development Fund, which was launched in 2006 by state-owned China Development Bank in order to provide financial support for overseas investments in Africa, partnered with CGN to purchase British mining company Kalahari Minerals and its assets, including the sizeable

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ "KazAtomProm Trumpets Its Plans as China Deal Progresses," *World Nuclear News*, November 20, 2007, accessed April 30, 2015, <http://www.world-nuclear-news.org/newsarticle.aspx?id=14426&LangType=2057>.

⁵⁰ Weitz, "China's Uranium Quest Part 2," 13.

⁵¹ Ibid; "Uzbek-Chinese Uranium JV Nearly Doubles Charter Capital," *Interfax: Kazakhstan Mining Weekly*, April 1, 2013, accessed January 30, 2015, ABI/INFORM Complete, <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/docview/1326698272/abstract?accountid=12964>.

Husab uranium project in Namibia.⁵² These funds have thus made the purchase of even the most ambitious uranium projects possible for Chinese firms.

Chinese companies have also been able to access financial support through preferential loans from large state banks, which have been instrumental in funding foreign investment projects for Chinese companies engaged in the Going Out policy, including those obtaining uranium through the acquisition of mines and mining companies. For example, in 2011 China EximBank provided the government of Niger with a \$99 million loan to fund the exploitation of the nation's Azelik uranium mine through a joint venture that was established by the Nigerien government and China Uranium Corporation in 2007.⁵³ The loan came with a five-year grace period and an interest rate of 2 percent.⁵⁴ The vast coffers of China's state banks and the enticing loans they are able to offer have thus been extraordinarily helpful in aiding the expansion of nuclear firms and their partners across the globe.

Other than financial support, the Chinese government has aided uranium-seeking firms significantly by easing the regulatory measures required to launch projects abroad. For example, in 2009 China's Ministry of Commerce (MOFCOM) took measures to relax and expedite the approval processes necessary for Chinese companies to launch mining and exploration projects abroad, reducing the multiple applications once needed for a OFDI project down to just one and significantly cutting the time needed to review firms' applications.⁵⁵ The same year, the State Administration of Foreign Exchange (SAFE), which regulates the use of China's vast foreign exchange reserves, announced that it would no longer require firms to seek SAFE approval for foreign exchange purchases once a project and the amount of foreign exchange involved were approved by MOFCOM and the National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC), which is tasked with maintaining and formulating policies for China's economic development.⁵⁶ In 2014 the NDRC released new rules that established approval requirements for central state-owned enterprises, such as CNNC and CGN, requiring that investments of less than \$1 billion simply be filed with the central or provincial NDRC, rather than having to go through a longer approval process.⁵⁷ Collectively, these types of eased regulations

⁵² Wenbin and Wilkes, *Analysis of China's Overseas Investment Policies*, 13; Emma Rowley, "Uranium Miner Kalahari Agrees Takeover by Chinese," *The Telegraph*, December 8, 2011, accessed January 23, 2015, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/newsbysector/industry/mining/8944951/Uranium-miner-Kalahari-agrees-takeover-by-Chinese.html>; "The Chinese Companies Involved in the Takeover of Kalahari," *Dynabond Powertech Service*, May 30, 2012, accessed April 29, 2015, <http://www.dynabondpowertech.com/en/nuclear-power-news/topic-of-the-month/30-topic-of-the-month/5848-the-chinese-companies-involved-in-the-takeover-of-kalahari>.

⁵³ "Niger Secures \$99 Mln China Loan for Uranium Mine," *Reuters*, April 1, 2011, accessed April 29, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/ozabs-niger-china-loan-idAFJOE7300M220110401>.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Sauvant and Chen, "China's Regulatory Framework," 6.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁵⁷ Jay Ze and Yawen Han, "Chinese Outbound Investments Made Easier under New NDRC Measures," *Eversheds*, June 24, 2014, accessed April 13, 2015, <http://www.eversheds.com/global/en/what/articles/index.page?ArticleID=en/global/china/chinese-outbound-Investments240614>.

are indispensable for the various public and private Chinese firms seeking uranium around the world, and, as intended, they could very well encourage further exploration and mining of the resource in future years.

Tactics and State Support in the Nuclear-Reactor Market

As part of their attempts to break into the global reactor market, Chinese nuclear firms have sought to utilize similar tactics in order to give themselves a competitive edge. Western firms have dominated the nuclear-reactor market for several years, a major obstacle for Chinese companies in their pursuit of global expansion. In securing foreign contracts for Chinese nuclear reactors, China's large state firms have pledged financial and technical support to foreign governments and companies with the backing of large state banks. At the same time, these firms have participated closely with big foreign players in order to become exposed to the global reactor market. Through persuasive measures and strategic partnerships, China's nuclear firms have the potential to make a name for themselves throughout the world.

The most prominent tactic used by China's nuclear firms has been the provision of financing to countries that have purchased or are planning to purchase Chinese nuclear technology or utilize the services of Chinese nuclear firms. For example, the K-2 and K-3 reactors, which are Chinese-developed ACP1000 reactors currently under construction by CNNC in Pakistan, are being partially financed through a \$6.5 billion loan provided by China EximBank.⁵⁸ In November 2015, China agreed to provide 85 percent of the financing for the reactors planned as part of the Sino-Argentine nuclear agreement signed in February 2015.⁵⁹ Constructing nuclear reactors is an incredibly expensive process, and the governments of many developing countries do not have the available funds to launch such ambitious projects. China's nuclear firms, especially CNNC, have thus ensured their expansion by meeting this need.

The size of the loans offered by China to potential buyers is impressive enough, but the preferential nature of these loans most likely also helped secure deals for CNNC. For instance, in addition to issuing a loan to Pakistan for the K-2 and K-3 reactors, China EximBank decided to waive the insurance premium that was initially attached to the

⁵⁸ "KANUPP-II and KANUPP-III—A Step Towards Ending Power Crisis," *Business Recorder*, May 29, 2014, accessed March 29, 2015, LexisNexis Academic, <http://www.lexisnexis.com.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/hottopics/Inacademic/>; "Contracts for New Pakistan Reactors," *World Nuclear News*, September 10, 2013, accessed March 29, 2015, http://www.world-nuclear-news.org/NN-Contracts_for_new_Pakistan_reactors-1009134.html; Muhammad Arif, "Exim Bank of China Provides Funding for K-2, K-3 Nuclear Power Plants of Pakistan," *Nihao-Salam*, January 8, 2015, accessed March 22, 2015, <http://www.nihao-salam.com/news-detail.php?id=NzI0NQ==>; Shahbaz Rana, "Nuclear Power: China Promises \$6.5b Cheap Loan for Two Plants," *The Express Tribune*, January 2, 2014, accessed March 23, 2015, LexisNexis Academic, <http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/Inacademic/>; "Nuclear Power: A Viable Option For Electricity Generation," Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission, accessed March 8, 2016, <http://www.paec.gov.pk/NuclearPower/>; "Expanding World of Nuclear Power Plants," *Pakistan Observer*, March 4, 2016, accessed March 8, 2016, <http://pakobserver.net/2016/03/05/expanding-world-of-nuclear-power-plants/>.

⁵⁹ Lan Lan and Emma Gonzalez, "Nuclear Company Signs Landmark Technology Agreement with Argentina," *China Daily—US Edition*, February 6, 2015, accessed February 6, 2015, LexisNexis Academic, <http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/Inacademic/>; Yang, "China to Build;" "Argentina and China Sign Two Reactor Construction Agreements," *World Nuclear News*, November 16, 2015, accessed January 6, 2016, <http://www.world-nuclear-news.org/NN-Argentina-and-China-sign-two-reactor-construction-agreements-16111501.html>.

loan.⁶⁰ In the case of the Chashma-3 and Chashma-4 reactors, based on the Chinese-developed CNP-300 design and currently under construction in Pakistan, the Chinese government pledged a \$1.3 billion loan with an eight-year grace period.⁶¹ The attachment of these benefits has thus eased the process of securing deals with the Pakistani government, and CNNC and other companies will most likely offer similar benefits in the future to developing countries that are interested in purchasing nuclear technology from China.

Chinese nuclear firms have also provided nonfinancial incentives to potential buyers. Constructing and maintaining nuclear reactors not only requires funds, but also natural resources and human capital, and Chinese companies have worked to supply potential buyers with both of these. For instance, in December 2014, SNPTC agreed to establish a training program with the South African Nuclear Energy Corporation (SANEC) to help develop a capable staff of South African nuclear engineers and technicians.⁶² This, along with an agreement with the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China (ICBC) to fund nuclear projects in the African nation, is intended to precede the eventual launching of several projects in South Africa that will use SNPTC's new CAP1400 technology.⁶³ In an agreement signed with Argentina's Nucleoeléctrica in September 2014, CNNC and the ICBC agreed to help fund future nuclear projects in the South American country, and CNNC also agreed to provide enriched uranium and equipment for a planned reactor known as Atucha 3, which is to be based on Canadian technology.⁶⁴ Helping to develop the nuclear programs of these countries has thus been a convenient way for China's nuclear firms to gain partnerships with potential buyers.

In an attempt to gain footing in the competitive international reactor market, state firms have also sought alliances and strategic partnerships with the world's leading nuclear companies. French-firm Areva has been particularly active in forming such partnerships with China's nuclear giants.⁶⁵ For instance, in 2008 Areva formed an engineering venture with CGN to develop nuclear technology in China and in other nations.⁶⁶ In a 2012 interview, Bernard Bigot, the chairman of the French Alternative Energies and Atomic Energy Commission, stated that cooperation between Chinese and French nuclear companies ultimately makes it possible for firms from both countries to jointly bid for projects in other countries.⁶⁷ The Hinkley C project in Great Britain is an

⁶⁰ Mehreen Zahra-Malik, "Exclusive: China Commits \$6.5 Billion for Pakistani Nuclear Project," *Reuters*, December 24, 2013, accessed February 9, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-pakistan-china-nuclear-idUSBRE9BN06220131224>.

⁶¹ "PAEC—Chashma Nuclear Power Plant Expansion 680 MW - Southern Punjab," *World Market Intelligence News*, Dec 15, 2014, accessed January 27, 2015, ABI/INFORM Complete, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1636325291?accountid=12964>; "Nuclear Power in Pakistan," *World Nuclear Association*, last modified August 2015, accessed January 31, 2015, <http://www.world-nuclear.org/info/Country-Profiles/Countries-O-S/Pakistan/>; "Nuclear Power: A Viable Option For Electricity Generation."

⁶² *GlobalData—Events: South Africa Nuclear Energy Corporation*.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Argentina Infrastructure Report - Q1 2015*, report, London: Business Monitor International, 2014, accessed January 27, 2015, 26, ABI/INFORM Complete, http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/docview/1617637367?rfr_id=info:xri/sid:primo; "Argentine Company to Construct, Operate Nuclear Power Plant," *BBC Monitoring Americas*, September 12, 2014, accessed February 9, 2015, ABI/INFORM Complete, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1561447404?accountid=12964>.

⁶⁵ Li, "Nuke Companies Pursue Future Power Abroad," 3.

⁶⁶ "Nuclear Power in China," *World Nuclear News*, last modified January 6, 2016, accessed January 18, 2015, <http://www.world-nuclear.org/info/country-profiles/countries-a-f/china--nuclear-power/>.

⁶⁷ Li, "Nuke Companies Pursue Future Power Abroad," 3.

example of this. Indeed, in a market where players like Areva and Westinghouse have dominated for years, China's nuclear firms have found partnerships with these corporations to be very effective in expanding their presence abroad.

Conclusion

If the expansion of China's nuclear corporations continues at its current rate, the general public may soon come to recognize names like CNNC and CGN. This expansion embodies the goal of China's Going Out policy, as these nuclear firms are not only planning to meet the energy needs necessary to prolong the nation's rapid economic growth, but they are also working to increase their presence and prestige throughout the world. In a market that is deeply competitive, these firms, with the support of the government, have aimed to increase their advantages by conducting a quest for uranium and buyers that is impressive in its scope. While state-owned nuclear firms lead the way in this quest, public and private firms from other sectors have also aided immensely in procuring uranium and have acted as valuable partners. Together, these companies have aggressively sought to purchase massive supplies of uranium and to claim ownership over uranium mines and several of the companies that operate these mines. The support of government agencies has been absolutely vital to these operations and is closely intertwined with the tactics used by individual firms in their international uranium pursuits. The same is true in the global nuclear-reactor market, where the Chinese government has a vested interest in exporting nuclear technology and has helped its nuclear companies secure buyers by offering immense financial and technical support. Looking to the future, China's nuclear firms will continue to push their agenda for global expansion, and if they continue to receive support from the Chinese government and other Chinese firms, these companies may experience serious gains that will earn them international prestige.

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Uganda's Path to Energy Access – Is It Climate Friendly?

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Lucy Mahaffey

Abstract

Only 18 percent of Ugandans have access to energy.¹ Compare this to 100 percent access in the similarly sized United Kingdom or 23 percent for their neighbors in Kenya.² Uganda does not have energy security, or “the uninterrupted availability of energy sources at an affordable price.”³ Climate concerns, such as droughts, floods, intense rainfall, or heat-waves,⁴ stress Uganda's developing electric grid and obstruct growth. Uganda's new energy infrastructure, recent oil discoveries, and unique climate initiatives make it an excellent case study to observe the balance between energy, climate, and national security concerns. Five questions may help reconcile tensions between security and climate: What are Uganda's energy security concerns? How have they dealt with these? Have these attempts succeeded? How do attempts look through a climate “lens?” Ultimately, this research offers a case study of Uganda's “policy package”⁵ for energy access, highlighting bright spots of local climate change innovation as well as shortfalls of government corruption and international meddling, concluding with three recommendations on how Uganda could best move their goal of energy access forward.

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Four Security Concerns

Uganda has four energy security concerns stemming from their most prominent energy sources: biomass, hydroelectricity, crude oil reserves, and solar power. First, biomass, including firewood, charcoal, and crop residues, makes up 93 percent of Uganda's energy profile,⁶ but this is economically undesired and environmentally detrimental. Second, recently discovered crude oil reserves⁷ are unchartered, environmentally harmful territory that invites foreign meddling but could replace petroleum imports (5 percent of Uganda's energy.)⁸ Third, hydroelectricity (the last 1.5

¹ World Bank 2015, “Data,” <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator>.

² Ibid.

³ “What is energy security?” (2015), <https://www.iea.org/topics/energysecurity/subtopics/whatisenergysecurity/>.

⁴ “Climate Change: Basic Information,” <http://www3.epa.gov/climatechange/basics/>.

⁵ B. Sovacool and H. Saunders, “Competing Policy Packages and the complexity of energy security,” *Elsevier*, February 13, 2014.

⁶ R. Tumwesigye, E. Pro-Biodiversity Conservationists in Uganda (PROBICO), “Key issues in Uganda's energy sector,” (London: International Institute for Environment and Development, 2011), 6.

⁷ US Energy Information Administration (EIA), *Uganda*, last updated August 2015,

<http://www.eia.gov/beta/international/country.cfm?iso=UGA>.

⁸ Tumwesigye, 6.

percent of Uganda's energy⁹) is inconsistent due to recent low water levels, and full megawatt (MW) capacity has not been installed but prices hinder investment.¹⁰ Fourth, solar energy potential is very high and could mitigate other concerns but remains largely untapped due to funding concerns.¹¹ What has been done, to date, regarding these problems?

Biomass

Overdependency on biomass is environmentally detrimental and could affect the availability of this resource longterm, damaging Uganda's gross domestic product (GDP) growth. Ninety-eight percent of Ugandans use biomass. This compares to similarly populated Peru where only 34 percent of people use biomass or Colombia, with crude oil reserve levels similar to Uganda, where only 14 percent of the population uses biomass.¹² Typically in the form of firewood, biomass is most often used for cooking with a three-stone fire method. Not only highly ineffective, this contributes to indoor air pollution.¹³ However, approximately 44 million tons are burned in Uganda each year, but sustainable annual supply is estimated to be only 26 million tons.¹⁴ Furthermore, with a 3 percent population growth rate, one of the highest in the world, annual use could rise to 135 tons unless action is taken.¹⁵ Forest area is declining steadily from 13.1 percent in 2011 to 11.7 percent in 2013.¹⁶ Uganda's recently discovered oil reserves are expected to stimulate economic growth, but this could accelerate industrial growth, which, ironically, would increase biomass demand until users could afford cleaner forms of energy.¹⁷ What else do these crude oil reserves imply?

Crude Oil Reserves

New crude discoveries have the potential to make Uganda an oil exporter. Currently, they import 22,000 barrels per day via trucks from Kenya, 20 percent of all their imports.¹⁸ In 2006 oil was discovered in Uganda and by 2014 appraisals proved oil reserves were 6.5 billion barrels.¹⁹ This made Uganda thirty-third for crude oil proved reserves and, of this, 2.5 billion are recoverable. "The largest onshore oil discovery in sub-Saharan Africa in 20 years"²⁰ has turned the heads of the United Kingdom, China, France, and Russia. After years of back and forth, Uganda chose Russia's Rostec (RT) Global Resources²¹ in February 2015 to build Uganda's first crude oil refinery in Hoima.

⁹ Ibid., 6.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ MEMD, "Rural Electrification Strategy and Plan Covering the Period 2013-2022," September 2012, 10.

¹² World Energy Outlook, "2015 Biomass database," <http://www.worldenergyoutlook.org/resources/energydevelopment/energyaccessdatabase/>.

¹³ Tumwesigye, 30-31.

¹⁴ Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development (MEMD), *Biomass Energy Strategy (BEST) Uganda* (2013), 13.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ World Bank 2015.

¹⁷ MEMD, *Biomass Energy Strategy (BEST) Uganda* (2013), 13.

¹⁸ The Observatory of Economic Complexity (OEC), "Uganda," <http://atlas.media.mit.edu/en/profile/country/uga/>.

¹⁹ EIA, *Uganda*, last updated August 2015.

²⁰ Tumwesigye, 25.

²¹ Reuters, "Uganda picks Russia's GT Global Resources to build refinery," February 17, 2015.

Doubts surrounded Russia as first choice linking them to previous arms exports to Uganda. The recent drops in crude oil prices in mid-2014 pushed back the production date,²² but the refinery is anticipated to have an initial 30,000 bpd output in 2018, intending to increase to 60,000 bpd.²³ Uganda planned to transport crude oil to this refinery by expanding neighbor Kenya's already established pipeline, benefitting them both,²⁴ but recent discussions with Tanzania made them pause on final decisions.²⁵ In fact, China National Offshore Oil Corporation (CNOOC) has already received a production license, but UK's offshore exploration company Tullow and France's oil and gas corporation Total are still waiting. First oil is expected late 2017 and early 2018.²⁶ Even in early stages, these reserves could help Uganda cut their \$3.1 billion negative trade balance almost in half by saving the \$1.15 billion from refined petroleum imports.²⁷ However, as previously noted, crude oil could exacerbate biomass pollution and deforestation. Fortunately, with Uganda's access to water and ample sunlight, hydropower and solar power prove viable alternatives to crude oil.

Hydroelectricity

Uganda's electricity demand is growing annually at 9 percent but large hydropower potential (2000 megawatt) has not been reached largely because of costs to businesses and consumers.²⁸ In fact, demand may outstrip supply by 2014 or 2015. More hydropower plants along the Victoria Nile River could close this gap while mitigating dependency on biomass.²⁹ At the end of 2014, total installed hydro capacity was at 855.7 MW, but unexploited large hydro is "well over 1300 MW."³⁰ Two large hydro plants located on Lake Victoria, Kiira and Nalubale, form the backbone of the electricity grid (230 MW) in Uganda. However, scholars anticipate rainfall here may drop 20 percent from present levels.³¹ Water constitutes 17 percent of the country,³² but climate change (especially changing rainfall and increasing droughts) make hydroelectricity less predictable. Nevertheless, Uganda continues to pursue hydro due to established infrastructure and institutional frameworks. They anticipate generating 1,500MW more through large hydro by 2020.³³ The largest hurdle for such expansion is the interplay between consumer and producer costs. In 2010 Uganda's tariffs were \$0.11 kilowatt hour (kWh).³⁴ Compare this with the 2010 average in South Asia: \$0.04.³⁵ Now Uganda's

²² EIA, *Uganda*, last updated August 2015.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Platts McGraw Hill Financial, "Uganda-Kenya Oil Pipeline Decision to Boost Region," August 14, 2015, <http://www.platts.com/latest-news/oil/london/analysis-uganda-kenya-oil-pipeline-decision-to-26178683>.

²⁵ Frederic Musisi, "Uganda: Oil Cash—How Long Shall We Wait?," *All Africa*. November 17, 2015, <http://allafrica.com/stories/201511171701.html>.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ OEC, "Uganda," <http://atlas.media.mit.edu/en/profile/country/uga/>.

²⁸ The Republic of Uganda, "Scaling-up Renewable Energy Program Investment Plan (SREP)," October 2015, 7.

²⁹ Electricity Regulatory Authority (ERA), "Developments and Investment Opportunities in Renewable Energy Resources in Uganda," June 2013, 14.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Ministry of Water & Environment, *Uganda's Intended Nationally Determined Contribution (INDC)* October 2015, 4.

³² CIA World Factbook, last updated November 19, 2015, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ug.html>.

³³ The Republic of Uganda, "SREP," October 2015, 10.

³⁴ Electricity Regulatory Authority (ERA), Domestic Tariff, <http://www.era.or.ug/>.

tariffs sit at \$0.20/kWh after a recent raise of 2.5 percent; measures were put into place capping increases to 2.5 percent per quarter, otherwise this might have been 8.2 percent.³⁶ A cushion to consumers was removed in 2012 and justified because it saved millions to invest in another hydro plant.³⁷ Since tariffs are increased to balance the shilling depreciation, exports, particularly crude oil, could mitigate this problem. Ironically, crude reserves have potential to reduce imports, stabilize economy, and thus bolster Uganda's renewable energy sector (more on this in *Recommendations*). Uganda is also attempting to combat consumer/producer financing barriers through a multilateral initiative called "GET FiT," which is a way to fast-track renewable businesses like hydro and solar.³⁸ What does Uganda's solar power look like?

Solar Power

GET FiT stakeholders have recognized the high solar potential in Uganda and its ability to reduce dependence on biomass and fossil fuels. Largely due to location near the equator, average solar radiation in Uganda is 5.1 kilowatt hours per square meter per day (kWh/m²/day.)³⁹ This means each day, every square meter in Uganda could power five 100-watt light bulbs for 10 hours.⁴⁰ Previous attempts have failed to exploit this outstanding potential. Uganda aimed to install 80,000 photovoltaik (PV) solar systems from 2001-2012, but only 7,000 were installed.⁴¹ The Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development (MEMD) listed main causes: failure to educate rural population, lack of marketing, high cost, and lack of incentive to enter rural markets.⁴² More broadly, the Government of Uganda (GoU) believes they skipped a step by investing in an underdeveloped private sector unable to take necessary risk. GoU is now stepping in to bolster solar production and consumption with "GET FiT."

Launched in 2013, this initiative is spearheaded by Uganda's ERA, GoU, and German Development Bank (KfW) with sponsorship from Norway, Germany, the UK, and the EU.⁴³ Anticipated to expand through East Africa, phase one is in Uganda until 2018. It targets small renewable energy projects (1-20 MW each) by offering a results-based payment to companies on top of tariffs.⁴⁴ This ensures consumers are not burdened with even higher tariffs and eases risk of producer investment. GET FiT aims to commission a total installed capacity of 170 MW with 20 MW specified for solar PV.⁴⁵ In 2014, four solar PV companies were approved, marking a milestone in Uganda.⁴⁶

³⁵ African Development Bank (AFDB), "The High Cost of Electricity Generation in Africa," February 13, 2013, <http://www.afdb.org/en/blogs/afdb-championing-inclusive-growth-across-africa/post/the-high-cost-of-electricity-generation-in-africa-11496/>.

³⁶ ESI Africa, "ERA-2.5% Tariff Hike for Uganda," July 17, 2015, <http://www.esi-africa.com/electricity-regulatory-authority-ugandan-power-consumers-get-2-5-tariff-increase/>.

³⁷ Reuters, "Uganda removes power subsidies, to expand generation," January 12, 2012, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/uganda-electricity-subsidy-idUKL6E8CC2D120120112>.

³⁸ GET FiT Uganda, "2014 Annual Report," www.getfit-uganda.org.

³⁹ ERA, "Developments and Investment Opportunities in Renewable Energy Resources in Uganda," June 2013, 22.

⁴⁰ Duke Energy, "So what is a Killowatt-Hour?," <https://www.duke-energy.com/pdfs/MyHER%20What%20is%20a%20Killowatt-Hour%20Energy%20Chart.pdf>.

⁴¹ MEMD, "Rural Electrification Strategy and Plan Covering the Period 2013-2022," September 2012, 10.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ GET FiT Uganda, "2014 Annual Report," www.getfit-uganda.org, 13.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 1-3.

Although meeting their goals, one problem is the depreciation of the euro to the dollar. Nevertheless, these investments may help diversify Uganda's energy profile and increase access. Collectively, though, has Uganda managed to increase access thus far?

Successful or Not?

Uganda has largely failed to achieve energy access and one of the greatest obstacles is their institutional corruption, which discourages investment. Two metrics can help analyze the success of Uganda's attempts: percentage of access and government corruption score. Although urban access is 55 percent, rural access still hovers at 7 percent.⁴⁷ As previously mentioned, from 2001-2010, the Ugandan Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development (MEMD) anticipated rural electricity access would grow from 1 percent to 10 percent but it only grew to 5 percent.⁴⁸ This was an increase, but since the current level is barely above the 2010 estimate it is appropriate to say the Uganda government has largely failed its rural population.

Government's role in policy, partnerships, and budget are crucial for energy security and climate change mitigation. Donors, investors, and business partners may not trust Uganda, however, since the government of Uganda is slightly more corrupt than Russia with a country score of 26/100 (where 100 is least corrupt); of 175 countries, they rank 142.⁴⁹ In 2012, Uganda topped East Africa for corruption, but their individual country score (of 100) has declined since 2012 from 29 to 26.⁵⁰ This score measures perceived levels of corruption in the public sector. An unfortunate, more recent example of corruption was in August 2012 when 12 million Euros in aid were channeled through the Office of the Auditor General to officials' private bank accounts.⁵¹ On the other hand, Uganda's score on the Open Budget Index rose from 55 in 2010 to 65 in 2012, showing improvements in budget transparency. Nevertheless, reporting more comprehensively (particularly on expenditures, outstanding debts, and macroeconomic forecasts) would greatly enhance this score.⁵² One glimmer of hope shines through the liberalization of Uganda's power sector; it is one of the most liberalized in Africa.⁵³ But how does Uganda compare to Africa on climate matters?

A Climate "Lens"

Uganda's international climate commitments are consistent with its actions, but must be presented in absolute terms since they have no point to reference for comparison. As a signatory to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), Uganda submitted an Intended Nationally Determined Contribution (INDC) in light of the UN Conference of Parties (COP) 21 to discuss climate change globally. Uganda states they have one of the lowest greenhouse gas emissions per capita (at 1.39 tons) whereas the global average is 7.99 tons of carbon dioxide.⁵⁴ Their business-as-usual scenario

⁴⁷ EIA, *Uganda*, last updated August 2015.

⁴⁸ MEMD, "Rural Electrification Strategy and Plan Covering the Period 2013-2022," September 2012, 10.

⁴⁹ Transparency International (TI), Uganda, 2014. https://www.transparency.org/country/#UGA_DataResearch.

⁵⁰ TI, "Uganda tops East African in Corruption," August 30, 2012,

https://www.transparency.org/news/pressrelease/uganda_tops_east_africa_in_corruption.

⁵¹ U4 Expert Answer, "Uganda: overview of corruption and anti-corruption," www.u4., no, 4.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ GET FiT Uganda, "2014 Annual Report," www.getfit-uganda.org, 12.

⁵⁴ GoU, *Uganda's Intended Nationally Determined Contribution (INDC)*, October 2015, 4.

estimates carbon dioxide emissions will be 77.3 million tons by 2030. It is interesting to note how frequently Uganda's INDC stresses funding, in light of discussion on governmental corruption and misallocation of funds. Seventy percent of required financial resources are expected to come from international sources. Tangible emissions reduction plans include: tree planting, reforestation programs, biodiversity conservation, and increasing hydropower. Consistent with current efforts, they mention promoting solar energy. They elaborate stating that they aim to have 3,200 MW renewable by 2030 up from 729 MW in 2013. They also intend to focus on the previously mentioned issue of deforestation increasing coverage from 14 percent in 2013 to 21 percent in 2030.

Another interesting note on Uganda and climate: Climatescope ranked Uganda ninth of fifty-five countries and third among African nations. This is a global survey on a country's ability to "attract capital for low-carbon energy sources."⁵⁵ This measures enabling framework, financing and investment, value chains, and greenhouse gas management. Although very new, this survey highlights Uganda's promise for future renewable development. Nevertheless, it has a long way to go. How can Uganda reconcile energy access security in a climate-conscious way?

Recommendations

Considering their four security concerns, Uganda should consider the following three things moving forward: (i) technological innovations such as improved cookstoves; (ii) decentralized small-scale initiatives, such as solar; and (iii) oil-to-cash transfers when Uganda gets "first oil."

First, improved cookstoves could help transition 93 percent of the population dependent on biomass to a more effective technology and mitigate pollution. "Improved cookstoves" have a higher combustion efficiency (at least 40 percent when compared to traditional methods) and also rely on better fuel sources.⁵⁶ Since transitioning 93 percent of Ugandans to the national grid or renewable sources of energy is both impractical and currently unfeasible this could compliment INDC efforts of reforestation.

Second, since rural access rate is still so low, Uganda should continue to pursue their GET FIT program of PV solar companies. Moreover, they should increasingly focus on *decentralized* solar capabilities. They can follow the example of the mayor of Kasese; his aim is to get his district 100 percent renewable by 2020.⁵⁷ After tax breaks for all renewable energy, business in their green economy jumped from five to fifty-five, jobs for locals are increasing, and currently renewables provide 26.8 percent of their district's energy. Not only is greenhouse gas emission being reduced, but people save time from collecting firewood to study. This may be a case study for the whole country to follow.

Lastly, should Uganda's development in pipeline and refinery continue, Uganda should consider what has been coined "oil-to-cash transfers."⁵⁸ This concept is one founded on the accountability of a government to a people that it taxes.⁵⁹ Uganda's oil rents could provide up to 15 percent of the GDP. This would be a huge influx of money

⁵⁵ Climatescope, Uganda, <http://global-climatescope.org/en/country/uganda/#/details>.

⁵⁶ Energising Development, "Progress Report 2014."

⁵⁷ Godfrey B. Kime, "Ugandan mayor: my district will be 100% renewable b 2020," *The Guardian*, October 20, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2015/oct/20/ugandan-mayor-my-district-will-be-100-renewable-by-2020>.

⁵⁸ Gelb A. and S. Majerowicz, "Oil for Uganda—or Ugandans? Can Cash Transfer Prevent the Resource Curse?," Center for Global Development, July 2011.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

to Uganda’s energy sector and overall economy. The proposal is to redistribute the wealth from oil revenues to the citizens in their bank accounts. Then the government could tax this revenue, thus the government is not able to hoard income, but it does receive money to continue services. Moreover, this tax money and money received from exporting oil could boost the Ugandan Shilling enough to stimulate more consumption of hydroelectric power. However, as previously mentioned, Uganda would need to be wary of the increase of biomass use as a result of oil revenues.

Conclusion

Uganda has a complex mix of biomass, oil, hydro, and solar power. While the country has yet to be successful in reaching full energy access, its capacity is incrementally increasing. Examples like the improved cookstoves and the district of Kasese show that local climate change innovation and decentralization is one of their best next steps. Through clear examples of energy development they can hopefully mitigate the effects of a corrupt government on investment possibilities.



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Health and Society

Public Health and the British Empire: From Colonization to Decolonization

Alexandra Jones

Abstract

This article traces the process of how colonization and eventual decolonization within the British Empire affected the development of public health infrastructure within British India versus British East Africa, and why these countries have developed differently into the public health systems today. Even though each nation was colonized by the same nation, they have developed different levels of health care services offered, as well as have differing degrees of influence from international organizations like the World Health Organization.

In 1947, India became the first of the colonies to fight for and receive their independence from the British Empire. Almost 40 years later in 1976, the Maldives would become the last. Following the end of World War II, nations that had previously been colonized began to see a new wave of nationalism and efforts toward independence among their citizens. Nations such as France, Britain, and others, who had once been influential powers on the world stage and holders of colonies around the globe, slowly began the process of decolonization following the war. The process was not immediate for most and some movements resulted in violence and revolt before their independence was gained.

Colonization by the British came much earlier for India, as was the case with most territories under British colonial rule. Upon colonization, British officials and military were highly affected by the spread of the cholera epidemic. Cholera, a water-born illness that originated in India, is an extremely virulent disease that kills its victims within hours of people showing symptoms. Cholera presents as dysentery acute infection, which causes extreme dehydration and eventual convulsion of the muscles which became so forceful that, even after death, the bodies of those infected continued to convulse. As a result of the confined spaces and poor conditions in which soldiers of the British military lived, as well as the continuous movement of the military forces, the cholera epidemic was exacerbated. As a result, economic and political aims of the British government within their colonies were hindered and cholera became a subject of much discussion and debate. Eventually it would be in response to this disease that the British would establish the first hospitals and sanitation infrastructure as a means of combatting it. While the infrastructure was developed under the guise of the civilizing mission, public health infrastructure in British India and later British East Africa was established as a means of continuing control over the colonies. It was developed to support military advancement and to appease growing nationalist movements who attributed low socioeconomic standards of the native populations, to the rule of the empire making any type of infrastructure established, sporadic, and for the most part ineffectual.

In British East Africa, or the East Africa Protectorate, which included the area from present day Kenya to Uganda, the rise of colonial power came at the start of World

War II and picked up again more heavily following the war. Following the war, there was also waves of increasing nationalism among the colonial people and a rise in nationalist movements. As a result, Britain sought to remain in control of their territories within Africa. The World Health Organization and other international organizations who were in favor of decolonization, such as the United Nations, had little opportunity to establish any precedent within the area. The decolonization of India, however, aligned with the advent of international organizations such as the United Nations and the World Health Organization. India, as a result, became a strong influence in early World Health Organization discussions and served as a stage for which the World Health Organization instigated many health-based projects and developed infrastructure pertaining to public health.¹ The differences in length of British occupation as well as the types of medical practices that had been established before the rule of the British is what led to the differences in healthcare systems seen today. The influence or lack thereof from outside organizations, such as the World Health Organization following decolonization, only served to exacerbate the already existing gap of inadequate public health infrastructure between the colonial regimes and their colonies.

Both India and what was known as British East Africa saw uneven developments in the form of public health infrastructure established during the rule of the British government. However, even with the rule of the same empire, both British East Africa and British India have resulted in two very diverging forms of public health that have manifested into the various infrastructures that can be seen today.

The Origins of Colonial Public Health in India

The Portuguese created the first hospital established within India in 1510. The Royal Hospital in Goa served the British Empire as a clinic for their British military throughout their occupation of India.² As medical care in the British Empire continued to expand, the indigenous population of India came to serve as assistant “native dressers” or “native doctors,” as the British government recognized them.³ It would not be until the Charter of 1813 that the government would set aside money for all types of formal education and development of the locals, including medical school.⁴ During the time of colonization, the increase of economic trade and commerce was the primary focus of the British government and any public health concerns were only recognized when disease became an obstacle to increased trade and commerce development.

To justify their presence in many of the presence of the colonies, the British government argued that they had arrived on the basis of a “civilizing mission” in which their focus was to bring the inhabitants of nations, such as India and British East Africa, to a new moral right. This new moral right was what the British believed to be a more modern standard of living. It included components such as Christianity and adopting western views of medicine. Within British East Africa, in rare instances, African natives were also used as assistants, nurses, or were trained in some medical capacity. The locals were also hired to kill rats, which were associated with diseases, in exchange for

¹ Sunil S. Amrith, *Decolonizing International Health: India and Southeast Asia, 1930-65* (Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 75.

² Kumar Anil, *Medicine and the Raj: British Medical Policy in India, 1835-1911*. Vol. 103, No. 2. (1998), 17.

³ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 19.

compensation.⁵ This ethnocentric approach used by the British government to justify their presence in each colony, while misguided and rarely seen in the political and social policies put into place, was the guiding principle behind the missionaries sent into each colony and their widespread influence. Colonial missionaries arguably propagated the colonial government's civilizing mission but did not use it as a tool for repression and justification, but more for the advancement of many inhabitants in terms of healthcare and education. Colonial missionary doctors and administrators often took into account the spiritual beliefs of the African people and acknowledged the presence of evil spirits in order to garner confidence. Some missionaries could be seen walking around a new hospital singing ritual hymns and blessing the area.⁶ Missionaries also pioneered the organization of rural hospitals and the advanced training of medical officials in both colonies. Some doctors such as John Tyler, a British surgeon, even refused to speak English, and instead did all his teaching in the Indian vernacular.⁷ The missionary doctors and ministers that came along with the British military were the first and most adamant proponents of the civilizing mission. They catalyzed the development of multiple types of infrastructure and provided the means for many inhabitants to gain an education. While some were centered on Western ideologies, many attempted to provide inhabitants with an education centered on their own cultural beliefs. The influence of the missionary workers was a unique component of public health development as it was not centered on the needs of the military or health officials and positively set some ground work for the implementation of colonial public health.

As colonization developed, more health infrastructure was added. Medical schools were established in India, but were primarily used for the treatment of the military soldiers as well as for generating more military based doctors. These newly trained doctors were required to serve in the army or a civil department for fifteen years after three-year medical school term.⁸ This colonial outlook of promoting political and economic needs above the needs of the inhabitants of their colonies, especially in the realm of public health can be seen in the letters of Florence Nightingale to the administrative workers within India. Florence Nightingale served as the founder of modern nursing and was an icon following the Crimean War. She was also a strong proponent of colonialism as evidenced by her appeal to the use of sanitation measures as a means for maintaining a colonial stronghold in India. Through her letter "How people may live and not die in India," Nightingale blames the exacerbation of indigenous diseases, such as cholera and the plague, not on the change in climate, but rather on the "existing sanitation negligence" and the behavior of the soldiers in India. Her piece represents prevention versus curative care while also supporting measures that will increase the power and influence of Britain abroad. Nightingale also argues that reforms, specifically sanitation reforms, must happen if Britain is to maintain their hold over India.

Through the use of various statistics covering the death rate of soldiers in the Indian region, Nightingale establishes a general overview of the devastating consequences of the diseases left unchecked. Sixty-nine out of one thousand individuals were believed to be dying per year and this was not even the total that succumbed to death due to conditions within India. Many, arguably, were sent home to die and not recorded in the census of those who died specifically in India. Her calculations concluded

⁵ Megan Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills: Colonial Power and African Illness* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 199), 42.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁷ Kumar, *Medicine and the Raj*, 20.

⁸ *Ibid.*

that ten thousand new soldiers would be needed each year if steps were not taken to eradicate the deleterious effects of the disease. For Nightingale's intended audience, this attention to the foreseen consequences of such large reduction in the soldier count indicates both how sure the British officials in India were in their ways, as well as her belief in the importance of reforms in order to maintain control of India.

According to Nightingale's letter, there was a perception by many that the cause of the lethality of cholera and other diseases in the area was due to the climate of the region being vastly different from that of Britain. Nightingale adamantly opposed this idea and instead claimed that the causes of death were "miasmatic" and that the deplorable conditions in which they lived and behaviors of the soldiers were the real culprit in the spread of disease. Miasma was the commonly believed vector of disease transmission during the beginning periods of colonialism. As was customary for soldiers, they lived in crowded barracks, lacked exercise, drank excessively as well as came into contact with water that was far from clean. She also argues that the soldiers could be more prone to disease. Therefore, disease was not brought on by climate, but rather "the effects of man's imprudence... attributed to the climate."⁹ Nightingale's avid support of sanitation measures demonstrate the limited amount that people during this era did understand about disease transmission and how to curb its spread. It also portrays the reasoning behind why extensive interest was being taken in public health measures.

A small portion of the letter is devoted a small portion of the letter to the British's civilizing mission within India. While these reforms would bring greater health and lower death rates among the soldiers they would also – in what seems like an addition to the argument meant to maintain a sense of mutual benefit – bring about civilizing reforms to Indians.¹⁰ Nightingale ends her argument with a closing directed specifically at the benefits it would have on the people and culture they had colonized. As India was seen as "the focus of epidemics," Nightingale contends that every town in India was comparable to the worst town in Britain. Therefore, it was the moral duty of the colonizer to bring about reform during their tenure.¹¹ Accordingly, she argues that while some improvements and innovations had been done in the way of commerce, how could any of that be sufficient if nothing is done to protect cleanliness and health? Education and expansion of internal infrastructure would amount to nothing if everyone were sick and dying of epidemics. While Nightingale advocates for the benefits of the Indian people, the argument serves as continued means to justify colonization and is a bonus to the main point of keeping power in the region. This message is vastly different from the beginning of the article, which has strong implications of colonialism and the spread of power and influence. This section seems more of an afterthought or added benefit that sanitation reform would help the locals. The commentary by Nightingale and many other scientists during this time demonstrates the growing concern over health issues as well as the prevalence of sanitation measures as common practice in halting the advancement of disease, most of which stem from the need to maintain control of the British colonial strongholds.

The use of medical schools, as well as the majority of doctors, was meant to serve the military in both India as well as British East Africa. In India specifically it would not be until the shortage of medical professionals within the military ranks that the practice of medicine would be opened up to the native inhabitants. This influx of western

⁹ Florence Nightingale, *How People May Live and Not Die in India*, (London: Emily Faithful, 1863), 7, Countway Library of Medicine, Harvard University, accessed February 18, 2015.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

medical teaching practices, however, was shuttled into civilizations that had already had a fairly established medical practice underway. These contrasts as well as the ability of each nation to incorporate both Western and native forms of medicine had a noticeable influence in how medicine is practiced in the region today.

Medical Theories in India

Before the settlement of the British in India, a type of medicine referred to as “Orientalism” was already being practiced. The Hindu Ayurvedic system focuses on the four humors and creating an alignment within the body. Doctors who practiced “oriental” medicine within India were known as Hindu vaidrs or Muslim hakims.¹² Western medicine-based hospitals, from the viewpoint of natives and those who practice oriental medicine were viewed with disdain, as the isolationist approach of western medicine directly conflicted with the familial and religious approach in India. From the viewpoint of the British colonizers, Indian medicine was seen as innately inferior and only pieces that were useful or could compliment Western medicine were used. The British also regulated their medical teachings on the basis of the four humors: yellow bile, blood, phlegm, and black bile. An imbalance of these four humors was believed to cause disease. Medical precedent was to attempt to re-establish the humors by means of laxatives, emetics, or bleeding depending on the ailment. For example, diuretics and emetics were utilized as standard treatments for patients who suffered from illnesses that were believed to be caused by a buildup of bile. Ridding the body of the excess bile therefore would theoretically rebalance the humors and cure the patients.

A tiered system existed within the British empire consisting of ranges in which ethnic groups were classified – Chinese, Arabs, and Indians were considered middle tier, while sub-Saharan Africa and Amer-indians made up the lowest level.¹³ The death rates due to cholera purported by Nightingale therefore exhibit the trend of only referring to the white population, specifically the numbers involving the military losses. Therefore, very little is known about the death rates among the native populations in India.

Cultural Uses of Medicine in Africa

In early reporting’s of health and illness in British East Africa, a trend existed where newspapers and journals reported only on the illnesses as they affected the white populations and the British officials in the area. In addition, death rates reported in the government-sanctioned hospitals were only disclosing the numbers in regards to whites.¹⁴ The standard of care was also better among white citizens. Any British citizens suffering from epidemics or disease were put under supervision and sent home as soon as was feasible. In Africa, this manifestation of an “other” through the use of medicine was prevalent in the priorities assigned to patients. This “othering” of the African and Indian populations as lesser or underdeveloped in comparison to the British population was a means in which to justify the racial prejudices established as well as the need for colonization. It was also evident through the use of asylums for those believed to be suffering from mental illnesses. While there was no asylum for the insane in the protectorate, there were plans for one. Until that time, African citizens were placed in the

¹² David Arnold, “Cholera and Colonialism in British India,” *Past and Present* 113 (1986): 135.

¹³ Teresa A. Meade and Mark Wallker, eds., *Science, Medicine and Cultural Imperialism* (London: Macmillan, 1991), 7.

¹⁴ “British East Africa,” *The British Medical Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 2522 (1909): 1091-1092.

“gaol,” which was the African term for jail, while British citizens were sent home for treatment.¹⁵

Africa also quickly began to see the use of medical practices as a racially segregated practice. According to Megan Vaughan, a scholar of African and colonialism, medicine helped construct the notion of the “African,” a classification that promoted colonialism by perpetuating the term of the “other” and the need to colonize in order to help the African people become more modern, or more Western.¹⁶ Medical discourse specifically was used to create subjects and objects of study, which also aided in the “otherness” justification of colonialism. For example, “sickness, sexuality and blackness” were all linked and furthered the idea that the native people of British East Africa were predisposed to the contraction of certain diseases. This racial profiling and stereotyping of the people of African as dirty and immoral can still be seen in how the international community reacts to epidemics that arise in the continent of Africa today.

The natives of British East Africa were not entirely receptive to the new forms of Western medicine that were being implemented somewhat sporadically. As these campaigns were military regulated, they were therefore seen as expressions of colonial aggression and oppression. The burning of houses and crops were justified as being sanitary measures. Yet due to the routine raiding of villages for tax collections, as well as the nomadic lifestyle of some, it was difficult to get consent from villagers. This also made vaccination campaigns difficult.¹⁷ Not only the lifestyle of the natives but the distrust and lack of understanding regarding the medical practices of the British, further decreased the extent to which healthcare campaigns were able to be implemented. With small pox vaccination, the natives only saw the pain that inoculation caused not the benefits. The attempts at eradicating the yaws outbreaks, a bacteria infection that causes lesions on the skin, in British East Africa were seen as the most repressive and objectifying practice of colonial medicine by the native people. All who came through the clinics were seen as a number on an assembly line.¹⁸

Health as a Right

The use of medical infrastructure, vaccinations, and other medical practices were not the only forms of coercion that the British used in order to maintain control of colonies. In most regards, medical investments came behind the advancement of other rights of citizenship such as education. Even with the justification of the civilizing mission, British officials found it hard to financially support the establishment of many of the progressive measures in both India and Africa. For British citizens, there was some anxiety over pouring British taxpayer dollars into British East Africa.¹⁹ As a result, British policies pertaining to the advancement of the local people were only propagated in times of necessary public relations campaigns either to placate the inhabitants or to promote the rising international organizations in favor of removing colonialism. Education, like medicine, was pushed aside unless it was convenient or necessary in order to maintain control of the colonies. Therefore, the civilizing mission again fell into missionary hands.

The missionaries already established schools by 1895 and “were not plagued

¹⁵ “British East Africa,” 1091-1092.

¹⁶ Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills*, 8.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 43.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 52.

¹⁹ Ann Beck, “Colonial Policy and Education in British East Africa, 1900-1950,” *Journal of British Studies* 5 (1966): 117, accessed March 9, 2015.

with the administrative troubles of the British officials.”²⁰ One study by local British officials determined that it would take approximately 75,000 euros to educate the 500,000 children of Kenya.²¹ Only British collected 575,000 in taxes from British East African residents, but argued that the British population could not be required to pay for infrastructure that they wouldn’t use. Therefore, instead of allowing their taxes go to educational purposes, most of the taxpayer dollars of British East Africa went to the development of their own infrastructure; the infrastructure that historian Ann Beck argues was used by the British to exploit the Indian populations resources.²² However, by 1930, African leaders understood the value and meaning behind an education and were actively petitioning the British government for funds and resources to be allocated for those ends.²³ World War II halted the developments of the government missionaries as well as the rising nationalist movements with their own ideas about a completely African educational system.²⁴

For people within India, the right to public health was well supported enough to end up in the first constitution following decolonization and independence from the British Empire. The advent of the India Constitution provided that public health was not “binding” for all but was still one of the directives of governance over the newly defined state.²⁵ Therefore, the newly elected government of India looked outside of their borders at this time and began to call for international assistance from the new international organizations that were being created.

Influence of International Organizations

Established in 1946, the advent of the World Health Organization, under the United Nations was a shift in terms of healthcare management. It changed notions about healthcare from the responsibility of the national governments to the idea of international cooperation, not seen since the International Sanitary Conferences in 1851. This progression to an integrated system of public health manifested itself differently for different nations.

India was on the verge of independence from British rule by the time the World Health Organization was established. As the newly elected government began to outline a new constitution for a free state, lack of funds prevented much talk over the development of public health infrastructure. Instead, India opened its doors to the World Health Organization. The Southeast Asia region of the World Health Organization had profound effects on discussions during its early periods of the World Health Organization. The organization in turn focused much of their efforts on eradication of certain diseases, specifically malaria, in places such as India. The projects taking place in India were vastly more advanced, elaborate and organized than those taking place in East Africa, let alone Africa as a whole. The World Health Organization was able to work closely with the newly formed Indian government to implement widespread malarial eradication campaigns, venereal disease education seminars, consultations for improving the already existing healthcare institutions, and provide vaccinations for polio, syphilis, and poliomyelitis. By this time, India was already emancipated from British rule, and due to their own lack of funds took initiative in reaching out and accommodating the World

²⁰ Ibid., 118.

²¹ Ibid., 125.

²² Ibid., 125.

²³ Ibid., 129.

²⁴ Ibid., 135.

²⁵ Amrith, *Decolonizing International Health*, 82.

Health Organization in medical consultations. For Africa, some health projects and campaigns were discussed in the reports of the 1951 World Health Organization products, but they were fewer and far less detailed in their implementation and impact. Overall, these experiments demonstrate the types of medical research that was being done under colonial leadership in British East Africa.

Africa was still under British colonial rule, and as colonialism began to come under attack, the British focused most of their efforts on keeping organizations such as the United Nations and those associated with them out of their colonial settlements in Africa. Following precedent set forth by the establishment of the International Sanitary Conferences, international cooperation in health care planning was sought among nations, prior to the use of international organizations. According to colonial historian, Dr. Jessica Pearson-Patel, nations such as Britain, France, and Belgium went to such great lengths to preserve their colonial strongholds within Africa, that they formed an “inter-colonial technical cooperation’ in order to placate the World Health Organization and keep them out of Africa. Here these colonial powers sought to meet the bare-minimum requirements of the Charter of the United Nations in “developing the non-self governing territories in which they were responsible.”²⁶ This inter-African network of technical cooperation would deal in all matters relating to hygiene, health, nutrition, and agriculture.²⁷ Therefore, in Africa, unlike other nations such as India, they relied on cooperation among colonial powers versus organizations such as the World Health Organization.

By comparing the World Health Organization sponsored projects in both India and British East Africa at the time, there is substantial evidence to support the idea that the World Health Organization was underrepresented in Africa during the time of decolonization. This inability to establish relations early on has manifested into a World Health Organization regional body that has not been as successful in relation to other regions. This is evident through the recent crisis of the Ebola epidemic in areas such as Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone, West Africa.

Infrastructure Developed

Following World War II, there were many advances in medical technology that were utilized by a growing surge in nationalism as well as declarations of international cooperation in terms of human welfare. This was by no means a smooth or infallible claim and enterprise, but the advancement of some countries allowed for increase in infrastructure upon which some infrastructure had already been built. While much of these measures were established in order to keep the United Nations and the anti-colonialism sentiment out of the African region, the establishment of agencies and conferences created to advance medical knowledge and facilitate cooperation generated precedent of sharing information, whether scientific or political. In many ways it was geared towards the development of the nation. The health conference of Brazzaville that took place in 1952 served as a reference point and justification for colonialism in Africa.²⁸ The Commission for Technical Cooperation in Africa south of the Sahara was the first official organization promoted by the colonies of French, British, Belgium, Portuguese, and South African nations. Its role was to introduce new scientific research,

²⁶ Jessica Pearson-Patel, “Promoting Health, Protecting Empire: Inter-colonial Medical Cooperation in Postwar Africa” etc., 219.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 221.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 231.

promote research and development of medical personnel in the region, make recommendations to member governments, and hold conferences.²⁹

In India, the danger the cholera epidemic posed to the British Empire's political hold on India caused the British to develop sporadic and incomplete sanitation measures and hospitals. However, due to the rising death rates and lack of personnel, the British opened up positions as dressers and assistants to the local inhabitants. Eventually British officials were willing to set aside funds for the first British-sponsored medical school. Still even with the increased preventative measures, following decolonization and especially the reoccurring famines, Indian officials argued that the weakness of the medical infrastructure within Bengal exacerbated the effects of the famine, even though Bengal was fairly advanced in healthcare in comparison to South and Southeast Asian countries.³⁰ By the time of their partnership with India, the World Health Organization worked closely with institutions such as the Malaria Institute, the Mental Institute, Calcutta Medical College Hospital, All-India Institute for Public Health and Hygiene, Assam Medical College, Graduate Nursing Institutes and more departments and institutions established under the colonization of the British to promote the advancement of public health within India.³¹ It is clear that at this time, India had far more advanced and established health infrastructure than the nations of British East Africa were afforded.

Epidemic Management Today

Today, both East Africa and India are still battling large disparities in public health resources that are standard in more developed nations. With the recent Ebola outbreak in West Africa, the World Health Organization Africa branch came under increased scrutiny due to what many perceived as a slow response that has led to devastating consequences.³² In March 2014, the first case of Ebola, a hemorrhagic fever was reported in Guinea. It would not be until August of that same year that the World Health Organization would deem the epidemic a matter of an international health emergency, a characterization they have only used twice before.³³ Many critics believe that the World Health Organization laid the foundation for the epidemic to get out of control and did not contain the epidemic while it was, in fact, containable. Reports spoke about the economic consequences, such as the effects on tourism and of declaring a national emergency. Since then, the European Union alone has provided approximately 1.3 billion euros to combat the disease in ways such as promoting research as well as better and cheaper diagnostic tests.³⁴ Still colonialism's long history of putting political concerns over public health concerns was a major factor in the response time of the World Health Organization to the Ebola epidemic. The argument that tropical medicine is only interested in keeping the natives healthy in places such as Africa and India, still demonstrates a very self-serving manner of providing medical relief to underdeveloped and underserved nations.

Even with the amount of money raised, the preventative medicine techniques

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 277.

³⁰ Amrith, *Decolonizing International Health*, 71.

³¹ "Periodical Reports on Projects," The World Health Organization 1952 WHO IRIS.

³² Joshua Keating, "Why Wasn't the WHO Ready for Ebola?" *Slate* (2014), accessed March 9, 2015, http://www.slate.com/blogs/the_world_/2014/10/22/who Ebola_response_the_politics_and_economics_of_why_the_organization_was.html.

³³ "Before there was Ebola: European Responses to Diseases in Africa-Past and Present," lecture from UCIS Pittsburgh, April 14, 2015.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

follow a very similar pattern to those of the colonial era. Epidemics such as Ebola, and what was seen with cholera and other epidemics, sparks the questions of origin and could, in turn, lead to a prejudiced thinking of those countries where the disease originates as less modern, dirty, and diseased. This tendency toward the blame game today in the case of Ebola in West Africa reveals a lot about these prejudices and the tendency of the international community's need to blame someone. During the colonial era, the reaction to cholera and other distinctly colonial diseases such as malaria and sleeping sickness was to launch targeted vertical campaigns and vaccination campaigns. These campaigns were much more prevalent than the widespread establishment of public-health infrastructure in the towns and rural areas. The overall lack of training of African personnel also resulted in large challenges post-colonially. Even with the newfound independence of Africa, the hospitals had to be staffed. Because of the institutional continuities between the colonial hospitals and the hospitals in Britain, they had to be re-appropriated and staffed and trained. As the World Health Organization was kept out through the use of the "inter-colonial technical Cooperation," this personnel training and the tools necessary to take over the little public health infrastructure that was left behind has been minimal. What is evident now is the fact that the World Health Organization branch of Africa was and still is not overly equipped to handle such a large and devastating epidemic like Ebola.

For some time, Africa has also been attempting to combat the HIV/AIDS epidemics. While the numbers have begun to taper off, the sixth Millennium Development Goal of Reversal, set by the World Health Organization for 2015, has yet to be met. This has been perceived to be due to a lack of funding by internal governments and shortages of supplies.³⁵ This lack of financial support stems from an extensive external funding for disease-specific programs such as medications and eradication efforts as opposed to funding for broader health infrastructure.³⁶ A compilation of the belief that internal organizations should take responsibility, the stereotype of a diseased Africa, and the focus on protecting their own countrymen versus spreading public health infrastructure to rural and underdeveloped areas appears to have led to the unmet goals.

India has also suffered from recent epidemics of influenza in 2009, hepatitis in 2010 and jaundice in 2014. While the public health infrastructure has come under criticism within the past few years, the establishment of more advanced infrastructure allowed for a quick containment of the disease through coordinated eradication measures. Vaccines were made readily available while a task force was recruited to handle and efface the diseases.

Overall, Africa is still reliant on international and outside aid to combat healthcare grievances. India, on the other hand, while still trying to manage the widened socioeconomic gap between a rigid class-based system, does have a more sufficient health infrastructure to meet the basic needs of its inhabitants. While the system is far from perfect, and still receptive to international aid, it has advanced enough to produce notable scientists, researchers and medical professionals, garnering awards such as the Nobel Peace Prize and others.

³⁵ Daniel R. Hogan, et. Al, "Achieving The Millennium Development Goals for Health: Cost Effectiveness Analysis of Strategies to Combat HIV/Aids in Developing Countries," *The British Journal of Medicine* 331 (2005): 1434, accessed March 9, 2015.

³⁶ Anne Mills, "Health Care Systems in Low and Middle Income Countries," *The New England Journal of Medicine* 370 (2014): 552.

Conclusion

In the postcolonial era, Indian society has seen numerous advancements in scientific technology, from the creation of nuclear weapons to the Nobel Peace Prizes won in science and medicine. While the scientific advancements are not available to all citizens of Indian society, following decolonization by the British Empire, India has made significant progress. The former colonies of Africa, on the other hand, have not progressed as much as India following decolonization of the British Empire. During the colonization period, the rapid transmission and exportation of disease marked a significant step toward the development of the public health infrastructures of these nations. In India, sanitation measures were installed in an attempt to decrease the prevalence of cholera that was both hampering trade throughout the British Empire as well as spreading into England. The instigation of the International Sanitary Conferences in Paris in 1851 was the first transnational attempt at tackling the far-reaching problem of epidemics, such as cholera, yellow fever and the plague. While the conferences eventually contributed to the formation of the World Health Organization and set a precedent for other international cooperation in health care, as well as set the standard for public health foundations, the development between British India and British East Africa public health structures is considerably different. This was promulgated with the sporadic and ineffectual establishment of the infrastructure during the time of British colonization, as evidenced by the timing of the commentary and plans for implementation of public health infrastructure during times of military need or during times where the colonial government was looking to appease growing resentment towards colonization. The decolonization of India, however, was perfectly timed to the advent of the World Health Organization. The newly emancipated nation of India was therefore able to have a large influence in the World Health Organization's initial proceedings, leading to increased activity and aid to the southeast region. Due to the reluctance of the British still holding onto African colonies, the World Health Organization was unable to establish a presence and has since had little ability to make a lasting impact or change on the health of Africa.

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Confucianism: The New Wave of Ancient China

Kristen Moore

Abstract

Confucianism, a Chinese philosophy founded roughly 2,500 years ago, has traditionally been understood to be, by historians and philosophers alike, a strongly conservative philosophy. Yet after taking a look at the historical context of Confucianism, the atmosphere and political climate of China during Confucianism's formation, a new perspective can be taken on the ancient school of thought. After examining the central Confucian teachings of filial piety, ritual, self-cultivation, and the supremacy of achievement over hierarchal birthright, Confucianism is shown to have challenged the status quo of its day and presented a more open-minded and altruistic approach to human interaction than had been witnessed previously. This paper challenges Confucianism's traditional view as a conservative and partisan school of thought and explores its historical roots as a radically new and tolerant philosophy meant for the common person.

Introduction

Confucianism, an over-2,500-year-old philosophy, was formed not only as a response to its society, but as a moral guide for the future humanity. Chinese society 2,500 years ago marked the Spring and Autumn period of the later Zhou Dynasty, an era of failing political and social order.¹ The Zhou government had weakened almost instantly after the death of its third ruler, King Kang of Zhou, and as a result of or possibly as a cause, cared little for the well-being of the common people. However, even if the Zhou had developed concern for its inhabitants, it had become too weak to make any real changes outside the walls of its capital, having lost power to the rulers of the provincial states.² The in-fighting that ensued between the Zhou states caused not only a social breakdown, but caused violence to become the norm. Thus, though Confucianism is often perceived by contemporary Western thinkers to be deeply conservative or even repressively tradition-bound, in fact was a philosophy ahead of its time that strived to assist its deteriorating society. Confucianism was a very progressive philosophy that effectively utilized established tradition and well-known precedents to teach its enlightened philosophies of filial piety, ritual, self-cultivation, and the supremacy of achievement over hierarchal birthright to the people. The intellectual commitments of Confucianism are, at their core and in their most basic sense, progressive.

¹ Mark Edward Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 49.

² *Ibid.*

Filial Piety

“A young person who is filial and respectful of his elders rarely becomes the kind of person who is inclined to defy his superiors, and there has never been a case of one who is disinclined to defy his superiors stirring up rebellion.”³ This quote from the *Analects*, or the core Confucian text that was composed of the sayings of Confucianism’s founder Confucius, hints at how during the Spring and Autumn period, and especially during the following Warring States period, China was in a disordered state. Isolated rebellions and coups had become commonplace due to the crumbling power of the Zhou Dynasty, and a declining respect for authority was suspected by Confucius and his followers to be the primary culprit.⁴ Filial piety arose as a response, an idea that called for the paying of respect to one’s family and social superiors.⁵ Filial piety required that reverence be given to one’s parents above all else, deferring to them in every scenario, and taking care of them no matter the circumstances.⁶ Filial piety extended outside the family as well, calling for the people to revere their ruler as almost an extension, and as the pinnacle, of the family unit. In this way filial piety gave strength to the family, bringing a sense of unity and accord to the most basic level of society in a time period that severely lacked any sense of togetherness. Confucianism’s filiality also encouraged a giving relationship between family, friends, and state, not fulfillment of one’s own selfish endeavors as was much of the case in the Spring and Autumn period.⁷ Confucius was, through filiality, attempting to counterbalance the weak and chaotic Zhou Dynasty that had brought with it societal discord and unnecessary strife. Thus, despite the fact that filial piety in the West today is often viewed as an outdated and impractical practice, for its time, it was a brand new and impressively liberal notion that hoped to return China to a brighter, more hopeful era.

Women during Confucius’ time, and for nearly all of Chinese history, were neither treated as equals to men, nor respected in their own right.⁸ “Women and servants are particularly hard to manage: if you are too familiar with them, they grow insolent, but if you are too distant, they grow resentful.”⁹ As this quote from the *Analects* shows, even Confucius viewed women in general as inferior to men, ranking them alongside servants. Yet, in spite of this, through filial piety, Confucianism gave women a measure of respect in an era where respect for women was almost non-existent. This was found most predominately in the role of mother. Through motherhood, especially mothers with sons, women were to be given near-equal reverence as their husband.¹⁰ Children, if properly filial and following the teachings of Confucianism, were required to venerate their mother’s wishes and care for her just as they would their father. There was also no distinction in mourning for the separate parents. Truly filial children, in particular sons,

³ Philip Ivanhoe and Bryan W. Van Norden, ed., “The Analects,” *Readings in Classical Chinese Philosophy*, 2nd ed. trans. Edward Slingerland (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2001), 1.2.

⁴ Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China*, 48.

⁵ Dahua Cui and Huang Deyuan, “A Weakness in Confucianism: Private and Public Moralities,” *Frontiers of Philosophy in China* 2, no. 4 (October 2007), 521.

⁶ Ivanhoe and Van Norden, ed., *Readings in Classical Chinese Philosophy*, 2nd ed., 2.7.

⁷ Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China*, 49.

⁸ Sin Yee Chan, “Gender and Relationship Roles in the Analects and the Mencius,” *Asian Philosophy* 10, no. 2 (2000), 128.

⁹ Ivanhoe and Van Norden, ed. *Readings in Classical Chinese Philosophy*, 2nd ed., 17.25.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 6.

were to mourn both of their parents' death for three years each.¹¹ This was unique for the time since most women were, at best, only marginally respected if they fulfilled their roles as marriage fodder or son-producing machines.¹² If women were to fail at these given roles, whether they were at fault or not, they were often quickly cast aside and replaced.¹³ Though it can be pointed out that it is only through motherhood that women were positively acknowledged in Confucianism, and it is the role of sons to fathers that is most often discussed in the *Analects*, it was through Confucianism in the Spring and Autumn period that women were first given any sense of acknowledgement and respect as people. Though it would not be for many more centuries that Chinese women would be allowed to voice their own thoughts, filial piety at least got the ball rolling, cracking open the door to women's suffrage in a period that viewing women as anything other than sexual toys, housekeepers, or childbearers for men was a radically unheard of concept.

Ritual

Ritual had been rooted in Chinese tradition long before Confucianism, dating back to the beginning of China's written history, and was hence a perfect tool for Confucius to use in furthering his progressive philosophy. Rituals in Confucianism covered much more than simple ceremonies; they also covered how one interacted with other people. Rituals of ancient China often either involved sacrificial rituals before battle, the offering of food or goods to ancestors, or the joining of peoples, such as in the form of weddings.¹⁴ However, these honored rituals were predominately reserved for nobility, existing outside of the aristocracy only rarely or in their most basic forms.¹⁵ Confucius sought to change that, encouraging all that were able to engage in ritual, which he believed would assist in personal self-cultivation and a more ordered society: "Restraining yourself and returning to the rites constitutes Goodness. If for one day you managed to restrain yourself and return to the rites, in this way you could lead the entire world back to Goodness."¹⁶ The best way Confucius suggested for people to perform ritual was by emulating the sage kings, or the first three rulers of the Zhou Dynasty, who were supposedly the ideal performers of ritual and goodness. Though the sage kings were well-known in China in the Spring and Autumn period, it was a relatively new idea to suggest that common, non-noble people could attain, or should try to attain, their moral superiority.¹⁷ To even make such a suggestion was to hint that kings were held under the same rules as commoners, at least as far as morality was concerned. Ritual in Confucianism was therefore to be used as a mark of one's goodness, or attempt at goodness, not one's place in the social hierarchy. Though it can be argued that performing many certain rituals still required time and resources that were not available to a large percentage of the peasant class, this taking of ritual from the noble class and

¹¹ Ivanhoe and Van Norden, ed., *Readings in Classical Chinese Philosophy*, 2nd ed., 17.21.

¹² Sin Yee Chan, "Gender and Relationship Roles in the *Analects* and the *Mencius*," 129.

¹³ Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China*, 73.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Ivanhoe and Van Norden, ed., *Readings in Classical Chinese Philosophy*, 2nd ed., 12.1.

¹⁷ Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China*, 29.

using it instead for establishing order was a profound notion that attempted to both give more power to the people and re-establish the fading order.

One area where Confucius stressed the importance of ritual was in speech, no doubt as a result of the declining social order of his time that brought with it many empty, albeit pretty, words. In the Spring and Autumn period, as discussed above, the provincial rulers were growing increasingly more powerful and as a result, more restless. Many began to claim titles that they either had not earned or were unworthy of, such as the title of the actual head of state, the Zhou king.¹⁸ In addition, these provincial rulers and the central government were not, especially in Confucius' eyes, properly rectifying names, leading to actions not matching up with one's speech. In this way, Confucius also believed that the lack of proper speech and name rectification was a leading cause for the weakening government and its resulting social disorder, since names without rectification led to confusion and to people unsure of their roles.¹⁹ Therefore, Confucius called for doing away with elaborate speech without substance which, as shown by the numerous times it is mentioned throughout the *Analects*, must have been a common practice of the period. Confucius instead emphasized speech without arbitrariness.²⁰ This was an unusual request for the period since one's mastery of speech often was used as a way to display one's high intellect and broad knowledge, or was the original purpose in any case.²¹ Thus Confucius again used already understood social precedents to encourage his message, using the idea of the king as the ultimate exemplar of the state as an example. "When the ruler is correct, his will is put into effect without the need for official orders. When the ruler's person is not correct, he will not be obeyed no matter how many orders he issues."²² This suggests that when a ruler's speech is correct and matches his actions, his wishes will be understood by his ministers without his need to officially make an order. On the other hand, if his speech falls short of his actions and names are not rectified, no matter what his speech is like, his orders will not, or cannot, be carried out. Therefore, though it can be said that the idea of correcting one's speech to match their abilities was not an entirely new idea of Confucius, in a time where fanciful speech often got one farther than one's actual efforts, it was an enlightened idea that attempted to give more power to the actually intelligent and hard-working, instead of exclusively those manipulators with clever tongues.

Self-Cultivation

Self-cultivation, especially in regards to the idea of the gentleman, or *junzi*, is likely the most discussed and esteemed teaching of Confucianism. During the Spring and Autumn period the term of "*junzi*" referred only to the noble and aristocratic class, carrying the connotation that only the elite and wealthy could be true "gentlemen."²³ In part, this was true. However, it was only true for the elite who could afford tutors for their children, as well as the time to devote to learning. Confucius sought to change this by

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 102

¹⁹ Ivanhoe and Van Norden, ed. *Readings in Classical Chinese Philosophy*, 2nd ed., 13.3.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China*, 74.

²² *Ibid.*, 13.6.

²³ Erica Brindley, "Why Use an Ox-Cleaver to Carve a Chicken?," *The Sociology of the Junzi Ideal in the Lunyu*, *Philosophy East and West* 59, no. 1 (January 2009), 48.

taking and redefining the term junzi: “The gentleman takes rightness as his substance, puts it into practice by means of ritual, gives it expression through modesty, and perfects it by being trustworthy. Now that is a gentleman!”²⁴ As this statement displays, Confucius defined junzi to mean those who aspired to be both morally correct and upright people, not simply those born into money and high status. Through this new definition Confucius suggested that any who practiced self-cultivation could become a gentleman, citing ritual, learning, and filial piety as the key vehicles to achieving the junzi status and true goodness.²⁵ This proposal was a revolutionary and dangerous idea, particularly in the Spring and Autumn period when making such a claim could easily get one silenced for good.²⁶ It was also likely one of the first times in ancient Chinese history that the social hierarchy was even brought into question, for civilized society as a whole was still in its infant years, having just come out of the tribal, hunter-gatherer stage.²⁷ Yet Confucius defied all this, attempting to claim the term junzi for lovers of learning and moral self-cultivation, in this way also trying to embolden those in the upper ranks of society to embrace his new definition as well. Though it can be disputed that Confucius’ new definition of junzi did not include women or a large part of the lower class, predominately because neither could leave their social obligations to devote themselves to self-cultivation, Confucius was still wildly progressive for his time and challenged society much more than any who had come before him.²⁸ It would have been quite outrageous if Confucius had defied every single unjust facet of the Spring and Autumn society and proclaimed all equal under heaven, since hierarchy privilege, prejudice, and sexism were deeply embedded and a part of everyday life in ancient China, not to mention the rest of the ancient world. Confucianism’s ideal of the junzi not only commandeered the term to apply outside nobility, but also paved the way for learning to be something other than a practice of the privileged class, establishing it as a right to any and all who desire to learn.

Self-cultivation, in particular moral superiority through learning, was also taught by Confucius, and yet was an unusual idea at the time. The Spring and Autumn period was a time where one earned praise and admiration for their feats in battle or hunting, not learning.²⁹ In addition, social mobility was lauded, especially if one could increase their income through either marriage or a job promotion.³⁰ Learning, much like today, was simply used as a means to increase one’s job prospects, if not merely to flaunt to others their social status. “In ancient times scholars learned for their own sake; these days they learn for the sake of others.”³¹ Confucius, as this quote shows, once again utilized the past in his attempt to further his ideals, proposing that learning was once used to increase one’s own self-cultivation, not merely to impress others. In this fashion, Confucianism attempted to give strength to learning and the mind over brute strength and skill in battle, the latter requiring more talent than actual achievement in thought. Confucius even went so far as to suggest that, without a love of learning, one cannot truly be upright,

²⁴ Philip Ivanhoe and Bryan W. Van Norden, ed., *Readings in Classical Chinese Philosophy*, 2nd ed., 15.18.

²⁵ Brindley, “Why Use an Ox-Cleaver to Carve a Chicken?,” *The Sociology of the Junzi Ideal in the Lunyu*,” 52.

²⁶ Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China*, 10.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 21.

²⁸ Brindley, “Why Use an Ox-Cleaver to Carve a Chicken?,” *The Sociology of the Junzi Ideal in the Lunyu*,” 53.

²⁹ Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China*, 26.

³⁰ Benjamin A. Elman, “Political, Social, and Cultural Reproduction via Civil Service Examinations in Late Imperial China,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 50, no. 1 (February 1991): 21.

³¹ Ivanhoe and Van Norden, ed. *Readings in Classical Chinese Philosophy*, 2nd ed., 14.24.

trustworthy, virtuous, or even courageous.³² In a period of ever-increasing warfare, with glory to be found in the mastery of killing and weaponry, it was a rebellious notion to suggest a truly cultivated and morally upright person was to be found in a school hard at work with his studies. Though it can be said that strength during the Spring and Autumn period had its merits, since a majority of the Chinese population were still farmers and war was ever on the horizon, the emphasis on learning over physical prowess marked the beginning of Chinese society's true "golden age", or the Tang Dynasty, where study and mastery of the histories was the mark of a superior person.³³ The idea of the mind as superior to marital skill would even permeate into the military sphere, as later famous Chinese military texts would show, establishing China's unique art of war. Regardless, learning as a means of self-cultivation and superior moral goodness was not only a progressive idea, but a transformative one in Chinese history.

Achievement over Hierarchal Birthright

Probably the most broadminded teaching of Confucianism upon its creation was the idea that those who were knowledgeable, capable, and held intellectual achievements should be the ones to lead and help run the state, not those with mere hierarchal birthright. During a period where elites dominated most aspects of Chinese life, power was passed down from father to son, and was rarely extended outside a select sect of families, suggesting that privilege did not mark one's right to power was a risky insinuation.³⁴ Yet Confucius, as shown by his redefinition of the junzi, felt that one's intellectual and moral achievements should earn one a place of power and prestige, believing one's birth not to be sufficient enough to maintain order.³⁵ This extended even to rulers, where Confucius believed they too needed to emulate the virtuous sage kings and thus act an example for the people, not rely on being born a prince for their right to rule.³⁶

Mencius, probably the most famous Confucian after Confucius himself, also promoted this. He wholeheartedly believed that an unvirtuous and evil ruler could be disposed.³⁷ "The petty person does not understand the Mandate of Heaven, and thus does not regard it with awe; he shows disrespect to great men, and ridicules the teachings of the sages."³⁸ This quote, attributed to Confucius, hints at how those who do not understand the Mandate of Heaven, or the will of heaven, were petty, with birthright offering no protection against this. Since it was understood that those who ruled did so with the Mandate of Heaven, it was likely a perilous claim for Confucius to make that the Mandate could be lost if one did not adhere to the teachings of the sages.³⁹ Though it is true that privilege continued to dominate Chinese society, with merit coming in second at best, and with merit itself being circumstantially tied to privilege, it was possibly by stressing the importance of achievements over hierarchal birthright that led to the civil service exams in later China. The government admitted men who passed the exams into civil service, which were graded based on their mastery of texts, instead of purely

³² *Ibid.*, 17.8.

³³ Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China*, 162.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 34.

³⁵ Dahua Cui and Huang Deyuan, "A Weakness in Confucianism: Private and Public Moralities," 634.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 521.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 524.

³⁸ Ivanhoe and Van Norden, ed., *Readings in Classical Chinese Philosophy*, 2nd ed., 16.8.

³⁹ Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China*, 237.

through inheritance.⁴⁰ Confucianism’s stressing of achievement over hierarchal birthright was not only an incredibly progressive idea of the period, but for much of history, unarguably the highest teaching of the Confucian philosophy.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Confucianism was a highly progressive philosophy that, through its teachings of filial piety, ritual, self-cultivation, and the supremacy of achievement over hierarchal birthright, attempted to transform the tumultuous society of the Spring and Autumn period for the better. Through filial piety, Confucius strived to bring about a sense of peace and order to the most basic unit of society, in addition giving a measure of recognition to the often snubbed female class. Ritual was utilized in a similar fashion, its use meant to re-establish an order that supposedly existed in a “golden age” of Chinese history, or the founding of the Zhou Dynasty, which had been lost in Confucius’ time. In addition, speech, which is included under ritual, was to aid in civilizing interactions between peoples, who at the time were consistently feuding among themselves. Self-cultivation would take this idea a step further, meant to be taken up by any who wished to aspire to moral superiority, and thus civilize people on the individual level. By self-cultivation, Confucius intended to esteem the value of learning, urging it to be adopted by any and all who wished to study, taking it from the aristocrats and giving it to his junzi. Then, lastly, Confucianism’s most substantial teaching was that of achievement over hierarchal birthright, suggesting that the right to lead was earned, not handed down through birth. Thus Confucianism, though often viewed as an outdated thing of the past, was a philosophy that challenged the accepted norms of its society and encouraged others to do the same, quite easily making it a philosophy deserving of any open-minded person’s respect today.

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⁴⁰ Elman, “Political, Social, and Cultural Reproduction via Civil Service Examinations in Late Imperial China,” 8.

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About the Contributors

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Luke Bartz

Nearing the end of his fourth year, Luke Bartz will graduate in spring of 2017 with a Master of Arts in Global Security Studies, a Bachelor of Arts in International Studies, and a Bachelor of Arts in Russian. His research interests include international security and the Russian-speaking world, with a special focus on Kazakhstan. Thanks to the support of the College of International Studies and a number of other organizations, he has studied and worked abroad in Turkey, the Dominican Republic, South Korea, Austria, China, and Kazakhstan. After graduation he intends to pursue work with a non-proliferation-focused international organization or with the US State Department's Foreign Service.

Robert Bellafiore

Robert Bellafiore is a sophomore from Albany, New York, studying Economics and Philosophy and minoring in International Studies. During summer 2015, he studied Middle Eastern economics and politics as a participant in the OU Journey to Turkey Program, and during summer 2016, he will be participating in the OU Journey to China Program. He is a National Merit Scholar and plans to attend law school after graduating. He works as an interdisciplinary analyst at the Center for the Creation of Economic Wealth. Bellafiore serves as an inaugural member of the American Enterprise Institute Executive Council, an organization working with the Washington, DC, think-tank to promote campus discourse on public policy. He is also a pianist in the OU Jazz Ensemble.

Jack Bergum

Jack Bergum is a senior International Security Studies and Political Science major. He received the Boren Scholarship and studied abroad in Meknes, Morocco, during the 2014-2015 academic school year. He plans on pursuing his Master of Arts in Middle Eastern Studies next fall. In his free time, Jack enjoys hiking and mountain biking.

Collin Douglas

Collin Douglas is pursuing a Master of Arts in International Studies with emphasis on Global Security. He earned his undergraduate degree from the University of Oklahoma in 2015. Collin studied abroad at Boğaziçi University in Istanbul, Turkey, during Spring 2014. His research interests are the connections between climate change, resource scarcity, and armed conflict. After graduation Collin hopes to work for the State Department.

Hanna Kimpel

Hanna Kimpel is a senior from Oklahoma City. She is majoring in International Studies with a minor in French and is a member of the Honors College. She studied abroad in England at the University of Reading during the spring 2015. After graduating in May, she plans to attend graduate school and major in European History.

Alexandra Jones

Alexandra Jones is a recent graduate of the University of Oklahoma. She graduated Magna Cum Laude in December 2015 with a degree in European Studies, as well as minors in Spanish, Chemistry and Medical Humanities. While part of the College of International Studies, she spent a summer studying abroad in Seville, Spain. Since graduating, she is serving as a medical intern with the Mission of Hope in Haiti and will be attending medical school at the University of Oklahoma College of Medicine beginning in fall 2016.

JoAnne Kosta

JoAnne Kosta graduated Summa Cum Laude from the University of Oklahoma in the fall 2015 with a Bachelor of Arts in Arabic and a Bachelor of Arts in Middle Eastern Studies. While studying at OU she was a member of the Arabic Flagship Program (AFP). She received her Flagship certification upon completion of the AFP's year-long study abroad program in Meknes, Morocco, for intensive Arabic studies, for which she earned the Boren Scholarship. After graduation she returned to Fairfax, Virginia, and is currently working on a blog to help students with moderate to significant exposure in Arabic language pick up new dialects.

Patrick Madaj

Patrick Madaj is a junior majoring in International Security Studies and Japanese, with a minor in Economics. He is currently spending a semester abroad in Japan at Yamaguchi University, where he is studying Japanese language and culture. After graduation, Patrick plans to pursue a Master of Arts in International Relations and hopes to eventually work for the US Department of State. He was a National Merit Scholarship Finalist and is an Oklahoma Academic Scholar. In his spare time, Madaj enjoys playing tennis and the drums.

Lucy Mahaffey

A full-time junior at OU, Lucy Mahaffey is double majoring in International Area Studies and Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Slavery and Exploitation. She is currently a research assistant for Dr. Bo Kong, looking at global energy with a focus on China. She has studied abroad at Oxford and will study in Uganda during summer 2016. She is currently a 2016 Truman Scholar Finalist and also received the 2016 Fern Holland Award. She was awarded the 2014 City of Norman Human Rights Award for founding HOPE Student Awareness, a statewide anti-trafficking curriculum for students with funding from the Davis Projects for Peace. The curriculum has educated over 2,000 students. She volunteers at a local nonprofit, Coffeeshop, plays piano, and mentors Honors freshman as they transition to campus. In her spare time, she likes to bake with her grandmother.

Sarah Miles

Sarah Miles is a senior History major with a minor in International and Area Studies. After graduating in May 2016, Miles will pursue her childhood dream of becoming a historian by attending the University of North Carolina to earn a doctorate in modern French history. Sarah has a passion for history and politics, both in the United States and in her native Quebec, and good literature. In her free time, Miles reads voraciously and loves to cook for her family and friends, to whom she owes everything for their support.

Kristen Moore

Kristen Moore is in her final year of studies at the University of Oklahoma, working to attain her degree in History and a minor in Asian Studies. During her time at the University of Oklahoma she has focused her studies on Japan and China, particularly on the struggles that women in these regions have faced throughout history. Thanks to the Sidney DeVere Brown Award scholarship she received during her junior year, Moore studied abroad in Japan during summer 2014. After graduation, Kristen plans to attend graduate school with the eventual goal to teach Asian History at the college level.

Lindsey Weiss

Lindsey Weiss is a Senior majoring in International and Area Studies with a minor in Arabic. In spring 2015, she studied abroad as a William Jefferson Clinton Scholar at the American University of Dubai. On campus, she is involved with the Big Event, Sooners for Israel and the Student Government Association. Weiss interned the past two summers in Washington, DC, at the US Chamber of Commerce and Squire Patton Boggs, and will be returning after she graduates. Outside of class, she can be found painting, running, and enjoying coffee.