# LEVIATHAN

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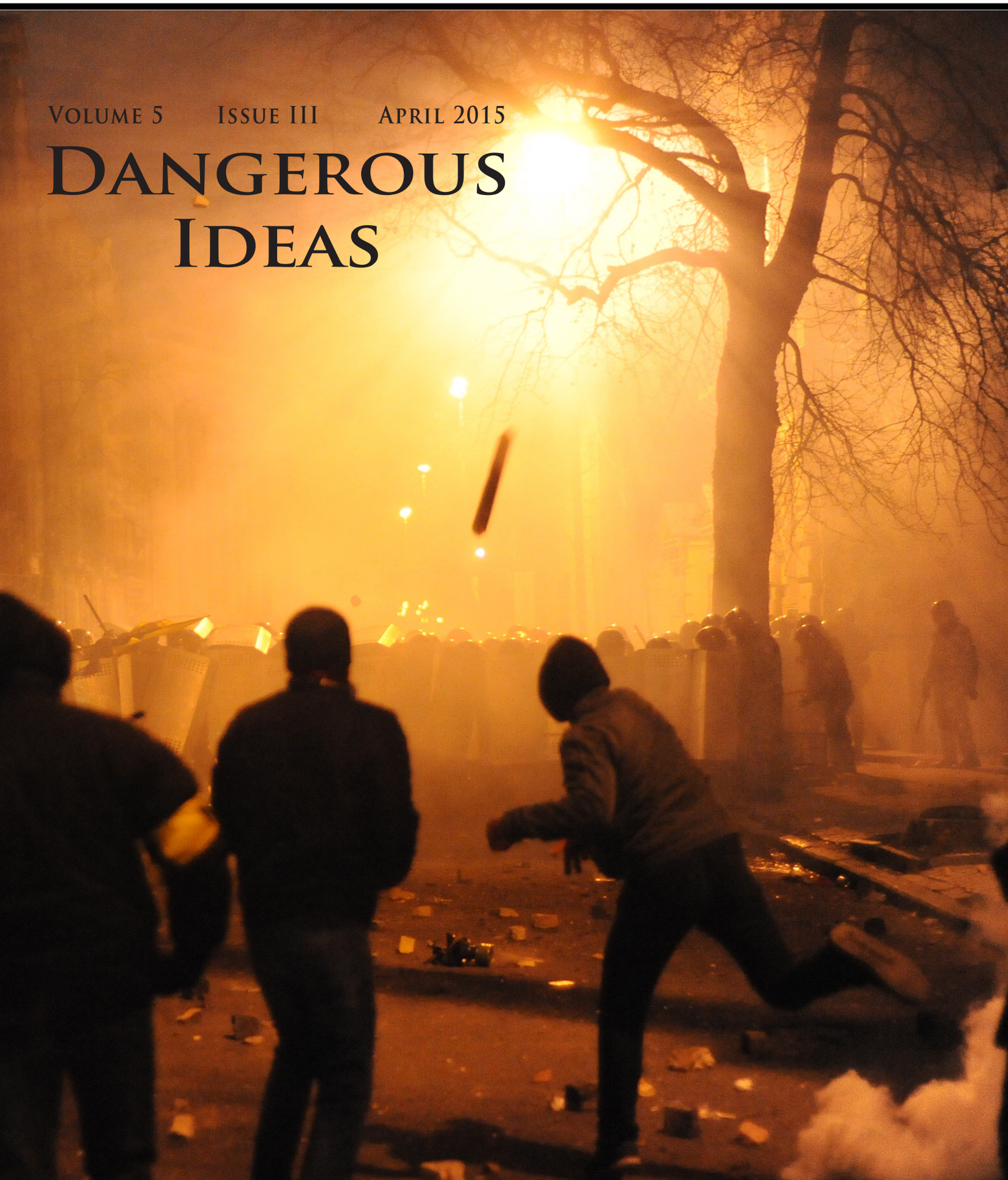
# DANGEROUS IDEAS



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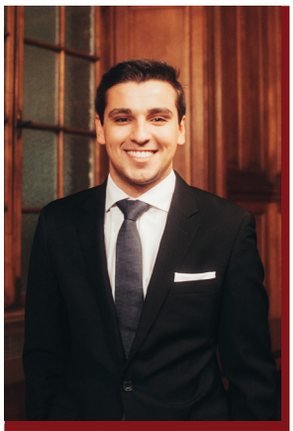

# EDITOR IN CHIEF

Welcome,

It is my pleasure to present to you *Leviathan's* final instalment of the academic session. This issue is about ideas and their ability to inspire fear, reform, and revolution. We discuss censorship, religion, radicalism, the role of the individual, the merits of violence, economic threats, and the subversion of conventional wisdom on democracy, nuclear proliferation, and the environment. In short, we explore the destructive and healing capacity of thought.

But why 'dangerous' ideas? In his memoirs, the writer and comedian Stephen Fry defends the importance of familiarising ourselves with concepts that make us uncomfortable. Discourse around ideas often borrows from notions of health and cleanliness. An attitude might be *unhealthy*, discontent might *breed* like bacteria, and a conviction might *spread* like a virus. An ideologue is considered *pure*, while the most unseemly thoughts are deemed *inflammatory*, like eczema or arthritis. But although we can universally and objectively agree that conditions like 'cholera, typhus, and typhoid are unhealthy, we are unable to come anywhere close to consensus as to the healthiness or otherwise of *ideas*'.

Some of the articles herein advocate heterodox approaches to global and regional crises; others warn us away from the tempting but false promises of simple and potentially toxic solutions. We welcome this diverse number of interpretations and believe that they all deserve to be heard. We are grateful to our new and returning contributors for the hard work and boldness reflected in their writing.

This is the first-ever issue of *Leviathan* to use a colour photograph on its front cover. The image was taken during the late-2013 protests in Kyiv, but might as well be portraying Athens, Cairo, or Ferguson. It depicts a moment of politics at its most primal, the moment when an idea ceases to be ethereal and takes on the form of a Molotov cocktail soaring towards a phalanx of government enforcers. Read in the context of Ukrainian resistance at the time, it tells us that liberalism – to tyrants – is still a dangerous idea in the 21st century.

In light of this, I reject the notion that ideas should be considered secondary to 'objective interests' in our understanding of politics. The recent attack on *Charlie Hebdo* and the culture of radicalisation in Europe attest to the visible capacity of ideas both to provoke ire and to inspire violence. From the Silicon Valley to the streets of Hong Kong, the life of the mind continues to drive the forces of social change. To some, like the extremists of Boko Haram, learning itself is a dangerous idea.

As in previous issues this year, we chose to highlight seven articles as special profile pieces in each region. We found the propositions in these stories to be fascinating, thought-provoking, and worthy of your attention. The conflict in Nigeria was born out of a struggle to end drastic inequality, yet the extremist ideas of northern militants threaten to impoverish the region even further, according to Andrew Barlow. In a rejection of much of Western scholastic arrogance and complacency, Yuechen Wang argues that democracy is neither likely nor desirable without a reconceptualisation of the Confucian social doctrine that underlies the foundations of Chinese society. David Kelly insists that political theory cannot exist separately from human undertaking, particularly the undertaking of individuals who change the course of history. Latin American and Caribbean societies must exorcise the demons of xenophobia in order ensure a progressive future, warns Kanzanira Thorington. Alejandro Salamanca Rodríguez explains why the misrepresentation of dangerous ideas undermines the intellectual integrity of honest debate. Vilde Sofie Rodin investigates ways of reining in and reforming America's drone programme. Finally, Lene Kirstine Korseberg challenges the traditional understanding of the social contract and emphasises the need to come up with alternative theories of authority. We hope these profiles capture a variety of perspectives and present a mosaic of our chosen theme.

*Leviathan* will begin hiring new staff members for the coming academic session in September of 2015. Although the journal is quite young, our alumni can already be found at *The Financial Times*, the European Parliament, the Pentagon, and the City of London, as well as in the halls of the University of Chicago, the Naval Postgraduate School, and King's College London. If you are interested in editing, production, or fundraising for the journal, I encourage you to get in touch. Working at *Leviathan* is an opportunity to promote your credentials, meet new people, and help others.

For five full years, we have served as the leading platform for political writing at the University of Edinburgh. With pride, I can report that the state of the journal is stronger than ever. With sadness, I must announce that this is my final issue as editor in chief. The three years in which I have been involved in producing the journal and leading this excellent team have amounted to the greatest experience of my life, and no other endeavour thus far has made me feel prouder or more fortunate. Although I will miss *Leviathan* and this university, I have every confidence that the incoming editor Jessica Killeen will continue our legacy of student thought and engagement.

As ever, I would like to thank our loyal readers, esteemed contributors, and dedicated members of staff. I would particularly like to express my appreciation for Lene Kirstine Korseberg, Maxwell Greenberg, and Prof. Ailsa Henderson for their crucial and continued role in ensuring the success of this journal. Additionally, *Leviathan* could not exist without the support of the University of Edinburgh PIR Department and the PIR Society. The individuals who constitute this community have made this the best year for us yet. Our new team will doubtlessly carry on this journal's tradition of leadership and innovation. I wish them luck and look forward to seeing what comes next.

Thanks for a great year, and I hope that you enjoy the talent and vision reflected in these pages.

Sincerely,

Marko John Supronyuk

Editor in Chief

# MEET THE STAFF

## Marko John Supronyuk — Editor in Chief

*Marko is a fourth year student of International Relations & Law and scholarship holder at the University of Edinburgh. During his time at university, he has served as convenor of the School of Social and Political Science, constitutional law editor at the* Edinburgh Student Law Review, *president at the European Union Society, vice president at the Politics and International Relations Society, and student ambassador for the University of Edinburgh admissions office. He has interned at the Truman National Security Project in Washington, D.C. and with Governor Patrick Quinn of Illinois. After graduating, Marko plans to move to London to take up a position as finance analyst with Deloitte Consulting.*

## Lene Kirstine Korseberg — Deputy Editor in Chief

*Lene is a fourth year student of Law & International Relations at the University of Edinburgh. Originally from Norway, she also has a Bcs. in Pedagogy from the Norwegian University of Science and Technology. Prior to becoming Deputy Editor in Chief of* Leviathan, *Lene was the Editor-in-Chief of* The Student, *the University of Edinburgh student newspaper. She is now the Deputy Editor for the Scottish Centre for International Law's* Working Paper Series, *a collection of articles produced by academic researchers associated with the Centre. Additionally, Lene works as a Research Assistant for the University of Edinburgh School of Law.*

## Vilde Sofie Rodin — Treasurer

*Vilde is a fourth year student of International Relations at the University of Edinburgh. Particularly interested in humanitarian organisations, she has previously worked for Médecins Sans Frontières in Norway and several other organisations seeking equal rights and opportunities for disadvantaged youth. In addition to her work with* Leviathan, *she has been on the committees of the Politics and International Relations Society and the Middle Eastern Society.*

## Jessica Killeen — Chief of Production

*Jessica is a second year Politics & Sociology student. Having lived in London, Paris, Los Angeles, and Nashville, she was the youngest-ever Editor-in-Chief of her high school newspaper as well as President of the Freshman Mentor Program. She currently works for Edinburgh University Students' Association as a Societies and Volunteering Developmental Assistant and has recently been elected as the Disability and Mental Wellbeing Convenor. Jessica is the next Editor in Chief of* Leviathan *and looks forward to an exciting new year.*

## Juliana Fentress — Fundraising Director and Copy Editor

*Juliana is a third year student of Politics & Economic & Social History at the University of Edinburgh. In addition to her work on* Leviathan, *Juliana is the Secretary of the Scottish Chapter of Democrats Abroad, an elected Academic Campaigns Organiser for the Edinburgh University Students' Association, Sourcing Officer for the Meadows Marathon, and an active member of the Politics and International Relations Society. She previously worked as a campaign fellow for U.S. Senator Cory Booker and for the Super PAC Ready for Hillary. Juliana is the next President of the Politics and International Relations Society.*

## Lynn Marissa Davies — Chief Copy Editor

*Lynn is a fourth year student of English Literature & History. Although Scottish by birth and Eurasian by descent, she spent her formative years as an expatriate in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, and Cairo, Egypt. Having lived within the margins of distinct and unfamiliar cultures, she takes particular interest in hegemonic value systems, the unique social problems they generate, and the role of mass media within their formation. In addition to her work with* Leviathan, *she is involved in various forms of social intervention as a trained mentor, peer-educator, and support worker for LINKnet, Fast Forward, and Waverley Care.*

## Hallam Tuck — Editor for Asia-Pacific

*Hallam is a fourth year History student at the University of Edinburgh, and a proud native of New York City. He has interned with the New York Immigration Coalition and HarperCollins Publishers. He co-founded and hosts The Back Bench, the weekly radio show of the Politics and International Relations Society. Hallam is a proud graduate of the National Outdoor Leadership School, and when he's not working, he can be found hiking, biking, and fishing.*

## Nicholas Pugh — Editor for Africa

*Nick is a second year student of International Relations at the University of Edinburgh. He has grown up on both coasts of the United States, but calls North Carolina, Hawaii, and Germany home. In addition to his work at* Leviathan, *Nick is involved in the Politics and International Relations Society and the Cross Country and Cycling clubs. He is currently working to start the 'Brothers in Arms Initiative,' an intercultural communications program that aims to bring together the children of the men and women who have served together in combat and reconnect veterans to their 'brothers' in Iraq and Afghanistan. Nick is the next Deputy Editor in Chief of* Leviathan.

## Conor Penn — Editor for Europe and Russia

*Conor is a third year English Literature student at the University of Edinburgh. He was born in Hertfordshire and raised in County Down. Prior to joining* Leviathan, *Conor served as Editor-in-Chief of* The Student, *the University of Edinburgh newspaper, and regularly blogs for* The Huffington Post. *He is interested in UK and Irish politics, with a particular focus on Northern Ireland. Having been fortunate enough to travel extensively over Europe, North Africa, and Asia Minor, he is also interested in European and global politics more broadly.*

Photography by Louise Spence
www.louiseanna.co.uk

## Leonie von Hammerstein — Editor for Latin America

*Leonie is a fourth year International Relations student at the University of Edinburgh. Originally from Berlin, she has studied and lived abroad in the U.S., Malawi, and Spain and currently plans to explore Latin America after her graduation. Alongside her work within* Leviathan*, she also co-hosts the weekly music show Fresh Connection with Edinburgh's student radio FreshAir.*

## Rina Moss — Editor for the Middle East and North Africa

*Rina is a first year postgraduate student of International Relations of the Middle East with Arabic at the University of Edinburgh. She completed her undergraduate degree in Philosophy, Politics, and Economics at the University of Pennsylvania. She was born in Japan and raised in Orlando, Florida.*

## Andrew Womer — Editor for North America

*Andrew is a first year Politics and Economics student at the University of Edinburgh. He was born and raised in Washington D.C. and has interned at The Jack Kemp foundation, a D.C.-based political think tank where he specialised in U.S. foreign policy. As well as being an editor for* Leviathan*, Andrew is a member of the University of Edinburgh Tennis Club, the Politics and International Relations Society, and History Society.*

## Yuechen Wang — International Editor

*Yuechen is a third year visiting student from Beijing Foreign Studies University, representing the China Scholarship Council and Chinese Ministry of Education for studies in International Relations at the University of Edinburgh. Coming from the School of English and International Studies at BFSU, Yuechen is on the National Honoured Project of International Politics and Economics. He was the co-convenor of the 2014 BFSU International Debate Championship, an intern for Ipsos Group in China, and is a Chinese-English interpreter certified by China Accreditation Test for Translators and Interpreters and National Accreditation Examinations for Translators and Interpreters.*

## Joakim Bjørnestad — Production Team Member

*Joakim is a fourth year student. From Norway, he has also lived in Australia and has a background as a youth leader in the Norwegian Labour Party. He has rowed with the Edinburgh University Boat Club and has held several positions on the Middle Eastern Society committee. He is a Co-founder and Editor of the Arabic to English translation website Al-Zaqaq Translation.*

## Vanessa Ellmann — Production Team Member

*Vanessa is a second year Politics & German student at the University of Edinburgh. Originally born in Düsseldorf, Germany, she has moved around in both England and Germany before coming to Edinburgh. Apart from working on* Leviathan*, she is a member of the Politics and International Relations Society and the Kickboxing Club. She has also interned at the global software company Brady. In her spare time you will find her travelling, going for runs with her dog, or drinking coffee.*

## Nathalia Rus — Production Team Member

*Nathalia is a first year student of Politics. Born in France, she founded the first Amnesty International High School group in Paris and has taken a gap year in Russia at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations and Spain at the University of Salamanca to learn new languages and to experience different cultures. She is also involved in EUTIC and the Economics Society.*

## Agnes Steil — Production Team Member

*Agnes is a first year International Relations student. Born in Berlin, she also lived in France, Italy, and Belgium and is now excited to call Edinburgh her new home. Next to politics, she loves travelling and thus took a gap year to intern at a European Union liaison office in Brussels and the German Centre for Venetian studies in Venice. Agnes is the next Treasurer of* Leviathan.

## Kanzanira Thorington — Production Team Member

*Kanzanira is a second year Law & International Relations student at the University of Edinburgh. An American of Ugandan, Barbadian, and Panamanian descent, Kanzanira has always had an interest in foreign language and culture. Over the years she has studied Spanish, French, and Chinese. In high school, she served as Co-Chair of the Model United Nations team and News Editor of her school newspaper. Here at University, she is also taking additional Chinese language courses at the Confucius Institute of Scotland.*

## Darya Gnidash — Digital Director

*Darya is a second year International Relations student at the University of Edinburgh. Apart from working for* Leviathan*, she has previously interned at the Institute of World Policy and assisted PEN International. Coming from Ukraine, she has a passion for the politics of Eastern Europe, Sundance movies, and languages. At the moment, she is learning her seventh foreign language and hopes to increase this number in future. Darya is the next Director of Communications of the Politics and International Relations Society.*

## Jonathan Riddick — Copy Editor

*Jonathan is a second year History & Politics student. Aside from editing* Leviathan*, he has worked as a copy editor for Groupon, and interned for the British Labour Party and DeHavilland political consultancy. He has a strong interest in Middle Eastern history and political Islam, as well as the history of the Soviet Union. He is a volunteer for the charity 'Health in Mind'.*

# Africa

REGIONAL EDITOR

*A shrinking development gap between Africa and the rest of the world, coupled with the new capabilities and threats of the 21st century, have made Africa one of the most 'dangerous' regions in the world—both physically and ideologically. These new dangers manifest themselves everywhere from growing Islamic movements that prey on the failure of Western aid, economic hardship, and a lack of education, to new innovations in development and government. The African continent has always been a melting pot of ideas, and since the first explorers made their way into the 'heart of Africa', its people have had the opportunity to adopt and reject new technologies and ideologies as they please.*

*The assimilation of European culture from the north, east, and south, and Asian and Islamic culture from the east has made Africa a laboratory of ideas unlike any other in the world. African history is as influential as it is diverse. Direct parallels can be drawn between the reign of terror in northern Nigeria and the insurgencies of the 18th century in the very same regions, and the Garveyist movements and Mandela's influence can still be felt throughout the southern part of the continent. Africa is both the birthplace of numerous dangerous ideas and a place in which they can be tested and cultivated. In this issue of* Leviathan*, writers examine the cyclical nature of violence in Nigeria's response to the Boko Haram insurgency and the impact of Zimbabwean uranium mines on global politics and security. After centuries of having to do more with less and find a unique place in the world, Africa has built a culture of innovation like nowhere else in the world—and the implications of many African innovations remain to be seen.*

***Nicholas Pugh***

# Conflict in Northern Nigeria

***ANDREW BARLOW** assesses the relationship between Boko Haram's escalating insurgency and Nigeria's vast inequality.*

'And so, to the end of history, murder shall breed murder, always in the name of right and honour and peace, until the gods are tired of blood and create a race that can understand'.[1]

So said George Bernard Shaw's Caesar, when explaining to his lieutenants why he would not avenge the deaths of their compatriots and order retaliation on their Egyptian enemies. Violence, brutality and conflict are inherently cyclical. Boko Haram, and the situation in northern Nigeria today, is paradigmatic of such a cycle of conflict. The extremist Islamic group is a shocking and violent manifestation of the huge economic inequality and systematic social injustice that pervades modern Nigeria, further radicalised by a heavy-handed and often brutal militarised government response.

Nigeria is a nation divided. The predominantly Christian south is significantly more affluent, markedly more developed, and comparatively better governed than the mainly Muslim north. In Nigeria, Africa's largest economy, 72 per cent of northerners live in abject poverty, in contrast to less than 30 per cent of southerners.[2] Perhaps more worryingly, female literacy rates in some parts of the north are at less than 5 per cent—as opposed to more than 90 per cent in some southern areas, such as those surrounding Lagos and Port Harcourt—and fewer than one in ten infants receive any basic vaccinations.[3]

In September 2012, *The Economist* published an editorial on Boko Haram in which it reported that businessmen selling bulletproof doors are among the few that still prosper in the north,[4] a fact that would almost be comical if it did not perfectly encapsulate the poverty, fear, and hopelessness that exists in northern Nigeria and the drastic extent of the socio-economic divide between it and the oil-rich south. These conditions provide the ideal environment for the beginning of a radical new movement that promised equality, justice, and violent retribution.

Boko Haram, which means 'Western education is forbidden' in the local Hausa dialect, was founded by the charismatic cleric Muhammad Yusuf around 2002 in the northeastern state of Borno. The insurgency began as an ultraconservative Islamic movement that opposed the corruption and secularism of the Abuja government and sought to implement Sharia law in northern Nigeria. Support for the movement proliferated due to the vast number of unemployed and impoverished Muslims that felt disenfranchised by a self-serving and detached political elite and disillusioned by the lack of economic opportunity.

The Boko Haram movement was largely nonviolent until July 2009, when a string of altercations between it and the Nigerian security forces ended in the summary execution of Yusuf and the killing of almost one thousand of his followers. Many commentators have singled out this event as the decisive moment in the radicalisation of Boko Haram.[5] Those that survived the government crackdown went underground, and many traveled to train with established terrorist organisations such as al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO) in Mali, and Al-Shabaab in Somalia. A year later, in May 2010, Boko Haram re-emerged under the leadership of Abubakar Sheakau as the ultra-violent Islamist terror group that it remains today. The government's heavy-handed and indiscriminate response had set the cycle of conflict into motion, and Boko Haram had become intent on overthrowing the Abuja government by any means available to them.

In April 2014, Boko Haram sparked international outrage by kidnapping close to 300 schoolgirls from the village of Chibok, in Borno state. This was just one of a number of crimes committed by the group since its re-emergence. According to data collected by the Nigeria Security Tracker (NST), a project of the Council of Foreign Relations' Africa programme, Boko Haram has been directly responsible for 10,759 deaths since Goodluck Jonathan's inauguration as president on May 29th, 2011.[6] Most recently, on January 3rd 2015, the group assaulted the northeastern town of Baga, close to Lake Chad. Reports vary, but some put the death toll at as many as 2000 people—almost all of them civilians.[7] Overshadowed by the horrific terror attacks in Paris on Charlie Hebdo journalists in the same week, the assault on Baga received relatively little media coverage. However, the assault constituted Boko Haram's most deadly crime to date, and signifies the growing strength of the group and its indiscriminate campaign of violence.

President Jonathan has called Boko Haram the latest front in the international war on terror, and has responded with force and force alone. In May 2013, Jonathan declared a state of emergency in the three north-eastern states most heavily affected—Borno, Yobe and Adamawa—and consolidated elements of the Nigerian army, state security service and police into a Joint Task Force (JTF) to combat the insurgency. Yet this military response has not only proved overwhelmingly ineffective—as the incidents in Chibok and Baga demonstrate—but has arguably exacerbated the problem. According to the NST, since President Jonathan's inauguration, the JTF has been directly responsible for 5,083 deaths, and clashes between Boko Haram and the JTF have resulted in 9,306 casualties.[8] Moreover, the JTF has also been repeatedly accused of gross human rights violations. Reports of looting, sexual violence, arbitrary arrests, extrajudicial executions and the indiscriminate killings of civilians are numerous and are often well substantiated.[9] These reports could explain the continued support for Boko Haram among some alienated Muslims in the north as the JTF is perceived as a direct extension of the government.

The indiscriminate violence and human rights violations committed by the JTF, along with the decision of the government to entirely ignore non-military alternatives, has resulted in a counter-intuitive solution. In fact, the current policies of the Nigerian government have actually exacerbated the factors that led to Boko Haram's inception. Food prices are soaring in the north, as farmers are either unable or unwilling to travel to markets to sell crops and produce for fear of terror attacks or an escalation of the conflict;[10] government salaries are paid late, encouraging corruption and collusion with Boko Haram;[11] and hospitals lack both the supplies and the staff willing to put their lives at risk.[12] Despite—or perhaps because of—these conditions, northern politicians rarely risk a visit to their constituencies; and foreign aid agencies are increasingly unwilling to travel to areas that need them most.[13]

Originally a symptom of Nigeria's vast inequality, Boko Haram has been transformed into one of the principle factors perpetuating

the very inequality that gave birth to it.

Despite the vicious cycle of violent conflict between the insurgents and the government, there is still some hope for peace. General elections are scheduled to take place in the coming months and a political win for a northerner could help to facilitate a return to the tacit agreement of alternating power between north and south—an agreement which might benefit the north as a region. However, this alone will not be enough. Effectively combating Boko Haram requires a complete reassessment of the current government's strategy. Unfortunately, and according to a recent statement by the UN Security Council,[14] Boko Haram's brazen strength has reached a stage that necessitates military action. However, any armed response must be pursued in accordance with International Humanitarian Law, especially given that Nigeria is party to the 1949 Geneva Convention and its two Additional Protocols. Among other things, conforming to these agreements would require any official in the government or security forces accused of corruption or human rights abuses to be held accountable and appropriately prosecuted. In doing so the government would demonstrate a willingness to answer to the justifiable anger and resentment of many northern Muslims that feel betrayed by their own government and persecuted by the JTF.

Moreover—and possibly most importantly—any new government must look to temper military action with economic and social incentives aimed at undercutting support for the insurgency. The government must invest in infrastructure in northern Nigeria, divide wealth more equally, provide much needed employment opportunities—especially in education and healthcare—and encourage foreign investment. Speaking at conference at Chatham House last month, the Nigerian Nation Security Advisor Sambo Dasuki publically stated that he wants to negotiate a better economic deal for the north;[15] a step in the right direction. However, promises such as these are too often left unfulfilled. If the new government fails to change soon and actually commit to understanding and addressing the root causes of the Boko Haram insurgency, murder will continue to breed murder, violence will continue to breed violence, and a perpetual cycle of conflict will continue to devastate northern Nigeria.

***Andrew** is a fourth year student of Philosophy.*

# A New Axis of Evil?

***MATTEO CROW** examines the role of Zimbabwe's uranium mines in nuclear proliferation.*

With the threats posed by various regimes and terror groups across the middle east and Africa, no one threat could be more dangerous than a union of the most powerful anti-western states. While the U.S. has tried to use proxy wars to maintain its influence over the key players, 'rogue states' as considered by the West create the greatest threat. No states stand out more than Iran and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), two countries identified in George W. Bush's 'axis of evil', pinpointing the states pursuing nuclear weapons without international support or oversight. However neither of these countries control uranium, a necessary ingredient for nuclear power, and so are forced to find these resources elsewhere. Zimbabwean president Robert Mugabe has filled that void by forging trade agreements opening up Zimbabwe's uranium resources, reported to amount to over 450,000 tons, to foreign powers.[1]

The African continent experienced a number of independence wars following World War II, leaving many of these countries to develop their own political and economic systems after centuries of colonial rule. While Africa is incredibly resource rich, there are limited instances of either African governments or African businesses being able to develop these resources for the benefit of their respective countries. Zimbabwe is no exception to this. It earned its independence from the UK in 1980, and soon after Robert Mugabe was elected president. Zimbabwe contains some of the richest deposits of not only uranium, but gold, diamonds, and platinum, all high value minerals on the international market.[2] The political life of Zimbabwe started tumultuously with the Gukurahundi campaign in 1980. It aimed to hunt down political opposition and resulted in the slaughter of 20,000 civilians.[3] The troops that carried out these attacks were the Fifth Brigade, trained by no other than visiting DPRK troops. The human rights and political liberty in the country has not improved drastically, with Robert Mugabe still in power. Mugabe seeks to establish Zimbabwe as a regional force, but has been unable to either build up military power bases or African alliances due to the heavy restrictions upon his country by the UN. In 2008 South Africa blocked a Chinese shipment of arms meant for Zimbabwe from entering its Durban port, demonstrating the difficulties Zimbabwe faces in trade even with its few allies.[4]

Since its independence in 1980, Zimbabwe has been ruled by a personality cult in the name of Robert Mugabe, which has resulted in the country's ostracisation by both neighbouring states and the greater global community. Like many African countries, Zimbabwe is resource heavy, especially in diamonds and uranium, two of the most demanded resources on the global market. However, the UN and U.S. led sanctions against Zimbabwe have resulted in an economic turmoil and one of the world's lowest development scores.[5] Zimbabwe has been forced to search for trade partners and has subsequently allied itself with two of the world's most prolific rogue states, Iran and the DPRK.

Positive relations with DPRK have been maintained since Mugabe established modern Zimbabwe after winning independence from its colonial past, and the connection was cemented early on with Mugabe traveling to the DPRK to observe the workings of government and society there, as well as the training of Zimbabwe's Fifth Brigade by DPRK forces. This relationship has evolved into a trade partnership with both countries desperate for allies due to the strong UN sanctions. This has resulted in a bilateral 'arms for uranium' agreement, allowing the DPRK access to Zimbabwe's Kanyemba reserves in exchange for weapons of undisclosed type and number.[6] Beyond the DPRK, Mugabe has recently established a trade agreement with Iran, although he denies this to the international community, attributing these beliefs to rumors, country viewed as a comparable nuclear threat to North Korea by the West, giving access to these same uranium deposits. But how have these relationships been formed under such political pressure and drastic geographic distances? The relationship between Iran and Zimbabwe is not as culturally established as that of the DPRK's, and was created from economic as much as political need. Iran has a history of dealing in uranium with African states, with its original stores coming from South Africa in the 1970's.[7] However these deposits are running out, and Iran continues to develop its nuclear capabilities, with its official goal being merely nuclear power. The deal can be succinctly described as an anti-U.S., anti-Western, anti-intervention front. While Iran is considered a regional power and geopolitically important country, Zimbabwe has little geopolitical importance, with the exception of its resources. However all three of these countries associate themselves with the principles of sovereignty and non-interference[8] and have aligned themselves in a 'union of the so called renegade states'.[9]

The idea of both the DPRK and Iran having access to some of the world's largest uranium deposits is an intimidating prospect, and one that the West is trying to address. However, have current methods of sanctions and intimidation been as effective as they are portrayed to be? Lack of available trade partners due to UN sanctions has caused the DPRK, Iran, and Zimbabwe to seek out each other and create these networks. The DPRK is close to creating a ballistic missile with the range to hit several regional capitals, while Iran may already possess these capabilities. Zimbabwe is consciously breaking UN Resolution 1737, which bans the sale of any substances or technologies helping Iran's nuclear program. Through these agreements, Mugabe is seeing the possibilities for geopolitical importance as described by John Robertson, an economist based in Harare, Zimbabwe. 'He can see how Iran and the DPRK are using the threat of developing nuclear power as a bargaining chip with the United States'.[10] Any one of these countries possessing nuclear capabilities is a threatening idea, but the UN has brought this issue upon itself by forcing these states together. Any other options may not have been plausible while these treaties fell into place, but the UN or another third party currently lacks any ability to eliminate these agreements without the use of force.

While the international community has pursued a policy of containment with relation to the DPRK, Iran creates a whole new challenge, as it is both a regional power and the largest Shiite Muslim country in the world. Iran has been negotiating with an international coalition led by the U.S. for several years aiming to limit Iran's nuclear program development in exchange for a softening of

sanctions. However, Israel and the U.S. Congress oppose this idea, enveloping a pursuing near Cold War rhetoric in which Iran cannot be allowed any leeway. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's recent speech to the U.S. Congress spoke harshly of Iran's nuclear programme and foreign policy: 'Iran's founding document pledges death, tyranny, and the pursuit of jihad', and the 'deal will not prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons. It would all but guarantee that Iran gets those weapons.[11] While Zimbabwe has stayed under the radar of most serious Western policy decisions, Iran's nuclear program is one of the U.S. and NATO's primary concerns, and allowing Iran untethered access to Zimbabwe's uranium deposits will only prolong the issue of Iran's nuclear program. Furthermore, Zimbabwe's military or nuclear capabilities could be improved to the point of it becoming a regional, if not global, threat.

The potential for the union of this trio of states is significant, with both positive and negative outcomes, and the UN continues searching for a solution. At 91, Mugabe will most likely retain power for only a short while longer, for better or worse, and his death could easily cause the country to go into an even deeper downward spiral. New governments will have the potential to develop the country, aim at nuclear power, or use their uranium deposits to establish Zimbabwe as a power-state with nuclear deterrence. This case will continue to develop as a security issue, and a projection of soft power may be the only thing containing the situation.

***Matteo** is a second year student of Sustainable Development.*

# Asia-Pacific

REGIONAL EDITOR

*Few places exemplify the power of new, threatening ideas like the Asia-Pacific region. As the continent's political and economic influence has continued to expand, governments have been forced to deal with a whole host of new problems. As a rising regional and global power, China exemplifies this trend. Over the past two years China's economic growth has begun to sputter. A reliance on manufacturing, real estate, and infrastructure spending, once the engine of Chinese prosperity, has become a liability for the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) leadership in Beijing.*

*As the economy falters, populist voices clamouring for democratic reform among the Chinese public get louder and louder. China's massive geography, incredibly diverse population, and strong anti-democratic elite make democratic reform a tricky proposition. Indeed, it is clear that the CCP elite believes that some ideas are dangerous enough to be policed. Minister Yuan Guiren's recent remarks that there was no room for 'western values' in Chinese university textbooks suggest that censorship remains as powerful as ever.*

*China's neighbours face their own fair share of ideological challenges. In Myanmar, a nation struggling to overcome a history of violence, a newly elected government must find new solutions to the growing rift between the nation's Buddhist and Muslim communities. As ethnic tensions are becoming increasingly visible, mass migration between Myanmar, Bangladesh, and India will exacerbate the problems faced by regional governments. As Asia's global economic importance continues to grow, leaders will need to find the right balance between moderate conservatism and ideological iconoclasm to ensure a successful future.*

***Hallam Tuck***

## Democracy, a Dangerous Idea for Confucian Cultures

***YUECHEN WANG** explains why China can survive another Democracy Wave.*

Over the past year, two series of events challenged the authority of Chinese leadership in Beijing. In October 2014, the pro-democracy 'Yellow Umbrella Movement' in Hong Kong caused a major confrontation not only between the local administration and the protesters, but also between the conservatives and the demonstrators.[1] Simultaneously, figures published recently by the World Bank show that China's GDP growth has been slowed down over the past few months.[2] Social unrest and economic slow-down are two of the biggest challenges to the governing legitimacy of China's Communist Party (CCP). The euphoria of a highly efficient capitalist society under the benevolent rule of the CCP state is once again under question. In the near future Chinese leaders will have to confront the possibility of democratising a giant, diverse state that has never experienced democratic government.

Sixty years ago, Professor Samuel Huntington famously asserted that 'the most important political distinction among countries is not their form of government, but their degree of government.'[3] In his work *Political Order in Changing Societies*, Huntington challenged the Marxist notion that the seamless transition from economic advancement to political modernisation is an inevitable historical process.[4] Instead, Huntington argued that political development, regardless of economic changes, takes its own path.[5] The timing for economic development, and the process of democratisation, may either result in mature democracy or chaotic failed states.

However, his ideas were two decades ahead of their time, as the collapse of the Soviet Union marred the legacy of Huntington's work. Francis Fukuyama, his student, published a work entitled *The End of the History?*, asserting the ultimate victory of democratic, peaceful capitalism.[6] As one of the few economies still experiencing vigorous growth after the greatest financial crisis since the Depression, China stood as the robust, non-democratic power challenging this school of thought. However, it seemed inevitable that once China's fast growth slowed down, the CCP's legitimacy would have to give way to democratic movements.

Before China's economic slowdown started in 2013, Huntington's 'Praetorian' society re-emerged in the Middle East and North Africa during the Arab Spring. The praetorian society describes the state of a nation shortly after a democratic overthrow of the authoritarian regime.[7] Military coup d'états, frequent changes of leadership, and mass protests overriding the rule of law are what this 'fourth wave' of democracy entailed.[8] Yet, even though China's economy slowed, and there was some dissent, it did not result in a serious challenge to CCP leadership. Fukuyama's recent work has attempted to account for this, assuming that the strong state institutions China enjoys today prevented it from being forced to democratise.[9] Although Fukuyama is correct in saying that democracy can be dangerous in China, the country still possesses all of the elements necessary for mass democratisation. The reason why democracy is dangerous in China is not a lack of state maturity, but a series of structures based on different forms of economic development, social mobility, and political legitimacy.

Yet, Chinese leadership still sees western liberal democracy as a dangerous threat to the unique culture of Confucianism. Fukuyama asserted that China was incompatible with liberal democracy, since it overtly has not been contained by the rule of law or popular accountability.[10] In western democracies, strong states secured economic prosperity, the rule of law endowed people with equal mobility, and democratic accountability underwrote political legitimacy. The absence of these factors has made democracy in China a dangerous proposition.

Although it might be right that China is poorly suited to mass democratisation, this is not due to the reasons cited by Fukuyama. Rather, it will be shown that democracy in China is untenable because it would challenge and overlap with the established political structures of the current Confucianist society.

### State Power and Economic Development

State power and economic development is the first pair of criteria to weigh the extent of government. State power here can be defined as the strength and resilience of the state bureaucracy. China's massive civil service is a complex system that provides efficient operation and, up until now, has ensured that the national economy continues to grow.[11] Despite the current slowdown, the ability of China's civil service to act as a stable state institution is beyond doubt. Large government and strong intervention provides the necessary structure for public stability in China.

Although there is good reason to question a regime of economic development promoted by an overly strong state, the ravages of the free market are not well suited to a country that needs to

accommodate 1.4 billion people distributed across a vast geographic area with great internal disparities.[12] The Beijing leadership's role is to adequately and efficiently redistribute resources to maintain reasonably equitable levels of prosperity. Clearly, China is a well-developed state with adequate economic growth. Instead of being institutionally rigid, China's giant state is remarkably flexible.

### Confucianism Rule of Law and Social Mobility/Hierarchy

One of the major reasons Fukuyama concludes that China is poorly suited to democracy is because it lacks a strong legal tradition.[13] Yet, Fukuyama fundamentally misunderstands China's Confucianist tradition. For over 2,000 years, China has had a unique system of the rule of law based on family, ancestry, and hierarchy. Within Chinese society, family hierarchies, ancestral honour, and kinship ties have constrained the behaviour of all, including the emperor himself.[14] Unlike Western monarchs that asserted themselves as the incarnations of God, in imperial China all citizens were the children of God, while the emperor was the direct heir of the deity.[15] The emperor, by this definition, is not benevolent. He can be constrained by family doctrines, elderly relatives, or the simple logic that killing officials who advise against them is a sign of disloyalty to ancestors.

Instead of having an equal rule of law to all, China has evolved an obedient hierarchy much more stable than the one in Medieval Europe. Low-levels rulers were required by the 'law' to be obedient,[16] and mobility was thus controlled to achieve order. Individual peasants or merchants have to be loyal to their family rule and the rule set by the emperors, and allegiance to the capital was strongly enforced in the provinces. China's current governance is heavily influenced by this pattern of social relations. The hierarchy of the civil service, the party machine, and the strength of kinship and familial ties are all evidence that China today is far less immature than Fukuyama accounts for.

### Meritocracy, Accountability, and Legitimacy of Non-Democracy

The third argument for China being under-qualified for democracy is that China does not have competitive elections to give legitimacy to CCP rule. This argument, however, has recently been challenged by Eric Lee.[17] Lee argues that even though China does not have a competitive election, in fact, it does not need to. The ultimate goal for democracy is to gain legitimacy for those that rule. However, such legitimacy has long been accepted and internalised by the model of meritocratic selection in both the party and the civil service.[18] In spite of certain cases of patronage, the current mechanisms elect leaders through extremely competitive rules based on performance and talent.[19] President Xi Jinping currently rules over a nation of 150 million people with a combined GDP of 1.5 trillion dollars.[20] With or without democratic structures, the existing meritocratic system not only functions comparatively well, but it means that the CCP enjoys reasonable political legitimacy.

### Why Democracy is A Dangerous Idea in China

The success of democracies based upon the rule of law has created a sense of arrogance within Western scholarship, particularly when analysing China. Critics like Fukuyama suggest that the success or failure of China's future depends on whether the nation makes the transition to democracy. This transition, however, would be both unnecessary and unpleasant. A democracy would mean a shattering change to the state system, disrupting the state-owned enterprises that drive the economy, the macroeconomic policies that have benefited billions of people, and the stability and social order that has survived over thousands of years. Furthermore, democratisation would not be possible without reconceptualising Confucian social doctrine. Essentially, a democratic government would not be able to achieve the success and popular base like the one China already has. Democracy is a dangerous idea in China, but not because China lacks the traditions of a mature state. Rather, democracy is a threatening proposition because China already has powerful state structures that do the job. Instead of undermining China's current prosperity, it is worth questioning the linear fantasies of social development proposed by scholars like Fukuyama.

***Yuechen*** *is* Leviathan's *International Editor.*

# Exporting the Firewall

***BARBARA WOJAZER*** *describes how the Chinese model of censorship appeals to developing countries around the world.*

Although Article 35 of the Constitution grants citizens in the People's Republic of China (PRC) 'freedom of speech, publication, assembly, association, procession and demonstration', a complex system of explicit and implicit regulation controls the spread of news, ideas, and artistic creation in the country.[1] Very early on, Chinese leaders understood the importance of censorship in maintaining their authority, as shown by the burning of Confucian texts in 213 B.C.[2] Since its creation, the government of the PRC has established an efficient system of control that enables it to maintain political and social stability.[3] This article will focus on the restrictions imposed on means of expression such as art, the press, and restriction of expression on the internet, and the possibility of the expansion of this model to other countries.

'The arts must serve the people and serve socialism', claimed Xi Jinping, the current Chinese President.[4] In this perspective, the possibilities for creation are severely restricted. The restrictions, although intertwined, are commonly divided into three categories: political, moral, and aesthetical. There are also moral codes that any artist must follow, forbidding nudity, acts of sex, and so on.[5] Until recently, styles of art were also seen as an ideological issue. For example, in the 1970s, impressionist painters were considered as rebels not because of what they presented in their paintings, but because they were apparently challenging a regime that had decided that it did not accept impressionism.[6]

Although Chinese artists have developed numerous methods to contest and defy censorship, limits on artists' creation and the rejection of western influences are still standard. Xie Fei, an award-winning Chinese director, hence accused the system of 'killing' art.[7] Whereas laws are becoming more lax towards historical figures like Mao Zedong, any art production involving the massacre in Tiananmen Square is still strictly forbidden.[8] To a large degree, regulations have become stricter than before: the current Premier, Li Keqiang, is said to have been an eager student of English, helping to translate foreign texts.[9] Yet, this January, the leadership issued a new set of regulations aiming to stop the dissemination of 'Western values' by severely restricting the use of foreign textbooks.[10]

But this enforcement contains a few fundamental contradictions. Firstly, it is enormously difficult to teach an ideology with Western origins without using Western structures. It is no mystery that Marxism was founded by a German philosopher, and spread in Europe before coming to China. The Chinese constitution stipulates that Marxism must be taught through the principles of internationalism, communism, and other trends of thought, many of which were born in the West.[11] Foreign textbooks are already in use in practically every field. In law, according to Professor He Weifang, the 'mainstream of thinking emerges from Western theories and traditions.'[12] Given this dynamic, it remains unclear how the government intends to implement the recent reforms.

In authoritarian regimes the media serves both as a conventional means of expressing rebellious ideas and as a mouthpiece for Party propaganda. By claiming that the media could expose state secrets, the Party is able to keep tight reigns on the information flow, with the help of the recently revised *Law on Guarding State Secrets.*[13] The essentially blurry definition of state secrets provides the Party with legal justification for the practical exigencies of authoritarian rule. The Propaganda department has developed a system controlling the establishment of news outlets based mainly on a system of permit-granting, and prior and post publication review.[14] The rise of privately funded media outlets is not synonymous with the democratisation of the press. All in all, China is ranked 173th out of 179 countries in the World Press Freedom Index of 2013.[15]

Many have suggested that the internet could be the channel for an emancipation of the press, and facilitate access to information for the Chinese public; for example, Ai Weiwei believes that 'China's censorship can never defeat the internet.'[16] There have been major changes, notably through microblogs, that is, platforms enabling users to publish short messages. These sites evolve quickly, adding a new dimension to the cat-and-mouse game of internet expression and censorship.[17] Sina Weibo, a site resembling Twitter, has become a popular source of political messages. It has been a major target for authoritarian censorship – a micro blogger can now be jailed up to three years if the 'false information' he spreads is viewed more then 5,000 times.[18] Thus, other platforms emerged, such as WeChat, comparable to WhatsApp, that fester more quietly, but also more durably, because there is no public platform to contradict them.[19] But activists are aware that the sites they use are not private or secure, and that the Internet companies they belong to are closely linked to the Chinese government.

To regulate information coming from inside the country, the Party relies upon a legal foundation that can be interpreted according to the political context. Two sets of regulations form the backbone of the control system: the Measures on

the Administration of Internet Information Services ('Measures'), and the Provisions on the Administration of Internet News and Information Services ('Provisions'), jointly promulgated on September 25 2000.[20] The 'Measures' set up a legal frame for websites to operate, including approvals and reviews from different parts of the Party administration, and the prohibition of certain kinds of 'harmful information'.[21] The 'Provisions' focus on News websites, in accordance with the previous regulations on the establishment of news outlets.[22] As this legal framework expands, internet censorship becomes a more efficient and sophisticated system.

This system is combined with the Great Firewall, aiming to block any subversive foreign content. Created by Fang Binxing, who since then became 'one of the most important figures in the history of the Chinese internet, and perhaps its most reviled', the Great Firewall is a computer firewall filtering websites through keyword recognitions and other more complex parameters that are kept a state secret.[23] Consequently, when Chinese individuals want to access Facebook, Twitter, and thousands of other websites or send controversial messages, they are easily spotted. The heavy censorship system imposed on the Chinese population narrows freedom of speech under the everlasting pretext of maintaining political stability and promoting economic development.

This is important because the Chinese model of state capitalism, prioritising economic rights over political ones, is increasingly appealing to other countries in a similar position. First of all, the argument that economic development is more important than equal rights resonates well in several emerging countries. Dambisa Moyo, in a TED Talk given in June 2013, argued that 'on balance, [the populations] worry more about where their living standard improvements are going to come from, and how it is their governments can deliver for them, than whether or not the government was elected by democracy.'[24] As for living standard improvement, the Chinese economic performance over the last 30 years speaks for itself; with an impressive economic growth of around 10 per cent per year, the country was able to move many people out of poverty, improve its income inequality, and build an incredible infrastructure rollout.[25]

All in all, democracy is no longer seen as a prerequisite for economic growth. Consequently, the Chinese model has become ever more appealing in developing countries. This would mean that, in the name of economic development, governments would clamp down harder on public expression. If Western countries do not respond with new foreign policies showing how their political and economic systems are desirable, we could see the emergence of many more developed authoritarian regimes like China, suppressing fundamental rights and the freedom of speech.

***Barbara** is a first year student of Politics & Russian.*

# Hear No Thein, Sein No Evil

***SOLEIL WESTENDORF** evaluates the efforts to overcome ethnic and religious tensions in Myanmar.*

Since the 1940s, Bangladesh and Myanmar have been embroiled in an ongoing humanitarian crisis.[1] The origins of the conflict date back to British rule in Burma, when a large number of Muslims were transported from Bangladesh into a predominately Buddhist state in West-Myanmar, or modern-day Rhakine.[2] Today these Muslims reside in Rhakine and call themselves Rohingya.[3] Subject to oppression and systematic human rights abuses, for decades they have been forced to lead separate existences from the Buddhist population who denigrate them.[4] At the crux of the issue lie nationalist concerns, specifically a fear that Burmese culture and Buddhism is under threat from Islam.[5] As Myanmar refuses to recognise the identity of the Rohingya people, instead derogatorily referring to them as 'Bengali', the future stability of the country is at stake.[6]

Over the years the ethnic and religious dichotomy between the two groups has widened. Tensions fuel hate crimes, ignite clashes and riots, and lead to sporadic outbreaks of violence. The first massacre occurred in 1942, then 1977, 1991, and 2012.[7] Since the conflict began in the early 1940s, hundreds of thousands have been internally displaced, forced to leave their homes, and flee the country to neighbouring states such as Bangladesh in search of safety and security.[8] Though the United Nations has condemned the 2012 massacre and called for an investigation into reports of crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing the international community has stayed alarmingly silent on the issue.[9] Whilst internally Myanmar is struggling to control the situation, Bangladesh has borne the brunt of the conflict. Both countries are attempting to tackle the problem; however the nature and implications of proposed solutions reveal bad intentions and uncertain futures for the stateless Rohingya.

Following the violence, in 2013 the Rhakine Investigative Commission proposed the Rhakine Action Plan draft, a nation-wide policy to address the conflict, overcome discrimination, and integrate the Rohingya within the population.[10] Theoretically, instituting such a plan would consolidate the population and accelerate Myanmar's democratic transition. In reality, however, it has only exposed President Thein Sien's intentions to expel the Rohingya from Myanmar, a plan that will only help legitimise the anti-Rohingyan rhetoric.[11] The plan would further segregate the Buddhist-Muslim populations by sending those who classify as 'Bengali' to what would effectively be closed internment camps within Myanmar.[12] This would create greater anti-government factions, forcing the Rohingya to face even further hostility and identity challenges. The implementation of the plan would stall political development and sink national policy reforms that could grant the ethnic minority equal voting and citizenship rights in the new democracy.[13]

Two major obstacles stand in the way of the Action Plan. First of all, the 969 militant group has recently heightened ethnic tensions. It is led by Wirathu, the self-proclaimed 'Burmese Bin Laden', a nationalist Buddhist monk who was jailed in 2003 for allegedly inciting racial attacks and spreading anti-Muslim vitriol.[14] Wirathu alleges that Myanmar's Muslim minority is degrading the traditional Buddhist society by threatening Burmese culture and the stability of the country.[15] To gain support, the movement has relied on social media, YouTube, and mass temple gatherings rather than traditional political channels.[16] If the movement continues to grow, there is a substantial risk that the 969 will pressurise the government to adopt sinister amendments to the Rhakine Action Plan. An even greater challenge facing the Action Plan is the 1982 Citizenship Law.[17] To become naturalised citizens, the law states that foreigners must provide 'conclusive evidence' that they resided in the country before 1948.[18] This clause makes it extremely difficult for the Rohingya to satisfy Burmese officials, even those with a long history in Myanmar. Out of the 135 recognised groups in Myanmar, it prohibits the Rohingya from obtaining full citizenship rights and 'violates international human right obligations.'[19]

Internationally, Myanmar is developing closer relations with the U.S. and Europe and this must remain a priority for the country if it is to receive the international support necessary to overcome the internal crisis.[20] More international support from liberal democratic countries would help guide Myanmar through the complex process of reforming their human rights regime. Since the 'military-backed' Union Solidarity and Development party rose to power, the country has seemingly begun to open up.[21] Signs of this include attracting more foreign investment and allowing opposition parties like the National Democratic Force and Aung San Suu Kyi's National League For Democracy to compete in elections.[22] However, a genuine transition from an autocratic to a democratic state should entail decentralising political power, changing the 'undemocratic constitution', fighting against the corruption within its institutions and parliament, and combatting discrimination against the Rohingya.[23]

Since the first outbreak of violence in 1977, around 230,000 refugees have fled across the 271-kilometre Bangladesh-Myanmar border.[24] In search of security, employment, and their fundamental rights Rohingya who have successfully crossed the border into Bangladesh have taken up shelter in UNHCR camps, many in some of Bangladesh's poorest communities.[25] Here, 30,000 refugees are registered and receive UN aid. However, another 200,000 Rohingya remains undocumented and have set up unofficial camps.[26] Bangladesh neither has the capacity nor the finances to sustain the fleeing population.

The Bangladeshi government, however, has been unwilling to allow the international community to help alleviate the financial burden caused by migration. In 2011 the government refused a $33 million UN aid package[27] and placed a ban on NGOs intending to help the country provide relief for both the registered and unregistered displaced Rohingya asylum seekers.[28] The aid was supposed to ameliorate health conditions and strengthen employment, education, and livelihood prospects of the Rohingya.[29] The Bangladesh government claimed that this would only incentivise more people to enter illegally, but the decision was clearly motivated by nationalist sentiments.[30] The Bangladeshi government has also refused migrants permission to take up employment and marry into the Bengali community.[31] The ban on foreign aid and NGOs suggest that it will be very difficult for the international community to affect the situation.

Myanmar is undergoing a process of democratisation that will hopefully bring about a wave of economic growth able to ameliorate living conditions for the large portion of the population living below the national poverty line.[32] As Myanmar's economy and foreign investment sector grows, establishing a long-term solution

is critical for democratic stability. Today, the question remains: with different national policies, will the Bangladeshi and Burmese governments be able to establish the cooperative mechanisms necessary for the implementation of effective transnational policies? The current draft of the Rakhine Action Plan is a setback that will stagnate democratisation within Myanmar. However, Bangladesh's national strategy seems to foreshadow a change that will bring improved Rohingya development policies to the foreground.

It is not yet clear whether the Rohingya will be granted the fundamental rights they need to play a role in the future of the new Myanmar. It seems likely that partisan interests will continue to lead the country down a path for the worse. Reconciliation is key, but achieving peace between the nationalist Buddhists and the Rohingya is a highly ambitious goal. So far government strategies have been marginally counterproductive, but only time will tell whether President Thein Sein will rescue the Rohingya from their futile existence and restore security within the Rhakine state and across Myanmar's borders.

***Soleil** is a second year student of International Relations & Law.*

# Europe & Russia

*As the year of 2014 came to a close, the future of Europe was less clear than it had been for over a decade. Now, four months in, little progress has been made to secure the stability and peace the continent so desperately needs. With the war in Ukraine raging on, and the foundations of the EU still placed on shaky grounds, it is hard not to wonder what the outcome of the various conflicts, both military, social, and economic, might be. The preservation of the status quo, which has been pretty much uncontested since the end of the Soviet era, is now being challenged on various fronts by a variety of dangerous ideas; both ideas that have the potential to lead to innovation and progress, but also ideas that, if not addressed properly, have the potential to leave parts of the continent in ruin and despair.*

*In light of this, it is perhaps not surprising that many of the articles featured in this issue of* Leviathan *revolves around exactly these issues: the rise of right-wing populism, the conflict in Ukraine, and the tension present amongst the members of the EU. They describe a reality filled with uncertainty, but also a sense of momentum or hope. Europe is currently at a critical junction; if the right actions are taken, it might not be too late to work towards unity and solidarity. However, it is hard to deny that things are looking dangerously bleak in the European neighbourhood and, unless action is taken to address such issues, it will continue to do so for a while still.*

***Conor Penn***

REGIONAL EDITOR

# The Continued Relevance of Thomas Carlyle's 'Great Man' Theory of History

***DAVID KELLY** argues that the idea of individuals changing history is dangerous but undeniable.*

Hiding 28 feet below ground, with thousands of Soviet troops ruthlessly laying siege to the city above, Adolf Hitler found solace in the most unlikely of places. With an Allied victory approaching, he paced the cold, stale corridors of his sprawling bunker built deep in Berlin's soil. At that point, history's most notorious villain clutched the work of a man who, a century-and-a-half earlier had been born in the obscure Scottish town of Ecclefechan and would later graduate from the University of Edinburgh.

Thomas Carlyle's biography of the Prussian King Frederick the Great was the perfect tonic for Hitler's battered, fragile ego.[1] Nazi propaganda proclaimed Hitler as the rightful heir to Frederick's military and political throne, and Frederick's authoritarian tendencies were seen as a legitimation of Hitler's megalomaniacal dictatorship. Frederick embodied the strong leadership Carlyle admired and with which Hitler was infatuated.[2] Against seemingly implacable odds, Frederick had built an all-conquering empire. One man against the world – and the mere man had won.

Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's chief propagandist, believed that his boss was a 'divine hero' sent to save Germany in her time of greatest need. Not long before his hero committed suicide, Goebbels is said to have read to Hitler a passage from Carlyle's biography which left the Fuhrer with 'tears in his eyes'.[3] And thus, a stonemason's son from 19th century rural Dumfriesshire has been branded by many critics as one of Nazism's intellectual forebears and, as a consequence, blamed by many historians for the worst horrors of 20th century.[4] Because of their now deeply troubling ideological connotations, Carlyle's ideas, which were once widely seen as radical and shrewd, have understandably been allowed to fade from the collective memory. And our understanding of history and of politics has suffered as a result.

His most famous book was, in fact, an even more ambitious work than the aforementioned biography. It was a historical tour de force sweeping from Jesus, Luther, and Muhammad to Cromwell, Napoleon, and Shakespeare, explaining and connecting their places in the twists and turns of human history. What started off as a collection of lectures eventually became *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History*, published in 1841.[5]

Carlyle's fundamental premise, the soundbite of his magnum opus, was that the 'history of the world is but the biography of great men.'[6] He argued that the tragedies and triumphs, accomplishments and mistakes, that we come to call history can be largely explained as the result of the impact of 'great men;' so-called heroes who, because of their particular wisdom, skill or charisma, possessed such power as to be able to change the course of history.[7]

Of course, the flaws in Carlyle's theory are patently obvious and he was not in any way a progressive thinker. Despite his interesting and, for its time, perhaps enlightened inclusion of the Prophet Muhammad of Islam, his theory explicitly and totally excluded women and black people. Today, Carlyle would rightly be condemned as a sexist, a racist, and a chauvinist.

Nevertheless, if we extract Carlyle's basic argument from its historical baggage – both general to Carlyle and particular to Hitler – it is clear that his theory presents us with a compelling interpretation of human history. The simple fact that it has been distorted and abused by evil individuals for evil purposes does not mean we should wholly discard it. In the wrong hands it is dangerous; in the face of sober analysis it is useful.

Great men and women, of all colours and creeds, for good and ill, can and do change history. The names of those individuals whose character, personality, ideas, beliefs, actions, decisions, and foibles have fundamentally altered or shaped the nature of world events are intuitive testament to Carlyle's hypothesis: Caesar, Cromwell, Napoleon, Bolivar, Garibaldi, Washington, Lenin, Stalin, Mao, Hitler, Churchill, Gandhi, Mandela. Would France have conquered so much territory without the leadership of Napoleon? Would the Russian and Chinese revolutions ever have occurred without the agitation and oratory of Lenin and Mao? Would Britain have held out against Nazism without the tenacity and inspirational rhetoric of Churchill? Even if the answers to these questions are somehow 'yes', events would still have transpired in a very different way without their respective interventions.

There are few, if any, great events in the history of the world that can be understood without understanding the great personalities involved, without realising that every society and state possesses powerful decision-makers and that these decision-makers are real, idiosyncratic people, not faceless automatons.

For example, the Second World War simply cannot be understood without reference to the actions and aims of its leading protagonists and antagonists: Stalin, Churchill, Hitler, Roosevelt, Mussolini, and De Gaulle. Moreover, the First World War was trigged by a single, deadly shot fired by an unremarkable assassin, Serbian nationalist Gavrilo Princip, who, in murdering Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, inadvertently changed the course of world history.[8] Indeed, assassins prove that men and women need not be powerful to change history, only armed; Brutus on Caesar, Booth on Lincoln, Godse on Gandhi, Ray on King, and Oswald on Kennedy are good examples of just this.

There are plenty of fierce critics of Carlyle's 'Great Man' Theory. His contemporary, Herbert Spencer, formulated a response which has become the standard riposte of those seeking to repudiate Carlyle's claims. When scholars of history and politics engage in debates over the precise causes of changes and continuities they are basically re-enacting a quarrel Carlyle and Spencer first started about agency versus structure all that time ago. Of so-called great men, Spencer wrote: 'Before he can remake his society, his society must make him'.[9] Others have variously dismissed it as, among other things, crude, anti-democratic, infantilising, naïve, and deferential.

There is, to be sure, some merit in these criticisms. However, none of them are wholly sustainable. To deny the influence of great men and women on politics is to effectively deny the existence of human agency. Carlyle's theory simply extends the idea that all individuals have some degree of agency, some ability (however limited) to affect, impact, and shape the world of objects, ideas, and individuals which surrounds them. But, by virtue of their strategic location and their particular skills, leaders make choices with much greater consequences than those of the average citizen. These are choices that may determine the destiny of millions.

Besides its somewhat undeserved negative historical connotations, Carlyle's theory has also fallen out of intellectual fashion because of the growing, debilitating cynicism which has pervaded the Western body politic probably since the era of Watergate.[10] Citizens want to believe in their leaders, they want to believe that they can change the world for the better, but they see precious little evidence of this. After the recent rise and fall of another generation of ephemeral messiahs – Clegg, Erdogan, Hollande, Karzai, Medvedev, Obama – this is perhaps unsurprising.

Ironically, this fatalistic pessimism is even more dangerous for democratic politics than Carlyle's theory of history. Of course, there is the danger that Carlyle's ideas are interpreted as justification for despotism and tyranny. However, given his inclusion of poetic and literary figures like Burns, Dante, and Shakespeare and prophets of peace like Jesus and Muhammad, it seems like this was not the point he was trying to make – or, at the very least, not the only one.

The acclaimed American journalist Walter Lippmann once wrote that political science's 'deepest error' was its tendency 'to talk about politics without reference to human beings'.[11] Whereas Marxism, Spencer, and others would have us talk about politics as though only impersonal, imperceptible forces mattered, Carlyle reminds us that there is no human history without, you guessed it, humans.

We are not mere slaves to structure. We are, as Carlyle asserted, masters of our own fate. It is a dangerous idea – one which has sadly inspired some of history's most evil megalomaniacs – but we cannot understand, nor change, our world without it.

***David** is a third year student of Politics.*

# Is Ceasefire Enough?

***CHRIS BELOUS** discusses the possible alternative solutions to the fighting in Ukraine.*

Close to 6,000 dead, more than one million people registered as internally displaced, and a continent on edge.[1] When protests broke out in Kiev's Maidan Nezalezhnosti (Independence Square) and grasped the attention of the global community in late 2013, few could have imagined the long-lasting and severe effects it would have on the region. Now, more than a year after the protests started - with Russia's subsequent annexation of Crimea in April 2014, the Ukrainian Hryvnia recently hitting a new low, and the ongoing conflict in the eastern part of the country - it is clear that the situation in Ukraine needs to be tackled with new ideas.[2]

Although ceasefire is the most popular suggestion to halting the crisis, as well as the most sought after thus far, history does not entirely lend itself to this option. On September 5 2014 a ceasefire was agreed upon by both sides. And while the 'number of casualties fell sharply in the days immediately after the ceasefire… within weeks the fighting had intensified again'. In fact, since the September ceasefire the death toll of the conflict has more than doubled.[3][4] And as of March 2015, Ukraine is faced with a similar situation. Following heavy fighting, on February 12 a ceasefire was agreed upon by the Ukrainian government and the rebels.[5] Some important strides have been made in the pursuit of peace but, already, accusations have been made by the Ukrainian government that the rebels are in breach of the agreement. They have also voiced distrust about the longevity of the ceasefire, calling into question if this ceasefire will mean much more than the last.[6][7] In light of this, it is perhaps useful to consider whether other ideas, outside of the realm of vanilla diplomacy, can better solve the conflict in Ukraine.

Part of figuring out the best solution to the debacle is to first recognise who or what the foremost enemy of peace is. I think it would take no stretch of imagination to place the weight of this label on the Kremlin. Though Russian officials have consistently denied involvement in the conflict, the Ukrainian military, the Associated Press, the OSCE, and other bodies have reported movement of military vehicles, equipment, and troops from Russia into the Donbas region throughout the scope of the fighting.[8] While there is a good deal of pro-Russian sentiment in the Eastern region of Ukraine, without the military and financial assistance of the Russian government the Ukrainian separatists would have no sustained means to combat the Ukrainian government.[9] The West has recognised this and has put economic sanctions on Russia which has had an adverse impact on the Russian economy; however, the reliance of Europe on Russian oil has made further sanctions immensely improbable.[10] By some means, in the coming days and months, the Russian leadership needs to be stopped.

To stop President Putin, it is first necessary to have an understanding of what Russian interests are in Eastern Ukraine. While it could be argued that further Ukrainian economic reliance on Russia is a major interest of the Kremlin, the Russian economy has, as a whole, been adversely affected by the crisis. Due to the sanctions by the West as well as the drop in oil prices and the cost of the annexation of Crimea, the 'ruble has collapsed, losing 40 [per cent] against the dollar in just six months. GDP is expected to shrink by 5 [per cent] this year, inflation is soaring, and living standards are falling'.[11] Despite this, Putin has been unwavering in his reluctance to meet the demands of the West, which would ostensibly benefit Russia economically. Hence, in the eyes of the Kremlin it could be said that this is very much a struggle for dominance in the region, especially to combat an EU that has been trying to expand its reach by making its neighbour Ukraine a member.

As for what Russia might decide to do next, one can only speculate. In order to expand its dominance in the region, the Kremlin might establish other independent pro-Russian republics in Luhansk and Donetsk like it has done in Crimea. While this would certainly be a potent imposition of Russian authority, the cost of maintaining the 'Republic of Crimea' has already exceeded $4.5 billion and is expected to cut $8.5 billion out of the already tight Kremlin budget.[12] To fashion another Crimea would truly be devastating to the Russian economy, perhaps more than Putin's popularity could withstand. Furthermore, one might expect in the future an expansion of Russian influence without overt territorial expansion. In essence Russia could establish a sort of 'protectorate' in Ukraine, of which a Ukrainian government would have the ability to shape domestic politics, but would be answerable to the Kremlin.[13] And if the rebel-controlled region is still a part of Ukraine, Ukraine must pay for rebuilding it, and by proxy so must the West. As such, Russia gets to secure political influence without having to fund it.

All of these possibilities do not make it much clearer as to what can be done to stop the fighting beyond a shaky ceasefire. What is clear is that Ukraine cannot combat the current threat without major assistance. One could argue that arming the Ukrainian government would mean that Russia would have to 'back down.'[14] Yet to arm Ukraine could also lead to the increased possibility of a full proxy war fought between the West and Russia. This is both a dangerous idea and a counter-productive one in the long term as it will continue to fuel anti-West Russian propaganda and nationalist sentiments, prolong the tensions between Russia and the West, as well as further encourage the use of violence. Because there is no guarantee that Russia will yield if the West supports the Ukrainian government militarily, the West risks making a greater mistake than the one which full abstinence would entail. Arming Ukraine, if it is to be done at all, must then be carried out carefully; Russia's potential response, covert or otherwise, is too unpredictable to be sure that aggressive measures are the answer to the problem.

The dangerous idea of improving Ukraine's military provisions is not the best. Ceasefire is better in terms of a direct call for peace, though it is naïve to think that this alone will work considering it has failed in the past. At present, it is impossible to know what might end fighting in Eastern Ukraine—neither arms nor ceasefire can promise it. With the current leadership, all that we can know for sure is that the path to peace will not be easy.

***Chris** is a second year student of German & Politics and Comment Editor at* The Student.

# An Island Adrift?

***ANTHONY SALAMONE** analyses Britain's place in Europe and the consequences of leaving the EU.*

Britain has never had an easy relationship with the European Union. Throughout the history of its membership, its dealings with the EU institutions and other Member States have been at times fractious and strained. However, the UK-EU dynamic is much more complicated than a simple antagonistic struggle between London and the other European capitals. Although over the years the UK has been at odds with its European partners, over that same time Britain has also been leading in Europe – from championing the completion of the single market to underpinning the successful enlargement of the EU. More indirectly, the UK has had great success in 'uploading' its policies, values, and ways of doing business to the European level.[1] As a result, the picture of Britain in the EU is not as one-sided as it may seem – it is in fact a story of successes along with the occasional failure, as is natural in an alliance of closely interconnected states.

The UK's future in the EU is once again salient in public debate. In the midst of growing popular disillusionment with politics and the perceived disconnect between political leaders and the people, questions also arise on how the EU should look in the future and what place Britain should have in Europe. The Conservatives, driven by their Eurosceptic segment and worried by the rise of the populist and anti-EU UKIP, have proposed a referendum on EU membership, following a renegotiation of the terms, should they be victorious in the upcoming general election this May.[2] Labour and the Liberal Democrats at present only support a referendum where substantial new powers are transferred to the EU, and such a transfer would be unlikely for some time. To be clear, the suggestion to hold an in/out referendum is purely a function of domestic politics rather than European issues.[3] No details have been forthcoming on what substantive aspects of the UK's EU membership would be 'renegotiated', nor on how such a deal could be agreed with the other EU Member States, considering the current lack of interest in treaty reform.[4]

Beyond the national politics at play, leaving the EU would be a terrible danger to Britain's prosperity. An EU exit would create tremendous political and economic uncertainty both for the UK and the European project as a whole. Britain would of course survive outside the EU; however, the question is whether it would thrive – and the answer is not obvious. Most alternatives to EU membership are neither appealing nor likely. The chance of a bilateral UK-EU free trade agreement, focusing only on goods and services, is minute at best. It would not be in the interest of the remaining EU countries to create such a massive distortion of the single market simply to suit Britain. Relying on World Trade Organisation membership and not concluding any new agreements with the EU would leave the UK exposed to tariffs in key export sectors, such as automotive manufactures.[5] A deepening of the UK-US relationship or a renaissance of the Commonwealth to counter the EU and to replace European trade links are unrealistic ideals of minimal substance.

The only sensible option for Britain outside the EU would be to re-join the European Free Trade Area and gain access to the internal market through the European Economic Area, like Norway, or through a complex network of bilateral agreements, like Switzerland. In practice, presumably only the former option would be available to the UK, as the EU does not favour the patchwork EU-Swiss relationship and would not likely want to duplicate it.[6]

More to the point, as a previous Member State Britain should easily qualify to join the EEA but it would certainly not have the freedom to sign up to only the areas it liked. Single market access would mean accepting the full single market and its four freedoms of goods, services, people, and capital.[7] Consequently, the UK would retain the same obligations to allow unrestricted EU migration as it currently holds as a Member State. Immigration to Britain from the EU, one of more common factors cited as a cause for leaving the EU, would remain completely unchanged. The only significant difference would be the exclusion of Britain from the EU top table. Instead of having a full say in the rules of the internal market, the UK would be required to implement whatever was decided by the EU – so-called legislation by fax.[8] British interests would not be adequately represented at European level and UK influence would plummet. Whereas now Britain plays a major role, for example, in shaping regulation on financial services, an important part of the UK economy, it would have no such impact outside the EU.

Britain enjoys a range of political, economic, social, and cultural benefits from its EU membership. At the same time, the EU needs to change – it must focus and deliver on its core competences and it must become more transparent, accountable, and effective. This reform is essential to the sustainability of European integration, and the UK should play a leading part in the effort. The dangers of Britain leaving the EU are real and it is important to face them. All the same, instead of focusing too much on these dangers, let us dare to imagine a Britain that engages positively in Europe, builds alliances with partners, and works for change to the benefit of everyone.[9] We could see political leaders be more honest about how the EU works, about the details of European policies, and what they mean for the nation. We could find the public more engaged in discussing EU affairs and society better off for the debate. The UK could lead in developing a better EU, gain the most from its membership, and contribute to a more prosperous continent. Let Britain be not an island adrift, disconnected from the rest of Europe, but an integral part of a modern and vibrant European Union.

***Anthony** is is a PhD candidate in Politics and Postgraduate Vice-Convenor of the School of Social and Political Science. His research focuses on UK-EU relations and the politics of Britain's EU membership.*

# Poisonous Populism

***VIKTORIA-LUISE KOCH** assesses the threat posed by populism.*

The term 'populism' seems to bear a predominantly negative connotation, at least in academia. In recent years, however, there has been a rise of so-called 'populist parties' within Europe, which have cultivated support amongst a considerable demographic. So why is it, then, that populist parties such as UKIP, Syriza, Front National, etc. seem to be scorned by academics as a 'threat to democracy'[1] and yet garner electoral support among the populations of Greece, England, Italy, Germany and France? It may be due to the simplicity of their policies, many of which appeal to the fears of the electorate with scepticism and xenophobia; blaming domestic problems on external factors rather than offering reforms. Furthermore, these characteristics are often reinforced by the presence of strong personalities at their helm.

The rise of populism results from the disillusionment of the public with contemporaneous politics, as well as the dissatisfaction with the mainstream political agendas of incumbent European governments. Add to that financial crises and discontent amongst the people with the single currency and the problems it has created, and one has all the ingredients to fuel a social movement that might threaten the existing system. However, most populist movements suffer from promoting style over substance. Because of the simplicity of their policies they do not hold up to scrutiny. Most people are also alienated by the racist tendencies that right-wing populism adopts, even if they initially respond with positivity to the immigration policies they promote, because it is always easier to find someone to place the blame on, rather than looking at ones own wrongdoings. If we were to ask whether these movements really represent a dangerous, ideological threat to Europe's leadership, the answer is that they probably do not. However, some of these burgeoning movements have succeeded in creating a current of hate and intolerance within Europe that might be more of a threat than a populist government in power would be. In what follows, the dangers posed and the problems faced by populist movements will be explored and the threat level re-evaluated.

Populist movements inhabiting the extreme peripheries of the political spectrum, both on the left and on the right, existed before the financial crisis, but were greatly aided by the post-2008 recession.[2] Since then, elections in Europe have created a platform for extremist parties to speak amid troubled times. Even though some of the more radical among populist parties 'despise democracy, espouse explicit racism, and flirt with violence',[3] it does not follow that all of the parties within the populist movement are necessarily extremists. On the contrary, the ones that have gained power and contest the leadership within their respective countries and in Europe more broadly have done so by complying with the 'rules of representative democracy'.[4] One cannot regard Alexis Tsipras and Marine Le Pen to be the same thing, or compare the extremism of Pegida in Germany to the left-wing policies of Podemos in Spain. However, the collective rise of populist parties could be convincingly attributed to economic stagnation,[5] which has given rise to resentment in Europe, leading people to listen to claims that the European project as a whole has failed and something must change.[6] Yet, one of the main problems with the populist movement in Europe is that it creates false hope among the people by offering simplistic solutions to complex problems.[7] Trying to cure the socio-economic deficit of a country by restricting immigration is a highly unrealistic notion of governance.[8]

Here the differentiation between left-wing and right-wing

populism can be broadened. On the right, UKIP and analogous movements suggest the magic solution to be an aggressive restriction of immigration, whereas on the left parties like Syriza and Podemos promise an increase in the minimum wage and freedom from austerity. Those remedies seem focused enough but will not work when there is no reform of deep-seated domestic problems within the countries. Another aspect that populist parties seem, willingly or otherwise, to forget is that as Member States of the European Union they are tied to its legislation and can only act within its scope. This might seem restrictive, but it also provides countries like Greece and Spain who suffer from great economic problems with allies. The question of membership of the European Union is tackled differently by each movement. Some (like UKIP and the Front National) want to leave and others want to stay but only if they can do so within their own terms.[9] Most are united in their underestimation of what such promises entail. For example, the exit from the European Union is strictly detailed in the treaty body of the Union and takes at least two years as well as a referendum.[10] Thus we have already seen Syriza obliged to backtrack on some of the promises it made to its electorate by agreeing to the new bail-out proposed by the 'Troika',[11] offering an example of the incompatibility of the idealist nature of populism with the day-to-day reality of governing.

The real danger however, is the ideological extremism that sprouts from this desire to impart the blame for domestic problems elsewhere. The 'fear of migrants and asylum-seekers […] as well as a forceful argument for the necessity to protect the "Christian Occident" as a constitutive part of European identity'[12] is the main debate that dominates the narratives of certain parties, which contributes to deepening the divide within society created by economic hardship. Right-wing populism is a phenomenon that has taken a foothold in Germany. Pegida, for example, ('Patriotische Europäer Gegen Die Islamisierung des Abendlandes' translated Patrotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the West) is a right-wing, anti-Islam party founded in 2014, organising demonstrations protesting against Islam as well as calling for stricter immigration legislation, especially for Muslims. The fact that this form of targeted hatred is being incorporated into the political landscape of Germany is troubling, considering that its dark history serves as a constant reminder of what populism mixed with racism might lead to. However, German Chancellor Angela Merkel emphasized that such parties would not flourish, and 'made clear Pegida was in her sights, saying that such protests [as those organized by Pegida] discriminated against people with different skin colour or religion'.[13] She declared that Germany could be proud of the fact that 'the children of persecuted parents could grow up without fear in the country'.[14] Nonetheless 'a poll of 1,006 people by Forsa for Germany's Stern magazine […] found 13 per cent would attend an anti-Muslim march […]. It also found 29 per cent of people believed that Islam was having such an influence on life in Germany that the marches were justified'.[15] This fear of immigrants from Islam might be fuelled by the Charlie Hebdo attacks or the fear of ISIS, but it only fuels the narrative of populist parties.[16]

However, this trend is not only applicable to Germany. In France, the Front National (lead by Marine Le Pen) claims fervently that it is not racist, extending that statement as far as claiming they are not even 'right-wing' but only embody a mixture of socialism and nationalism.[17] Yet, many of the party's politicians have uttered racist statements in the past and Marine Le Pen herself has a tendency to issue generalised statements that tend to stigmatise entire communities based on the actions of an individual.[18] The Front National is an established party within French politics and has been known for the racist tendencies of its former leader Jean-Marie Le Pen (father of the party's aforementioned current leader) for forty years, demanding strict immigration policies for the Republic and having a generally nationalist stance. Marine Le Pen herself does promote the exit of the EU and highlights that it is only in the interest of the French people to regain their sovereignty in all areas of governance (monetary, territorial and economically). After the Charlie Hebdo atrocities she was quick to state that her party had predicted that the rise of fundamentalism in France would have lead to an attack. However, what differentiates her from her father is that she wants the presidency, whereas her father was content being the opposition.[19] Therefore she tries to disguise her party's tendency to paint a target on the back of Muslims, blaming a lot of the problems on a loose immigration policy in a country that is made up of a large number of citizen with a migration background.

In Britain, meanwhile, UKIP has been making waves within domestic politics by claiming their first seat in Parliament and generating a lot of media attention. Mainly, it is due to the charisma that Nigel Farage seems to exude, always appearing to be a common Briton, concerned with the wellbeing of common Britons.[20] However, UKIP is known for their EU scepticism, much like their French counterparts in the Front National, and a focus seems always to be drawn to their immigration policies. One of their campaign posters generated particular concern due to its claim that 26 million immigrants were out to steal the jobs of British citizens (an incident which became farcical once it became clear that Farage's wife is German). Yet, the reaction to such movements by the mainstream parties is often confusion or an alteration of policies designed to target those voters that would shift towards a populist party. For example David Cameron and the Conservative Party in the UK adopting a stricter immigration policy in order to match the immigration policy proposed by UKIP. However, such shifts are not helpful, since they can be interpreted as brash and reactionary rather than calm, calculated and, most importantly, designed in the population's interest. What the parties should do instead is remain calm and 'persuade voters that core elements of the populists' platforms are incoherent and unrealistic' and that if they were to be implemented, they would damage not only the economy, but the social structure or their country, as well as the nation's international relations.[21]

The populist parties seem to have listened too closely to Groucho Marx when he said that 'politics is the art of looking for trouble, finding it everywhere, diagnosing it incorrectly, and applying the wrong remedies'. Therefore, the general prescription for European leaders facing a threat from populist parties should be a cool head and a clear set of ideas.

***Viktoria-Luise*** *is a first year student of International Relations and Secretary of the Politics and International Relations Society.*

# Pegida: A Dangerous Idea or Doomed to Fail?

***CÄCILIE LYNN STEINHORST*** *tracks what originated as a small German Facebook community and now has the potential to reshape Europe's political landscape.*

Saturday the 28th of February 2015 marked the UK's first ever Pegida march in Newcastle with nearly 400 supporters attending the demonstration.[1] Pegida is the German acronym for 'Patriotic Europeans against the Islamisation of the Occident' and has rapidly evolved into a growing social movement, attracting over 25,000 supporters since it was founded in autumn 2014.[2] However, Pegida's vocal anti-Islamist and heretofore hidden xenophobic ideology has recently extended from Germany into the rest of Europe. Various chapters have emerged in the United Kingdom, Sweden, Austria, and France, inspired by the successful organisation of mass demonstrations and nation-wide attention garnered by the movement in Germany.[3] The rise of Pegida elsewhere in Europe shows the momentum behind the movement, with sympathisers seemingly attracted to the group's success within Germany. We might therefore ask where the movement is heading next. Does it have a future in other European states? Does it pose a real threat and viable alternative to current European political establishments?

Pegida was founded in the East German city of Dresden around October 2014, led by Lutz Bachmann. It gained its followers through social media sites before launching a series of Monday demonstration marches in Dresden, which later extended to other major cities across the country.[4] Pegida uses a 19-point manifesto to outline their ideology. The main concerns for Pegida sympathisers are the German government's financial commitments to the Eurozone as well as increasingly liberal asylum policies which, they claim, could pose a threat to German national identity.[5] The majority of the protestors are educated and drawn from middle-class backgrounds; many have previously voted for mainstream German parties but feel increasingly ignored and frustrated with the current political leadership.

What started with a small group of people 'liking' the Pegida Facebook page, has now begun to touch those in power, with German chancellor Angela Merkel and the whole German political establishment discussing and rethinking some of these domestic issues. The extent to which Pegida would gain international attention was perhaps slightly underestimated at first. Today, Pegida has seen around 170,000 protestors gather for marches and their highest ever turnout for a single demonstration up to this date was reached on 12th of January 2015 with 25,000 participating in Dresden.[6] While this rapid increase in participation shows Pegida's success, it is also important to note that recently, the movement has been hit by several major setbacks as well. Counter-movements by Pegida opponents in many cities now exceed the movement's own demonstrations, most recently on February 28th when approximately 3,500 Pegida opponents gathered in Dresden for a peaceful march to show solidarity for asylum seekers.[7] Alongside the growing opposition, the legitimacy and credibility of Pegida was seriously questioned when pictures of Pegida-founder Lutz Bachmann dressed as Adolf Hitler emerged, leading to heavy criticism and a halt in Monday

marches.[8] While there are clear opposing factors threatening to halt the movement's rapid expansion, on the other hand, the group announced only weeks ago that they plan to stand in mayoral elections in Dresden taking place in early June. A strategic move such as this demonstrates a new first initiative and tangible plan to extend what began as a social movement further and become directly involved in the German political landscape.[9]

Such explicit plans of political involvement would gain Pegida even greater influence, forcing prominent politicians to engage with the movement and perhaps recognise them as a legitimate political alternative. Another potential direction of Pegida expansion is the close affiliation with influential far-right parties such as the Alternative for Germany (AfD) Party. They are following similar paths and leading AfD member Alexander Gauland described Pegida as the AfD's 'natural ally'. Their close ideological ties and overlapping in policy could result in a merging of the two, thus greatly benefiting both in a political and electoral sense. While the AfD already polls approximately 8 per cent, a merger with Pegida could potential increase their influence significantly.[10]

While Pegida in Germany has sparked nation-wide debate at the highest level and has caused Germany's leading politicians to address and defend their immigration policies, many argue that perhaps Pegida's lack of credibility, due to the behaviour of the movement's leading figures and their insufficient strategic coordination, will result in a natural decline.[11] On the contrary, however, Pegida's plans to feature candidates in the Dresden mayoral campaign indicates an intent to remain active and become further involved in practical politics. Another key development is Pegida's expansion into other European countries. Since the *Charlie Hebdo* shooting in early January, multiple Pegida offshoots have emerged online, establishing an alarming presence outside of the movement's country of origin. But we might ask whether Pegida can be as successful outside of Germany. Do other European states have a large enough audience for these right-wing ideas and, if they do, then could Pegida reshape the political scene more broadly in Europe?

The answer is unclear and no one can predict the success rate of the recent new off-shoots of the movement. Until today, however, some of these countries have seen demonstrations similar to early ones in Dresden. The Pegida UK Facebook page has been 'liked' more than 12,000 times and expected 800 participants at its first march in Newcastle on February 28th. The actual turnout was estimated between 350-400 protestors with a much larger group of 1,500 opposing members of Newcastle Unites.

According to BBC Trending Analysis, the 'likes' on the Pegida Facebook page are predominantly from outside the UK – most likely orchestrated by German Pegida members to boost support abroad. Although the Newcastle march was a disappointment in terms of numbers, Pegida has established a definite presence in the UK. Meanwhile, other marches have been organised in Austria and Sweden, albeit with similarly low turnouts and large counter-demonstration groups.[12]

Nonetheless, Pegida should neither be dismissed as fringe movement nor should it be labelled as another form of the German neo-nationalistic party (NPD).[13] Specific points raised by Pegida do have a broad – and legitimate – appeal especially in the areas of immigration policies.[14] Their successful organisation of demonstrations and a growing support group has sparked necessary discussion and reconsideration on these issues. Pegida's further policies however, such as imposing a collective blame on Muslims for contemporary issues in German society, pertains to an alarming xenophobic ideological framework. If Pegida manages to merge with already influential far-Right parties such as AfD, this could lead to a worrisome new development in German politics. Additionally, the recent expansion of Pegida to other European countries leads to question whether a general right-wing European movement, as a response to immigration policies and opposed to multiculturalism, is emerging. It seems as though this is a wake-up call for German parties and government; a crucial chance for policy reevaluation in order to avoid the risk of elevating what have, thus far, been mainly peaceful protests from giving a platform to more extremist views.

***Cäcilie** is is a first year student of International Relations.*

# The Revolt of the Elites and the Rise of Right-Wing Populism

***CALUM BOLLAND** explores the rise of UKIP against a backdrop of political disaffection and economic revolt.*

The phrase 'broken Britain' has transitioned gradually from political sound bite to hysterical headline and, finally, to tired cliché. It illustrates the effects of pervasive economic inequality, disenchantment with the political class, and the apparent lack of possibility for substantial change. This is an interesting combination, and one that has led to the rise of the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP). Christopher Lasch anticipated this situation back in the 1990s, predicting elite 'revolt' alienating the middle classes and provoking right-wing populism. Theorists such as Chantal Mouffe, a fierce critic of the 'third way' neoliberal consensus, offer a counter to this. Mouffe's work suggests a call for left-wing populist parties to appeal to voters lured by UKIP's superficial anti-establishment rhetoric.

The work of U.S. writer Christopher Lasch, published in 1995, seems ever more prescient against the backdrop of contemporary Britain.[1] Lasch inverted the sentiment of José Ortega y Gasset, whose writing about the Bolshevik Revolution decried the Revolt of the Masses. However, of far greater concern in contemporary life, Lasch claims, is the revolt of the elites in society and the consequences this holds for democracy. The upper-middle class and other elites monopolise economic, political, and intellectual spheres, establishing gross inequalities and strict hierarchies that subordinate the masses. Through their endorsement of meritocracy over democratic ideas such as equality, the communitarian ideas of sacrifice and responsibility are abandoned. The state's role is diminished; elites concern themselves with maintaining their 'self-enclosed enclaves' of private education and healthcare, avoiding tax if possible. Self-concern and protectionism become the tenets of this regime.[2] As a result, Lasch writes, exclusionary nationalism erupts through the middle classes and true democracy, the 'rule of the many', seems a utopian fallacy. The consequences are galling; 'political' ideologies lose touch with the concerns of ordinary citizens' and circulate in the form of 'buzzwords and conditioned reflex'.[3] The cynicism, apathy, and lack of confidence that permeates this state of affairs provoke a crisis of democracy, one that is increasingly familiar in the United Kingdom.

Seven years after the financial crash of 2008 it is striking that the rich have largely benefited whilst the poorest are hit with the harshest austerity measures in recent history, set to get worse before they get better.[4] This epitomises the ever-increasing gap between the very richest in the UK and the disenchanted masses, and is Lasch's revolt writ large.[5] Economic elites, in particular those who are part of the 'new economy' booming in London, progressively distance themselves from the rest of the population whilst extending their influence over the UK's political sphere.[6] Lasch's insight seems ever more salient, and can be illustrated empirically by Owen Jones' provocatively titled *The Establishment: and how they get away with it*.[7] The latter is an extensive study of the increasingly isolated and exclusive circles of power that influence the direction and scope of political debate in the UK. The insular and symbiotic relationship between Westminster, business leaders, and the media is examined at length. These colluding elites confirm the concerns raised by Lasch, and the consequences for democracy are ruinous. Marxist historian Eric Hobsbawm wrote that, '[o]ne of the worst things about the politics of the last 30 years is that the rich have forgotten to be afraid of the poor.'[8] The irony is that Hobsbawm's own 'realist Marxist' rhetoric helped pave the way for New Labour, and effectively ended a credible left alternative to the now dominant neo-liberal consensus.[9]

Approaching a General Election in May, the overwhelming verdict is seemingly: what choice do we have? A vote is likely to be allocated to the least maligned choice because such is the disaffection with the political class, typically those in the mainstream parties.[10] Polls reflect an unprecedented picture of UK electoral choices; no single party can claim to be a strong favourite, and smaller parties such as the Greens and UKIP are garnering support from the old powerhouses of Labour, Conservative, and Liberal Democrats.[11] The political class is disliked, seemingly interchangeable, and increasingly dominated by economic elites. Ideological differences between large parties have in recent time become essentially insignificant, and today the choice between them simply seems to reflect the preferred degrees of austerity they might find fit. Labour, so long the party of the working classes, is caught in the midst of an identity crisis between its leftist heritage and its more recent neo-liberal reinvention.

As such, with very little ground for substantial economic policy difference, the financial sector governs.[12] In addition, expenses abuse and cash-for-access allegations have done little to inspire voters towards the ballot box. The political class is seen as increasingly out of touch and the disaffection with Westminster is becoming widespread. However, one party is seemingly benefitting from this hostile environment. In fact, UKIP is coming up as a viable alternative to this status quo.

A great deal of UKIP's success comes from the fact that they are presenting themselves as a new option, an option that promises to 'shake up' Westminster.[13] In fact, UKIP describe themselves as the party of the people, uniquely in touch with the real electorate, and their central aims of EU

withdrawal and immigration reform have become integral to the pre-election debate across the political spectrum.[14] Nigel Farage, their charismatic leader, has cultivated a public image very different from that of his fellow politicians, an identity reflected by the party. Unlike David Cameron, Ed Miliband, and their respective parties, Farage and UKIP allegedly represent the voter because they are far more like the voter.

This image, no matter how keenly attended, is not an accurate one. Farage is less than forthcoming about his private education, City-broker past, and ties to big business in London, perhaps because these aspects might appear contrary to his 'radical' persona.[15] UKIP, meanwhile, are struggling to articulate firm policies beyond leaving the EU and curbing immigration. In addition, their pledges overwhelmingly favour the rich; for example, they propose substantial cuts to top-level tax, employers' National Insurance contributions, the public sector, and sweeping privatising reforms to the NHS.[16] These policies are not endorsed by the majority of the electorate, but have been mostly obscured by support for the anti-establishment artifice.[17] Furthermore, concern over UKIP's links to overtly racist parties in the European Parliament, and a number of members and activists garnering headlines for homophobic and racist outbursts in public, have been detrimental to the cause.[18] Recent polls have shown a slight decline in support for UKIP and its election strategy has changed somewhat in response.[19] However, the fact remains that the party now represents a serious political force and will be looking at long-term plans to build on this.

As mentioned above, rival parties have seized upon a number of public gaffes by UKIP members as evidence of a xenophobic or bigoted undercurrent to the party agenda, though this has not had significant success in undermining the message. A better strategy would arguably be to challenge UKIP on policy, which is thin on the ground and largely out of line with public concerns. In addition, the electorate must be offered a credible left-wing alternative.

Chantal Mouffe explores this idea, and her theory could pave the way for a revival of UK politics. Mouffe has been a vociferous critic of the 'third way' project advanced by Blair's New Labour.[20] Describing it as creating 'politics without adversary', Mouffe sees the centre-left shift as consolidating a hegemonic discourse, one that exacerbates conflicts in other areas of society due to the lack of real political choice.[21] There is a democratic deficit created by the blurring of left and right, leading to a 'trivialisation of the political discourse'. Mouffe calls for a 'radical democratic' approach, one characterised by 'agonism', or the encouragement of contestation between political adversaries as long as this does not descend into violence. This would allow passions to be exercised in the political domain, and would offer a clear contrast to a largely seamless exchange of substitutable parties clustered around the political 'centre' ground today.[22] The current status quo, labelled 'post-politics', promotes mainstream political disaffection and the rise of populist parties, often from the right.[23] Posturing as distinct from the mainstream hegemon, UKIP seeks to fill the democratic deficit it creates.

One solution, according to Mouffe, could be the rise of left-wing populism as there is a distinct lack of this type of party in UK politics. The Green party often fails to engage with traditional left strongholds such as Unions, and is arguably not seen as a credible parliamentary force by some.[24] New Labour cannot fulfill this role, and although Miliband comes from a more traditional leftist background the party seems unsure about its best approach going forward.[25] Polls of 'swing voters' overwhelmingly back a more old-Labour approach[26] though crucially even they remain firmly located in the establishment.

Recently elected Syriza in Greece have rallied massive support with a radical and anti-austerity rhetoric.[27] A new UK-based leftist party, that offers substantive change from the status quo, could well satisfy the current democratic discontent. An opportunity now exists for a political movement that can capture the hearts and minds of the disaffected masses. Young people have been amongst the hardest group hit since the 2008 financial crisis,[28] so their voice can and should play a crucial rule. It is worth noting that radical change does not appear imminent and realistically this project would stretch well beyond May.[29] However, a party advocating equality and fairness that would seek to challenge existing elite hierarchies and drive political passions in a progressive and positive direction could breathe new life into Westminster.

UKIP's rise is promoted both by themselves and their supporters as a democratic breakthrough for the UK, a credible alternative to mainstream malaise. This is interesting when, in fact, their rise is endemic of the democratic crisis posed by widening economic schisms and the role of the mainstream political class in facilitating this. Christopher Lasch's work can help us understand this trend, and in seeking to address it one answer could lie in promoting leftist populist parties. What is certain is that the UK political sphere is desperately in need of a wake-up call. However, the answer does not lie in UKIP's narrow-minded approach and superficial anti-establishment posturing.

***Calum** is a fourth year student of Sociology & Politics.*

REGIONAL EDITOR

# Latin America

*Latin America is in the middle of a process of rapid transformation in all parts of society; not only is it constantly working to expand its economic potential but also increasingly trying to find its place in the global sphere. With great challenges being posed to the status quo, the region thus seems to offer the perfect ground to explore the subversive and 'dangerous ideas' that are guiding its political direction. Whereas for many the region is marked by corruption and scandal - such as the recent Petrobas-affair in Brazil or the suspicious death of prosecutor Nisman in Argentina - it is also home to new solutions that tackle problems such as environmental degradation and continued dependency on primary resources, thus setting an innovative example for the rest of the emerging world.*

*The articles in this issue of* Leviathan *approach the dangerous nature of ideas in a variety of ways: one article explores how xenophobic immigration measures across the region pose a major and dangerous obstacle to modernisation and development, whereas another author focuses on the actual physical danger indigenous environmentalists find themselves in when protesting against the government's neo-extractivist policies. The last article of this issue presents the concept of buen vivir, an alternative development model of collective well-being rooted in the cosmovision of indigenous tribes, as a challenge to the political status quo.*

*It is thrilling to see where the region is headed in the next decade and if it proves capable of dealing with 'dangerous' political challenges standing in the way of development and progress of the societies in Latin America. At the same time, the region also has the potential to set examples for a transformation of societies on a global scale, especially when it comes to environmental protection and the building of fairer, more sustainable societies.*

***Leonie von Hammerstein***

## One Step Forward, Two Steps Back

***KANZANIRA THORINGTON** examines xenophobic policies targeting Haitian communities throughout Latin America and the Caribbean.*

Over the past few decades the Dominican Republic has become the largest economy in the Caribbean and Central American region.[1] Through its booming sugarcane industry and recent inclusion in the Dominican Republic-Central America-US Free Trade agreement, the country has become one of the world's fastest growing economies.[23] However, despite its economic success the country has had a history of human rights abuse and social inequality, particularly towards their Haitian population. Recently, in the latest of a series of steps taken by the Dominican Republic to target its enlarging Haitian population, the government passed Law 169/14, a new citizenship law that has deprived thousands of Dominicans of their nationality, thus rendering them stateless. Under the new legislation, all persons born to undocumented parents are now required to register themselves as foreigners in order to eventually re-apply for citizenship.[4] The new policy will effectively revoke the citizenship of an estimated 200,000 Dominicans born to Haitian parents, leaving them vulnerable to human rights abuse and deportation.[5] While the country has had a significant Haitian population for generations, since the 2010 Haiti earthquake larger waves of Haitian migration have caused the Dominican Republic's history of anti-Haitian racism to resurface.[6]

The 'denationalisation' policies found in the Dominican Republic are not new. Citizenship cases began to emerge in the 1990s when Dominican electoral boards started withholding documents from Dominicans of Haitian descent. While at the time these actions were deemed illegal under Dominican law, a 2004 migration law legalised some of these practices.[7] Until recently the country followed the principle of birth right citizenship, meaning that any individual born on its soil would automatically be granted citizenship. However due to a change in the new 2010 constitution, citizenship can now only be granted to individuals born in the Dominican Republic with at least one Dominican parent or whose foreign parents are legal residents.[8] Furthermore, in 2013 the Dominican Constitutional Court ruled that children born in the country to undocumented migrants as far back as 1929 no longer had a right to citizenship.[9] While the Dominican Republic insists that the legislation does not specifically target any group, Haitians make up 85 per cent of the country's immigrant population, thus making them the clear victims of the new laws.[10]

The controversial has ruling led to immense international criticism. Many human rights groups claimed the ruling was racially charged, citing the Dominican Republic's long history of animosity towards Haiti, including the 1937 massacre of 20,000 Haitians under the Rafael Trujillo Dictatorship.[11] Additionally, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights condemned the ruling and the President of Haiti Michel Martelly declared that the Dominican court's decision was an act of 'civil genocide'.[12] He is not wrong. Without citizenship, not only will Haitians in the Dominican Republic not have access to basic services but they will also be at a higher risk of human rights abuses. Still, supporters of the 2013 ruling contest the belief that Dominican-born Haitians will be left stateless as Haiti grants citizenship to the children of all its nationals. While this may technically be true, the application process for citizenship is often blocked by bureaucratic hurdles and missing documents, not to mention the fact that many of the children of migrants consider themselves Dominican rather than Haitian.[13]

Due to international pressure the Dominican government passed Law 169/14 in May 2014 to modify its new citizenship policies. Under this new legislation children born to undocumented parents will be entitled to citizenship, granted they have Dominican government identification and are in the civil registry.[14] However, those without documents would have until February 1, 2015 to apply for a residence permit in order to begin the process of naturalisation.[15] The problem here is that the majority of Dominicans of Haitian descent fall into the latter category and this new law gives these individuals less than a year to obtain the documents necessary to prove citizenship in a country they have lived in their entire lives. While there has not been an official release of the number of individuals who registered by the deadline, a report in January 2015 by the Minister of Interior revealed that less than five per cent of the people affected by the new policy had registered.[16] Reasons for this include lack of awareness and high levels of illiteracy found in the Dominican-Haitian community, in addition to the fact that those who took action often faced administrative challenges preventing their registration.[17] Following this, expulsions have already begun. In January 2015, even before the registration deadline, it was reported that 51 people, including 30 Dominican children, were deported to Haiti without due process.[18] Now that the deadline has passed thousands of Dominicans have been cast into limbo without a nationality, leaving their futures completely uncertain.

Unfortunately, anti-Haitian sentiment is not limited to the Dominican Republic as new citizenship and anti-immigration policies are emerging throughout the Caribbean and Latin America. In the Bahamas there is now a new immigration policy that requires everyone to hold a passport, a rule that human rights groups say disproportionately affect people of Haitian descent. The new policy forces people to apply for a passport from their parents' country of origin. However, many are unable to obtain the documents required due to the political instability in Haiti.[19] Recently, Bahamian officials have held immigration raids in predominately Haitian neighbourhoods arresting and deporting hundreds of people unable to provide the necessary documentation, including Bahamian-born children.[20]

Similar to the Bahamas, Brazil has also cracked down on their immigration policies towards Haitians who began to arrive in large numbers after the 2010 earthquake. The Brazilian government recently implemented monthly quotas limiting the amount of Haitians allowed to enter the country, and threatened deportation to any further arrivals.[21] In addition to their new immigration laws, Brazil even considered closing its border with Peru in order to prevent a greater influx of Haitian migrants.[22] While the Brazilian government claims that their new policies do not target Haitians, critics view the new actions as selective immigration measures, which have left hundreds of Haitians en route to Brazil stranded and vulnerable in neighbouring countries.[23]

Haiti is presently the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere, with 85 per cent of Haitians living below the poverty line and few signs of improvement.[24] Consequently, Haitians will continue to migrate to other regional countries in hope of greater economic opportunity. Much of the anti-Haitian sentiment found throughout Latin America and the Caribbean derives from the belief that the region should not have to take responsibility for the failed state and its migrants.[25] Nevertheless, the new nationalist policies used to combat Haitian migrant presence in the region have left hundreds of thousands stranded and stateless. Additionally, these laws have forced Haitians into 'legal limbo',[26] denying these individuals access to services such as health care, education, travel, and work. The new policies have also had a negative effect on non-Haitians in the region, as illustrated by the case of the Dominican Republic. Following the international criticism of its new citizenship laws the Dominican Republic withdrew itself from the jurisdiction of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, thus depriving thousands of victims of human rights violations legal access to justice they may not find in domestic courts.[27]

At a time when the region is trying to progress through economic advancement, socially speaking many Latin American and Caribbean countries continue to take steps back as they pass legislation that promotes racial discrimination and leaves individuals open to human rights abuses. Criticism of recent actions shows that the international community will not accept the region's new reactionary policies towards the Haitian community. Failure to accept international norms on issues such as human rights will not only isolate the region but may also affect its further success in the global economy. In order for the region to modernise, it must advance economically while also producing progressive social and political change. Thus, if the countries continue to pursue this new nationalist and anti-Haitian agenda it will not only harm thousands of individuals but it will also hinder the development and modernisation of the region itself.

***Kanzanira** is a member of* Leviathan's *Production Team.*

# *Buen Vivir*: A Utopian Vision of Collective Wellbeing in the Andes

***LEONIE VON HAMMERSTEIN** argues that the struggle for* buen vivir *has the potential to renegotiate the status quo of development policy and practice in Latin America.*

When evaluating the ambiguous legacy of the Millennium Development Goals, it is impossible to ignore the difficulties faced by the international community in reaching their own targets. Traditional models of development have failed to adequately address issues of human insecurity and socioeconomic despair. While the policy of international organisations has become glaringly insufficient, the attention of many in the developing world has been drawn to alternative growth paths.[1] Increasingly, GDP as a development indicator has become outdated, while policies built around human security, dignity, and social wellbeing have gained more and more importance.

An example of such alternative perceptions is the concept of *buen vivir* ('living well'), which has influenced policy in contemporary Latin America, particularly in Ecuador. Rooted in the worldview of the Quechua peoples of the Andes, *sumak kawsay* or *buen vivir* describes an approach that puts collective wellbeing in harmony with nature at the centre of its agenda. Following continuing protest by indigenous social movements, in 2008 buen vivir became an official part of the Ecuadorian constitution. The preamble now states: "We (…) hereby decide to build a new form of public coexistence, in diversity and in harmony with nature, to achieve the good way of living."[2] This can be regarded as 'dangerous' to the political status quo, demonstrating a remarkable multi-dimensional political shift in the power structures of the region.

Firstly, the concept of *buen vivir* challenges many of the underlying assumptions of the Western development paradigm and can be seen as a counter-discourse to traditional development efforts, aiming at the reconstruction of societies in order to achieve collective wellbeing. One important aspect is that it recognises the indigenous production of knowledge and thus constitutes an act of decolonising the knowledge system of Western

neoliberal development.[3] For Eduardo Gudynas, one of the region's leading *buen vivir* scholars, harmony is one of buen vivir's defining characteristics, not only between human beings but also between human beings and nature.[4] In this sense, *buen vivir* views society and its natural environment as interdependent; the 2008 Constitution of Ecuador is the first one worldwide to understand nature as the subject of rights. Furthermore, the concept of buen vivir is built around the collective, and sees the pluralist national state and cultural recognition of all parts of society as fundamental pillars of wellbeing.[5] What is particularly interesting about *buen vivir* is that it is 'a concept in the making.'[6] As 'the dynamic product of discursive interaction' among indigenous actors, governmental actors, and academics, it offers 'fresh potential for social innovation.'[7]

*Buen vivir's* rise exemplifies the wider disenchantment with liberal power structures that has been present in the region ever since decolonisation, one that has intensified since the rise of the neo-liberal market reforms of the 1990s and early 2000s.[8] In Latin America and the Caribbean, the distorted effects of structural adjustment programmes and neoliberal development projects left the region with the world's greatest level of income inequality by the early 2000s.[9] Faced with this tough social reality, newly elected leftist governments have tried to combat the inequalities by guiding policy in a more sustainable and participative direction over the past years, explicitly questioning the old liberal mechanism of sustaining existing unequal power relations on a global scale through top-down development programs.

It is not long ago that the indigenous voices were oppressed, subordinated and struggling to become part of the democratic process. However, the elections of the early 2000s allowed far greater expression and inclusion of indigenous knowledge and traditions.[10] The stark failures of neoliberal development policies and the general distrust of big international organisations and external influence fuelled the historical momentum of indigenous social movements in Ecuador. The recent implementation of 'plurinationality' set up a new state model with the recognition of people's diversity and autonomy as an essential pillar. Furthermore, the inclusion of buen vivir in the constitution shows a new recognition of indigenous cosmologies and epistemology, marking a milestone towards opening up the exclusionary structures of Ecuadorian society.

However, it still important to evaluate the power of the concept as such and how sustainable *buen vivir* is as a tool for social change in the region - both as indigenous empowerment and as a critique of the existing power relations. A few contradictory examples jump to mind when looking at the political practices in Ecuador. The country continues to be heavily dependent on the extraction of natural resources, including oil exploitation and large-scale mining. One often-cited example of the apparent contradiction between discourse and practice was the cancellation of the Yasuní-ITT Initiative. The Ecuadorian government proposed the initiative in 2007 to leave oil reserves in parts of the Yasuní National Park in the Amazonian rainforest underground in exchange for financial compensation and 'co-responsibility in the face of climate change' by the global community, introducing a new common strategy of climate change mitigation.[11] The collected funds were supposed to be invested in various environmental and societal projects aimed at preserving the biodiversity of the Yasuní ecosystem. The Initiative was, however, ultimately unilaterally cancelled in 2013 by President Correa, which resulted in the extraction of the area's oil reserves only shortly after.[12] Amongst other reasons, Correa argued that the lack of international support made oil revenues necessary to fight poverty in the country.[13] The failure of the initiative underlines how difficult it will be for *buen vivir* to stimulate social change away from the extractive industries and towards a more sustainable future for Ecuador.

The continuation of neoliberal extractivist economic policies, exemplified by the failure of Yasuní initiative, has attracted widespread criticism from a variety of Ecuadorian social groups. After the indigenous leaders who fought for the new constitution expressed their discontent in the form of protests, Correa's government has allegedly 'discredited, repressed and criminalized these social movements and their leaders.'[14] This obviously fuels the already widespread concerns raised by regional and international actors alike about whether buen vivir is being misused as a political marketing strategy instead of a tool of political empowerment.

When evaluating the practical limits of *buen vivir* and its transformative potential in the coming years it is important to note that it is still a remarkably new concept, which has only been guiding development policy since 2008. Practical difficulties arise, not only in terms of how to implement *buen vivir,* but also regarding how to reconcile the interests of indigenous groups and theorists on the one hand with that of politicians in the respective countries on the other. In addition, Ecuador's continuing dependence on its extractive industries carries with it the danger of increasing social disparities, irreversibly damaging the environment, as well as reinforcing Ecuador's dependence on international investment and markets. All of these developments, however, seem to directly contradict many of the basic principles *buen vivir* is advocating.[15]

At the same time, the impressive effect *buen vivir* has had in questioning power structures both regionally and globally needs to be recognised. As illustrated by Correa's attempt at renegotiating global climate change responsibilities, the struggle for well-being has caused uproar and created new boundaries for social change. As Gudynas puts it: *buen vivir* 'helps us see the limits of current development models and it allows us to dream of alternatives that until now have been difficult to fulfil.'[16] One cannot over-emphasize the ground-breaking steps of including a historically marginalised part of the population in the constitutional process as well as granting rights to nature; both have the potential to achieve long-lasting cultural change in the region.[17]

That *buen vivir* has managed to create hope of a fairer, more equitable, sustainable society is obviously 'dangerous' to mainstream development thought. More pressingly, however, it has set an inspiring example for other political movements, both in the Global South and the Western world.

***Leonie** is* Leviathan's *Editor for Latin America.*

# Environmentalism in Peru: A Dangerous Endeavour

***LEONIE MEIER** analyses the deadly conflict between environmentalists and multinational corporations.*

After Brazil, Peru is the deadliest place for people trying to protect their land and their country's natural heritage in Latin America.[1] A recent report by Global Witness entitled 'Peru's Deadly Environment' draws attention to the disproportionately high number of killings of environmental and land defenders, focusing on data between 2003 and 2014. Overall, there have been 57 killings related to environmental defenders and land title issues over the last decade.[2] Global Witness publicised its report just before the climate talks in Lima in December 2014, in order to make the Peruvian government's failure to protect its carbon-rich forests and the lives of people directly dependent on them widely known in the region as well as internationally. Because many indigenous tribes still directly depend on nature for their livelihoods and survival, indigenous environmentalists are at the forefront of most protests against the extractive sector. This article will shed light on the root causes for 'Peru's deadly environment' by arguing that they can be found in a combination of local as well as global problems.

First of all, in the majority of cases the police are responsible for the deaths of environmentalists, which often occur in the context of protests related to extractive industries, including gas, mining, and oil. Unsurprisingly, these protests address the failure of the Peruvian government to properly implement the free and informed consent of indigenous communities before large mining concessions are assigned to profit-seeking multinational companies.[3] In other cases, the authorities themselves might be the problem, as their lacking presence in remote communities gives illegal loggers a free hand, even if that means resorting to cold-hearted murder. One tragic example is the widely publicised murder of Edwin Chota and three of his colleagues of the Alto Tamayo-Saweto community, who died in retaliation for their activism against illegal logging on their ancestral lands.[4] Prior to the attack the community had even raised concerns about their members' safety, but the authorities still failed to protect them.[5] Other environmental defenders continue to receive death threats when speaking out against illegal logging, a problem that is exacerbated by the fact that over 20 million hectares of pending land title forest applications from indigenous communities are facing over 20 million hectares of forests that have been assigned either to forest or oil concessions.[6]

It should be stressed that the fight over natural resources, which most often boils down to a battle between indigenous communities and the interests of multinational companies, is a global problem. In academic literature, this link has featured prominently as a neo-Malthusian fear of resource scarcity leading to conflict.[7] In fact, as some commentators convincingly argue, its origins can be traced back to the same forces that fuel climate change as rising consumption in rich countries stretches the planet's natural boundaries beyond its capacity.[8] For short-term gain and few vested interests, finite resources like forests and land are liquidated

faster than they can recover, and at huge costs to those that depend on it for their survival. Considering the interconnectedness of today's global economy and Peru's dependence on natural resources as a crucial source of foreign income and tax, it seems like there is limited action that Peru can take in order to protect its natural heritage and indigenous communities. However, this is not the same as suggesting that resource scarcity everywhere will automatically lead to conflict, or that states alone do not have the capacity to protect their natural resources.

Adding to this, the problems in Peru are not only reflected in external consumption pressures as evident in increasing neo-extractivist activities, but also in weak and unfair institutional structures. Ironically, it is well documented that, especially in Latin America, indigenous communities practice a better and much more sustainable approach to development, because they have the knowledge and interest in conserving their land for future generations. Chris Moye of Global Witness even bluntly argues that 'adding land titles to them will reduce greenhouse gas emissions'.[9] However, despite continuous protest, multinational companies are granted huge land concessions. One reason for this is expressed in law 3023018, which prioritises investments in agriculture and extractive sectors over land where indigenous land claims are pending. Unless this law is revoked, Peru's environmental protection procedures will be significantly weakened, and environmentalists are likely to face further threats to their survival. Another problem is the widespread immunity of the security agencies, which was heightened by the adoption of law 30151 in January 2014. The law exempts members of the armed forces and the National Police from criminal responsibility if they cause injury or death through the use of their guns or other weapons while on duty.[10]

From the observations made above, it is clear that what the government of Peru needs to do is to make the country a less dangerous place for environmentalists. This involves revoking laws 30151 and 30230, and involving civil society in decisions about land concessions and extraction projects. However, what the government cannot do is change the patterns of consumption that fuel the extraction of natural resources. Considering that the extractive sector generates around 2/3 of the country's total exports, and that much of the revenues go directly to local governments and thus to infrastructure and vital services, one does not want to imagine what the country would be like without its natural resources.

***Leonie** is a fourth year student of International Relations.*

# Middle East & North Africa

*With the ongoing Islamic State crisis dominating news on the Middle East, it is impossible to ignore the concept of the 'radicalisation of Islam' as a major red flag in terms of dangerous ideas. This form of political Islam, which the Islamic State has adopted, has manifested in mass genocide, religious cleansing, and other brutalities, which have serious policy implications for states of the Middle East as well as the rest of the world. Meanwhile, as journalists attempt to report these atrocities, they find themselves confronted by another serious menace: that of censorship.*

*This censorship is exhibited in the form of tighter government control over media agencies, as well as in the imprisonment, kidnapping, and killing of journalists for their pursuit of the truth. Yet, among these more obvious 'dangerous ideas' lurking in the Middle East, are the more often than not ignored, but perilous, ways in which the West interacts with the Middle East. This issue's articles look at just that, by calling attention to the dangerous ideas that permeate the manner in which the West analyzes and behaves towards Middle Eastern nations.*

***Rina Moss***

REGIONAL EDITOR

## Sayyid Qutb's Views on Women: a Dangerous Perspective, a More Dangerous Critique?

***ALEJANDRO SALAMANCA RODRÍGUEZ** attempts to understand a commonly misunderstood Islamist scholar.*

The position of women in Muslim societies is a controversial topic of numerous debates and extensive literature.[1] Social customs like the veil, the seclusion of women in some traditional Muslim societies, and certain passages of the Quran are commonly cited as examples of the mistreatment of women in Muslim societies. Furthermore, Islamism and Political Islam are widely perceived in the West as a threat to women's rights.[2] Nevertheless, there is not much literature on what Islamists think of women. Most Western analyses are based on stereotypes and simplifications, which are dangerous ideas as well. If Islamism is a threat for women, then the ever-increasing number of women in Islamic movements is difficult to explain, unless we consider Muslim women unable to possess agency or think critically. In order to address this issue, I assess the views on women of one of the classical Islamist writers, Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966). Qutb gained notoriety in the West after 9/11 since his brother, Muhammad, was the personal tutor of Osama Bin Laden. The rise of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt after the Arab Spring has also reinforced the relevance and interest in this influential and controversial thinker.

Sayyid Qutb has been dubbed 'the greatest innovator in Islamic thought' in the twentieth century.[3] A member of the Muslim Brotherhood, he became one of the organisation's main ideologues. As such, Qutb spent most of his life in prison and was executed in 1966. He is normally understood as a continuer of Islamic modernists such as Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, Muhammad Abduh, and Rashid Rida.[4] His most relevant contribution was the theory of jahiliyya (ignorance), which has been examined by Sephard.[5] This analysis takes into account three of the main works of Sayyid Qutb available in English: *Social Justice in Islam*,[6] *In the Shade of the Quran*,[7] and *Milestones*.[8]

*Social Justice* (1948) is a relevant source for understanding Qutb's thought on women because in this book, Qutb uses the position of women in the West and the communist world as main examples of the degradation of those societies. Qutb cites the Quranic verses regarding women and family and openly acknowledges discrimination where it exists. He contextualizes this discrimination using examples from the pre-Islamic period. Subsequently, he explains why the 'Islamic' conception of family is the best organization of society using scientific references in his argumentation.[9] He assures that 'the strongest point in Islam is the equality which it guarantees to women in religion, as well as their possessions and gains.'[10] Labour rights do not seem as important as equality in economic and spiritual terms. Qutb believes that the access of women to work has been used by the 'material West' to lower the wages of workers, and that women in the western world are limited to a particular set of jobs of minor responsibility: a form of slavery. Qutb maintains that Islam is more egalitarian than the West, and uses the position of women in modern societies as an attack on the West, with France as a prime example. This country, which in 1949 did not allow women to administer their property, 'grants to women the right of every kind of unchastity;' the only 'privilege' which 'Islam denies to its womenfolk…it also denies it to man'.[11]

*In the Shade of the Quran* (1951-65) is an extensive commentary on the holy book of Islam. In the first volume, he devotes a chapter to analyse the Quranic conception of family. He confirms the arguments exposed in *Social Justice*, claiming that a family is a necessary condition for the education of a healthy child. He bases this statement in his 'experience' and diverse 'studies,' which he does not cite.[12] About women's work rights, Qutb claims that their access to work 'sacrifices the psychological health of society's most precious resources, young children, for nothing other than an increase in the family's income,' that being 'one of the most reprehensible failures of modern society.'

Thus, the division of responsibilities between man and woman is a necessary condition for a healthy

family and society; the man must assure a regular income so the woman has time to bring up the children. However, women have the right and duty to work in Islam if they do not neglect their responsibilities at home. In the case of divorce, both husband and wife must keep their familiar responsibilities with their children.

*Milestones* (1964) is a shorter piece of work. Qutb does not devote long paragraphs to express his opinion on family and gender, but in general maintains his views. He claims that 'the family system and the relationship between the sexes determine the whole character of a society and whether it is backward or civilised, jahili, or Islamic.'[13] Family is the only place where 'human values and morals develop and grow in the new generation.'[14] He denounces the 'immorality' of the capitalist and communist systems, which do not regard sexual activity as a moral issue. 'All jahili societies, old or new' regard 'fornication' as 'something to be proud of.'[15] On the contrary, Islam 'intends to control the animal characteristics, while providing full opportunities for the development and perfection of human characteristics.'

In 2000, Lamia Rustum Shehadeh published one of the very few academic articles assessing Qutb's views on women.[16] Her article is interesting because it is a good example of bad scholarly practice in the name of women's rights. She offers a partisan and distorted portrait of Qutb, criticizing him and his works without analysing his reasoning, unaware of the historical and intellectual context of his words. She seems more interested in discrediting Qutb than in trying to understand him, as her references are not accurate.[17] She only repeats the points expressed in the verses of the Quran cited by Qutb, ignoring his original argumentation. Shehadeh tries to demonstrate that Qutb's ideas are contradictory, being progressive on spiritual and political matters but 'ultra-conservative' and 'regressive' regarding the status of women. She suggests that his views on women are influenced by the fact that he never married, but she does not consider his relations with women, like his friendship and political collaboration with Zaynab al Ghazali, a female Islamic militant whose views on women and family resemble Qutb's.[18]

Moreover, Shehadeh's article is full of generalisations and careless statements. At one point, she mentions that Qutb never 'referred to the condition of rural women.' But Qutb was from a rural origin, aware of the life in the countryside, as is expressed in *A Child from the Village*, revealing the importance of traditional family in Qutb's idea of gender relations. Shehadeh also ignores the emphasis that Qutb places on mutual responsibility within the family, observing that Qutb is putting limits and restrictions on women, without realising that he is doing the same to men. Men are also forced to marry and form a family, and men are forced to earn a living, and financially support their family. As Toth explained, for Qutb 'an unemployed man is just as much a disgrace as a flirtatious woman.' Shehadeh also claims that in Qutb's views, women are 'subjugated' to their husbands, without realising that the main argument in most of Qutb's works is that women and men are only subjugated to God. According to Qutb, the Quran sees family as the foundation of Islam; therefore men and women will be subjected to the duties and responsibilities of a family with a division of labour, given the distinct 'natural aptitudes' of both genres. Shehadeh, who focuses on attacking Qutb for his dangerous ideas, ignores all these nuances.

Qutb's views on women are constant during his entire literary production. His attitude is not defensive, but offensive. He uses the position of women, their access to work, and the form of families as an attack on the West and as praise to Islam. Interestingly, Qutb does not consider his views on women the same as the ones extended in the rest of society. 'Of course the current ideas of the society and its prevalent traditions apply great pressure – back-breaking pressure, especially in the case of women; the Muslim woman is really under extreme and oppressive pressure.'[19] He regards himself as someone sympathetic to women, trying to better their condition. Simple generalisations such as those used by Shehadeh are not useful in understanding the thought of a complex ideologist like Qutb. There is nothing more dangerous than thoughtlessly considering rival ideas irrational, fanatical, and absurd. Sayyid Qutb is a widely read and influential thinker in part because he is able to sustain and defend his position, arguing that his vision of Islam is superior to the materialistic West. If we want to fight dangerous ideas such as those of Qutb's, the best we can do is examine them in context, and understand their nuances and complexities.

***Alejandro** is a postgraduate student of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies.*

# Democracy or Authoritarianism?

*SARA L. MYERS draws attention to the dissonance between rhetoric and policy in the United States' relationship with Egypt.*

Democracy is not always the answer. Currently, Egypt is in the throes of change and the United States' unrelenting and adamant promotion of democracy alone won't overcome what ails them. The endeavour for democracy has been corrupted and disparities have caused this mentality to fail Egypt.

The American system of government is full of ironies, the most glaring being blatant contradictions over democratic policies. While the United States government promotes the spread of democracy and chastises the infringement of personal freedom, the country still attaches itself to authoritarian regimes. Egypt is a prime example of how the United States failed to bring about the democratic change it wanted, and instead, settled for a dictatorship. Even if the call for democracy hasn't been answered, it doesn't mean a dictatorship is the solution.

Egypt is one of the most important countries in the Middle East, both geographically and politically. Before the coup of 1952, Egypt was under British control, and ever since, it has been a relatively militarised state.[1] For decades, the military and the authoritarian head of state have been working in tandem, each burgeoning off the power of the other. That, coupled with the success of the pan-Arab ideology did not leave much room for democracy or a relationship with the U.S. to grow organically.[2] It was President Anwar Sadat who first turned Egypt into a U.S. ally. In order to obtain this alliance with the West, he opened up the economic doors to foreign investment and aided in the Israel-Palestine conflict.[3] After Sadat's assassination, the U.S worried for their future alliance, but with Hosni Mubarak, their relationship seemed to flourish further. However, Mubarak was not a democratic man; his regime was more of a dictatorship than any before him. Yet, the United States sustained a connection with him. In this instance, the United States weighed their options: to fight for what they believed in morally, and potentially lose what could be their greatest ally in the Middle East, or concede an ideal that their country was founded on in order to defend a potential asset. After Egypt's aid in the Camp David accords,[4] the answer was simple. America turned a blind eye to the political corruption and economic inequality in Egypt in order to secure other political and strategic interests.

Up until the 2011 revolution, the U.S. had justified their ties with Egypt based on a balance of interests that had always come out in their favour. For example, Egypt's participation in the Gulf War showed the United States that they could count on Egypt. Egypt had become a supporter of Western strategic interests, so in return, the U.S. became Egypt's financial backer.[5] While this was the accepted status quo of their relationship, the U.S. still continued their promotion for democratic change; but every time the U.S. asked for a higher moral standard for basic human rights, Mubarak, for the most part, refused.[6] Mubarak did try to appease the U.S. government by opening up presidential elections; however elections are only one small part of a democracy.[7] Moreover, when those elections aren't fair, any democratic ground is abandoned all together. It was ultimately a ruse, as Egypt failed to change anything fundamentally. The President of Egypt may have enacted more 'democratic reform,' but he later followed it with even worse acts of suppression.[8]

In 2011, when the revolution against Mubarak took place, the protestors wanted one thing: Mubarak out of office. They wanted a chance to be heard; they wanted a government that would listen. Astonishingly, the United States wasn't completely thrilled at this advancement. Democracy was supposed to be their mission in Egypt, but despite his dictating ways, Mubarak was still considered an ally to the U.S. Hundreds of thousands of people appeared to protest against his authoritarian ways as the United States merely observed the revolutionary process, unsure of which side to choose - the reliable dictator or the people wishing to democratise the country. This state of immobility possessed the United States during the interim governments prior to and post Muhammad Morsi's rule as well.

The current president, Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, who was voted into his role as president, shows how an election does not a democracy make. El-Sisi took Egypt further down the road of authoritarianism,[9] however, like in the past, the United States maintained the same pattern where 'the U.S. government rhetorically demands democratisation, but…simultaneously generates conditions that make it less likely.'[10] This is because American administrations are attracted to stability above all else in the Middle East.[11] Their various interests, oil being a top priority, can only be secured by maintaining what relationships are presently steady. By throwing away stability to make way for democracy, the U.S. takes a huge gamble. They could be

potentially exchanging an autocratic state, authoritarian or not, for a democracy that despises western actors.[12]

If the United States were really serious about its democracy promotion, then it would utilise its bargaining chip. Throughout their decades long relationship, the U.S. has invested over ten billion dollars into Egypt,[13] which the Obama administration continuously adds to with the 1.3 billion dollars in military aid that is given every year to Egypt.[14] Yet, despite this leverage, the administration has decided to just see where things go under el-Sisi's authoritarian government (US behaviour towards the past two dictators and two interim military governments could have predicted exactly that kind of attitude).

So why has the U.S. been stuck in this relationship with a dictatorship rut? Vital interests are keeping the U.S. tied to Egypt, such as Israel, oil resources, and use of the Suez Canal in particular.[15] And the U.S. justifies this relationship by proclaiming the continuation of democracy promotion,[16] but there isn't much consistency to this lofty statement. Today, there is still much censure and violence occurring in Egypt, and along with this authoritarian, is a continuation of a laissez-faire attitude from the U.S.

Ideas are rarely dangerous on their own; it is in their implementation that things go awry and the danger emerges. In this case, the U.S. has turned the idea of democracy into something perilous. For too long, the U.S. has been far off course its long-term goal of establishing a democratic Egypt. The United States still acts as if words alone are enough to turn Egypt into a fully established democracy. Moreover, it has been willing and content to concede to dictatorships out of a strategic and political interest that abandons morals. What Egypt really needs is a United States that is firmly against authoritarian regimes to begin Egypt's transition away from the harsh regime in place. George W. Bush once asserted, 'stability cannot be purchased at the expense of liberty,'[17] and he is right. The U.S. can no longer endorse human rights, all the while watching transgressions committed against those exact freedoms in Egypt's authoritarian regime. It is time for the United States to uphold its moral responsibilities and lessen the danger.

***Sarah** is a postgraduate student of International Relations of the Middle East with Arabic.*

# Dutch Jihadists in Syria

SYBILLA KITSIOS

The issue of jihadists travelling to and returning from the Syrian and Iraqi battlefields affects the Netherlands. As of November 1st 2014, a total of around 160 Dutch citizens have traveled to Syria or Iraq to join jihadist military groups, of which 18 have died and around 30 have returned.[1] The Dutch Coordinator for Security and Counterterrorism (NCTV) has expressed concern about the possibility of an attack in The Netherlands or against 'Dutch interests abroad'.[2] Returning jihadists, in particular, form a threat as they could, according to the NCTV, come back 'highly radicalized, traumatized and with a strong desire to commit violence.'[2] Furthermore, pursuant to the Dutch Intelligence and Security Service (AIVD), some of the Dutch jihadists are known to have been involved in 'atrocities', such as beheading prisoners.[3] Hence, an understanding of why some Dutch Muslims leave their loved ones and are willing to die in a foreign conflict zone is crucial.

The online-presented motives of Dutch *mujahideen* or jihadist foreign fighters justify the characteristics of previous writings on Muslims in the West and religious violence by Olivier Roy, Martijn de Koning and Mark Juergensmeyer. Their research has been used to draw conclusions on the material that Dutch fighters have published themselves, whilst in Syria. Firstly, this study will claim that the Dutch jihadists should be understood in light of a redefined Islam, whereby they see themselves in the footsteps of Prophet Muhammad. Secondly, it will assert that their polarised worldview gives them the feeling of fighting a cosmic war. Finally, it will argue that their belief in the need to restore the honour and dignity of the Islamic community, the *ummah*, gives them a feeling of empowerment.

The research is based on the 150-page Dutch manifesto titled De Banier ('The Banner'),[4] in which 'the Dutch *mujahideen* in Bilaad as-Shaam [Greater Syria]' expressed their motives.[5] It was published on their blog on October 18th, 2013. One of the authors was Abu Jandal; the rest are unknown.[6] Furthermore, five Dutch videos recorded by the *mujahideen* themselves and published between 23 May – 14 July 2014 on YouTube under the name of 'De Basis' ('The Base') and 'Shaam al-Malaahim' ('Epic Battles of Greater Syria') and totaling 75 minutes have been analysed.

The Dutch are not clear as for whom they are fighting. However, most join either Jabhat al-Nusra or DAESH.[3] Since this research argues about the motivations for travelling, it is not important to have a complete understanding of which jihadist movements they join. Furthermore, this research is not about their radicalisation process, but about the manner in which they describe the jihad.

## Redefining Islam

Roy argues that the spread of Islam around the globe has disconnected the religion from a specific culture – a process that he defines as deterritorialisation.[7] Roy substantiates his argument by the growing number of young Muslims in the West who identify themselves firstly as Muslim, instead of defining themselves according to their parents' origins.[7] Accordingly, the *ummah* becomes an 'imagined community',[8] where Muslims identify themselves with each other without really knowing each other.

Although it is hard to present a standard profile of the Dutch foreign fighters, the majority is of Moroccan origin. There are also some of Somali, Antillean, Afghan, Turkish or Kurdish origin, as well as ethnic Dutch converts. *The Banner* disagrees with the claim that Muslims should not travel to Syria 'since it is not their country'. Instead, it argues that Muslims 'should feel and behave as *one* body… [Muslims] help each other wherever' – proving Roy's term.[9]

In the process of reconstructing their identity as Muslims, some youngsters feel attracted to what Roy describes as 'neo-fundamentalism.' According to Roy, neo-fundamentalists consider themselves to be 'the only true Muslims.'[10] They reject the different schools of law and cultural and family traditions and instead advocate a return to the *salaf* – the pious ancestors – and the 'true tenets' of Islam: the Koran and the Sunnah.[10] They regard the Islamic world to be under a 'joint attack by western imperialism and domestic liberals' and blame 'foreigners or 'bad' Muslims' for the decline of Muslim civilisation.[10] Hence, they wish to purify the world and restore the *ummah*, for which violence does not need to be shunned.

Furthermore, since Muslims in the West live in a minority, they are forced to reflect on and redefine their faith. In his research of religious beliefs and identity construction among Moroccan-Dutch youth in the city of Gouda, De Koning argues that feelings of stigmatisation and discrimination lead to an increase in religiosity.[11] Particularly since '9/11', Muslims are being portrayed negatively in the media and are continuously criticised by non-Muslims. De Koning claims that the experience of negative attitude towards Islam impels young Dutch Muslims to abandon their national identity. This leads to explicit articulation of their religious identity.[11] He, furthermore, asserts that many Muslims believe that Islam is subject to double standards. This feeling confirms their belief that they are second-class citizens and that there is a battle being waged against Islam, further intensifying the boundary drawn between Muslims and non-Muslims.[12]

Importantly in their videos is how the Dutch *mujahideen* present themselves physically: following the example of the Prophet Muhammad, they have grown their beard and wear – when not in combat – traditional clothing. *The Banner's* cover, furthermore, depicts militants planting a black banner in the ground. On the flag, the Islamic creed is prominently written prominently proving that the *mujahideen* clearly refer to the time of the Prophet: like Muhammad, they fight under the black *banner* for the foundation of an Islamic caliphate. Accordingly, a Dutch fighter says in a video that the main reason he and other Dutch fighters have left The Netherlands and travelled to Syria is 'to establish the faith of Allah on earth.'[13]

Moreover, feelings of an intolerant atmosphere towards Islam and the sense of injustice and humiliation resulting from this are prominent in the motivations of Dutch jihad travellers. Under the subheading 'xenophobia as trademark', *The Banner* speaks worryingly about the hostility towards Muslims in the West: 'If people were to believe politicians and the media, the West seems to have just one problem: the presence of Islam and Muslims.'[14] The 28-year old 'Abu Azzam al-Holandi' from Amsterdam, states that in The Netherlands 'you must adjust to Dutch society, or else you do not belong in it… it is to adapt or to leave'[15] Hereby he draws a clear line of distinction between being Dutch and being Muslim. Hence, he does not understand why two 'sisters' trying to travel to Syria have been stopped at the airport and interprets this as a sign that Muslims are not allowed to practice their faith anywhere.

Apart from physical characteristics and symbols, the emigration of Dutch jihadists can thus be seen as imitation of the Prophet: just like the 622 *hijra* of the Prophet, they emigrate in order to practice their religion in complete freedom and fight against the injustice done upon Muslims. Indeed, as Roy and De Koning argued, social and political tensions play an important role in their decision to travel.

## Polarised Worldview

Juergensmeyer researched religious violence and argues that acts of religious terrorism should be seen as 'symbolic statements aimed at providing a sense of empowerment to desperate communities.'[16] Religion is crucial for these acts, since it 'provides images of cosmic war that allow activists to believe that they are waging spiritual scenarios.'[16] According to Juergensmeyer, the sense of 'empowerment' obtained from fighting a cosmic war can merely be generated with the creation of 'an evil foe, a negative reference to which one can position oneself and over which one can hope to triumph.'[17]

A cosmic-war narrative could also be outlined in *The Banner* and the videos, in which Islam is seen as the ultimate good and the Western system as the ultimate evil. Apart from contrasting themselves with 'the West', the Dutch *mujahideen* believe that the West also places itself against the Islamic community since it, as a secular democracy, cherishes 'an inherent hate towards religion.'[18] Indeed, this narrative provides Dutch *mujahideen* the legitimisation to use religious violence.

Along these lines, the capitalistic system of the West is believed to encourage 'tobacco addiction, alcohol addiction, gambling, porn and all sorts of other addictions.' By bringing several examples forth, *The Banner* tries to demonstrate that 'Western capitalism structurally rapes and plunders our [Muslim] countries (…) and oppresses and exploits our [Muslim] people.'[18] The system 'lives on the weaknesses and suffering of man', as opposed to Sharia, where 'the health, life, intellect, honour, dignity and property of people' come first.[18] The authors continue with a numeration of incidents like shootings, rapes and child molestation that, in their view, show 'the moral decay in which the West is currently drowning.'[18] They question why every crime committed by a Muslim is 'bloated disproportionately', while 'all these horrendous crimes of the West are overlooked.'[18] The image of 'civilised Westerners' versus 'uncivilised under-developed terrorist' is therefore wrongful in the eyes of the authors; they see it vice-versa.[18]

Accordingly, the image of an *ummah* in distress is present. The Muslim community has been overrun by the Western world in political, economic and military matters. Its lands are occupied, its natural resources exploited, its women dishonoured, its preachers imprisoned and its holy places desecrated.[19] The deplorable situation of the umma is further elaborated in overviews of conflict in different regions of the Muslim world; the 'ruling tyrants' of Egypt, Palestine and Saudi-Arabia are the most prominent featured. They are accused of working against an Islamic society under Sharia law – and therefore against Muslims – and are thus regarded to be 'puppet regimes' of the West.[19]

The question why Dutch Muslims only seem to join the battle in Syria is often explained by the fact that Syria is easy to travel to. However, the 'End of Times' is prophecised as a result of the violence in Syria.[19] Accordingly, in a chapter entitled 'the legendary conflict', *The Banner* explains that the war in Syria 'is not just a war', but one which 'will change the Arab-Islamic world.'[19] The importance of this conviction can further be highlighted by the title and the black banner depicted on the cover page of the Dutch manuscript. Not only does the black flag refer to the black banner under which the Prophet was fighting his enemies, it is also a symbol that refers to the revolt in the End of Times. Hence, beginning with the war in Syria, they hope to eventually destroy Western power structures and implement their interpretation of Islam all over the world.

Thus, the Dutch *mujahideen* see themselves both as protagonists of the true Islam in the footsteps of the Prophet Muhammad and as vanguards, since they anticipate on the final judgment that will result in an Islamic caliphate and aim to vindicate the *ummah*. This gives them a sense of 'empowerment', together with a belief to fight an inherent evil enemy – a phenomenon Juergensmeyer describes as 'cosmic war.'

The position of the *mujahideen* regarding the *ummah* could be defined as ambiguous. On the one hand they associate with the community, but on the other, they see themselves as its leader and liberator. Furthermore, all enemies of the *ummah* – that is everybody who does not agree with their implementation of Sharia – are defined as 'non believers' or 'hypocrites', even when they call themselves Muslim.[20] Hence, the Dutch *mujahideen* have excommunicated them and regard them to be on the same level as the West. Given the limitations of this research, the *mujahideen* are considered to be one coherent category. The fighters, however, are spread across different groups between which discordance exists.

## Honour and Dignity

The grand theme of *The Banner* and the Dutch jihadist videos is injustice done upon the *ummah* and the loss of honour that the *mujahideen* relate to this phenomenon. *The Banner* differs from the videos in that it includes examples of feelings that Western societies apply double standards when it comes to Muslims, ranging from harsher crime sentences to their political stance on certain matters.[21] It is, for example, claimed that the West condemned the use of chemical weapons by Assad regime, while allowing it to 'massacre, rape, destroy and torture ten thousands of innocent citizens.'[21] Moreover, the United States and Israel never got penalised for using weapons that are forbidden by international law in Gaza, Iraq and Afghanistan. Accordingly, *The Banner* feels that 'Muslim blood is worth nothing in the eyes of the international community' and argues jihad is the only manner to stop the 'warlike West.'[21]

Most of the videos include lengthy scenes in which the impact of Assad's missiles is shown. In one video, a Dutch fighter guides his audience through a deserted and destroyed area of Aleppo. He enters fully furnished, but demolished buildings, which have been clearly abandoned in a rush. According to the Dutch fighter, people were forced to leave everything 'because of their own government, who destroyed everything they had.'[22] The *mujahid* then walks towards a pile of sand and small rocks. The contours of dead bodies are visible; according to the fighter the enemy's soldiers have been buried here. Whilst kneeling on the grave, the fighter explains that this is the 'destiny of everybody fighting against Allah and the Muslims.'[22] In the midst of the smell of the 'rotten kuffar', the Dutch jihadist feels good to see that 'men who have fulfilled their duties to protect the weak of society' have punished 'the wrongdoer:' 'Just how many women has this man killed and how many children has he brutally slaughtered? But then he ran into the *mujahideen*, the soldiers of Allah.'[22] He continues to say that one of the reasons the Dutch fighters travelled to Syria is 'to defend the blood, the honour and the properties of Muslims.'[23]

This important scene proves several aspects that confirm Roy, De Koning, and Juergesmeyer's theories. Firstly, it asserts the fact that the Dutch fighters affiliate with the destiny of each Muslim, regardless of nationality. Religious identity thus replaced cultural identity – we see here Roy's term detteritorialisation in practice – and the *ummah* becomes an imagined community. Secondly, it proves that the Dutch *mujahideen* regard themselves to be the guardian of the *ummah*, as they claim to restore the honour and dignity of the suffering and helpless community. Thus, from feeling suppressed whilst in the Netherlands, the Dutch *mujahideen* now get a sense of empowerment.

The online-presented motives of the Dutch foreign fighters lend credit to the characteristics of previous writings by Roy, De Koning and Juergensmeyer. Firstly, Roy and De Koning pointed out that being Muslim in the West emphasises religious identity, since Muslims are a minority and must deal with feelings of discrimination and stigmatisation. In this context, they have redefined Islam. The Dutch *mujahideen* can be placed in what Roy describes as 'neo-fundamentalism', since they believe to be the guardians of the 'true' Islam and see themselves in the footsteps of the Prophet. Furthermore, it has been proven that social and political tensions play an important role in their decision to travel.

Secondly, Juergensmeyer argued that religion provides a cosmic war-narrative, which gives a feeling of empowerment. We have seen that the Dutch fighters polarise the world into the ultimate good system – Sharia – versus the ultimate evil – Democracy or the West. Their battle for the establishment of the Sharia thus gives them the feeling that they are saving their community. This is further confirmed by the prophesy of the 'End of Times.'

Finally, by insisting on the injustice done upon Muslims and the feeling of humiliation that goes along with this, fighting in Syria gives the *mujahideen* the feeling that they are restoring the honour and dignity of their community. The fighters thus not only present themselves as following the footsteps of their Prophet, but also as vanguards of their community. Feelings of humiliation have thus been turned into a sense of empowerment, which fits Juergensmeyer's theory.

Given this research, to stop Dutch Muslims from travelling to conflict zones, it is of crucial importance that Muslims feel they are part of the Dutch society and do not form an oppressed community. The Dutch government should, furthermore, reflect on its Middle-Eastern foreign policy, and assess its potential impact on Muslims in The Netherlands.

***Sybilla** is a postgraduate student of Arab World Studies.*

# North America

*As the second largest democracy in the world, the United States derives its strength from its diversity of opinions and each citizen's right to express theirs freely. However this has also created divisiveness amongst those whose opinions and visions for the country contradict each other and, as has been seen recently, these contradictions are widespread and deeply embedded. Every issue is met with contention and, as a result, relatively little action has been taken to address some of the most important issues faced by America today. Too long has the American political system been characterised by stale ideas and this has been detrimental to the progress of US policy; in order to combat the problems of the U.S., bold and dangerous ideas need to be at minimum assessed and taken into consideration.*

*The articles in this edition of the* Leviathan *tackle some of the most pressing and varied issues facing the United States. With the presence of the United States in the Middle East transitioning from a traditional military force to a more passive and, arguably, more cohesive force with the mass use of drone strikes, Vilde Sofie Ronin examines the morality of this modern tactic and its place in the future. On the domestic front, Jack Gray explores the modern paradigm of student debt in the U.S. and how contemporary ideas are clashing with contemporary structures, Lastly, Andrew Womer discusses the lagging role of the U.S. in the fight against climate change.*

***Andrew Womer***

REGIONAL EDITOR

## Nevermind the Drone War

***VILDE SOFIE RODIN** investigates the consequences of America's use of force-short-of-war.*

The introduction of the combat drone has indulged 'the oldest dream of the second oldest profession': the desire to kill from a great distance.[1] Surgical airstrikes fired by American reachback operators in Nevada can by the push of a button eliminate al-Qaeda targets in Yemen, Somalia, and Pakistan.[2] None of these countries are currently at war with the U.S., yet U.S. forces eliminate targets in their territory, often with tacit or open consent from the 'host government'. Heinze calls this a 'regime of non-state responsibility'; a situation where weak states are not responsible for what goes on within their porous borders.[3] Killing citizens of another country during times of peace is illegal according to our current understanding of just war theory. Yet, with the expansion of drone-warfare, a demand for a renewal of just war theory, and the doctrine of *jus ad bellum* especially, has arisen. Particularly, the framework of jus as *vim* has been suggested as an alternative. This article will elucidate the consequences of introducing *jus ad vim* through examining American post-9/11 drone-warfare, conducted in the ethical vacuum in which the struggle against terrorism takes place. Though controversial, and perhaps even dangerous, it may be the best alternative to explain and control the thus far unregulated use of transnational force.

The just war tradition can be summed up in two questions: how does one determine the justice of going to war (*jus ad bellum*) and how does one determine what one can do in war (*jus in bello*). This bipolar categorisation has recently been challenged by scholars claiming that there is a 'morally ambiguous' grey area to which the 'argument about *jus ad bellum* needs to be extended.'[4] Walzer makes a distinction between 'measures short-of-war' and 'actual warfare', stating that '[w]e urgently need a theory of just and unjust use of force.'[5] Measures short-of-war include no-fly zones, pinpoint missile-strikes and sanctions, while traditional warfare relates to large-scale bombings and ground invasion. The differences are twofold: firstly, the former measures are 'very different from war' and, secondly, while both lethal force-short-of-war and warfare are morally wrong, use of war is more wrong than use of force.[6]

The ethical framework relating to just use of lethal force is called *jus ad vim*, where *vim* represents 'force-short-of-war.'[7] Ford defines use of *vim* as 'an act of intentional killing of a person who is a culpable unjust threat, by a member of a military institution, acting on behalf of a legitimate political community which is not at war.'[8] This is reminiscent of American airstrikes against suspected Al-Qaeda operatives. The current post-9/11 paradigm has, due to globalisation and the rise of terrorism, seen a decline of warfare understood as 'direct state-to-state conflict,' and the rise of war against tactics—war on terror.[9] The reigning tradition of *jus ad bellum* fails to theorise such an asymmetrical structure. Introducing *jus ad vim* would arguably create a framework to address the fact that transnational violence in world affairs can often be inflicted both unjustly and with impunity.[10] However, this introduction is not unproblematic.

First, *jus ad vim* challenges our understanding of war. Currently, *jus ad bellum* outlines key criteria that need to be met in order to go to just war: proper authority, just cause, probability of success, proportionality, and last resort.[11] These criteria are widely accepted and have been gradually codified in international law. The introduction of *jus ad vim* challenges several of these principles. One example is that of 'last resort', a principle that may be loosened if just 'war' is replaced with just 'force.'[12] The principle of last resort makes it clear that a state should not go to war unless every sensible, non-violent alternative has been unsuccessfully attempted.[13] This threshold has become increasingly important following the dawn of nuclear weapons, making total war even less desirable. Force-short-of-war, however, is employed systematically and with impunity in countries that are, perhaps unwillingly, 'with the terrorists'. *Vim* drone strikes are not subject to limits set by *jus ad bellum*, and non-violent alternatives, such as the capture of terrorists, is rarely advocated. Military robotics eliminates risk to ourselves in war, and 'lowers the barriers to starting or engaging in wars in the first place', insofar as it limits human, social, economic, and political costs.[14] Hence, the 'problem of drones', and of a potential *jus ad vim* framework in general, is that it has become a measure of first, rather than last, resort.[15]

As opposed to missions on the ground, drones offer a degree of non-existent physical risk to American troops and are popular among a war-tired electorate. They often offer precise and predictable outcomes, limit civilian casualties and have dramatically lower military and economic costs than traditional warfare.[16] As such, it is more appealing to eliminate 'enemies of state' without having to justify, afford, or implement conventional warfare. Drones are particularly advantageous as they provide 'limited, pinprick, covert strike[s]', used 'to avoid a wider war.'[17] Indeed, to avoid total war the U.S. engages limited lethal force perpetually, in what Enemark calls *vis perpetua*, or perpetual force.[18] This may over time develop into a perpetual overhanging threat of war and destabilise the perceived balance of violence, if used against the wrong party. In sum, we see continuous use of *vim*, often against civilians,[19] under a banner of peace; to avoid total war countries cherry-pick weapons from an à la carte menu of force without ordering the entire assortment of war, which would be both too expensive and too time consuming.

It is important to remember is that combat drone technology is not necessarily bad. Surgical strikes strengthen *jus in bello* criteria of distinction and proportionality.[20] However, the abovementioned affordability and availability of combat-drones contribute to lowering the threshold of assassination across borders. If we allow the military to use force-short-of-war, and with it, combat-drones, in a 'broader context,'[21] the frequency of political force will increase and the level of destruction will rise.[22] *Jus ad vim* cannot lessen the ethical burden of violence, and may lead us into a first resort 'slippery-slope' of violence.[23] Additionally, allowing 'regulated' *jus ad vim* violence softens the description and immorality of political violence, making it more permissive.

That being said, we must not forget that this is the reality we are faced with today. Lethal force-short-of war is already a vast component of the post-9/11-paradigm, and the use of combat-drones will likely increase in the future. The U.S. has launched 413 drone-strikes in Pakistan alone between 2004 and 2015, 362 of which were under

President Obama. The number of deaths is disputed, and range from 2438 to 3942.[24] These numbers show that force-short-of-war is unlikely to decrease; it is the 'only game in town'.[25] As the reach of global terrorism has expanded, the employment of combat-drones has followed suit. The 'regime of non-state responsibility' has not only led to an expansion of the right of self-defence, but also to the loosening of constraints on the use of force against states who allow terrorist activity in their lands.[26] When faced with the threat of terrorism, 'the point of last resort may arrive prior to the point of imminence.'[27] Using force has only become easier with time and technological development, which may indicate that the threshold of last resort may already have been crossed.

As seen, there are many sound arguments against the introduction of *jus ad vim*, including the weakening of last resort, followed by the above-mentioned slippery-slope of violence. However, as Walzer suggests, the threshold of last resort may not be lowered; it may already have been crossed independently of *jus ad vim*.[28] If the criterion of last resort has already been lowered beyond recognition, it may be better to accept and adapt to the inevitable and introduce *jus ad vim* as an alternative to *jus ad bellum*. Today, there is little restriction on the use of drone strikes. By opening lethal force-short-of-war up for regulation, you can hope to inhibit the further movement down the slippery-slope.[29]

In sum, it may be convenient to find a theoretical middle-ground between the zone of peace and zone of war where the struggle against terrorism takes place. The paradigm in which stronger states, for example America, punish and kill criminals and terrorists in foreign jurisdictions will likely remain in play for the foreseeable future. The 'normalisation' of the combat drone should be followed by a just war-language of regulation; the question remains if the imperfect *jus ad vim* is the right language to employ. The introduction of an internationally codified *jus ad vim* framework would address how drones and *vim* postpone total war, whilst perhaps simultaneously lowering the threshold for violence outside of war. The point of contention is whether or not this has already happened, or if we can still control the further development of the just use of *vim*. The debate outlined above shows that it is important to discuss the moral implications of combat-drones, the future of just war theory and to renew *jus ad bellum* post-9/11. Violence may be both 'unavoidable and unjustifiable';[30] however through *jus ad vim* we can hope for it to become controllable.

***Vilde** is the Treasurer of* Leviathan.

# Student Debt as the Cause of Crisis

*JACK GRAY illustrates how college debt in the United States poses a threat to the economic system as a whole.*

A discussion about finance with any of the United States' twenty-one million current students, or their recent predecessors in higher education, will almost certainly centre on the issue of student debt.[1] As post-secondary education has become an increasingly important factor for employment in recent decades, enrolment and graduation has become more of a requirement than a choice. Combined with the continuing effects of the 2008 recession, the huge increases in college tuition fees have fallen largely on the middle class, as employment prospects for graduates worsen.[2] However, the costs of spiralling student debt could be far more serious, and widespread, than long term debt on the individual. With students and their families defaulting on larger and larger amounts of debt, is the U.S. economy prepared to deal with the consequences? Are U.S. politicians doing enough to ensure that higher education continues to be more of a benefit than a burden?

In June 2006 the U.S. department of education released a study of a group of students who had engaged in higher education between 1992 and 1993, called 'Dealing With Debt 1992–93 Bachelor's Degree: Recipients 10 Years Later'.[3] The study found that, for the group surveyed, 'most appeared able to handle their debt', both in the case of those who did and did not complete the higher education for which their loans were intended.[4] Moreover, 74 per cent of interviewee's had repaid their debt in full by the study's conclusion in 2003. Graduates in recent years provide a different story. As the cost of education has increased, recent graduates remain the only group who have seen their median net worth decrease and savings drastically reduced in comparison to previous generations.[5] Josh Zumbrun of *The Wall Street Journal* wrote that post-recession, young Americans 'are burning through their assets or going into debt' as a result of student loans.[6] One of the major causes of student debt lies with the current Federal loan scheme for students. These programmes, such as the Stafford loans, are subject to limitations in the amount of money they can lend out to students, and thus fail to meet the price of many colleges, particularly the more prestigious universities that educate large numbers of students.[7] This discrepancy has led to increasing reliance on private sector loans to pay for education, often paid for by students themselves or their families, who are largely from the middle class and are, as a result, unable to obtain additional Federal Aid.[8]

The last major attempt to tackle the student debt issue came under the Obama administration in 2010 with the Student Aid and Fiscal Responsibility Act. The Act eliminated Federal subsidies for private education loans in an attempt to end abuses by the financial sector.[9] The legislation also moved more funding into the direct Federal loan system, but despite this, Professor Jonathan Glater believes that the Act did not go far enough to help students. Notably it fell short by not granting enough funding to eliminate the recourse to private loans to fill the gap between Federal loans and tuition costs.[10] The consequences of insufficient action in regards to student debt are fiercely debated, especially by those within the education community. Glater and other commentators point to the social impact of debt, highlighting unwillingness to start small businesses, less politically motivated individuals, and stunted technological and financial innovation.[11] However, as the discussion on the burden of Student debt increases, many look to the failure of the U.S. government to combat the growing market for private student loans as the major concern.

But why is a private student loan market bad? It is bad because, unlike the government, the objective of private banks, as businesses, is to maximise profit. When banks, or another private lender, lend out money, whether it be for student debt or mortgages, the set the terms for the loan. Normally a student, or borrower, is required to pay a certain portion of the money lent off, periodically with interest, over the course of a designated amount of time. With any loan that a private bank makes, there is risk. Risk that the person that they have lent to will default on their loan, which is to say not pay back the money that has been lent to them along with the interest owed, the latter being the major source of profit for lending in general. Under normal market conditions, banks must manage this risk in order to protect their profitability; thus, when lending, banks tend to select candidates who are likely to pay the loan back with interest. Loans with well-qualified borrowers are known as prime loans.[12]

The problem, which was seen with the mortgage market prior to the 2008 crash, is that student loans are being bundled into securities, a tradable financial asset, and sold off to investors.[13] Once student loans are made into a financial asset and sold by the lender to an investor, the risk of the private bank, or the original lender, is eliminated.[14] This is an oversimplification of the process, but as a result, banks have incentive to simply make loans that they can sell off to investors, maximising profit. Hence, banks lend to almost anybody willing to take out a loan, regardless of whether or not they are likely to be able to pay it back, because this is no longer a consideration for profit from the banks' perspective. Loans such as these, made to unqualified candidates, are called subprime loans.[15] As a result, higher rates of default on loans are seen, which can have adverse effects on any sector of the economy involved in the buying, selling, or investing of these subprime loans, as well as the individuals to which the loans were made. This was the basic structure of the mortgage market prior to the subprime mortgage crisis in 2008, and many see this as the structure for student debt lending in the private sector.[16] And although the $1.7 trillion student debt is a fraction of what was involved in the 2008 recession, the situation as it is could potentially destabilise the fragile, recovering market of the United States over the next decade.[17]

Student debt is an issue which deserves to wait no longer. While recent efforts to deal with the problem have been a step in the right direction, much more must be done to combat the immense threat that idleness poses.

***Jack** is a first year student of History & Politics.*

# The Politics of Climate Change

***ANDREW WOMER** explains why the Clean Power Plan represents a turning point in U.S. environmental policy.*

More than any other, climate change has been the issue that has defined our generation and indeed our century thus far, and will likely continue to do so in the years to come. In the United States, the debate on climate change is particularly contentious, much more so than in other developed countries. Some evoke the point that contentiousness is largely to do with the fact that a portion of the American public does not recognise climate change as a reality. There is some truth to this; a recent study found that, in America, 23 per cent do not believe that global warming is happening at all, which amounts to nearly one fourth of the entire population.[1] In fact, there are several prominent congressmen whose views qualify as those of a climate change 'denier' or 'sceptic'. These include Senate Majority leader Mitch McConnell and Jim Inhofe, who in late February actually brought a snowball to the Senate floor to demonstrate the silliness of global warming, perhaps in turn achieving the opposite effect.[2]

However, while the views of the sceptics and deniers certainly do have an impact on climate change policy, the major debate among the American public, as well as in Washington, is more along the lines of what to do about climate change. Recently the Obama administration proposed the Clean Power Plan through the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), which will be one of the first actions taken by the United States Federal government to combat climate change.[3] What lessons can be learned from the proposal and the reactions it sparked when considering the future of U.S. policy towards global warming?

Proposed in June 2014, the Clean Power Plan is the 'first-ever carbon pollution standards for existing power plants' and aims to build 'the path toward a 30 [per cent] reduction in carbon pollution from the power sector by 2030' compared with 2005 levels.[4] The federal government hopes to achieve this nationwide goal by working with states to help 'reinforce the actions already being taken by states and utilities to upgrade aging electricity infrastructure with 21st century technologies', all the while giving states a certain amount of flexibility in achieving the target figure.[5][6] The plan was well received in the liberal spheres of America, many believing that, while it does not go far enough in the promotion of green energy, it could go a long way in making the U.S. a leader in the fight against global warming.[7] In contrast, on the other end of the political spectrum, the plan received little support. Many conservative media outlets such as the Wall Street Journal and Fox News, as well as many Republican congressmen, have labelled the Clean Power Plan a 'war on coal'.[8] This rather condemnatory label is derived from the assertion from conservatives that the Clean Power Plan will kill the coal industry, thereby driving up prices of electricity, creating job loss, and as a whole having an adverse effect on the economy, especially in working class towns that have traditionally relied on coal mining as a source for income.[9] Recently Senator Mitch McConnell has even labelled the plan 'political extremism' and called upon fellow Senate republicans to fight the proposal in the hopes of getting it revoked.[10]

First of all, the fallacies of the Conservative claims must be pointed out. While the emission control being introduced by this plan will not benefit the coal industry, it will not kill coal, for it is already a dying breed. Compiled with the recent decline in demand by European and Asian countries, in particular China, and coal's domestic competition with the surging oil industry, coal in the US is on an inevitable decline.[11] However, there are definitely some truths to the sentiments of the Conservatives on Obama's Clean Power Plan. For instance, it is true that at least within the conceivable future, any plan to reduce emissions would result in higher prices and job losses. This adheres to the basic principles of economics; due to the emission requirements, power companies will be forced to reduce the quantity supplied of carbon power on the market, thereby driving up prices. Further, less labour will be required to produce the lesser quantity supplied on the market, hence the job loss in the power sector.

While Democrats might be defensive to the economic attacks, if climate change is to be combatted, an increase in the price of carbon-based power must happen. This is because, at the end of the day, price is a rationing system—a way to allocate resources whether under natural market conditions or not. Hence increasing the price of carbon-based power pressures consumers to consume less of it, thereby reducing the amount of carbon emitted into the atmosphere. As such, through this lens, the Clean Power Plan presents an economic sacrifice for environmental gain. However, this perception of economic loss might also be the result of short-sightedness on the part of Conservatives. With a decrease in the production of coal and perhaps other carbon-based power, the market for green technology opens up, as the relative production price will be lower than before.[12] As such, the development of green technology could, in the long run, create a job market with the capacity to employ a good portion, if not all, of those employed in the coal and gas industries as we see them now.[13]

In conclusion it is apparent that the tides are turning in the U.S. when it comes to climate change policy. This is eloquently illustrated by the Clean Power Plan introduced just last summer which, although meeting backlash, is making strides that will be a model for generations to come.

***Andrew** is* Leviathan's *Editor for North America.*

# International

*Dangers are everywhere, even in our minds. The ideas that fuel the world into wars, bankruptcies, and oppressions come from ourselves. While terror justifies its indiscriminate killing despite noncombatant immunity, counter-terror excuses itself with short-of-war forces. While some are being seduced by the idea of the gold standard, the marketisation of the environment appeases the worst excesses of humanity. While nostalgia for Athenian democracy questions the elitism in which we acquiesce today, the order between states and individuals deserves new examination. The ideas of antioppression, emergency, and collective responsibility encouraged terrorists to wage war. According to Joseph Gayeski, however, these ideas are sound, yet foul.*

*Depriving countries of their autonomy, the gold standard is less ideal than the arrogance of humanity for Maxwell Greenberg. Putting pricetags on trees looks sensible for the market, yet prioritises the consumption of the environment, according to Pauline Op de Beeck. Matija Tomanovic accuses the distorted western democracy by showing the merit of sortation and lottery rules. The Deputy Editor in Chief, coincidentally, questions the state-citizen social contract that tricked the world into non-freedom 'order' for centuries. Terror-war or short-of-war, money-for-gold or air-for-sale, democracy-on-fate or rise-against-states. We have taken too many ideas for granted. Yet, we have also suffered too many dangers unawares. In this section, we look at ideas that could shake the world.*

***Yuechen Wang***

REGIONAL EDITOR

# The Demise of the Social Contract

***LENE KORSEBERG** explores why we need to come up with an alternative theoretical framework for political authority.*

Ever since Thomas Hobbes published his now infamous *Leviathan* in 1651, our understanding of political authority, the state, and the citizen has been closely tied to the idea of the social contract.[1] The concept was expanded and interpreted in various ways by John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Immanuel Kant, and more recently by John Rawls and Joseph Raz.[2] However, this line of reasoning, so ingrained in western political philosophy, has come under increasing pressure over the years, and many now question whether it makes sense to try to understand contemporary political life in terms of the social contract.[3] But if this is the case, what are we then left with? Might it be time for us to come up with a different understanding of political authority altogether?

The social contract, generally defined, refers to the idea that, 'in some way, the agreement (or consent) of all individuals subject to collectively enforced social arrangements shows that those arrangements have some normative property.'[4] In political terms, this implies that by consenting to giving up some of their individual autonomy, a group of people grant legitimacy to the decisions made by a political body on their behalf and agree to abide by them. The theory of the social contract is often expanded to include the existence of a duty to obey on part of the citizen; because the subjects have consented and thereby granted legitimacy to the

authority of a given state, there rests a correlative duty on them to obey its commands.[5] It should be noted that the social contract has been developed on a number of different grounds, for example the natural duty of justice, fair play, and gratitude.[6] However, the most convincing theories have been based on the notion of consent, which is what we will focus on here. The essence of the doctrine of consent is the claim that 'no man is obligated to support or comply with any political power unless he has personally consented to its authority over him.'[7]

The idea of the social contract as the basis for political authority remained largely unchallenged until the second part of 20th century, over 300 years after it was first proposed by Hobbes. Then, in 1979, a book was published by John Simmons, which gave a convincing account of why this understanding of authority, and particularly the notion that there exists a duty to obey the law, must be stringently questioned. Although Simmons acknowledges that '[c]onsent theory has provided us with a more intuitively appealing account of political obligation than any other tradition in modern political theory', he argues that it does not hold as a valid foundation for the social contract.[8] The primary reason for this is that no contemporary understanding or expression of government is likely to ever achieve the explicit consent of all or even most of its subjects; few of us, if any, has consented to the political arrangements of the society in which we live and it is highly unlikely that we will ever get the chance to do so.[9] To address these concerns, some social contract theorists have proposed the notion of implicit or tacit consent. Their argument goes as follows: by failing to resist or object to the authoritative commands of a political authority, for example by continuing to receive in the state in which you live, you have consented to the authority of that state.[10] However, it quickly becomes clear that such a reformulation does not provide us with much further clarity. Not only are you left with the problem of determining when tacit consent in fact can be said to have been given, but you are also faced with the practical objection that most of us have simply been born into a political entity in which 'opting-out' is not a real option.[11] Even if we wanted to withhold or withdraw our consent we are left unable to do so because of today's rigid understanding of citizenship and statehood.

But if the concept of the social contract rests on such shaky foundations, why do scholars still cling to it as the golden standard of social organisation? One reason might be that it is intuitively attractive; when trying to legitimise the coercive acts carried out by the state, it is tempting to ground those act in voluntarism, that is, to place the origin of those coercive acts on the individuals themselves.[12] Another reason might be that, up until quite recently, the idea of the social contract, although flawed, made sense. To a large extent, we have John Rawls to thank for this. By introducing the idea of the 'original position' and the 'veil of ignorance', Rawls managed to salvage the basis of the social contract by showing us what we would have consented to had we found ourselves in a position of absolute equality and perfect information.[13] His famous difference principle, stating that any benefit gained by some is permissible insofar as it is not gained at the expense of the worst off, is a good illustration of this.[14]

However, in an era where more and more decisions are made outwith the realm of domestic democratic process, through intelligence efforts, NGOs, international organisations, and anti-terrorism measures to name a few, there are good reasons for questioning whether the state now has moved beyond those powers originally granted to it by the social contract.[15] Perhaps, then, it is time that we start working towards identifying a foundation for political authority that actually has a theoretical explanatory force.

Such efforts are slowly being made, although we have a long way to go before a satisfactory alternative framework is presented. I agree with Sartorius when he says that, in order to truly understand legitimate political authority, we need to separate the question of political authority from the question of political obligation. That is, we need to move focus away from understanding authority in terms of the duty to obey toward the question of what makes an authoritative command legitimate.[16] Indeed, the question should be one of legitimacy, namely when is a political entity entitled to make authoritative commands over its subjects.

It would be foolish to think that such a task will be easy. Indeed, some might even argue that the issue outlined here is fundamentally irrelevant. And in fact, in some ways, such sceptics are right. Just because we cannot come up with a satisfactory explanation for political authority, the everyday life of ordinary people will probably carry on as normal. Just because we are forced to accept the position of the philosophical anarchist does not mean that actual anarchy in terms of chaos and confusion must inevitably follow.[17]

But if this is so, why are we even having this discussion? If it has no practical impact on the lives of you and me, why should we bother? Plainly speaking, my answer is this: because it does matter for the lives of you and me. If not today, then tomorrow. In an era where more and more decisions are made outwith the realm of democratic process, in a time of increased surveillance, the expansion of the internet, non-governmental organisations and global information sharing, it is extremely important that we return to the basic question of how we want to organise our society. The protests of the Arab spring, the riots in Ferguson, and the war in Ukraine show us that we are still in the process of figuring out how we want to organise the political entity in which we live. Unfortunately, the idea of the social contract might not carry enough weight anymore to satisfy such demands. Let us therefore return to the fundamentals and ask these questions sooner rather than later.

***Lene** is* Leviathan's *Deputy Editor in Chief.*

# The Dangers of Misinformation

***REBECCA ROSSER** draws attention to the threats posed by the dramatisation of politics.*

Currently, politics is being dramatised in the media and on TV, with shows like *House of Cards, Scandal*, and *The Thick of It* being more popular than ever. In view of the development of weapons of mass destruction, the radicalisation of certain groups, and the necessary compromise to achieve a peace that does not appear to be arising naturally, politics must be informed as it is, namely as 'the art of establishing who gets what, when and how' by means of negotiations, discourses, diplomacy and support.[1] It should not be regarded as a TV show, one episode following another, with the objective of entertaining viewers at home.[2]

The dramatisation of politics by means of pantomime and mockery is extremely dangerous because, although dishonesty might not be the main intention, it opens up for allowing people to believe a skewed version of events.[3] Thus, politicians are increasingly viewed as mere puppets or personages in a play and, 'the word 'politics' [is] widely seen as boring, irrelevant and an immediate turn-off.'[4] Nevertheless, the competition for who gets what, when and how requires the making of decisions on critical issues such the intervention in conflict, cuts on public expenditure, and the selection of means to ensure the respect of human rights.[5] This is not the time to portray politicians in yellow, disregard them in a play, or present their actions as part of a narrative.

Peter Pomerantsev wrote in an article entitled 'Inside Putin's Information War' that in one of his meetings in Ostankino, the Soviet-era television centre, he witnessed how one of Russia's most famous TV presenters said: 'We all know there would be no real politics but we still need have to give our viewers the sense that something is happening.'[6] Well, regardless of how entertaining the script of those false politics is, words and actions are different. Words constitute actions but actions determine the truth of those words. 'Russians — and the world — watched, stupefied, [the invasion of Crimea] in their living rooms,'[7] but as the EU advanced in the inclusion of Ukraine in the Union and the USA limited the access of Russian officials to the country,[8] the words started to loose sense and credibility.

Moreover, despite wishes to 'direct… society on a great reality show',[9] society's benevolence is 'like a ticking bomb… The war on reality could only end in a real war.'[10] As long as the media simply elaborates a narrative in which conflicts are developed through the lives of gangsters and models and where presidents only appear if they have something to hide,[11] people will spot the dif-ference and the lack of correlation between political figures' words and actions.

Furthermore, a lack of confidence in the media and in politics will hinder social unity and aggravate citizens' dissidence towards political decisions. Consequently, settlements to intervene in foreign conflicts, arrangements to manage public expenditure, and the ensuring of respect for human rights will be enormously difficult due to political figures' loss of both *potestas* and *auctoritas*.[12]

Let us illustrate this with an example of a public figure who, despite his lack of formal political power, has a powerful *auctoritas*. Pope Francis, leader of the Catholic Church, does not hesitate to make his position clear and his statements comprehensible to all, however controversial those statements might be. Furthermore, despite the criticism that his comments might be subjected to, it has to be admitted that there is little space for misinterpretation. Formally, he has no other responsi-bilities than promoting Catholicism and defending the Doctrines of the Church. However, his influ-ence in the restoration of the relations between the USA and Cuba is a fact; his intervention in the G-20 Summit, urging politicians to oppose a military intervention in Syria by means of a letter, is a fact; and, his initiation to improve the Vatican's relations with the Chinese government is yet another.[13] As a result of his speeches, he is now invited by ambassadors, presidents, and Prime Minis-ters to discuss

issues such as unemployment, poverty, terrorism, and citizenship.

Such events and actions did not happen in superheroes' comics but in real life. It is not a spectacle that can be comically represented in newspapers and cartoons. Thus, people from all over the world should know what values, what techniques, what sort of speeches, and what words were used to re-store the relations between nations that had been in complete alienation of each other for years, to unite twenty countries to decide upon an intervention in a foreign country, and to show why dia-logue is important for the common welfare. Consequently, if this is published, the words that have helped the establishment and maintenance of peace will unite society. For this reason, the media should not report politics seeking 'a gripping dialogue with unpredictable twists and [that] often reads like fiction' but the truth.[14]

In conclusion, there is a fine line between the novelisation of politics and the reduction of political figures, international relations, and organisations to nonsense. Freedom of expression does not exclude freedom of action and freedom of thought, which require us to be correctly informed. Thus, good politics, good policies, good societies, peace, and prosperity will only be accomplished if everything on the media is true and not everything is possible.

***Rebecca** is a first year student of Politics & Economic & Social History.*

# Why Lot-Drawing Democracy Isn't a Dangerous Idea

***MATIJA TOMANOVIC** introduces the idea of lottery as a solution to the current stiffened democracy.*

While democracy is the most prevalent form of government today[1], agreement on a singular definition remains elusive[2] or even undesired. From the melee of interpretations, this analysis highlights the three most important features of democracy as freedom from domination, representativeness, and inclusiveness. The argument presented is that lot selection can be seen to have the inherently democratic properties of freedom from domination and descriptive representativeness. These features provide the mechanism for making officials accountable. Lot selection can also ensure isonomia, encourage participation, and foster legitimacy. This essay looks at the success of the British Columbia Citizens' Assembly, shows that there are countless ways to apply sortition, and discusses two of them.

This essay will borrow an assumption from the developmental tradition, that engaging in politics has developmental benefits to individuals.[3] This essay further relies on the deliberative Rousseauian idea that the 'general will' of the people can and should be articulated through deliberation and participation in a democracy. We assume, unlike some, that sortition – selection of public officials by lottery – is a representative form of government.[4] Lastly, sortition cannot be considered democratic under some interpretations of democracy. For example Schumpeter prizing the efficacy of elite competition will not have much to learn from this analysis.[5] This essay borrows from (and contributes to) deliberative, republican, and developmental conceptions of democracy. We begin with three definitions.

Shapiro defines domination as resulting from the 'illegitimate exercise of power'. Influence, via wealth or status, of special interests, lobbyists or tyrants in government is illegitimate and has a negative effect on democracy.[6] Freedom from this kind of domination allows space for genuine deliberation and expression of the general will. On Held's distinction, democracy should approximate 'popular power' rather than legitimating 'the decisions of those voted into power'.

Representativeness means that any executive body in some way represents or aims to express the general will of the public, making it easier perhaps to deduce what is not representativeness than what is. Certainly a government under dominion of special interests is unlikely to be representative, as is one where a certain group or identity is overrepresented.

Inclusiveness is defined here as a literal interpretation of Aristotle's 'ruling and being ruled in turns'.[7] All Athenian citizens formally had equal access to government and equal likelihood of being selected. This is the principle of isonomia, political equality. A second feature of the definition, that democracy should aim to involve as many citizens in government as practical constraints allow, follows from the developmental conception of political.

Dowlen shows how sortition can attenuate or even eradicate domination of government by special interests, stating that 'the central, essential and defining feature of the lottery is the blind break' which breaks the chain of rational thought present in the setting up of sortition. The blind break ensures sortition is 'arational', i.e. outside of rational control. Using the 'strong' application of the blind break – when sortition is used because of its 'arationality' – Dowlen argues, allows us to keep the process 'out of the hands of any individual, or group of individuals, who might seek to control it for their own ends'. Sortition has the remarkable property of being 'impervious to bribery, intimidation, ambition or indeed personal influence of any kind'.

The crucial point is that sortition frees the political process from domination precisely because it is 'arational'. Any given body that employs sortition as a method for selection will necessarily have this property because it is a democratic feature inherent in any 'strong' application of the blind break.

Sortition produces descriptively representative governing bodies that are 'far more likely to be a typical cross section of the population' than elections.[8] Carson and Martin note that elections tend to over-represent certain demographics. Sortition would not lead, as U.S. Congress elections do, to 'over-representation of male middle-aged lawyers'.[9] (It is likely that a governing body with this descriptive property would better understand the political motivations of the public at large and articulate the 'general will'

As above, the crucial point is that descriptive representation is a statistical property inherent in the use of sortition. We have shown that sortition has the inherent democratic features of freedom from domination and descriptive representation. However there remain strong arguments against it rooted in modern democratic traditions.

Many democratic theorists today share the idea, popularised in republican thinking, that election provides the key mechanism for holding representatives accountable,[10] and expressing popular sovereignty. How can representatives selected by lot be held to account?

Through the 'protection of the public process of selection from manipulation', decisions made by lot-selected bodies remain free from domination. They provide an ex ante incentive for officials to serve the best interests of the citizens, negating the need for institutionalised accountability which stems from corrupting incentives. Moreover, the quick rotation of office, discussed below, ensures that public officials return to their peers and communities at the end of their term and must answer to them.[11] Sortition has an internal accountability mechanism.

Total inclusiveness, the idea that all people should be involved in government, is antithetical to the idea of representativeness. Problems of scale, however, mean representation is 'our form of government'.[12] However, given the developmental benefits of participation, we can agree with Delannoi, Dowlen and Stone that political systems must also seek to provide genuine opportunities for participation.

Sortition certainly 'lowers the threshold to office' which 'can generate a high level of participation in the body politic', according to Dowlen, at least higher than the current level. There is every reason to assume that far more people would enjoy (or not) the experience of government than do today. Moreover, sortition achieves isonomia. Even if you personally are not selected, and never get a chance to govern, 'it gives everyone an equal chance of being chosen, whereas in elections factors such as funding, appearance, speaking ability, threats, and promises play a big role'. In this sense, sortition comes close to achieving Aristotle's idea that people 'rule and be ruled in turn'.

Greater participation may even have legitimacy-enhancing, as well as developmental, benefits. Recent research shows that personal involvement in a decision-making process fosters legitimacy beliefs,[13] and that, *ceteris paribus*, people derive happiness from the possibility of participating in the democratic process.[14] With the introduction of sortition into government, historically bound conceptions of electoral legitimacy may loosen their hold on public life and allow for new forms of participation-based legitimacy to emerge.

Many will acknowledge the benefits outlined above, but still argue that elections provide us with the 'best' representatives outweighing any gains from participation.[15] This shows little faith in the public and perhaps shows more faith in the 'ability' of politicians than many people today would be willing to afford them.

Dowlen sees freedom from domination as 'having greater priority', but Landemore offers a more positive defence of sortition. Under some reasonable assumptions a group of individuals with a diverse set of perspectives and abilities is better at solving problems than a group of those with the highest 'ability'. There is evidence suggesting she is correct.[16] Sortition, Landemore suggests, is the best way to achieve this for a political body. This conclusion

is an additional argument (if one were needed) for descriptive representativeness. There are also the very reasonable arguments that elections select the most ambitious or cunning individuals, not necessarily the best.[17]

On the account of democracy and sortition presented above, sortition exhibits two inherently democratic properties, and delivers the added benefits of greater participation.

What applications of random selection are possible today?

One application of sortition that has enjoyed much academic interest is the Citizens' Assembly.[18] A good example of such a practice, though not the only one, is the British Columbia (BC) Citizens' Assembly, 'made up of 160 randomly selected citizens drawn from the provincial voters' list' to research and deliberate new electoral systems with the aim of producing a report which would go to referendum.[19] The BC Citizens' Assembly has been touted as a success, fostering deliberation and participation and producing a workable proposal for a new electoral system. Moreover, participants reported high satisfaction levels with the process. Citizens' Assemblies seem to exhibit some of the features of sortition that we theorised above. They operate in a deliberative tradition, supplementing existing structures, but their success has led to calls for their expansion.[20]

Bouricius provides an incredibly comprehensive proposal for a 'democracy through multi-body sortition' that can help us extend the use of sortiton. He proposes the creation of 'a variety of bodies, each with unique characteristics (such as selection method, and term of office that are optimised for the task each body handles'. He separates: agenda setting, policy drafting, policy review, policy passing, rule setting and rule enforcement. This separation is partly rooted in the idea of 'checks and balances', but also encourages greater participation. The most striking feature of his proposals, however, is their flexibility and number of possible applications. Incremental and more wide-ranging reforms are both accommodated by Bouricius. He provides a blueprint for the more extensive use of sortition.

There is growing support for the reform of the House of Lords.[21] An upper chamber elected by sortition would be able to perform the functions of the House of Lords in a more representative and democratic way. For example a two-body House of Lords, with a committee for policy review with the power to refer bills back to the commons and a committee for passing policy, could perform a similar representative, deliberative, and legislative role that the current House of Lords does, but capture all of the democratising features of sortition.

Another possible application could be a radical form of elite accountability. McCormick discusses the role of Roman tribunes, which had the power of veto, as the mechanisms for 'popular advocacy' against elite rule. Today, a tribune using sortition, and with power of veto, could be applied to institutionalise what McCormick identifies as the Machiavellian republican imperative to control political elites through extra-electoral means in modern day republics, supplementing existing institutions.

In conclusion, the selection of political office by lot has the inherently democratic benefits of freedom from domination and descriptive representativeness. These features provide an accountability mechanism for sortition. Sortition also ensures isonomia and greater participation. Lot selection in Citizens' Assemblies has demonstrated some of these features, and an account of 'multi-body sortition' gives us a blueprint for the more expansive use of sortition. These conclusions hold under certain assumption, outlined above, and may not be accepted in other democratic traditions.

Due to the constraints of space, much has not been discussed, namely whether and how sortition can align with other democratic traditions. Perhaps sortition could be used to ensure representation of oppressed groups to bring oppressive power structures to the surface of political discussion in an agonistic sense. Other examples include the intricacies of the institutional design of sortition, a deeper discussion of sortition and legitimacy, and problems of willingness to participate to name a few.

***Matija** is a fourth year student of Politics.*

# Dangerous Exceptions: Noncombatant Immunity and Terrorism

*JOSEPH GAYESKI evaluates the morality of terrorism and its implications for counterterror strategy.*

Terrorism has become the focal point of military operations and political rhetoric in the global 'war on terror'. Many states engaged in global counter-terror efforts have repeatedly denounced terrorism as a morally despicable act. These claims, however, should not be taken at face value. The position of terrorism within just war theory must be established by asking: is terrorism morally permissible?

The following moral analysis of terrorism finds the answer must be 'no'. First, terrorism will be defined by its morally relevant aspect: the intentional targeting of noncombatants. Terrorism thus violates the fundamental principle of noncombatant immunity. Second, three justifications cited by both state and non-state agents of terrorism will be examined. After identifying each justification as an inadequate exception to the principle of noncombatant immunity, a discussion of the absolute nature of noncombatant immunity follows. Given the purpose of moral rules in war, the absolutist position is necessary to realize the principle in practice.

Among the hundreds of published definitions of terrorism, a definition's emphasis determines its usefulness for particular fields of study. Definitions that emphasize tactical, teleological, or agent elements of terrorism may prove most useful for strategic or psychological purposes.[1] For the purposes of moral reasoning, the object of terrorism is the most relevant aspect for consideration (Rodin 2004: 755). While acknowledging its multi-faceted nature, terrorism is defined here to emphasize its target. Terrorism is the intentional killing of noncombatants in pursuit of political or ideological ends.

The target of terrorism violates an essential condition of the *jus in bello*: noncombatant immunity. The principle of noncombatant immunity (PNI) requires discrimination in attack between agents of direct harm (combatants) and those not causing direct harm (noncombatants).[2] PNI is rights-based; rooted in the universal rights of the individual that form the basis of any moral reasoning in war.[3] If terrorism is to be permissible, it requires a justifiable exception to the fundamental PNI and the universal rights in which it is based.

Does such an exception exist? Many moral thinkers, 'wary of moral absolutes,' argue that one must. Significantly, the above definition does not limit terrorism to non-state agents. Both state and non-state agents are justified the targeting of noncombatants for political ends by citing one of three exceptions: antioppression, supreme emergency, or collective responsibility. However, as none of the exceptions can successfully override PNI, they cannot render terrorism permissible.

Osama bin Laden defended Al Qaeda's attacks on noncombatants by claiming, 'every civilization and culture has to resort to terrorism under certain circumstances for the purpose of abolishing tyranny and corruption.' He declared Al Qaeda's terrorism a 'commendable' means towards the liberation of Muslims; arguing Al Qaeda's attacks are 'necessary measures to straighten things and make them right'.[4] Other non-state combatants have made the same consequentialist argument.[5] The Irish Republican Army and Palestinian militant groups have tried to justify noncombatant targeting as a legitimate tactic against their oppressors.[6] Smilansky dubs this argument the 'antioppression exception.'

The antioppression exception 'permits terrorist targeting of noncombatants if it is necessary in combating oppressive regimes.' The exception stems from an acknowledgement that if weak groups were to be held to the same restrictions as states, revolutionary efforts against oppressive regimes would almost never succeed. The antioppression exception qualifies PNI on the basis of the agent: the exception suspends noncombatant immunity for non-state agents to allow attacks on an oppressive regime's most vulnerable point, while simultaneously prohibiting the regime from targeting noncombatants in response.

The consequentialism of the antioppression exception is ultimately untenable. As violence towards noncombatants does not directly prevent or counter the oppression of a group, terrorism cannot be a means of 'self-defense.' If it could, it follows the victims of such terrorism could also claim to be 'oppressed', and thus justly respond with violence towards other noncombatants. Similarly, if sub-state groups can justly claim the necessity of terrorism as a means to their ends, the states they oppose can also make similar claims of necessity and disregard PNI in their counterterror efforts, defeating the exception's purpose. The asymmetrical application of PNI is the 'dangerous illusion' of the antioppression exception. As PNI is based in the universal rights of the individual, exceptions cannot be made asymmetrically on behalf of non-state agents.

The 'supreme emergency' is a circumstance in which a political community faces an extreme and imminent danger that may require, and therefore justify, ordinarily impermissible action. The British 'terror bombing' of German noncombatants in WWII, by

Walzer's argument, was a utilitarian calculation justified (at least initially) by the extreme threat to the very existence of the British political community.[7] Though there is often a 'pro-state' bias to the claim of supreme emergency, non-state agents also claim exceptions based on dire existential threats. Hezbollah has cited the 'supreme emergency' of the Palestinians to justify their noncombatant targeting.[8] Unlike the antioppression exception, the supreme emergency focuses on the threat towards the agent, rather than the agent's status.

The supreme emergency exception rests on two misassumptions. First, the exception relies on a 'fictitious worst-case scenario'.[9] Bellamy reexamined the case cited by Walzer to find that the decision to target German civilians resulted from British strategic preferences rather than any imminent danger. The false imminence of Walzer's 'prize example' challenges the applicability of the supreme emergency in other cases, and leaves the exception susceptible to abuse. Second, the 'necessity' of targeting noncombatants in this scenario implies that targeting noncombatants is an effective exit from the supreme emergency. Rather, targeting noncombatants run counter to 'prudential' strategic thinking that demands limits to warfare. As targeting noncombatants does not damage the enemy's war-making capability, military force can be more efficiently applied towards military targets. If military targeting is always a more effective alternative, there can be no situation in which a defendant is forced to attack noncombatants.

These two faulty assumptions lead to utilitarian calculations incompatible with a rights-based claim to noncombatant immunity. Walzer claims that individual rights are 'something like absolute values' in war, and these values limit permissible action. Noncombatant immunity prohibits the calculation of noncombatant harm in the utility of an attack. If a supreme emergency suspends this prohibition, the rights of individuals become 'conditional, not inalienable'. Noncombatants would lose their right of immunity through no action of their own, counter to the deontological rights each individual holds. Further, if rights can be ignored during imminent threats, rights must lose value in less catastrophic cases. If the killing of thousands of noncombatants is permissible to save a political community of one million, it is unclear why the proportional killing of one noncombatant to save ten others is not.[10] Following from false assumptions, the supreme emergency exception effectively diminishes noncombatant immunity to a 'rule of thumb' that may be overridden elsewhere.

Osama Bin Laden further justified Al Qaeda's attacks on Americans by deeming them responsible for unjust wars in the Middle East. By choosing their leaders by their own 'free will,' and funding war efforts with their tax dollars, Bin Laden reasons American civilians are collectively responsible for American-led wars, and therefore justified targets of violence. The same argument was made in reference to the WWII bombing of German civilians: Wilkins argued that unresisting Germans allowed the Nazi regime to rule, and were thus 'collectively guilty of violence'. Collective responsibility takes McMahan's 'responsibility criterion' to the extreme: as civilians hold some degree of moral responsibility for an unjust war, they are liable to attack.

Within McMahan's 'responsibility criterion,' the above conception of collective responsibility disregards proportionality. While McMahan justifies attacks on civilians according to their moral responsibility, the attack must be proportional to the degree to which they are responsible. In most cases, a noncombatant makes 'only a very slight causal contribution' to war, and therefore any attacks targeting noncombatants would be greatly disproportional to their moral responsibility.[11] However, even when properly understood, the responsibility criterion cannot be reconciled with the universal rights of individuals, the basis of PNI. Justifying noncombatant targeting on the basis of responsibility adds conditions to universal rights. An individual's 'rights' to life and liberty,' may only be lost 'through some act of his own'. Collective responsibility robs individuals of this act, rendering rights conditional on the individuals' 'relationship to perceived oppression'. The moral responsibility of noncombatants cannot negate their universal rights as individuals, and therefore cannot justify attacks against them.

These three cases demonstrate the difficulty of justifying terrorism given its violation of noncombatant immunity. Establishing an exception to the principle requires an asymmetrical, utilitarian, or conditional application of individual rights that is incompatible with a rights-based theory. Given the difficulty of exceptions, can it be concluded that PNI is absolute, and therefore terrorism absolutely impermissible?

The cases considered here are not exhaustive. Many scholars wish to acknowledge the possibility of occasions in which terrorism would be morally permissible, concluding terrorism is 'almost absolutely wrong'. Exceptions to noncombatant immunity are often justified outside the realm of terrorism, principally through the doctrine of double effect. If 'unintended but foreseen' noncombatant killings can be justified as a side effect of a permissible attack, maintaining the absolute nature of noncombatant immunity becomes difficult, even in cases of terrorism. Though Rodin argues the principle of double effect does not exempt combatants from acts of terrorism, the absolutist position is to many 'philosophically…unpersuasively strict'.

However philosophically difficult, the principle of noncombatant immunity is pragmatically essential. Given its dominance in public discourse and international law, absolute noncombatant immunity can be seen as a 'positive illusion'. Smilansky argues that despite 'philosophical-ethical complexity,' an absolute prohibition of targeting noncombatants is 'pragmatically necessary to achieve actual restraint'. Without the maintenance of an absolute principle, noncombatant immunity is diminished to a guideline to be applied conditionally through the above exceptions. The doctrine of double effect likewise becomes open to abuse and utilitarian calculation. The question of absolute noncombatant immunity then becomes a question of the principle's purpose: a moral guideline in theory, or pragmatic requirement of the *jus in bello*? If morality is to limit the conduct of war in practice, the absolute position must be taken.

By defining terrorism by its object of attack, justifications for terrorism can be examined as exceptions to the principle of noncombatant immunity. An analysis of the antioppression exception, the supreme emergency, and collective responsibility reveals none can overcome the rights of individuals to be free from attack. Terrorist attacks cannot curtail PNI through asymmetric, utilitarian, or conditional exceptions. Despite theoretical complexities, the principle of noncombatant immunity must be understood as absolute if the *jus in bello* requirement is to be realized in warfare.

Several practical suggestions follow from this conclusion. Nonstate agents would be wise to recognize the practical and moral futility of targeting noncombatants. Similarly, though states are correct in condemning terrorism, they must also avoid faulty justifications for targeting noncombatants themselves. States will otherwise find themselves practicing the very terrorism they seek to counter, and thereby inciting further violence upon noncombatants. Agents within the 'war on terror' must commit themselves to the absolute *jus in bello* requirement of noncombatant immunity if terrorism is to be effectively countered.

***Joseph** is a fourth year student of International Relations*

# The Neo-liberalisation of Nature: A Life-Threatening Idea

***PAULINE OP DE BEECK** examines the truth behind the marketisation of the environment.*

Ideas are entirely subjective, opinion based, and in many cases normative. For this reason, despite their hegemonic status, they are often disputed and deemed dangerous by opponents. One such example is the neoliberalisation of nature. This entails the privitisation of public goods and the opening of markets as a form of environmental management. In essence, a financial value is attached to ecosystem services that were previously un-commodified. An illustrative example is the service of oxygen production of forests. If we attach a financial value to this process then we can compute whether or not trees in a forest are worth more as a production of oxygen than they would be if extracted as timber. The result is to tie environment with the market.[1]

An excellent development, you say. Finally, a form of environmental management that everyone can understand – in the form of capitalism. Yes, we live in a capitalist world, and money speaks to the minds of us all. The intrinsic value of nature has clearly not been enough to drive us into action, so we needed the neoliberalisation of nature in order to drive businesses and consumers into looking at environmental management in a way they can understand, believe in, and subsequently act upon.

Now why is this a dangerous idea? As this is becoming the hegemonic form of environmental management, the ways in which citizens are responding to it has widespread consequences for the environmental movement. There has not been an increase in membership in organisations such as Greenpeace, nor a substantial flux to voting

Green. Instead there has been a surge of Brits choosing to 'act out their politics in the marketplace'.[2] Be this in buying organic food or Fair Trade products, or becoming more conscious, an increasing 'conscience constituency' has emerged.[3] However, this forms a tacit reproduction of the forces that are destroying nature and causing the crisis.

Neo-Marxist theory forms a cohesive opposition to the neoliberalisation of nature. Capitalism's domination of labour is extended to nature—nature must be emancipated too. The transnational capitalist class perpetuates the ontological position of western society that comprehends humans as separate from the environment.[4] The environmental crisis is the expression of an incongruity between 'capitalist exploitation of the means of production and the reproduction of these productive forces'.[5] The dominance of nature by the transnational capitalist class is causing it to ruin what it needs in order to survive and continue creating profit. The paradox is insurmountable - it cannot continue to harvest nature the way it does. In essence capitalism will eventually be overturned once nature can no longer reproduce.

What makes this idea dangerous is that neolibralising nature is essentially green washing. Yes, we may be taking new things into account but we are managing the environmental crisis through perpetuating it. The environmental crisis cannot be halted so long as capitalism survives. Essentially green neoliberalism is criticised for privileging markets in resource management over protecting the environment, which merely reinforces the current geopolitical order.[6] While ecosystem services, carbon trading, and various other marketisation schemes are relatively new, they have not been entirely successful. Rather than continuing their trials it is necessary, from a neo-Marxist perspective, to instigate value change. Without value change the dangerous idea of the neoliberalisation of nature will perpetuate the environmental crisis we are currently facing. If man cannot value the Earth for what it is and only for what it can give us, we have become a dangerous species. It is imperative we get rid of this dangerous idea and we stop 'perpetuat[ing] the evil inertia of the mega machine' that is destroying our planet.[7]

***Pauline** is a fourth year student of International Relations.*

# A Return to the Gold Standard

***MAXWELL GREENBERG** attacks the false promise of a seductive, foolish, and dangerous idea.*

Global trade is severely hampered by the lack of a stable international monetary regime. Politicians, pundits, and libertarian think tanks across the globe have advocated a return to the Gold Standard. While dangerous ideas are not inherently ill-advised policy proposals, this one is, and the danger it poses to the health and stability of the global economy is truly staggering. For the purpose of evaluating the prudence of a return to a variant of the Gold Standard, we will treat as variants of the Gold Standard the Gold Standard regime that existed during the era of British hegemony (roughly from the end of the Napoleonic Wars to 1914), that which existed during the interwar period (1919-1939), and that which existed during the Bretton Woods era. The inherent lack of stability in all variants of the Gold Standard that have previously been enforced makes it advisable to reject the imposition of any variant of the Gold Standard.

It is important first to define the term 'Gold Standard' and criteria for a desirable international monetary system. Though Hume's critique of mercantilism in the form of his price-specie-flow mechanism argument is the correct point at which to begin a theoretical account of the Gold Standard, due to space constraints, this article will begin with an account of the Gold Standard in the mid-nineteenth century. Kenwood and Lougheed[1] identify five characteristics of the de facto gold standard that arose after the Napoleonic Wars, led by the United Kingdom:

'First, the unit of account had to be tied to a certain weight of gold; second, gold coins had to circulate domestically and any bank notes had to be convertible into gold on demand; third, other coins in use had to be subordinate to gold; fourth, no legal restrictions were to be imposed on the melting down of gold coin into bullion; and finally, there had to be no impediment to the export of gold coin and bullion.'

Cohen argues that a desirable international monetary system is one that is efficient and stable; to achieve those aims, he argues, the system must solve the issues of liquidity, adjustment, and confidence.[2] Liquidity is essential to an international monetary system because the system must guarantee an 'adequate supply of currency to finance trade'.[3] Adjustment must be accounted for, as the system must incorporate 'methods to resolve national payments disequilibria.[4] Finally, the system must preserve confidence so as to discourage destabilising shifts in the composition of national reserves.[5] The Gold Standard, in all variations, fails Cohen's liquidity, adjustment, and credibility tests.

The economic theory underpinning the Gold Standard holds that economies, constrained in size by the amount of money in circulation, will naturally seek equilibrium of balances of trade.[6] Equilibrium can be achieved via deflationary pressure on the value of trade debtor nations' currencies (discouraging borrowing and attracting short-term capital flows), so long as all nations 'play by the rules of the game,' and enforce tighter or looser monetary policy according to the state of their balance of payments.[7] It is this requirement that governments must actively act to correct balance of payments imbalances, that poses a particular challenge to the feasibility of any Gold Standard in the 21st century. Under the classical Gold Standard, the need to defend the value of one's currency prevented countries from harnessing either fiscal or monetary policy to respond to financial crises; monetary contraction was the prescribed policy response to a recession, as it redressed the balance of trade and maintain the stability of the fixed exchange rate.[8] The result of this was that capital would flow out of an economy after a shock, depressing wages and incomes.[9] Depriving the state of policy options after a macroeconomic shock to maintain the value of a currency in the long run is not something contemporary citizens would tolerate. The Gold Standard was also subject to speculative attack in international financial markets if confidence is not maintained that governments will not act to maintain the value of a currency at the fixed exchange rate.

The Gold Standard is a rather unspecific term, referring to a broadly similar series of 'self-regulating international monetary order(s)' that existed largely, in various forms, between the mid-to-late 19th and mid-to-late 20th centuries.[10] Though international financial markets financed cross-border trade for hundreds of years, by the 1870s, led by the United Kingdom, nations began shifting towards a global Gold Standard.[11] The first variation of the Gold Standard existed from roughly the mid-nineteenth century, though it did not exist in isolation; bimetallism was widespread outside of the United Kingdom. Bimetallism posed a significant challenge to nations attempting to redress imbalances in trade as the ratio between the values of gold and silver fluctuated, causing the metal with the higher value to be sent abroad as a means of exchange – effectively returning a nation to a monometallism of lesser value. The logic for maintaining bimetallism despite its inherent instability was the fear that a monometallic international monetary regime would fail to keep up with expanding demand for money, applying worldwide deflationary pressure.[12] International monetary regimes depend on a political order to construct and maintain them. Kindleberger's theory of hegemonic stability posits that during this era, the political and economic pressure exerted on global monetary regimes by, particularly, the United Kingdom and later the United States, stabilised the value of currency in the long-term, promoting international monetary harmonisation that maintained the convertibility of specie into currency.[13] The Gold Standard of the mid-nineteenth century was thus susceptible to the fluctuation in the value of both silver and gold, undermining the efficiency of global financial markets. The Gold Standard of the era of British hegemony, or the Gold Standard's 'Classical era' inspired credibility as well as integration and liberalisation, but it did not provide stability from economic shocks.[14]

Eichengreen[15] argues that the inter-war era, defined by the rise of European trade unionism, corporatist labour relations, and the democratisation of economic policy-making was responsible for the end of the Gold Standard's credibility. After universal enfranchisement and the corresponding rise of mass political parties was achieved throughout Europe, mostly after the War, working class people were able to demand interventionist fiscal and monetary policy from national governments, often demanding full employment as a policy outcome.[16] Previously, when a government

faced a balance of payments deficit, it would tighten monetary policy, decreasing borrowing costs and incentivising foreign investment, thus increasing gold reserves to redress the balance of payments imbalance.[17] After the First World War, knowing that tightening the money supply would result in a reduction in economic activity and a corresponding increase in unemployment, governments that re-adopted the Gold Standard encouraged destabilising speculation, where monetary policy designed to maintain fixed rate convertibility would shed gold reserves while discouraging foreign investment.[18] This situation invited destabilising currency attacks, which undermined international harmonisation of monetary policy, effectively guaranteeing instability.

In the following years, the Gold Standard not only made the conditions for a prolonged Great Depression in the 1930s possible, but also allowed the rapid and deep spread of the financial contagion. After the 1929 New York stock market crash, the United States and France (both on the Gold Standard), attempted to rectify balance of payment surpluses through monetary contraction, causing rapid inflows of gold which applied severe deflationary pressure on the dollar and franc. The resulting contraction in global money supply encouraged states to hoard gold reserves in order to maintain the convertibility of their currencies into gold, forcing a liquidity crisis as international finance ground to a halt.[20]

To redress the disaster of the Great Depression, the international monetary regime agreed to at the Bretton Woods established the International Monetary Fund, hoping to 'foster full employment and price stability, while allowing individual countries to attain external balance without imposing restrictions on international trade'.[21] The Bretton Woods regime fixed exchange rates against the US dollar and a fixed price of gold ($35/ounce).[22] This system imposed stability quite similar to that achieved during the classical Gold Standard. The IMF allowed flexibility while imposing discipline; countries were required to fix exchange rates to the dollar (tied to gold) so that growth in the American money supply could act as a currency of last resort to international central banks.[23] If non-American central banks pursued overly aggressive monetary expansion, they would be unable to defend their currency's fixed rate of exchange to the dollar, which was pegged to gold.[24] The Federal Reserve was prevented from printing too much money by its duty to redeem all dollars, even those held as foreign reserve, for gold.[25]

The Bretton Woods system came apart in the late 1960s, as President Johnson embarked on a programme of fiscal stimulus not matched by a corresponding hike in taxes; the American economy overheated, inflation rose to nearly 6% per annum by decade's end, and the Federal Reserve, loath to suffer the ill effects on investment that an imposition of higher interest rates would bring, attempted to stymie inflation by creating a two-tier gold market, with one tier of gold with its price fixed at $35 per ounce, and one tier whose value was allowed to float.[26] In 1970, the United States entered a recession, and in an attempt to balance its current account, brought about a real devaluation of the dollar by, via a declaration by President Nixon that the United States would no longer redeem dollars for gold in 1973.[27] This allowed the value of the dollar to fluctuate on the open market, though left it vulnerable to speculative attack. A floating exchange rate guarantees monetary policy autonomy to all countries, empowering countries to use monetary policy to reach internal and external trade balance.[28] A floating exchange rate promotes symmetry, where there may be a most powerful economy, but there is no hegemonic economy, and, most importantly, it allows exchange rates decided on the open market to maintain internal and external balance during changing macroeconomic conditions.[29]

The post-Bretton Woods global economy has enjoyed an enormous amount of international cooperation in monetary policymaking, even without a hegemonic economy and a universal price fixing mechanism. Krugman and Obstfeld[30] argue that the experience of the post-Bretton Woods world suggests that durable fixed exchange rate mechanisms may not be possible in the twenty-first century – in a financially integrated world, fixed exchange rates cannot be perpetuated in the long-term unless capital movement is controlled like in China. The global movement from pegged to floating exchange rates also reduces damage from financial crises.[31] If a country is not boxed into defending the value of a peg after a financial crisis, capital flight after a crisis can be avoided.[32] Calomiris[33] argues that market economies 'only function as well as governments and their agents allow,' and blames the governments of emerging economies for their unusually meagre economic performance since the East Asian financial crisis (not open international capital markets), as national governments are 'not capable or willing' to act in their countries long-term economic interests.[34] Additionally, the success of the Gold Standard in guaranteeing international monetary stability in the Classical period should not be overvalued - Kenwood and Lougheed[35] note that the Gold Standard, was only truly hegemonic from1900-1914, a mere fourteen years. Returning to any previously existing variant of the Gold Standard would carry a heavy price for global economic growth – a truly dangerous idea.

The Gold Standard was an effective means of integrating global economies a hundred years ago, but in this, the centennial of its collapse, reinstating any variant of the Gold Standard would be wildly unpopular, as it would tie the hands of governments in their ability to respond to crises, and, using Cohen's standards for a desirable international monetary regime, it would, lead to a less liquid, less adjustable, less confident, and a profoundly less stable global economy.

***Maxwell** is a fourth year student of Politics. He is the President of the Politics and International Relations Society and former Editor in Chief of* Leviathan.

# REFERENCES

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