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Sussex Undergraduate Politics Journal

Facing ◆ Neither ◆ Left ◆ or ◆ Right

USPS

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Contents

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Politics
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(3rd Year)

Aminata Koné
International Relations & French
(2nd year)

Yano Moussavi
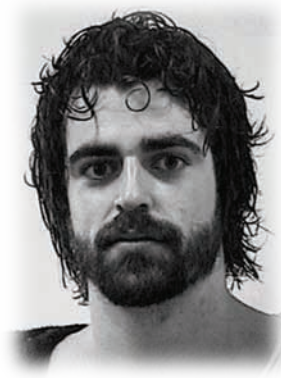Politics & International Relations
(2nd Year)

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Politics
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What has been the impact of the Stasi on contemporary Germany?

(Written for Political Change: Modern Germany)

Imogen Adie

The Ministerium für Staatssicherheit (Ministry for State Security), founded in February 1950, was the official state security service of the German Democratic Republic (GDR). Known as the Stasi, they were one of the most effective and repressive intelligence and secret police agencies in the world. They were tasked with defending the interests of the regime, infiltrating organisations such as the West German government and the Protestant church, and informing on the daily activities of citizens of the GDR, using tactics such as arrest, torture and Zersetzung (the disruption of victim's private or family life) (Green, Hough and Miskimmon 2011, p.32, p.55; Harding 2011, p.282). When the regime collapsed, it was found that the East German secret police had 91,015 full-time officers and non-commissioned personnel on its rolls, as well as 173,081 regular Stasi informers, known as inoffizielle Mitarbeiter (IMs) (Jacob and Tyrell 2010, p.3). During the forty years of the GDR, about 250,000 people were imprisoned for political reasons, largely due to the findings of Stasi surveillance. More than 100 of those convicted were executed, and the death penalty was not abolished until 1987 (Hentilä 2007).

This essay will explore the ways in which the Stasi have impacted upon contemporary Germany since the fall of East German communism in 1989, and the unification of Germany in 1990. Initially, this essay will look at the debates surrounding what to do with the vast archive of surveillance files collected by the Stasi, and will go on to look at the impact the archive has had upon individuals, including politicians and public servants (Miller 1998; Gauck and Fry 1994). Next, this essay will examine the impact the Stasi has had upon contemporary German legislation, specifically looking at privacy and surveillance policy, determining that the Stasi-era itself has had little impact. The final aspect of contemporary Germany that will be explored, is the way in which unification has been helped or hindered

by memories of the Stasi past. This essay will then determine whether the Stasi legacy has affected Germany's chances of achieving inner unity (McAdams 2001; Cohen 1995). Finally, this essay will move on to discuss the continuing relevance of the Stasi despite an economic downturn and a population that appear to have become more concerned with immediate, everyday issues.

What to do with the Stasi files?

Following the first (and last) free democratic elections of the post-communist GDR in March 1990, the Volkskammer decided that all MPs should be vetted to ascertain whether they had collaborated with the Stasi. On the orders of the Minister of the Interior, The Federal Commission Preserving the Records of the State Security Service of the Former GDR (BStU) was established, headed by Joachim Gauck, to draft a bill that included the methods that would be used to deal with the Stasi past (Gauck and Fry 1994, p.279). Gauck saw the major challenges that must be tackled as trust and understanding: "If… citizens were going to trust elected officials under the new democratic system, it was important that those officials be trustworthy. The intention was… to respond to East German people's minimal demand that persons who had conspired with the regime, unbeknown to their fellow citizens, should be deemed unsuitable for public positions of trust" (Gauck and Fry 1994, p.279-280). However, Gauck's voice, which called for an open investigation of the secret police's archive and dismissal of all collaborators from public service, was not the only one in the debate.

Each of the three suggested methods for dealing with the vast collection of Stasi files would have had a very different impact upon contemporary Germany. One option was for the German executive to use their power to purge or punish the old regime. However, this idea was dismissed as opportunistic, and would appear only to be a political tactic to gain advantage over the opposition, rather than a way of dealing with the country's past (Miller 1998, pp.305-6). Another option was to burn or seal the files for a number of years, due to the contents being so "explosive" (Kinzer 1992). Federal Minister of the Interior, Wolfgang Schäuble said he toyed with the idea of destroying the files: "Sometimes I wonder whether

we couldn't have destroyed them all sight unseen" (Miller 1998, p.308). It was argued that drawing a line under this disturbing era of history and resisting the settling of accounts without seeking justice could be a way for Germany to be able to immediately more forward. Much of the information was deeply painful or potentially threatening to citizens. It had been collected illegally, some information was false, and some had probably been tampered with.

The third option revolved around the German idea of a process of working through and mastering the past (Vergangenheitsbewältigung). This is the idea of examining and exploring the past in order to achieve the "resolution of unresolved issues" (Langenbacher 2010, p.36). This option was that of "corrective justice": "the settling of accounts by systematic, public and impartial means of law" (Miller 1998, p.305). This method has been used surprisingly rarely in the past; most states after experiencing tyranny are in no shape to agree on adopting corrective justice, or are without the necessary personnel who they can trust to carry it out properly. However, the GDR was in a unique position. Germany unified using Article 23, rather than article 146, of the Basic Law (the country's constitution), which meant the virtual adoption of all West German institutions (Kvistad 1994, p.56). This included the constitution and judicial system. This merge meant that the East gained the trusted democratic system of the FRG, including its effective administrative and legal system, and a framework where corrective justice could be applied, to "help society settle accounts with that dictatorship" (Miller 1998, pp.305-6). Citizens of the GDR did not seek revenge, instead hoping for clarification and truth about the hidden forces that had blighted their lives for over 40 years. Vital evidence lay in the archive of the Ministry of State Security, and for many access to these archives was the urgent prerequisite to a reckoning with the GDR past (Miller 1998, p.307). Opening the files also allowed evidence to be released that was vital to legal cases and the compensation of victims. The files could reveal the truth about the personal histories of both victims and informants, and could in turn be used for research and public education.

The 'Act regarding the records of the State Security Service of the former German Democratic Republic' became law in August 1990, and provided for: individuals to be able to view their own file; the protection of individuals from the loss of personal rights due to the information stored on them by the Stasi; the use of the Stasi archive to promote historical, political and legal analysis of the activities of the Stasi; and to provide information to public and non-public agencies for purposes specified in this law, such as background checks to ascertain if an individual was a Stasi collaborator (Germany, BStU 1991). The opening of the Stasi archive to individuals and for the screening of public officials has had a significant impact upon contemporary Germany and the lives of its citizens. We find stories in the archive of people who refused to betray their family and friends no matter what the cost, and the files enable people to understand why certain things happened in their lives (BStU 2012b). Wolf Biermann talked of the positive side of viewing his Stasi file, describing his "joy at finding a letter in his file which his mother had sent to him in 1969 but which he has never received" (Miller 1999, p.126). However, we also find stories of collaboration, betrayal, intrusions of privacy, and secrecy. The Stasi held files on six million East Germans; over a third of the county's population. Few knew or had imagined these levels of surveillance (Kinzer 1992). Vera Lengsfeld, former CDU politician revealed that her file contained reports from over 60 agents. She described the revelation that her husband had betrayed her to the Stasi, informing on the most intimate details of her life and their relationship, as "her awful agony" (Kinzer 1992). This scene was played out across Germany, as millions of people relived their past through the eyes of informants. In an attempt to compensate victims, a "victim's pension" has been made available to anyone who can prove they were jailed or tortured by the Stasi for more than six months. The victims pension amounts to £170 (250 Euros) per month, for anyone earning less than £8,400 (roughly 12,3000 Euros) per year (Germany, BStU 1991). However, this attempt at compensating victims has created a new anger. Payments through pensions to victims amount to around £33 million each year, yet pensions for former high ranking communist officials, including many Stasi officers, total to over £1.35 billion. Many victims feel that this highlights that the perpetrators of human rights violations have not been properly punished for their involvement (Quetteville 2007).

As part of Germany's "political reckoning with its past", the vetting of all MPs, elected bodies and public servants began, assessing whether they had previously worked for the Ministry of State Security either as IMs or even as Hauptamtliche (full-time collaborators) (Gauck and Fry 1994). According to the German Unification Treaty of August 31 1990, any such revelation would be grounds for dismissal from any public role, based upon the idea of creating trust and ensuring a commitment for democracy from public officials (McAdams 2001, p.2). Despite this process, it emerged in 2007 that an estimated 1500 former Stasi operatives were still employed by local and federal police forces, with a further 300 being members of border police units (Charleton 2007). Current Federal Commissioner for the Stasi Archives, Roland Jahn, believes that this needs to change, starting with the Stasi informers working within his own organisation, stating that: "Every former employee who works for this agency is a slap in the face of the victims" (Berg 2011). There are many opponents to Jahn, who suggest that enough has already been done to purge the administration of Stasi collaborators. By February 28 1997, BStU estimates stated that 42,046 public servants had already been dismissed due to their secret police involvement (McAdams 2001, p.73).

The legacy of the Stasi does not appear to have damaged public trust in Germany's institutions. 85 percent of Germans trust the police, a figure that is higher than in any other Western European country, and 67 percent trust the judiciary and courts (GfK Polonia 2011). Germans do however have a very low level of trust in their government (29 percent), and only 17 percent trust political parties. However, this figure does not appear to relate to the legacy of the Stasi. Firstly, trust in political parties is lower in France (12 percent) and in Spain and Italy (9 percent). Secondly, secret police collaborators have been purged from politics in a very public way, with an attempt to instil trust in German people. Revelations from the Stasi files have claimed the political lives of some of East Germany's most prominent politicians. Just four days before the first free and democratic elections in the GDR, it emerged that Walter Schnur, a lawyer whose clients had included prominent dissidents, and was at the time the leader of Democratic Awakening (part of the Alliance for Germany with the CDU and DSU), had been an informant. Shortly after the election it emerged that Ibrahim Böhme, co-founder and leader of the East German SPD, had also been

informing for the Stasi for decades. These prominent cases not only led to the end of political careers, but also an outcry from citizens that all politicians should be screened and certified as 'uncompromised' by Stasi activity (Sa'Adah 1998). Many other politicians, including Lothar de Maziere (the first non-communist Prime Minister of the GDR in 1990) Martin Kirchner (former general secretary of the eastern CDU) and Manfred Stolpe (former premier of Brandenburg Länder), also faced the destruction of their political careers in the public forum (Kinzer 1992; McAdams 2001, p.56). Despite the German's generally believing that the government and political parties are untrustworthy, it does not appear that the legacy of the Stasi is to blame; the political world has been cleansed of many Stasi informants in order to regain public trust and achieve some sort of justice for victims.

Privacy policy: life after the Stasi

For over 40 years, the GDR's secret police implemented various surveillance techniques to create minute-by-minute accounts of the private lives of around six million citizens. Homes were bugged and filmed, telephones were taped, and mail was intercepted and steamed open. The Stasi attempted to invade every aspect of a person's privacy and tried to capture everything (Curry 2008). Law Professor at Indiana University, Fred Cate, suggested that both the Stasi and the Nazi Gestapo have had a major impact upon contemporary German legislation, stating that the memory of them underpins modern privacy protections and data protection law (Liptak 2010). However, I would argue instead that the protections in place are a reaction to the atrocities of the Nazi dictatorship, where personal details could be a matter of life or death. The Stasi legacy has had little impact upon the protection of citizens' privacy.

Privacy is considered a fundamental human right and human dignity in Germany, and the country has strong data protection laws enshrined by their constitution. The world's first data protection law was passed in the German Länder of Hessen in 1970, and movement towards the creation of the Bundesdatenschutzgesetz (BDSG), the country's federal data protection law, followed soon afterwards (Meyer 2011). The Basic Law states in Article 1 (1)

that "the dignity of a man shall be inviolable. To respect and protect it shall by the duty of all state authorities" (Flaherty 1992, p.23). This constitutional basis is seen as a stronger statement on the protection of privacy than in any other country, and the system "has won considerable victories in protecting individual rights" (Flaherty 1992, p.22). To complement the strength of German's constitutional right to privacy, Article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights also states that "everyone has the right to respect for his private and family life, his home and his correspondence" (European Court of Human Rights 2010, 1953, Article 8).

German federal law designed to protect individuals' privacy and prevent surveillance and intrusion upon private lives has been in place since the 1970s, and has changed little since then, whilst European law was created even earlier (although amended more recently). Despite many analysts suggesting that the Stasi legacy has created a new impetus to improve personal privacy, the "reluctance concerning the gathering of data for discrimination or suppression or persecution" has not been a creation of the unification-era, but rather exists as a reaction to the injustices of the Gestapo during the Nazi era (Meyer 2011). Despite eastern experience of a repressive government who denied privacy, infiltrated personal and public relationships and sought to occupy and monitor all of society, there have been few calls for greater protections for individuals. The Stasi does not appear to have had an impact upon contemporary privacy or data protection legislation. West Germans have traditionally plan an "extremely high" value on privacy, and the lack of change is due to a realisation by Easterners that current legislation already provides sufficient protections for individuals: German data protection requirements, that existed long before unification, already ensure that data is obtained "fairly and lawfully" and "used only for its original intended purpose" (Andrews 2001; Privacy International 2012). However, despite its standing as "the strongest data protection law in the world", and memories of both the Stasi and Gestapo, complete protection from the state infringing German citizens' privacy is not guaranteed (Kulish 2011). Privacy infringements by the state continue, over twenty years on from unification. Berlin-based hacker collective, the Chaos Computer Club, exposed covert surveillance software being used by German police forces in 2011. The Bundestrojaner (federal Trojan) software, allowed law enforcement officers the power to

gain complete control over individuals' computers (Gallagher 2011). Despite a "basic right to the confidentiality and integrity of information-technological systems" as clarified in a 2007 court case, privacy has been found to be infringed by German public servants, by the use of illegal methods to access personal computers (European Digital Rights 2008).

On unification

The Stasi and its legacy have also impacted upon the unification of Germany. Joachim Gauck believes that opening the Stasi files has helped "to demystifying the secret police's hold on East German society" and therefore create better understanding of the histories of the two merging societies (McAdams 2001, p.171). Although it is impossible to fully assess the impact the Stasi and its files have had upon unification, it appears that opening them has created greater understanding between easterners and westerners. However, the opening of the files and the revelations that were made public as a result appear to have had some damaging effects towards unifying West and East Germans. The opening of the files, their public revelations, and bringing to justice perpetrators of human rights violations in the GDR may have created disunity between Germans. McAdams (2001, p.173) argues that differences between Easterners and Westerners continue, due to perceptions of guilt and blame. Some observers continue to take every revelation of Stasi involvement as "proof that [they] had corrupted all human relationships in the GDR", and that this difference between easterners and westerners, who were not corrupted, remains (ibid, p.173). Additionally, the screening of public officials to determine their involvement within the Stasi largely only takes place in Eastern Länder, with few steps having been taken to screen officials in the West (ibid, p.172). This screening process continues to discriminate only against those who lived in the GDR, and continues to create a barrier for Easterners to have equal chances within public service. Andrews (2001) comments on a feeling by some easterners that they are continually judged for their history by West Germans, who simply do not consider the GDR and its citizens in context of their lived experiences: on one hand, powerful West German politicians try to manage the unravelling of East Germany and its most sinister institution, and on the other, East German's who actually lived under the all-seeing eye of those institutions are dismissed. However, the head of the institution in charge of

overseeing, preserving and protecting the Stasi files and investigating the crimes of the era has always been an East German. Some East Germans may feel as if they are dictated and judged for their past, but one of the most important roles in dealing with the legacy of the GDR is held by someone who lived through the same experiences. Additionally, due to two different societies with two divergent histories unifying as one in 1990, it is to be expected that there has been some level of misunderstanding between the two. Joachim Gauck suggests that individuals "find it difficult to comprehend fully the history of individuals who have had different experiences of suffering and alienation", and it is simply a case of both education and time that will bring all German people together (Gauck and Fry 1994, p.283). Easterners simply need sufficient time to heal their wounds, and forgive and forget through a process of dialogue and discussion.

Economic disparity between the East and West has been a contentious issue of unification. Although the economic gap between some eastern and western Länder is narrowing, with growing levels of investment in the East, there are still clear differences in the economic performance and economic structures (McCathie 2010). Jacob and Tyrell (2010, p.1) suggest that there could be some link between this weak economic situation and the intensity of secret police surveillance and repression in regions of the GDR. At the time of their study in 2010, unemployment in East Germany was 12.8 percent, whereas it was only 7.1 percent in West Germany, despite transfers of over 156.6 billion Euros until 2019, designed to close the economic gap (Jacob and Tyrell 2010, p.2). Following in-depth empirical analysis, the pair suggest that behaviour is heavily shaped by prior experiences, and easterns therefore have a strong sense of mistrust in other members of society and the state. Jacob and Tyrell (2010, pp.2-4) therefore reason that dense networks of Stasi surveillance undermined people's ability to work and cooperate freely, and that this has had a strong negative impact upon entrepreneurship and current economic performance. Their research suggests that the levels of surveillance in East Germany account for approximately 8 percent of the East-West differential in income per capita, and 31 percent of the unemployment gap. Due to this, they believe that the convergence of East and West economic disparity is unlikely to happen for generations (Jacob and Tyrell 2010, p.1). However, Jacob and Tyrell seem to dismiss the fact that the East German economy, along with all of the other Soviet satellite

states, was very weak. There were constant shortages and artificial means of keeping unemployment at relatively low levels. The inefficient nature of a centrally planned economy, linked with the high cost of reconstruction after the Second World War devastated East Germany, and high levels of debt meant that the GDR's economy was significantly weaker than that of the FRG. It would therefore be expected that closing this gap would take a long time, with or without constant surveillance by the Stasi. It appears in fact that the Stasi have probably had little impact; instead, the inefficient communist system provided the problems that unified Germany have inherited.

The Stasi or the economy?

Despite the GDR's secret police having influenced some parts of German life and society, it has been suggested that the legacy of the Stasi is being forgotten, giving way to more immediate, everyday issues. In recent years, issues such as stable macroeconomic policy and adjusting to unification have had a greater prominence and impact upon society (McAdams 2001, pp.158). Immediate and everyday problems have weakened the call for justice and the urgency to explore wrongdoing by the government of the German Democratic Republic. The German preoccupation with Stasi records, and dramatic public 'outings' of Stasi informers has waned. There is no popular demand on the current leadership of Germany to track down offenders from the past. Instead, many Germans are more interested in economic problems in Europe, and growing unemployment, issues that feel more immediate (Cohen 1995, p.28). Many East Germans are also tiring of dealing with the Stasi past, and instead believe that it is now essential that the past is remembered, but that Germany moves forward (Green, Hough and Miskimmon 2012, p.70). Many of the tasks set for working through the history of the GDR and moving on from the past have now been completed: on 30 September 1999, Staatsanwaltschaft II (special prosecutors office in Berlin) closed its examination of 22,000 possible GDR-state offences with 1,065 recommendations for criminal indictments; by May 1999, 1.3 million requests to view Stasi files had been granted, and use of files for employment screening had decreased rapidly; and 92 percent of property disputes had been resolved by Autumn 1999 (McAdams 2001, pp.158-9).

However, the issue of the Stasi and its effect upon German society has not disappeared altogether. There has been a renewed interest in the Stasi, through both education and the continued desire of citizens to view their personal files. In 2012 alone, 88,231 applications were made by Germans to view their Stasi file, up around ten percent on the previous year, showing that interest in the archive remains strong (AFP 2013). There is also a growing recognition that it is vital that the German generation born since unification and who have never experienced anything other than freedom and democracy, do not take this for granted. Current Federal Commissioner for the Stasi Archives, Roland Jahn, stated that he believes it is essential for young people to learn about the GDR and understand dictatorship, in order to be able to create the best form of democracy and better protect and appreciate freedom (BStU 2012a). In 2007, Saxony was the first Länder to introduce 'Stasi Studies' into its history curriculum, in order to ensure that Germans of all ages are aware of the horrors endured by their parents and grandparents, and ensure that Stasi-type infringements upon liberty are never repeated (Charleton 2007).

The Stasi does appear to have had an impact upon contemporary Germany and the lives of its citizens in a number of ways, although perhaps not in the ways that one might think. Despite the GDR's secret police continually infringing upon privacy and surveying its citizens, the legacy of the Stasi appears to have had little impact on strengthening legislation to do with surveillance and privacy. However, this appears to be less to do with the Stasi per se, and more to due with the duality of Germany's horrific past. Memories of the Gestapo already shaped and informed not only German federal policy, but also European policy, to create some of the strongest privacy policy in the world. The Stasi have however had a significant impact upon some areas of German life. Debates about what to do with the Stasi files dominated German life for a while, and its outcome had had a significant impact upon the lives of both individuals and public figures. Politicians have been disgraced and lost their political lives. Citizens, as well as previously facing imprisonment, torture and the adverse affects of the Stasi regime, now face ugly truths in their personal secret police files. However, the impact of these files on contemporary Germany does appear to be diminishing. Germans appear now to be more preoccupied with immediate, everyday life, such as the economic crisis in the Eurozone and at home. Many of the goals set to work

through the past have been achieved, including the opening of the Stasi files and the resolution of the majority of property disputes. Despite this, the Stasi does have continued impact and relevance in German society; young Germans continue to learn about dictatorship and the importance of retaining freedom and democracy, victims continue to wish to view their files and discover their personal history through the eyes of their informants, and the process of working through the past is still not at an end.

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'A serious commitment to equality would entail the abolition of private schools.' Discuss.

(Written for Foundations of Politics)

Ellen Blakemore

The private school system has been a feature of British history and the British establishment since the 6th century. The first private school being 'The King's school Canterbury', founded in 597. From this perspective, we can see that private schools are as much as a part of our society as our monarchy or sites of national heritage. In recent times, there have been calls to abolish the private school system. Private schools have been accused of being elitist institutions that provide an 'unfair' advantage to the more affluent within society at the expense of the state education system. However, in this essay, I am going to argue that a commitment to equality would entail the complete reform of the state school system and not just the outright abolition of private schools. I am going to further argue that the abolishment of private schools would not improve equality in any positive way and would in fact compromise on individual liberty.

Private schools are, on the whole, considered to provide a better type of education for two primary reasons. Firstly, the class sizes are significantly smaller, the length of the school day is usually longer and additional tuition is available which enables pupils to progress academically more quickly. Secondly, the private school system tends to attract, on the whole, a higher proportion of specialist teachers. We must also consider the added factor that as parents of pupils in the private school system are paying for their children's education, the pupils will be, on average, more willing to learn and committed to their education.

There are, however, inherent problems with the monopolisation by the private school system of elite universities. In 2006, 43% of Oxford university admissions in came from private schools. When you consider that only 18% of the post-16 education population come from private schools, we can see there is a clear discrepancy in the distribution of places at elite universities. Furthermore, the Sutton trust found that "Four independent schools -

Eton, Westminster, St Paul's Boys and St Paul's Girls - and state-funded Hills Road Sixth Form College in Cambridge, together sent 946 pupils to Oxford and Cambridge between 2007 and 2009. By contrast, 2,000 lower-performing schools combined only sent a total of 927 students to the two elite universities, getting less than 6% of available places" (Berg, 2011). According these findings, five schools, of which four are private schools, sent more pupils to Oxbridge than all the lower performing schools put together. In addition, private school pupils also have "the highest rates of achieving grades A or B grades in A level maths and sciences" compared to grammar, specialist and mainstream state schools, and pupils at independent schools account for a disproportionate number of the total number of A levels in maths and sciences (Department for Education, 2011,p5).

The problem of dis-proportionate monopolisation by the private school system is not just limited to A level results and admission to the best Universities, well-paid and powerful positions are also dominated by ex-private school attendees. Two thirds of the current Conservative- Liberal Democrat coalition were educated at a private school (Hassan, 2012) and when you consider the fact that only 7% of British children are educated through the private school system, this is extremely disproportionate (Ibid). The problem is not just limited to politics or highly paid jobs, as 50% of British athletes who received a medal in the Olympic Games in 2012 attended a private school (Beckford, 2012). It would seem then that to attend a private school, gives an individual disproportionately greater opportunities within society, this has led to the argument for their abolition, as those who are unable to pay for such an education will never have access to the opportunities that they offer. There is no doubt that those attending private schools are put at a considerable academic advantage. Does this necessarily mean that private schools should be abolished in pursuit of equality?

Firstly, those who have the economic resources to send their child to a private school will still have those resources independent of whether a ban on private schools was put in place or not. These individuals would simply spend the money on private tutors and other resources which would give an advantage to their own children against others. Differences in individual wealth will still persist as a differentiation as to who receives the best education. Unless there was a full redistribution of wealth, some individuals will always have

more resources to put into their child's education. If private schools are abolished in the interests of 'equality of opportunity', would it still be classed as equality of opportunity if some children still receive additional academic support? It is impossible to fully equalise a system in which individual wealth would still have a large impact on academic results. In 'Anarchy, State and Utopia', Nozick argues that property rights should be strictly upheld and not allowing private schools to exist would interfere with the market at the rights of individuals to trade freely. Nozick also argues that "there is no justified sacrifice of some of us for others", so in other words you cannot justify the reduction in educational opportunities of a few just for the sake of a few others (Nozick, 1974, p32).

In addition, how far do we take this commitment to an equalised education system? If private schools were abolished and the state system was developed to a point where it was deemed sufficiently equalised, there is only so much that can be done to offset the impact of individual differences in intelligence and ability. If we take the theory of 'equality of outcome' then it will never be satisfied as there will always be fundamental individual differences that will effect achievement. In Vonnegut's book "Harrison Bergeron" it is set in a world where equality of outcome is taken to the extreme and individuals are given 'handicaps' in order to create a society where no-one is 'more intelligent, better looking or stronger than another'. The intelligent are wired into radios so they cannot think, the good-looking are forced to wear masks and the strong have to wear weights around them so their physical strength is compromised (Vonnegut, 1961). While this is taking an attempt at equality to an extreme, at what point does a society stop pursuing absolute equality? We can see from Vonnegut's book that a society that becomes obsessed by equality ends up damaging the quality of life of its citizens.

Abolition would also infringe on the free choice of others to choose where their child would be educated. Should a move to promote 'equality' really hamper the ambitions and opportunities of those who have the financial means to pursue a private education? Should we really "level down" and hinder the education of others just in pursuit of an equality that will be difficult to achieve? (McKinnon, 2012, p153). In 'Rethinking equality', Anderson puts forward that "no-one is entitled to demand a smaller pie, just so that they can get a larger proportional slice". If an individual wishes to invest in their child's education, then they are

quite within their rights to be able to. We shouldn't force those who possess greater access to education to reduce the overall level of education just so it is in-line with that of the rest of society. (Anderson, 2004, p105). Anderson, develops this by adding that pursuing equality in education "in a democratic system, would tie children's opportunities for development to the educational preferences of the median voter. Parents and children who value education much more than the median voter would not be allowed to pursue their conception of the good, through the expenditure of external resources". (Ibid, p104)

Private Schools are clearly considered to be a worthwhile investment by their alumni, otherwise they would not still be in existence, so why do we not try and bring the level of state run schools up, rather than try to universalise and compromise on the education of those that attend a private school? It is unjust to 'level down' others and compromise them of their potential for the sake of equality. White, in his work 'the dishwasher's child' argues that when people debate about equality within education, they are not truly advocating actual equality, they are advocating 'sufficiency'. White argues that egalitarianism cannot be used as a basis for making educational policy. We should instead legislate so all children receive a 'sufficient' education, so they are able to potentially succeed and 'flourish'. If equality was to be sought then no-one would receive any education as everyone would be equal in being uneducated. (White, 1994)

There are of course, practical issues in any move towards the abolition of private schools. After three decades of alleged equality in the comprehensive system, there are still issues and failures. If we were to fully move over to a purely state system, who's to say that things could in fact worsen? Within the state system there is the 'postcode lottery', whereby depending on where you live determines what schools you have the right to go to. If equality is being sought why should the random nature of where you live be able to determine the quality of education you receive? It would not be practical or possible for every school to provide an identical education, so if equality is being pursued, this too would need to be remedied. From this perspective, White's argument of a need for a 'sufficient education' is more achievable and still allows for a varied education system.

The solution would perhaps lie in greater investment in education with in the state system.

The grammar school system was superseded in mid-1970s by the comprehensive system, but what the grammar schools had provided was the opportunity for the brightest state school pupils to receive support and better specialist teaching in a more academic environment so they would, in theory, be on a more level playing field when applying for university. However, this system itself was considered to be elitist and the comprehensive system was considered to be fairer. If the issues with the grammar and comprehensive systems were resolved (and the fact that those in the comprehensives were seen to be 'left behind') then the grammar school system could provide greater opportunity for those who have the greater potential to progress onto higher education systems.

Furthermore, rather than abolishing private schools, initiatives should be put into place where
private schools are required to admit a set number of pupils from lower socio-economic backgrounds. In the U.K currently, in order for a private school to receive 'charitable status' and thus receive tax concessions they have to commit certain obligations and 'serve their community'. If government pressure was exerted to force more private schools to take on more pupils on a scholarship basis, then this would equalise opportunity further.

To conclude I do not believe that abolishing private schools would generate greater equality or exemplify a commitment to it. Those who possess the means to pay for a private education will be still able to pay for further education through other means, meaning that the banning of private schools is inherently futile. Introducing policy that obligates private schools to take pupils from lower socio-economic backgrounds, the re-implementation and reform of grammar schools and an overhaul of the comprehensive system will ultimately provide a greater commitment to equality. To ban private schools, ultimately compromises on individual liberty, the rights of property and will be completely impractical to implement. The pursuit of complete equality within the education system is not only erroneous but will compromise the potential of others which is not justifiable.

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Is mass migration bound to come at the cost of more xenophobic politics?

(Written for European Politics)

Alexis Comninos

Western European countries have been, since the end of World War Two, confronted to successive "waves" of immigration of different nature and breadth.[1] In Parallel, attitudes towards immigrants have become increasingly negative, with radical-right parties attracting more votes in most of Europe,[2] notably from the 1990s onwards. However we must be careful not to hastily draw a connection between mass migration and the rise of xenophobic politics. In fact, there is a lively debate on the nature of this relation, with some arguing for a clear causality link[3] and others doubting it.[4] Before going any further, it is important that we clarify our understanding of the key concept of 'xenophobic politics'. Xenophobia refers to "the fear of the 'stranger', eventually resulting in a condensed attitude of hostility and hatred".[5] The instrumentalisation of this feeling by the political class, either in government or in opposition can be described as 'xenophobic politics'. When analysing this issue, we face the difficulty of measuring such a variable. As a matter of fact, solely focusing on the political scores of the radical right, while informative and significant, it not sufficient. Our analysis will mostly rely on the success of such parties as an indicator, while also looking at the prominence of the issue on the political scene. We will argue that while mass migration is not bound to come at the cost of more xenophobic politics, immigration politics and policy catalyse xenophobic feelings and greatly determine the nature of the connection between these two variables. Our argument will develop in three stages, as we will focus on the role of integration policies, the nature of the welfare state as well as the politicisation of migration by the radical right in fostering xenophobic politics. In doing so we will be looking at the cases of France, the United Kingdom and Switzerland.

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[1] Geddes, Andrew *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2003)(p. 18)

[2] Smith, Julie *Towards consensus? Centre-right parties and immigration policy in the UK and Ireland* in Bale, Tim *Immigration and Integration Policy in Europe: Why Politics – and the Centre-Right – matter* (London: Routeledge, 2009). (p. 101)

[3] Lubbers Marcel, Gijsberts Mérove & Scheepers Peer *Extreme right-wing voting in Western Europe* (European Journal of Political Research 41: 345–378, 2002) (p. 364)

[4] Givens, Terri E. *Voting Radical Right in Western Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005) (p. 78)

[5] Skenderovic Damir *The Radical Right in Switzerland Continuity & Change, 1945-2000* (New York, Berghahn Books, 2009) (p. 22)

Throughout this analysis, we will be focusing on three western European countries: Britain, France and Switzerland. We have chosen these examples because while they have a similar history of migration, xenophobic politics are expressed differently in each of these countries. It is worth mentioning that, because of their colonial history, France[6] and the United Kingdom[7] have faced – particularly in the 1960s – a type of migration that Switzerland has not. However Switzerland has, since the 1960s "accounted for one of the highest percentages of immigrant populations among Western European countries".[8] In fact, when looking at the proportion of foreign citizens in our three cases, the difference is striking, with Switzerland having 21.7% of foreign citizens while the UK has 6.6% and France 5.8%.[9] This gap is relative to the very strict Swiss naturalisation policy and is thus not as dramatic as it appears.[10] As for xenophobic politics, it manifests itself somehow differently in each of these countries, as an example, political parties of xenophobic character reach different scores. The Swiss SVP is the most successful being the major political force with 26.6% at the last National Council election.[11] The French FN, often described as "Europe's most successful extreme right party",[12] has been performing well – with some fluctuation – since its 1983 breakthrough.[13] In Britain the BNP has failed to attract voters, making it a West-European exception.[14] These performances being largely influenced by the nature of electoral systems as well as by factor endogenous to the parties we will not limit our understanding of xenophobic politics to them. The position the issue of immigration has in mainstream politics has to be considered. We will try to explain in the rest of this essay, why different levels and natures of xenophobia can be observed in three countries confronted to similar levels of migration.

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[6] Mitra, Subrata: *The National Front in France – A Single-Issue Movement?* In Klaus Von Beyme, *Right-Wing Extremism in Western Europe* (1988, London: Frank Cass and Company Ltd) (p. 50)

[7] Smith, Julie *Towards consensus? Centre-right parties and immigration policy in the UK and Ireland* in Bale, Tim *Immigration and Integration Policy in Europe: Why Politics – and the Centre-Right – matter* (London: Routledge, 2009).(p. 106)

[8] Skenderovic Damir *The Radical Right in Switzerland Continuity & Change, 1945-2000* (New York, Berghahn Books, 2009) (p. 43)

[9] *Population of foreign citizens in the EU27 in 2009, Foreign citizens made up 6.4% of the EU27 population* (Eurostat, 129/2010 - 7 September 2010)

[10] Husbands Christopher T. *Switzerland: Right Wing and Xenophobic Parties, from Margin to Mainstream?* (Parliamentary Affairs – 2000 (Pp. 501-16))(p. 502)

[11] Elections du Conseil National 2011, Conférédaration Suisse (online) < http://www.politik-stat.ch/nrw2011CH_fr.html> [accessed 3 Nov 2012.]

[12] Geddes, Andrew *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2003) (p. 59)

[13] Givens, Terri E. Voting Radical Right in Western Europe (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005) (p. 28)

[14] Lubbers Marcel, Gijsberts Mérove & Scheepers Peer Extreme right-wing voting in Western Europe (European Journal of Political Research 41: 345–378, 2002) (p. 345)

We will now look at integration philosophies and policies, assessing their influence on the perception of immigrant and on xenophobia. France, the UK and Switzerland have three different models of integration. That allows us to evaluate how integration can mediate migration and xenophobia. Geddes, when stating that "it raises rather obvious questions of 'from what?', 'into what?', and 'by whom?'",[15] rightfully highlights, that the question of 'integration' is a thorny one. And as we will see, what is understood by 'integration' varies greatly depending on the model adopted. The French model of *assimilation* requires the immigrant to give up most his cultural identity and embrace the French one. In other words, they are to "disappear as a distinct component of French society" in order to integrate.[16] Taking roots in the Jacobin tradition, *assimilation* implies that immigrant communities are not "recognised as relevant entities by the pubic authorities."[17] The French republican ideal of homogeneity and political unity[18] often creates tensions, by attacking individual identity. The British *multicultural* model in contrast, acknowledges the differences, which are considered to enrich the nation's cultural identity. This ethnic pluralism approach is illustrated by Labour Home Secretary Roy Jenkins, when defining 'integration' as "implying not a flattening process of uniformity, but cultural diversity coupled with equal opportunity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance".[19] Unlike the French model, *multiculturalism* accepts the existence of ethnic minority groups and does not see it as a threat to national unity. In Switzerland, immigrants are seen primarily in "economic light"[20] and therefore expected to be temporary residents, following the needs of the market. This model, often referred to as the *guest worker* model,[21] is coupled with particularly "high institutional and cultural barriers to naturalization."[22] By creating a national identity narrative that is either inclusive or exclusive of diversity, acknowledging or not the permanent character of immigration, integration plays a primordial part in the construction of xenophobia and its political exploitation. Assimilation, by stigmatising the immigrants in non-compliance with the

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[15] Geddes, Andrew *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2003) (p. 5)

[16] Ibid. (p. 66)

[17] Entzinger Han *The Dynamics of Integration Policies: A Multidimensional Model* in Koopmans Ruud and Statham Paul (ed.) *Challenging Immigration and Ethnic Relations Politics, Comparative European Politics* (Oxford: Oxford university Press, 2000)(p. 102)

[18] Geddes*The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe* (2003) (p. 57)

[19] Rex, John *Multiculturalism and Political Integration in Europe* in Koopmans Ruud and Statham Paul (ed.) *Challenging Immigration and Ethnic Relations Politics, Comparative European Politics* (Oxford: Oxford university Press, 2000)(p. 60)

[20] Ireland Patrick, *Reaping What they Sow: Institutions and Immigrant Political Participation in Western Europe* in Koopmans Ruud and Statham Paul (ed.) *Challenging Immigration and Ethnic Relations Politics, Comparative European Politics* (Oxford: Oxford university Press, 2000)(p. 264)

[21] Entzinger *The Dynamics of Integration Policies* (2000)(p. 100)

[22] Koopmans Ruud and Statham Paul (ed.) *Challenging Immigration and Ethnic Relations Politics, Comparative European Politics* (Oxford: Oxford university Press, 2000)(p. 19)

national identity produces an image of not-belonging, while multiculturalism, by encompassing a broader set of cultural values does less so. As for the guest worker model, it appears to project a complete lack of state initiative to make migrants part of the society. Also, as we will now examine, integration policies have implication on how inclusive the welfare state is.[23] The latter also is a key determinant of the relationship between migration and xenophobia.

The nature of the welfare state, by "generating inclusion and exclusion"[24] has a considerable impact on how immigrants are treated by the host state as well as on how they are perceived by the native population. It is thus another mediating mechanism between immigration and xenophobia. We can draw a clear distinction between the French welfare state on the one side, extensive, corporatist and both the Swiss and the British on the other, of more liberal character. While in France immigrants can benefit from the universal welfare system, in the United Kingdom and Switzerland, where private insurance systems preserve a major role, they are "precluded from a number of benefits".[25]/[26] This dichotomy has clear implications on the institutional treatment of immigrants of course but also on the perception of immigrants by the nationals. The liberal welfare system of Switzerland and the UK creates - to use Crepaz and Damron's qualification - an "institutional discrimination",[27] going along with the narrative of *welfare chauvinism*. By using means-tested systems this model conveys an idea of social categorisation effect, a perception of inequality of worth.[28] It is therefore argued that more generous welfare structures, by decommodifying individuals lessen the imprint of welfare chauvinism.[29] However, it is worth exploring another argument, stating that extensive welfare states, because of their generosity toward immigrants, create or strengthens the animosity of nationals. When writing about the EU enlargement of 2004, Smith makes this point by stating: "The fact that CEE nationals were not eligible for welfare benefits further contributed to the general acceptance of

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[23]Ireland *Reaping What they Sow* (2000) (p. 238)

[24] Bommes Michael and Geddes Andrew *Immigration and Welfare Challenging the borders of the welfare state* (London: Routeledge, 2000) (p. 3)

[25] Banting Keith G. "*Looking at three directions Migration and the European welfare state in comparative perspective*"in Bommes Michael and Geddes Andrew *Immigration and Welfare Challenging the borders of the welfare state* (London: Routeledge, 2000)(p. 24)

[26] Ireland, *Reaping What they Sow* (2000)(p. 265)

[27] Crepaz Markus M. L., Damron Regan: *Constructing tolerance, How the Welfare State Shapes Attitudes About Immigrants*, Comparative Political Studies 2009; 42; 437, Sage Publications.(p. 447)

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid. (p. 446)

migration."[30] We can thus say that the connection between the welfare and xenophobia is two-fold as liberal welfare state creates institutionalised xenophobia and stigmatisation while extensive welfare state can instigate resentment in the native population. As Crepaz and Damron elegantly put it, the nature of the welfare state can therefore "bridge ethnic chasms and douse the fires of xenophobia and racism."[31]

We shall start here with an puzzling observation, that of a clear gap between the prevalence of immigration as an issue among European voters in general, and the real – small at best – threat it represents for native workers.[32] This leads us to question this misalignment and calls for a deeper look into the politicisation and instrumentalisation of the issue by the radical right. By observing the positive correlation between a restrictive political climate towards immigration and the support for the extreme right,[33] Lubbers (et al.) almost that the radical-right support is to some extent self sustaining. By establishing such a climate, it can actively influence the perception of immigration, and xenophobia. Or as Skenderovic puts it, that "these parties construct and politicise the so-called 'immigration problem' and thereby evoke and reinforce anti-immigration sentiments."[34] By looking at our case studies, we will try to assess the success of the radical right in politicising immigration and triggering xenophobia. In France, the FN has succeeded in making immigration a major national issue, as well as in banalising racism and xenophobia.[35] Thus, Le Pen's political rivals have, increasingly, "stolen Le Pen's clothes."[36] Under Sarkozy's presidency, various interventions, broadly relayed by the media created an outrage, mostly among the political left. As an example, the Interior Minister Claude Guéant, declared on national radio that because of uncontrolled immigration, the French people sometimes had the feeling of not being at home.[37] In Switzerland, the SVP has, as "co-opted the immigration/asylum issue".[38]

[30] Smith, Julie *Towards consensus? Centre-right parties and immigration policy in the UK and Ireland* in Bale, Tim *Immigration and Integration Policy in Europe: Why Politics – and the Centre-Right – matter* (London: Routeledge, 2009).(p. 107)

[31] Crepaz, Damron: *Constructing tolerance, How the Welfare State Shapes Attitudes About Immigrants*, Comparative Political Studies 2009.(p. 439)

[32] Epstein Gil S. and Nitzan Shmuel *The Struggle over Migration Policy*
(Journal of Population Economics, Vol. 19, No. 4 (Oct., 2006), pp. 703-723) (p. 704)

[33] Lubbers Marcel, Gijsberts Mérove & Scheepers Peer *Extreme right-wing voting in Western Europe* (European Journal of Political Research 41: 345–378, 2002) (p. 365)

[34] Skenderovic Damir *The Radical Right in Switzerland Continuity & Change, 1945-2000* (New York, Berghahn Books, 2009)(p. 43)

[35] Mitra, Subrata: *The National Front in France – A Single-Issue Movement?* In Klaus Von Beyme, *Right-Wing Extremism in Western Europe* (1988, London: Frank Cass and Company Ltd) (p. 61)

[36] Hainsworth Paul Le Pen's Pals (Fortnight, No. 340 (Jun., 1995), p. 8 Published by: Fortnight Publications Ltd.)

[37] Guéant, Claude (Interior minister of Nicolas Sarkozy) on Europe1 radio, interview of Jean-Pierre Elkabbach 17/03/2011 (7:00-7:35m) 08:20<http://www.europe1.fr/MediaCenter/Emissions/L-interview-de-Jean-Pierre-Elkabbach/Videos/Gueant-Kadhafi-n-a-pas-paye-la-campagne-457689/>

However, the exceptionality of the Swiss case lies in the fact that even if it has been clearly identifies as having "extremist" and "xenophobic tendencies"[39] the SVP, unlike the FN or the BNP is a mainstream party; even the major one. Since the late 1990s, under the leadership of Christoph Blocher, the party has clearly shifted towards more populist and exclusionist strategy and rhetoric.[40] With successive campaigns of similar nature, the SVP exploited relentlessly the populist vein, using blatantly xenophobic imagery and rhetoric.[41] In Britain, it appears that while voters rate immigration as one of the main three problems,[42] the BNP has not succeeded in giving it the same prevalence in mainstream politics as in France or Switzerland. Smith argues that immigration in Britain is not a "powerful cleavage", nor a "major controversy" in mainstream politics.[43] The main actor on the moderate right - the Conservative Party – is cautious of not coming out as overtly anti-immigration; a concern that the French UMP does not seem to have.[44] It is worth mentioning that in Britain, more than in Switzerland or France, the media is prominent in participating in the construction of the xenophobic narrative, notably by using "apocalyptic language".[45] Ford and Goodwin have indeed revealed a correlation between the readers of some high profile anti-immigration daily newspaper and the BNP vote.[46] We can thus say that the exploitation of the immigration issue by the radical-right – and to some extent the media – intervenes in establishing its degree of politicisation, fostering or not xenophobia.

Throughout our study we have argued that mass migration and xenophobic politics are indeed connected. However this connection is intermediated by – and greatly dependent on – the integration policies, the welfare state and the radical-right's exploitation of the question. It appears that the French and the Swiss integration model – more so than the British one – fail to create a harmonious community either by stigmatising individual immigrants (assimilation) or by marginalising them (guest worker model). As for the welfare

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[38] Husbands Christopher T. *Switzerland: Right Wing and Xenophobic Parties, from Margin to Mainstream?* (Parliamentary Affairs – 2000 (Pp. 501-16)) (p. 513)

[39] Ibid (p. 515)

[40] Skenderovic *The Radical Right in Switzerland Continuity & Change, 1945-2000* (2009) (p. 124)

[41] Ménine, Karelle *En Suisse, l'UDC affiche son racisme sans complexe* (Rue 89 online, 24/09/2007) <http://www.rue89.com/2007/09/24/en-suisse-ludc-affiche-son-racisme-sans-complexe> [accessed 29/10/2012]

[42] Ford Robert and Goodwin Matthew J. *Angry White Men: Individual and ContextualPredictors of Support for the BritishNational Party* (POLITICAL STUDIES: 2010 VOL 58, 1–25) (academia.edu) (p. 12)

[43] Smith, *Towards consensus? Centre-right parties and immigration policy in the UK and Ireland* (2009). (Pp. 110-13)

[44] Ellinas Antonis A. *The Media and the Far Right in Western Europe, Playing the Nationalist Card* (New-York: Cambridge University Press, 2010) (p. 197)

[45] Geddes *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe* (2003) (p. 60)

[46] Ford and Goodwin *Angry White Men: Individual and Contextual Predictors of Support for the British National Party* (2010) (p. 15)

state, we have observed that depending in its nature it brings about a different type of xenophobia. Indeed, while a liberal welfare system institutionalises it through welfare chauvinism, a more extensive one can cause resentment and animosity in the national population. Finally, we have looked at how the radical right has politicised immigration, making it a "more salient issue to voters."[47]Xenophobia definitely exists in all three contexts but under different forms, for the Swiss direct democracy system allows it to easily reach the mainstream while the First Past The Post British system prevents the BNP from getting representation at the higher level. In France the success of the Front National cannot be assessed solely by looking at its electoral score as it has achieved a banalisation of xenophobia, implanting the issue of immigration at the top of the agenda. At last, immigration pressures alone do not account for the rise of xenophobic politics and as Kriesi puts it, "it does not translate directly into a greater mobilization capacity of these movements."[48]

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[47] Givens, Terri E. *Voting Radical Right in Western Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005) (p. 68)
[48] Ibid (p. 78)

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Why is Turkey still not a member of the European Union?

(Written for Political Change: The EU as a Global Actor)

Liam Harvey

The pursuit of accession for Turkey has been a particularly long and drawn out process. It began in 1959 when Turkey applied for Associate Status which was granted in 1964, allowing for the phased introduction of a Customs Union and the possibility of future accession. Turkey was then recognised as a European Union (EU) candidate in December 1999 but it took until 2004 for the European Council to open accession negotiations with Turkey. Eight years on, despite major political and social reforms, accession still does not seem any closer and there are a variety of reasons for this. This essay will identify two types of reasons: explicit and implicit. Explicit reasons are those which can leave no room for confusion and doubt. These include: Turkey's failure to meet the Copenhagen criteria and under this broad category, this essay will exam the Cyprus issue, the violation of human as well as minority rights. I will then examine the role the military plays in Turkish society, which seems to undermine democracy. Following this, implicit or implied reasons will be examined. These include the broad point of Turkish culture and how it differs from Western culture. This will be followed by highlighting how religion has been perceived as problematic by Western leaders. I will then examine the issue of immigration and, related to this, the issue of Turkey's large population. This essay will finally cover structural problems with the EU perhaps being reluctant to accept Turkey as its institutions are not ready or perhaps because the EU could not 'absorb' such a large state.[49] Although the explicit reasons are a big hindrance on Turkish accession, this essay will show why the implicit reasons are far more damaging to Turkeys chances on becoming a fully-fledged member of the EU.[50]

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[49]   -Bac, Meltem and Stivachtis, Yannis A, 'Turkey-European Union relations: dilemmas, opportunities, and constraints', (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2008) p.145.

[50] Although there are economic concerns too, this essay does not have the space to cover the full range of hindrances to Turkish accession. Please see Armagan Emre Çakir's work entitled 'Fifty Years of EU-Turkey Relations: A Sisyphean Story', for an overview of the economic arguments and how they have changed.

The first explicit reason as to why Turkey is not a member of the EU is the countries failure to meet the Copenhagen Criteria. This criterion was introduced in 1993 and they comprise of rules that determine whether or not a country is eligible to join the EU. They are set out so that any possible state must meet three components. These include political as well as economic criteria and the acceptance of the *Community acquis*.[51] In order to realise these criteria, Turkey adopted a series of political and social reforms, including greater rights for minorities and women, from 2001 to 2004 to qualify for membership negotiations which was finally granted in 2004. The important point about the Copenhagen Criteria was that it gave Turkey something to work towards and provided a clear incentive of what could potentially be achieved if they were met. Following the countries radical reforms, a European Commission Progress Report declared that *'Turkey sufficiently fulfilled the political aspects of the Copenhagen Criteria',* but there have been problems surrounding the on-going hostility with EU member state Cyprus as well as further problems with the other two criteria. [52] This issue with Cyprus is a problem as potential members must enact legislation in order to bring their laws in line with European law, known as the *acquis communautaire,* which is split into thirty-five chapters. The Cyprus issue is a clear barrier to membership as Turkey does not officially recognise Cyprus and even rejects the legality of Cypriot membership in line with their violation of the 1963 Agreements.[53] The situation reached its peak when the EU Council adopted the Commission's recommendations from 2006 and suspended eight chapters of the criteria. These can only be reactivated if Turkey opens its ports to Cyprus and generally finds a solution to this problem. The conflict has drawn comments from numerous member states including Germany's Chancellor, Angela Merkel, who commented '*The EU cannot simply go on as it has done. Turkey must understand that there will be no simple continuation if there is no movement on Cyprus.'[54]* As Cyprus is a member of the EU, it has the power to block the opening of further chapters to Turkey. This was seen in 2010 when Cyprus blocked the opening of the energy chapter. Evidently, Cyprus is hampering Turkey's accession prospects. However, what is important to realise is that in Ankara, advocates for a closer tie to the EU feel that what should have been 'EU incentives

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[51] For full criteria please visit 'Accession Criteria', Europa, http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/glossary/accession_criteria_copenhague_en.htm, accessed 06/12/12.
[52]   -Bac, op cit, p.120.
[53] Ibid, p.125.
[54]   , Aylin, 'Turkey and the 'New Europe': Challenges and Opportunities during the Accession Negotiations',   -Bac and Stivachtis, '*Turkey – European Union Relations',* p.144.

to promote and encourage necessary reforms in Turkey' are now perhaps reforms to discourage Turkey. This is because the reforms necessary are just a step too far, as they would mean Turkey changing fundamental aspects of its culture and religion and as this is not plausible, it acts as a barrier to Turkish entry.

Under the Copenhagen Criteria, minority and human rights are key problems that hamper Turkish accession. Since the start of the century the current ruling party, the AKP (Justice and Development Party), has ushered in a wide range of policies to meet the criteria, such as the abolition of the death penalty, but drastic changes still need to be made, particularly in reference to women's and minority rights. For instance, one limitation of the AKP movement's definition of 'fundamental rights and freedoms' is the failure to incorporate women's rights into 'human rights'. This absence of democracy in regards to women has been a problem for a number of EU states, in particular Austria, France, Germany, Denmark and Holland who see Turkey as the "other".[55] Although this "other" is focused mainly around the issue of religion, it is accompanied by a particular resentment towards lacking democratic practices including human and women's rights. Minority rights are a key issue in regards to Turkey's entry into the EU. It has been noted that *'the Kurdish population is without doubt the most impending ethnic problem facing Turkey today.'*[56] The Kurds are located all over Turkey and over the past few decades, one could argue that they have developed into an increasingly pro-national group. This was visibly seen by the establishment of the PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party) at the end of the 1970's and the armed struggle carried out under the leadership of the PKK against the Turkish military during the 1980's and 1990's. This type of military action is not acceptable to the EU, which dampened any prospect at that time.

The prosecution that the Kurds were subject to has been noted by many authors. For example, Kerim Yildiz in his book regarding the human rights abuses on the Kurds in Turkey notes that they were *'Subject to unremitting attempts by the Turkish government to disband*

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[55] Jung, Dietrich and Raudvere, Catharina, *'Religion, Politics and Turkey's EU Accession'*, (Palgrave: Macmillan, 2008) p.31.
[56] Ibid, p.183.

Kurdish networks, suppress cultural expression and quell dissent. The Kurds residing in South-East Turkey have borned decades of persecution effected through discriminatory legislation.'[57] Discriminatory legislation stated by Yildiz has been a particularly damning policy enacted out by the Turkish government to limit the rights of Kurds. For example, the 1983 Language Ban Act that proscribed the use of written and spoken Kurdish.[58] This is further exemplified by Meena Menon who states in her piece on Kurds fighting 'for survival' that *'The use of the Kurdish language (…) was forbidden (…) Kurds were Turks first and foremost and any other identity was traitorous.'*[59] This is a clear violation of the human rights abuses of the Kurds as their culture and language is being attacked by the Turkish government. This policy by the Turkish government is effectively trying to wipe out thousands of years of Kurdish culture by telling the Kurds that they will be discriminated against until they integrate into Turkish culture. This form of discrimination is something that still continues today and, although the situation has improved, the European Commission's 2009 "Progress Report on Turkey" stated that in areas such as freedom of expression, 'significant efforts were still needed' indicating how this is still a barrier to Turkey becoming a member of the EU.[60]

The final explicit reason to be studied is the role of the military in Turkish politics and society which seems to undermine democracy throughout the country. The military manifestly plays a pivotal role in Turkey's politics and has repeatedly intervened in politics to oust undesirable civilian governments. This was seen in 1960, 1971, 1980 and 1997 highlighting the frequent nature of military intervention that has continually undermined democracy. It has been noted that the military *'influences policy in areas that, according to the military's own definition of security may virtually cover everything'* and although it is not that bad, this point highlights the extent intervention could take.[61] The problem with the military is that they are unelected and so have no right to intervene and become involved with political situations. This position of power that the military holds dates back to Ottoman times when

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[57] Yildiz, Kerim, *'The Kurds in Turkey: EU Accession and Human Rights'*, (Pluto Press: London, 2005), p1.
[58] Cemiloglu, Dicle, 'Language Policy and National Unity: The Dilemma of the Kurdish Language', *College Undergraduate Research Electronic Journal*, (University of Pennsylvania, 30th March, 2009), p54.
[59] Menon, Meena, 'Kurds in Turkey: Fighting for Survival', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol 30, No. 13, (April 1, 1995),p668.
[60] Morelli, Vincent, op cit, pp.6-7.
[61] Koliopoulos, Constantinos, 'The Strategic Implications of Turkey's EU Membership', -Bac and Stivachtis, *'Turkey – European Union Relations'*, p.95.

the military played a significant role in expanding the Ottoman territory via a strong army. When the Ottoman Empire was coming to an end, *'the state's modernization process was driven by military concerns.'*[62] Again, following the First World War, Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk) became the country's political and military leader and he, along with other generals, transformed the country into a modern nation-state. Although Ataturk tried to separate the military and politics through legislation enacted in 1923, it was never complete as he *'saw the role of the army as the guardian of the secular republic.'*[63] Thus, when the army felt its principles to be threatened, it would intervene in politics undermining democracy, something which has hindered its EU accession progress. Despite the power of the military declining after 2002 with the reforms made in order to meet accession criteria, the 2007 "e-coup" signifies the power that the military can still hold over Turkish politics. The 2007 example was not a full intervention but General Yasar Buyukanit, who retired in 2008, issued a statement online which claimed the *'military had been watching the election situation with concern and reminded politicians the military was the ultimate guardian of secularism.'* This came as the parliamentary vote on electing ex-Islamist Abdullah Gul as president was inconclusive, something that worried the military.[64] From this, the role the military can play in society is worrying as with an unelected body being able to influence politics to such a great extent, it means that democracy is not able to take hold and consolidate. Therefore, military influence in this arena needs to be addressed as it acts as a major barrier to EU entry.

In addition to the above explicit reasons, there are implicit reasons as to why Turkey is yet to gain EU entry. Firstly, there is the issue of differing cultures between Turkey and the EU and, within this, the perceived problem of religion. In the past, the main criticism of Turkey becoming a member of EU was that it was 'too big, too poor and culturally too different' but over time, the 'too poor' element has become less of an obstacle due to Turkey's large economic growth but the 'culturally too different' is still a persistent problem to many EU

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[62] Yıldırım, Çağrı, '*The Role of the Military in Turkish Politics and European Union Membership Negotiations*', December 2010, http://www.balkanalysis.com/turkey/2010/12/02/the-role-of-the-military-in-turkish-politics-and-european-union-membership-negotiations/ accessed 07/12/12.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Villelabeitia, Ibon, '*Ex-Turkish army chief says "e-coup" justified*', May 2009, http://www.reuters.com/article/2009/05/08/us-turkey-military-general-idUSTRE5471UQ20090508, accessed 07/12/12.

states. It has become a polite code word for opposing Turkish membership on the grounds that it is not Christian and hence not European, meaning it cannot actually become European. This view has been advocated by numerous states, including France, Germany and Austria but also criticism has been received from Poland as a Polish far-right MEP, Jan Masiel, commented that Turkish accession was not a matter of 'whether Turkey does or does not already meet the EU's requirements. It is a matter of whether we want a Muslim Turkey in Europe that was built on Christian values.'[65] This view has been advocated by the ex-French President Nicholas Sarkozy as well as Germany's Chancellor Angela Merkel and within these countries majorities of over 70% oppose Turkish accession. This indicates how unpopular Turkey's accession is with the people of these countries which highlights why it is still not a member of the EU.[66]

Although there is no mention of religion in the European Constitutional Ttreaty, the view that Europe is a 'Christian club' is one issue that has emerged when the prospect of Turkish enlargement became apparent. This is because historically, Islam has been seen as a threat against Christianity and Europe with the Ottoman Empire threatening the stability of Christendom. Therefore, there is a strong fear in some nations which is reflected in the public opinion that Turkish accession would finally and forever erode the ramparts of European national identity as well as cultural integrity.[67] This fear has been key as when the public oppose accession it is almost impossible for the governments to turn around and go against public opinion because after all, in a democracy it is the people who put the government in power. What is interesting to note about this point is that it is not Turkey who is lacking a 'criteria' as such but it is the EU who is not able to embrace Turkey as it is. The difference between the EU and Turkey in terms of culture was highlighted by the Christian Democrats in Germany who introduced the concept of an 'absorption capacity'. This concept aims to assess the impact of the 2004 enlargement before considering any new members and in 2006 was renamed the 'integration capacity' by the EU's former Enlargement Commissioner Olli Rehn. This 'integration capacity' is made up of three

[65] Weisband, Edward et al, *'Turkish Accession and the Quest for a European Polity: Discursive Strategies and Organized Hypocrisy'*,
    -Bac and Stivachtis, *'Turkey – European Union Relations'*, p.62.
[66] Watt, Nicholas, *'European rejects Turkey, poll shows'*, July 2005, http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2005/jul/19/turkey.eu, accessed 07/12/12.
[67] Weisband, Edward, et al, op cit, p.42

components and for this essay the most important is the 'institutional capacity'.[68] This component is based around the idea that the *'Union needs to ensure that its institutional decision-making process remains effective and accountable, for the sake of current member states as well as in view for further enlargement.'*[69] This is key for the EU putting off Turkish accession as, with such a large population, which is overwhelmingly Muslim, the EU does not know how many will leave Turkey and come to EU countries and this fear of large waves of immigration is an issue that will be discussed in the following paragraph. Therefore, the question is not whether Turkey can imitate an apparently cosmopolitan Europe but can Turkey replete with divided Islamic and authoritarian national forces – be cosmopolitan and ultimately European? Parker highlights in his work this perfectly by stating that *'Turkey will struggle to assimilate the liberal values of modern(ist) Europe'* and therefore as much as Turkey tries, Europe will always find difference in culture with it. [70]

Further to this is the major issue of Turkey's population size and with that, the fear of mass immigration. In 2011, Turkey's population according to the World Bank was 73,639,596 million not too far off Germany's 2011 population of 81,726,000.[71] As a result of this large population, the fear from Germany and the other dominant countries within Europe such as France and the United Kingdom is that Turkey would enter the EU and immediately have a greater share of the vote in the institutions than all countries except Germany. This has meant that they would perhaps have to find a way to re-calculate the weighting of the votes for the European institutions to ensure that this does not happen. Although there is currently no literature available on what this new method of calculation would be, it will be interesting to note what happens as accession negotiations go further. Linked closely with Turkey's large population is the fear of immigration to European countries if Turkey was granted entry. At the moment, migrants from Turkey represent a fairly small proportion of all migrants to the EU and in 2008, some 2.3 million foreign born from Turkey were counted.

[68]   , op cit, p.145.
[69]   , op cit, p.145.
[70] Parker, Owen, 'Cosmopolitan Europe and the EU-Turkey question: The politics of a common destiny', *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol 16, Issue 7, (October 2009), p.1090.
[71] World Bank, Population, Turkey, https://www.google.co.uk/publicdata/explore?ds=d5bncppjof8f9_&met_y=sp_pop_totl&idim=country:TUR&dl=en&hl=en&q=turkey%20population, accessed 10/12/12; World Bank, Population, Germany, https://www.google.co.uk/publicdata/explore?ds=d5bncppjof8f9_&met_y=sp_pop_totl&idim=country:DEU&dl=en&hl=en&q=germany%20population, accessed 10/12/12.

These migrants mainly live in Germany, where a total of 1.5 million reside, Austria who hosts 158,000 thousand, France with 230,000 and the Netherlands with 200,000.[72] Although this is a small figure, scholars have struggled to estimate how many migrants will actually leave Turkey and seek a new life within European borders when full entry is granted.[73] There is a fear amongst Europeans that there would be 'large numbers of Turks immigrating to the EU' and this has been made out to be far worse due to the economic downturn and the fear that these migrants would take jobs. Coupled with this is the widespread belief in Europe that Turkish immigrants have failed to integrate into their host communities and have ended up secluding themselves in their own small communities. [74]However, what is important to factor in here is that with an ever-decreasing EU population and one that is ageing, the EU will in the near future experience labour shortages and so in reality, the influx of immigration will be a good thing to help boost an unproductive economy.[75] Yet despite this being the case, the fear of the 'unknown' is placing doubt in the minds of the member states which is definitely hampering Turkey's accession prospects.

Further to this, these debates over migration involve a variety of issues. For example, the rising number of irregular transit migrants through Turkey to Europe has contributed to the widely established perception that migratory flows at the EU's Turkish border are out of control.[76] As policy areas such as border security, combating illegal border crossings and illegal employment and return are a central priority of the Unions' common immigration policy, these problems Turkey faces have become key issues in pre-accession talks and do definitely hinder Turkey's application.[77] This has been made far worse due to the poor picture the politicians in Europe paint of Turkish migrants. Politicians frequently use negative imagery and speak of a Turkish 'invasion' when they publicly debate Turkish membership to the EU.[78] This imagery associated with war is used to make the situation seem far worse than it realistically would be and thus stirs up negative connotations that put the public off Turkish membership. This, added with the commonly accepted view that

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[72] Biffl, Gudrun, '*Turkey and Europe: The role of migration and trade on economic development*', Conference Paper for May 6, 2011, p.1.
[73] Elitok, P. Secil, 'Estimating the Potential Migration from Turkey to the European Union: A Literature Survey', *Hamburg Institute of International Economics*, (May 2010), p.5.
[74] , Kirişçi, Kemal and Erzan, Refik 'Turkish Immigrants: Their integration within the EU and migration to Turkey', 2004, p.2.
[75] Ibid, p.2
[76] IÇduygu, Ahmet, '*Europe, Turkey and International Migration: An Uneasy Migration*', (January 2011), p.2.
[77] Ibid, pp.16-17.
[78] Ibid, p.2.

Turkish immigrants who already reside in Europe face integration difficulties in their communities as well as the growing Islamophobia on the continent which has been made far worse by the attacks on America on September 11th, adds to the growing reasons why Turkey is still not a member of the EU.

Additionally, it has been argued that Turkey as a landmass is not actually situated within the boundaries of Europe so should not be allowed entry into the EU based on this principle. This argument has been put forward by Valery Giscard D'Estaing who was the former French President, when he said that *'Turkey's capital is not situated inside Europe and that almost 95 per cent of Turkey's population reside in Asian Minor.'*[79] This view has also been supported by Nicholas Sarkozy who claimed that *'Turkey does not have its place in Europe.'* What is interesting about these claims is that the boundaries of where Europe begins and ends becomes increasingly distorted as Turkey moves ever closer to meeting the criteria to become a fully-fledged member of the EU. For example, when the West needed Turkey in the fight against the Communist states during the Cold War, it was exclaimed on the occasion of the signing of the Ankara Association Treaty between Turkey and the European Economic Community by the then European Commissioner Walker Hallstein that *'Turkey is a part of Europe.'*[80] However, when the Communist states fell and the threat was removed, it seems that Turkey was no longer seen as key to the west and the prospect of having to actually make Turkey part of the EU became a real one and this was something which many member states did not like. It seems that leaders from member states come up with different reasons to oppose Turkish entry whenever it is plausible and therefore it is no surprise that Turkey is still not a member of the EU.

Finally, it is worth looking at the argument that the EU is not simply ready to embrace such a large country with a completely different religious population and if it did, the EU just would not be able to cope. As Turkey comes ever closer to meeting the accession criteria that is put forward by the EU, there seems to be an ever increasing opposition from member states

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[79] Jung, Dietrich and Raudvere, Catharina, op cit, p.7
[80] *'A Fading European Dream: Will Turkey ever join the EU?'*, October 21st 2010, http://www.economist.com/node/17276372, accessed 28/12/12.

about allowing Turkey entry. This concept has been named 'organised hypocrisy' and was championed by Nils Brunsson and it represents the code of the unsayable, for example that Turkey simply cannot join. Although more recently people such as Merkel and Sarkozy have been far more open about their views on Turkey. In the view of organised hypocrisy, the debate over Turkish membership is *'inextricably linked to weakness of political leadership in Europe and to the institutional and political deteriorations associated with the democratic deficit.'*[81] Therefore, *'in a sense, debate over Turkish accession allows EU member states to avoid speaking about the EU's own failings',* such as the EU not being able to embrace a country with a different culture/religion which seems to be an underlying concern for certain countries.[82] In this reasoning, current EU members do recognise the legitimacy of Turkish claims to membership within the EU but never actually commit to precise details on entry and instead use strategies to delay accession without rejecting membership. This view has been backed up by evidence from French leader Romano Prodi, who was the acting President of the European Commission. On the 30th April, 2004, Prodi explained that *'They are giving different messages to Turkey. When they are together with Turkish officials they say Turkey will become a member of the EU; but they say to me in Brussels, please do not hurry about Turkey's membership.'*[83] From this, the mixed signals given to Turkey are clear and it seems that it is done not purely on grounds of, for example, religion or culture, but because the leaders within Europe refuse to address the need for reforms that would be necessary on Europe's part to achieve a cosmopolitan vision that includes Turkey. These changes would not just be institutional, there would need to be a shift in the mind-set of many Europeans to fully accept Turkey as a member which perhaps may not ever happen. As a result, countries such as France have argued for a 'special status' to be agreed between Turkey which means Turkey would have close political and economic ties, but not be a member state within the EU. This hypocrisy is not right and is something that needs to be addressed as it acting as a barrier to Turkish entry when really, in a perfect world, this would not be the case.

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[81] Weisband, Edward, et al, op cit, p.44.
[82] Ibid, p.44.
[83] Ibid p.46.

To conclude, there are two types of reasons, implicit and explicit, and these in themselves cover a great variety of reasons as to why Turkey has been denied entry, thus far, into the European Union. Although the explicit reasons are important and are based around Turkey not meeting EU entry criteria, this essay finds that the implicit reasons are far more profound in denying Turkish entry. This is because the explicit reasons one day will potentially be met. For example, Turkey in the future will eventually fulfil the Copenhagen Criteria if it feels that EU benefits are worth it. However, the implicit reasons are far more fundamental and represent a greater institutional change that Turkey would have to make just to fit in with an overtly Christian Europe. Therefore, there is doubt that Turkey will ever make it into Europe as it is not going to be able to change its Muslim population or the cultural differences that exist between it and the EU. Although accession negotiations will continue, there seems to be a growing apathy on Turkey's part about entry and this is also true of the population who seem more reluctant to join Europe, perhaps as a result of the way the EU has handled the accession process, with ever increasing opposition from member states.[84]

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[84] Karasu, Kristina, *'Turkey and the Euro Crisis: EU Membership Losing its Appeal'*, 14/8/2012
http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/turkey-and-the-eu-turks-question-advantages-of-eu-membership-a-849982.html, accessed 11/12/12.

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Assessing the effects of the Marshall Plan

(Political Change: the Evolution of Post War European Integration)

Alex Havekost

Introduction

In the immediate post-World War II period, the world witnessed a shift of hegemonic political and military power from Western Europe to the United States (US) and the Soviet Union (USSR). Due to the US industrial expansion during the War, nearly half of the world's manufactured goods were produced in the USA.[85] Inter-European trade was essentially absent because domestic European reconstruction required the import of raw materials, food, and machinery from the US. In order to sustain the ability to import, most governments had to protect their hard currency reserves through exchange controls and import quotas toward fellow European nations.[86] The Truman Doctrine, presented by US President Truman in March 1947, crystallized the intention of continued US involvement in the European sphere to provide economic aid to countries in need, therefore halting the ever-growing political presence of communism. [87] Furthermore, the European Recovery Program launched in 1948[88], commonly known as the Marshall Plan, was a US initiative that provided monetary support for the physical and economic reconstruction of Western Europe. This Plan was devised as a method for facilitating recovery, which included the removal of the overwhelming uncertainty in European markets and diminished the encroachment of communism. The effects of this Plan, however, are not as straightforward as the methods of the Plan's implementation, but rather continuously debated amongst academia. This paper will take a historiographical approach to investigate the economic, political, and strategic impacts of the Marshall Plan, ultimately determining that the post-revisionist school of thought holds the most traction in its analysis of the effects of the Marshall Plan during the immediate post-war era. The post-revisionist perspective, which posits a more balanced and nuanced interpretation of the motives and effects of the

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[85] Sutcliffe, Anthony. *An Economic and Social History of Western Europe Since 1945*. Harlow, Essex: Pearson Education Limited, 1996. p.16
[86] Schulze, Max-Stephen. *Western Europe - Economic and Social Change since 1945*. Harlow, Essex: Addison Weslet Longman Limited, 1999. p.37
[87] Cromwell, William C. "The Marshall Plan, Britain and the Cold War." *Review of International Studies*. 8.4 (1982): p.5
[88] Dinan, Desmond. *Origins and Evolution of the European Union*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. p.90

Marshall Plan, has the benefit of hindsight, as well as an ever-growing collection of scholarly material, through which we can more accurately analyze the affected areas in Western Europe.

Economic effects

The classical or orthodox view of the Marshall Plan's effects rests on the previously widely established belief that post-war Europe was war-devastated land that required US aid in order for any chance at recovery from World War II. This viewpoint derives from the Secretary of State George Marshall's original speech announcing the intent of the Marshall Plan: "Machinery has fallen into disrepair or is entirely obsolete…Long-standing commercial ties, private institutions, banks, insurance companies, and shipping companies disappeared through loss of capital, absorption through nationalization, or by simple destruction."[89] Orthodoxy claims that the US acted out of generosity to ensure the reconstruction and economic recovery, ultimately that the US became the cause of "Western Europe's remarkable economic performance and that it had 'saved' Western Europe for democracy."[90] During the course of the Plan, France received 6.5% of its Gross National Product (GNP)[91] through Marshall Funds, providing a stabilizing effect on its economy, making sustainable the rise in foreign debts, and allowing for the government to reduce budget deficits and facilitate a dramatic fall in the rate of inflation from mid-1948.[92] Italy received 5.3% of its GNP[93] from Marshall Funds, aiding the gradual reduction of budget deficits.[94] West Germany was particularly singled out as the "poster-child" of the Marshall Plan due to their exponential gains in industrial production, tenfold increases in exports, and rapidly falling unemployment[95], although they acquired a relatively small 2.9% of GNP.[96] Finally, Great Britain obtained 2.4% of GNP[97] from Marshall Funds, but Great Britain had a much larger economy than France, Germany, and Italy, so the loans were somewhat

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[89] Marshall, George C. "Address to Graduating Class." Harvard University 1947 Graduation. Harvard University. Massachusetts, Cambridge. June 05, 1947.
[90] Milward, Alan S. *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-51*. Cambridge: Metheun & Co Ltd., 1984. p.90
[91] Ibid p.96
[92] Op.Cit. Schulze p.288
[93] Op.Cit. Milward. p.96
[94] Op.Cit. Schulze p.321
[95] Hitchcock, William I. "The Marshall Plan and the creation of the West." in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War Volume I*. Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. P.159
[96] Op.it. Milward p.96
[97] Ibid. p.96

negligible for recovery and actually provided slightly inflationary pressures on the economy.[98]

These predominantly positive effects have been called to criticism amongst the revisionist school of thought, notably headed by Alan Milward, who specifically investigated the industrial capacity of Europe in the years following the end of World War II. More specifically, the remaining industry in Germany and rapid reconstruction in France, Great Britain, and Italy demonstrates that the Marshall Plan was not the cause for West European recovery, which was already underway. This school of thought posits that previous quantitative measures of the Plan's impact on European economies suggest that its contribution was exaggerated by Cold War historians.[99] Revisionist historians believe the impact of the Plan wasn't as essential as previously thought, due to the post- war industrial capacities of West European countries. For example, by 1947 both Britain and France had met or exceeded their pre-war levels of industrial production. Italy, Belgium, and the Netherlands enjoyed similar recoveries by mid-1948, unassisted by the Marshall Plan, which was inaugurated in Europe later that year.[100][101] This trend was further confirmed by the level of German destruction which was "insufficient to offset the new capacity during the war years."[102] Milward is aided by Foley and Schulze, who also share the revisionist belief that Europe's recovery would have continued without the Marshall Plan, albeit at a slower rate.[103]

The Revisionist school of thought takes a special interest into the economic effects of the Marshall Plan-- not on the European countries, but rather the US gains from the endeavor. Schulze and Milward note that the Plan ensured the continued Western European demand for US exports through the reapplication of significant capacity from war industries toward reconstruction and consumer goods in order to prevent a slump in the US economy. The Plan was also a device to further increases in US capital investments in Europe[104], therefore ensuring US "economic domination of Western Europe."[105] Concomitantly, the Marshall Plan severely curtailed East-West European trade and encouraged US investment through

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[98] Op.Cit. Hitchcock p.5
[99] Op.Cit. Milward p.91
[100] Op.Cit. Hitchcock p.3
[101] Foley, Bernard J. *European Economies since the Second World War*. Palgrave MacMillan, 1998. p.76
[102] Op.Cit. Foley p.27
[103] Op.Cit. Schulze p.32
[104] Op.Cit. Milward p.90
[105] Op.Cit. Schulze p.39

the liberalization of trade. [106] This viewpoint of the revisionist historians was a drastic reversal of the orthodoxy claim, which for decades had detailed how curtailed European trade was due to "devastation, disorganization, shortages, inconvertible currencies, transportation difficulties, and large domestic demand." [107] This perspective highlights the foundational belief of the revisionist school of thought – the price Western Europeans paid for the Marshall Plan—was the de facto acceptance of a world economic order based on the US blueprint: "a commitment to a multilateral world free trade and an international monetary system based on the dollar." [108]

What revisionist historians fall short on, however, is looking beyond the relatively direct, static economic effects of the Marshall Plan. With more information from archive openings, greater amounts of academic research, and better hindsight, post-revisionist (PR) historians composed somewhat of a hybrid outlook on the effects of the Marshall Plan. Barry Eichengreen, known for his PR outlook, embodied the belief of these historians by stating, "The Marshall Plan significantly sped Western European growth by altering the environment in which economic policy was made." [109] The post-war era was marred by shortages of consumer goods and shortages of industrial capital, coupled with heightened fears of financial chaos. This in turn led producers to hoard the commodities they could obtain and workers to exert relatively limited productive power. What the PR historians highlight is the crucial role of the Marshall Plan's aid to the restoration of a business mood and the facilitation of resource importation and dissemination in the Western European area. Statistically, the contribution for three and a half years of these forces allowed for the GNP of assisted countries to increase by 25%, agricultural production increases of about 24%, and industrial production rises of 64%. [110] These numbers illustrate the rapid restoration and improvements of Marshall-Funded Countries; without the Plan, according to the PR historians, these increases would have progressed at a much slower pace.

Even though the initial industrial reconstruction and economic growth was already underway in most countries before the Marshall Plan, as the revisionist school of thought

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[106] Lundestad, Geir. *"Empire" by Integration: The United States and European Integration, 1945-1997*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998. p.7

[107] Diebold Jr., William. "East-West Trade and the Marshall Plan." *Foreign Affairs*. 26.4 (1948): p.4

[108] George, Stephen. *An Awkward Partner: Britain in the European Community*. 3rd. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998. p.7

[109] De Long, J. Bradford, and Barry Eichengreen. "The Marshall Plan: History's Most Successful Structural Adjustment Program." *National Bureau of Economic Research*. 3889 (1991). p.3

[110] Op.Cit. Sutcliffe p.22

highlights, the Plan's monetary support and associated conditionalities served to expedite the evolution of Western European economies toward versions of a mixed economy similar to that found in the US. Essentially, the Marshall Plan's effects were not solely of reconstruction, but more of a "largely and highly successful structural adjustment program." [111] The gridlock of inadequate pre-war institutions was revamped by the Plan to ensure compatibility with US and other European markets, causing inflationary pressures to decrease, workers to defer their wage demands, and management to concede corporate demands for higher profits. Concurrently, higher investment and faster productivity improved the efficiency of the entire Western European system, improving all economic actors.

A particular case to further the PR viewpoint would be Italy through the end of 1946, whose deficient industrial output became a point of contention among academics. Orthodoxy suggests a battle-scarred nation whose industry and infrastructure was essentially nonexistent – a dire condition solved by the US coming to the rescue through the Marshall Plan. Revisionist historians claim that the Marshall Plan was a US imperialistic interruption of Italian recovery. Italy had a weakened post-war economy, but a fairly hearty industrial sector, permitting rapid reconstruction, reflating exports, and the initiation of large-scale investments before the implementation of the Plan. [112] Both of these schools of thought insufficiently elucidate the Plan's economic effects on the post-war situation: Orthodoxy often relies on dated rhetoric and does not delve into statistical industrial capabilities, and the revisionists lack a dynamic analysis beyond figures relating specifically to remaining industrial capacity. PR posits that the slump in Italian industrial output reflected not the wholesale destruction of its capacity, but rather the disruption to its channels for obtaining imports and distributing exports. As Marshall Aid arrived by 1948, Italy's economy was quick to embrace American technology and management principles; aid allowed for swift reconstruction and expansions in industry, notably Italy's most modern branches. [113] High Italian growth rates were helped by the Plan, whose monetary injections of $1.3 billion were mostly used for the import of "fuel, raw materials, and machinery" [114] to fulfill the significant industrial demand. As a result of these economic improvements fostered by the

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[111] Op.Cit. De Long. p.5
[112] Op.Cit. Foley p.76
[113] Op.Cit. Schulze p.321
[114] Op.Cit. Foley p.75

Marshall Plan, the Italian economy underwent the liberalization of production and prices[115] to ultimately enjoy increases in competitiveness, exports, and intra-European trade. Economic improvements similar to those as seen in Italy took place in France, West Germany, and Great Britain[116] from Marshall Aid; Eichengreen and Uzan concur with this PR notion by suggesting that the Marshall Plan could have shifted Europe from the "interwar wage inflations, profit squeezes, low levels of investment, and lagging production to the new post-war equilibrium."[117]

What has led to the range of academic opinions on the economic effects of the Marshall Plan in post-war Western Europe has been the scope of investigations undertaken. Milward frankly stated when describing the revisionist view of the Marshall Plan that in economic terms the European economic problem was not disastrous and there were various methods of tackling it rather than the imperialistic Marshall Plan.[118] This and other revisionist historians' analyses are deficient in their focus, which the post-revisionist school of thought is able to overcome by including the Plan's structural adjustments of entire European economies, allowing for: advances in industrial reconstruction and efficiency; improvements in the West European business climate through reductions in unwieldy, fettering uncertainties; and the propagation of raw materials amongst operable industries through monetary support, all of which validate the post-revisionist historians and their belief of the overwhelming economic benefits of the Marshall Plan in Western Europe.

Political Effects

The political and strategic effects of the Marshall Plan are much less quantifiable than the related economic results, which has led the scholarly debate to considerably differing conclusions about what was accomplished. Orthodoxy believes that the Marshall Plan was an act of American generosity to ensure the speedy recovery of Western Europe, as well as to slow the spread of communism and promote European integration. In a 1948 scholarly article, William Diebold Jr. succinctly stated, "In its commonest form the argument is that a

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[115] Eichengreen, Barry, Marc Uzan, Nicholas Crafts, and Martin Hellwig. "The Marshall Plan: Economic Effects and Implications for Eastern Europe and the Former USSR." *Economic Policy*. 7.14 (1992). p.3
[116] Op.Cit. Hitchcock p.4
[117] Op.Cit. Eichengreen. 1992. p.39
[118] Op.Cit. Sutcliffe p.16

major purpose of the Marshall Plan is to check the spread of Soviet domination,"[119] which confirm the orthodox thoughts of the Plan at the time of its implementation. Integration, as the US envisioned it, went far beyond that of a common economic market to a political union to ensure future European stability. Milward confirmed this notion by explaining how the Marshall Plan was aimed at the "total political reconstruction" of Western Europe – the integration of Western Europe into one common economic area before the end of the Marshall Plan and the ultimate integration into one common political area. [120]

Revisionist historians interpret post-war Western European political relations as indicative of the invasive US policies associated with the Marshall Plan. Countries wishing to receive aid were forced to realign their domestic and foreign policies to ensure their continued existence in the program. Those who failed to adhere to terms agreed upon risked losing their aid[121], embodying the political effects of the Plan. In West Germany, for example, the US was able to influence domestic and foreign political development, as well as social policy through Marshall Aid programs. Furthermore, the effects of the Plan were accentuated by the influence wielded by the US as an occupying power[122], once again reinforcing the revisionist view that the Plan and its political effects were in fact acts of imperialistic foreign policy by the US; there was a severely limited range of political choice for European societies as a result of the Plan. [123] N. Piers Ludlow concurred with this view and went on to liken Western Europe as the US's "eastern frontier" [124], symbolizing the rapid political and institutional shifts to match the West, as well as turning Western Europe into the US's bulwark against the USSR, as a result of the Marshall Plan.

What the PR and revisionist historians agree upon is the intention of the Plan: the hope that US values would be imparted into Western Europe following the receipt of aid and would continue to positively influence future policy decisions. It was believed that improvements in productivity would bring higher levels of wealth, gradually eliminating the social and political tensions in the immediate post-war era on which "communism in particular was

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[119] Op.Cit. Diebold p.11
[120] Op.Cit. Milward p.466
[121] Eichengreen, Barry. *Reconstructing Europe's trade and payments*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993. p.95
[122] Knapp, Manfred, Wolfgang F. Stolper, and Michael Hudson. "Reconstruction and West-Integration: The Impact of the Marshall Plan on Germany." *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics*. 137.3 (1981). p.12
[123] Op.Cit. Milward p.90
[124] Delanty, Gerard. *Inventing Europe - Idea, Identity, Reality.* London: MacMillan Press, 1995. p.129

thought to thrive." [125] The schools of thought also agree that the Plan solidified the US presence in Western Europe, however the interpretations of this significant political development are where PR and revisionists divide. PR historians posit that the centrality of US political involvement in Western European recovery through the Marshall Plan bolstered the moderate elements in Western European politics and smoothed industry labor-management relations. [126] The availability of Marshall Aid to those who accomplished a level of domestic stabilization provided a strong incentive to resolve distributional conflicts early [127], a benefit of the Plan that improved long-term political and economic efficiency gains. In terms of domestic politics, PR historians note the specific value of the Plan in supporting more centrist political parties. Through formal conditionalities and informal channels the US made clear their reluctance to deliver aid to socialist governments. [128] The imposition of more moderate politics was introduced to not only move Western Europe away from forms of political extremism seen in World War II, but also in hope of facilitating a sustainable political future that could avoid any such conflict again.

In both France and Italy, the pronouncement of the Marshall Plan was accompanied by the departure of communist ministers from the governing coalitions, which allowed for more conservative domestic policies, such as subsidy reductions and moderations of wage demands[129], to arise and pass in their respective legislatures. The PR viewpoint also highlights the value of the Marshall Plan's political effects by which it calmed inter-West European relations. Post-World War II, Germany had retained significant industrial capacity relative to other countries, which left the other states, particularly France, intent on pastoralizing the German economy. The disgruntled victors, soothed by Marshall Aid, were able to drop their demands for German reparations[130] and allow West Germany to proceed in becoming the economic heart of Europe, a focal point in US policy desires. These two examples demonstrate that the effects of the Marshall plan may have agreed with US policy directives, but also proved highly beneficial for the involved countries.

[125] Op.Cit. Milward p.123
[126] Op.Cit. Eichengreen. 1992. p.2
[127] Op.Cit. De Long. p.27
[128] Op.Cit. Eichengreen. 1993. p.67
[129] Op.Cit. Eichengreen. 1992. p.31
[130] Eichengreen, Barry. *The European Economy since 1945*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2007. p.69

What makes the PR school of thought a superior analysis of the political effects of the Plan compared to the revisionist or orthodox historians is the more comprehensive understanding of the results, similar to that of the PR view on the economic effects. Politically, the revisionists see US encroachment into Western European politics and policy-making as extensions of US imperialism. Ludlow, somewhat brazenly, concurs with the hardline revisionist outlook by claiming that through the US's polarization of internationalist politics, the US was essentially taking it upon itself the responsibility to renew the world, as well as expanding its empire through the Marshall Plan.[131] The PR standpoint exhibits that the intent of the US policy through the Marshall Plan should not form preconceived notions of its effects, but identify what singular results were accomplished from the Plan itself. PR historians propose that the moderation or removal of extremist domestic politics allowed for a renovation of a previously entangled political system, greatly aiding improving the capacity for economic and other legislative reforms.

Strategic Effects

Strategically, the historiographical debate over Marshall Plan's effects is not as stark as the economic and political debates, although differing opinions are still present. What contrasts the strategic effects to the other two areas is how the Marshall Plan's strategic effects became apparent even before its monetary implementation. The announcement of the Plan in June 1947 was enough to raise Cold War tensions and spur the USSR to rein in its Eastern European satellite states; the USSR saw that the US attempt to gain economic and strategic hegemony required immediate action, therefore the USSR did not allow the satellites to accept Marshall Aid.[132] In Western Europe, the Plan had the effect of splitting the Socialist and Communist parties, with the socialists understanding the need to accept aid, and the loyal communists under instruction from Moscow to reject aid[133], which ultimately undermined communist popularity; noted by Hitchcock, "Communist parties in the west found themselves at odds with the needy population when trying to disrupt US aid."[134] By mid-1947 the division of Europe had acquired a definite momentum away from the

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[131] Ludlow, N. Piers. *European Integration and the Cold War*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2007. p.3
[132] Op.Cit. Hitchcock p.7
[133] Op.Cit. Eichengreen. 2007. p.67
[134] Op.Cit. Hitchcock p.9

anticipated post-war European state cooperation. Instead, there were the shifts towards the Stalinization of Eastern Europe and the concurrent linking of Western Europe to a US-led economic and security order.[135] In 1948, Diebold was acutely aware of the existing "push and pull" of the US and USSR, and correctly theorized that the plan for Western European reconstruction would inevitably widen the gap between the East and the West even further.[136] The Plan served to halt the spread of communism in Western Europe through political moderation and conditionalities for Marshall Aid.

Revisionist historians agree on the widening schism between the US and USSR as a result of the Marshall Plan, as was the failure of communism to retain major political traction in Western Europe. Consistent with their largely negative views on US involvement, they claim that the US was able to strategically outmaneuver the communists in Western Europe, allowing for US-style policies to grab the reigns of European democracy. Furthermore, the strategic results of the Plan allowed for the reappearance of "big business" concerns, which were intent on conserving the national economic systems and the privileges inherent in them, perceived by many as a direct and rapidly growing threat to establishment of planned economies using the USSR model.[137]

In contrast, the PR historians take more of a moderate approach to the analysis of the strategic effects resulting from the Marshall Plan. Beyond the occupation of West Germany, PR historians do not share the revisionist belief that Western European governments were simply marionettes, each controlled by the US. The US would raise levels of monetary support in response to demonstrated political moderation by Marshall Countries, which would in turn gradually lead to higher living standards. This type of process persuaded countries that the US was a more reliable political and economic supporter than the USSR. These "conversions" were exhibited in France; Italy; and West Germany, whose democratic, center-right party, the Christian Democratic Union, and coalition partners including the Free Democrats, enjoyed heightened popularity.[138] Moscow's authoritarianism rested somewhat uneasily with the deep-rooted democratic traditions in Western Europe[139],

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[135] Op.Cit. Cromwell p.2
[136] Op.Cit. Diebold p.2
[137] Spinelli, A 'The Growth of the European Movement since the Second World War' in Hodges, M (ed) European Integration, Penguin, 1972. p.62
[138] Op.Cit. Eichengreen. 2007. p.67
[139] Ibid. p.46

whereas the economically beneficial and more politically compatible system of the US translated much more smoothly as a result of the Marshall Plan.

Strategically, the Marshall Plan fueled the polarized East-West tension that became known as the Cold War. The Plan resulted in a further split within Europe; the Eastern European countries, under the direction of Moscow were unable to utilize Marshall Aid, and the Western European countries were on a reconstructive path, demonstrating rapid growth. Revisionist historians believe that through the US's economic gains, they were able to not only stave off the growing communist "threat," but also achieve a level of political and diplomatic control that fed US imperialistic policies. PR historians assume a more temperate position, in which the US was able to incentivize Marshall Aid in order to direct domestic Western European policies, which swayed the governments to favor political moderation and ultimately undermine communism, causing a heightened power struggle between the US and USSR. In hindsight, it seems the US did want a more integrated European market and ultimately a political union, but did not wholly desire to control Western European governments.

Conclusion

The Marshall Plan's effects were wide-ranging within European society, through which Western Europe underwent an economic and political transition toward a system similar to the US, and Eastern Europe was subjected to Moscow flexing its political power and therefore unable to accept aid. Orthodoxy claims that the US's Plan was a generous gift to reconstruct war-torn Western Europe whilst ensuring democratic states did not have to turn to the USSR for assistance. Revisionist historians entirely reversed this mentality by using quantitative and qualitative data to demonstrate the Marshall Plan in fact was not a selfless act, but rather a demonstration of entirely self-interested US desires to fundamentally redesign Western Europe to provide access to European markets, influence governmental policy-making, and attain a foothold against the potential threat of communism. This hardliner viewpoint does not, however, provide a sufficient level of explanation for the largely positive benefits from the Marshall Plan. The post-revisionist school of thought ultimately provides a hybrid of the other two perspectives; with greater access to firsthand

information and a significantly larger number of academic sources, Eichengreen and other historians successfully develop the argument that the monetary support from the Marshall Plan and the, often stiff, political prerequisites permitted Western Europe to speedily reconstruct, politically recover, revamp dated institutions, and economically grow. This was accomplished through the meshing of US-European democracy building, Marshall Aid, and the moderation of Western European political systems, which halted the spread of communism to allow for social reform, albeit at the cost of significantly increased East-West global polarization.

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<http://www.oecd.org/general/themarshallplanspeechatharvarduniversity5june1947.htm>

States as the Constituent Components of World Order: the Significance of Ibn Khaldun in Today's War on Terror

(Written for Classical Political Thought)

Aminata Koné

The Islam has been under siege since 2001 and in the political environment today, Muslims are too often associated with terrorism. The heinous attacks of 9/11 were treated by the U.S. not as crimes – which would require criminal prosecution and law enforcement – but as a *war* against Americans, freedom, democracy, "the Western way of life" (Hossein-zadeh 2006: 91). Once established the U.S. was at war, a military response seemed appropriate. So far, however, the global war on terror has done little to eradicate terrorism. On the contrary, it seems the threat of an attack is now bigger: the number of terrorist attacks worldwide has increased from just over 1800 in 2001, to a staggering five-thousand ten years later (START 2012). It shall be argued here that the violently ineffective Western approach to terrorism springs from and exacerbates widespread beliefs that the current world order consists of 'civilisations' between which there are monumental, insurmountable differences. We argue that this belief is incorrect; that states, not civilisations, are the constituent components of world order; that the Arabic region is therefore not a homogenous bloc or 'civilisation' and that recognition of this fact will go a long way in finding a more peaceful and effective solution to terrorism.

This essay is divided into two sections. The first, discussing the theory that has been most influential in the debate on post-9/11 Eastern-Western relations thus far, begins with an outline of Huntington's 'Clash of Civilisations'. Secondly, we argue that its simplistic and deterministic 'us versus them'-rhetoric has led to an incorrect assessment by the West, the U.S. in particular, of the causes of terrorism and, as a result thereof, it plays a role in justifying a global war that will not do much to eradicate Islamic fundamentalism. In the second section, the focus lies on Islamic classical author Ibn Khaldun, whose theory of the rise and fall of states based on solidarity provides a good starting point for a more correct assessment of 'the Arabic region' today. We pay particular attention to the importance of leadership and identity (the latter is emphasised by both Huntington and Khaldun, but in considerably different ways).

The clash of civilisations thesis as a foundation for ineffective foreign policy

September of 2001 has (quite literally) given ample ammunition to defenders of the clash of civilisations theory. The attacks brought questions about how Al Qaeda's radical violence should be understood "in relation to wider, diverse Islamic thought" to the fore (Coll 2012). Islam, and the Arabic region which in public discourse has become synonymous with the religion, have increasingly been characterised as backward and fundamentalist and placed in stark contrast with the West, which is "the best" and whose model "[all other civilisations] aspire to" (Piel 1993: 55).

In his essay first published in 1993, Huntington predicts that "the most important conflicts of the future will occur along the cultural fault lines separating [seven or eight major] civilisations from one another" (Huntington 1993: 3). This is because while globalisation is making the world a smaller place and interactions between peoples of different civilisations are increasing, the "fundamental" differences among civilisations that are "the product of centuries" are not likely to disappear soon (Huntington 1993: 4). He also argued that, perhaps because the West is at a peak of power, non-Western civilisations are returning to their roots; in the Middle East, a return to cultural roots takes the form of "re-Islamisation" (Huntington 1993: 5). As people define their identity in ethnic and religious terms, they become more solidary and homogenous and are likely to see an "us versus them relation existing between themselves and people of different ethnicity or religion" (Huntington 1993: 7). He believes that the Arab world, where "Western democracy strengthens anti-Western political forces" will make the strongest return to religion (Huntington 1993: 10). Most major conflicts are therefore likely to be fought between Muslims and non-Muslims. In short, he states, "Islam has bloody borders" (Huntington 1993: 12).

Huntington's thesis undoubtedly gained support after 9/11, but it has been influential since it was first published. In fact, we argue that such notions as the clash of civilisations theory have diverted attention from the real causes of terrorism and have so been instrumental in shaping U.S. perception of and foreign policy on Islamic fundamentalism.

Religious fundamentalism is universal: it arises in response to modernity and secularism, both of which tend to weaken or threaten religious traditions. John Voll points out that by the early 1990s, "violent militancy was clearly manifest among Hindu fundamentalists, Buddhists in Sri Lanka, Jewish fundamentalists in Israel and others elsewhere" (1994, cited in Hossein-zadeh 2006: 110-11). As one scholar points out, if the Bosnians, the Palestinians and the Kashmiris are asked about their borders they would say that, respectively, Christianity, Judaism and Hinduism are the ones that have bloody borders (Ahmed 2002: 29). Huntington seems to have at least a basic awareness of this as he does not deny the role of modernisation in the resurgence of religion, nor does he deny that peoples everywhere are holding on to their roots more fiercely; yet he does single out Islam as the most dangerous potential enemy of the West. By supposing that their return to religious roots shall have bloodier consequences than elsewhere, he is implying that Islam is inherently more rigid, static and anti-modern than other religions. He interprets the militancy of Islamic fundamentalism as being somehow directly caused by distinctive Islamic doctrines and traditions (Voll 1994, cited in Hossein-zadeh 2006: 111). This analysis seems to be based on little more than deep-rooted historical prejudices, and the impact of his essay allowed these to resurface in the social and political spheres (Ahmed 2002: 28).

Huntington is not alone in distorting the causes and realities of Islamic fundamentalism. In 1990, historian Bernard Lewis describes a "surge of hatred" rising from the Islamic world that "becomes a rejection of Western civilisation as such" (cited in Coll 2012). Richard Perle, American neoconservative militarist and advisor to Israel's Likud party, proposes a strategy of "de-contexualisation" to explain acts of terrorism and violent resistance to Israeli

occupation. He argues that we must stop trying to understand the territorial, geopolitical and historical reasons that some groups turn to terrorism; instead, reasons for the violence of such groups must be sought in the Islamic way of thinking (Hossein-zadeh 2006: 101). What Huntington, Lewis and Perle have in common is that they attribute the root causes of Islamic fundamentalism and consequent terrorist attacks to "pathological problems of the Muslim mind" (Hossein-zadeh 2006: 101), some more overtly than others. In doing so, they posit a characteristic, supposedly shared by Muslims from Indonesia through Iran to Senegal, that makes conflict with the West inevitable.

With such a view widespread among the American public, it is not surprising that the attacks of 9/11 were treated as a direct and personal attack on Americans. Once the majority is convinced that violence is part of the nature of Islam, pre-emptive war seems to be a logical solution: after all, how will dialogue help if the Muslim mind is pathologically troubled? As Peña points out, however, a larger military would not have prevented the tragedy of 9/11, and it will not prevent future terrorist actions (2001, cited in Snider 2004). Terrorism, much like the war that is fought against it, is a means of pursuing objectives, not an actor. It cannot be stopped by military action as fighting does nothing to address the issues that terrorists feel can only be resolved violently; if anything, this is more likely to lead to a vicious cycle of constantly increasing military operations and an ever higher number of terrorist attacks. As one author put it: "the moral crusade to end terrorism can only begin with a realistic assessment of its cause" (Snider 2004). The clash of civilisations theory has not been the route to that realistic assessment. In fact, the clash of civilisations theory has

led to a misunderstanding of the causes of terrorism, which in turn has been instrumental in shaping flawed policies to deal with the problem.

Ibn Khaldun and the importance of 'asabiyya on the international scale

If the global war on terror has not achieved much success in twelve years, in what ways should we alter our policies? We argue, based on Ibn Khaldun's work, that recognition of the true constituent components of world order – states rather than civilisations – is vital in shifting our view towards more realistic causes of terrorism than those implied by Samuel Huntington.

Ibn Khaldun, theorising in the fourteenth century, believed human society is necessary for the survival of man, and once "spread over the face of the earth, there arises the need of a restraining force to keep men off each other in view of their animal propensities for … oppression of others" (Khaldun 1987 [1377]: 100). This restraining force is one man wielding authority – a sovereign. In other words, owing to the requirement of restraint, a polity arises out of the impossibility of a society existing *without* such a polity – and this polity, whether theocratic or kingly, is what is meant by a state (Khaldun 1987 [1377]: 102). At the core of this form of social organisation lies *'asabiyya,* social solidarity. It works as a social cohesive in the first place through blood ties, but as he points out, "such relationships are more of an emotional than an objective fact … and when evident they act as a natural urge leading to solidarity" (Khaldun 1987 [1377]: 104). In other words, common language, culture and living conditions can also act as ties of kinship. *'Asabiyya* is most strongly present in tribal societies,

where leaders cannot compel their men as they do not yet enjoy sovereign power. However, when sovereignty is (necessarily) established, the social cohesiveness gets lost: traditional ties of kinship weaken as the state urbanises and modernises. Moreover, each successive sovereign will attempt to weaken rivals in order to protect its authority, because in contrast to the principle of 'leadership among equals' found in tribal societies, sovereignty is "rule by compulsion" (Khaldun 1987 [1377]: 108-114). *'Asabiyya*, which is the basis of the state, is being destroyed – as a result, state power eventually declines until 'fresh' tribal societies manage to take over and start again.

Based on Khaldun's theory, roots of dissatisfaction across Arabic countries should be found in a loss of *'asabiyya* within those states. An important difference with Huntington's theory becomes instantly apparent: according to Khaldun, major conflicts take place not *between* civilisations, but *within* civilisations organised in the form of a state. As conflicts are fought mainly between rulers and its population, good leadership is extremely important: in a state with a strong sense of social solidarity and belonging, a leader can expect to get political support. In Khaldunian theory, the leader is the embodiment of qualities that will "either propel his group to greater heights or lead him to undercut the solidarity of his own supporters as he seeks to assert his dominance" (Rosen 2005: 597). For the benefit of his state and for his own benefit, a good leader should therefore embody both political as well as moral authority. A recent example of how 'bad leadership', pursuit of a sovereign's personal interests and neglect of the needs of the population lead to destruction of that aspect on which state support is built, is of course the Arab Spring. One might expect Muslim societies to have become more cohesive after independence from European

colonial powers halfway through the twentieth century; yet it is then that the breakdown of *'asabiyya* seems to have started, and it has been the direct result of developments Khaldun warned for (Ahmed 2002: 30; Ahmed 2005: 595). Fast urbanisation, unequal distributions of wealth and widespread corruption and mismanagement of rulers are some of the crucial factors that explain the decline of state solidarity in certain Arab states and that contributed to mass-mobilisation for radical change.

Based hereon, we argue that Khaldun provides us with a model for good governance. We apply this model to the United States as a global hegemon, and argue that the way in which it has overtly and covertly 'governed' the Middle East is a more likely cause of terrorism than any inherent feature of Islam. It should first be noted, however, that Khaldun emphasised the importance of historical change: contextual interpretation is crucial, direct historical comparison useless. The presence of *'asabiyya* and the course of political events are ultimately not dependent on inevitable forces, but on specific circumstances (Rosen 2005: 597). This means that, contrary to how it may seem to some (see, for example, Ahmed 2005: 594), Khaldun's theory does not render history predictable or cyclical. Indeed, he said: "When general conditions change it is as though creation changes from its very foundation and the whole world is turned around. It is like a new creation, … a newly made world" (Khaldun 1987 [1377]: 181). Following his logic, discussions on the constituent components of world order must also assess how the relations between these components have changed.

The twentieth century saw the creation of a 'newly made world', one that could not have been foreseen by Khaldun: states have become increasingly interdependent economically and politically, while cultural ideas can be communicated across the globe instantly due to technological innovations. But this process has been highly asymmetrical: new ideas, both tempting and threatening, challenged traditional customs everywhere *but* in the West. The U.S. became the self-proclaimed hegemon, and the concept of 'world leadership' has increasingly become a guiding principle for its foreign policy. With Khaldun in mind, the U.S. should lead with political and moral authority to create the social cohesion necessary for support of its authority. However, the nation's foreign policy in the Middle East has been characterised by partisan support for Israeli mistreatment of Palestinians, support of dictatorial regimes through trade relations, severe involvement in countries' internal affairs (arguably for its own benefits) and bloody military operations. Although the States were dealing with dozens of distinct Muslim states, they consistently viewed them as one homogenous bloc and rarely entered into dialogue. If there seems to be a civilisation of Islamic Arabs today, it is only because they have consistently been treated as such by the West. The clash of civilisations theory and the policies built on its premises are in effect a self-fulfilling prophecy. It is no wonder, then, that individuals believing their grievances could not be settled non-violently appeared throughout the entire Arabic region. In the words of Reese, "our problem in the Middle East … is not the conditions in the Arab world. It's our own policy, stupid" (2004, cited by Hossein-zadeh 2006: 121).

We do not deny that international conflict often springs from differences in values and beliefs, which are central to a group's identities and often have cultural roots. In fact, we

believe that Huntington's only correct claim is that identity in global politics matters (Welch 2007: 214). We do not, however, believe that regionally shared cultural roots make that region into a homogenous civilisation. The fact that 55 Muslim countries share Islamic roots means that their beliefs may be similar, but they all have different leaders and circumstances. As we have illustrated, Khaldun's concept of *'asabiyya* essentially refers to the influence of leaders in their specific historical and political context (Lacoste 1984, cited in Rosen 2005: 597), thus one Muslim state will be different from the next.

Conclusion

In this essay, we discussed the phenomenon of terrorism and the way in which it is fought by the West. We showed how the clash of civilisations thesis, in singling out Islam and implying the nature of the religion makes conflict with the West inevitable, led to a miscalculated and ineffective response to terrorist attacks by the U.S. government. Based on Khaldun, we argued that states are the constituent components of world order. Conflict takes place predominantly within states in response to bad leadership; however, the context of the present day and America's unique position as world leader mean that the U.S. must maintain solidarity not only within its own population, but on the international scale as well. Failure, through its policies, to do so in the Middle East, has led to a breakdown of the social solidarity necessary to maintain authority and is a root cause of terrorism. Recognition hereof is important, as consistent treatment of the Middle East as a homogenous civilisation is a self-fulfilling prophecy and will do nothing but aggravate existing grievances.

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Is the war in Afghanistan a Just War?

(Written for Classical Political Theory and International Relations)

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The events of 11/9/2001 marked a new chapter in U.S. foreign policy. The initial response to those attacks, perpetrated by Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda network was swift: the intervention in Afghanistan, removal of the Taliban leadership and disruption of major terrorist networks in the region. The effectiveness of this response however, remains in dispute since the war rumbles on and bin Laden was not found until 2011.

Justification for the war in Afghanistan remains a hotly debated topic. The underlying argument of this essay will be that this war is a Just War, since it adheres to the fundamental components of Just War theory, which concern the resort to force and the conduct in war, respectively. I shall first briefly review Just War theory, referring explicitly to Augustine and Thomas Aquinas and will then analyse the war in Afghanistan and consider whether the actions taken by the Bush administration met the criteria for the just use of force. I will discuss the enduring nature of a conflict in its 11th year, the implications this has on satisfying Just War criteria, and I shall consider the challenges to legitimacy posed by both pacifism and realpolitik.

Throughout history, war has frequently been discussed in terms of right and wrong. For almost as long, some have derided such talk, and insisted that war lies beneath moral judgement. War is a world apart, where life itself is at stake, where human nature is reduced to its most elemental forms, where self-interest and necessity prevail. Given this condition, humans do what they must to survive leaving no place for morality or law in war (Walzer: 1997: 3). However, the Just War tradition avoids characterising war in absolute terms, and recognises the possibility of moral regulation and limitation of war (Coates: 1997: 1).

In his masterpiece, *The City of God*, Augustine contends that states are organisations built to allow the earthy passions of human beings to be satisfied without disorder. These passions perennially lead to disorder and no amount of law will prevent this. However, the threat of punishment can bend men's wills in the right direction, if only because we care so much for life, liberty and property that we acquiesce under threats of death (Ryan: 2012: 182). Augustine holds punishment to possess two fundamental uses. The threat of punishment may cause an individual acting badly to change his ways and adopt a more cooperative manner. He follows this by suggesting that punishment can be

used to reform individuals (e.g. a prison sentence can lead a convicted criminal to act differently upon release). This view provides the premises for his account of Just War, the influence of which persists today. Self-defence is always a legitimate ground for fighting and nobody should hesitate to fight back when attacked. Self-defence is always a valid *casus belli*. We need not wait until the enemy is literally at the gates before we resist; we may frustrate his preparations for attack as well. These claims became part of Just War doctrine in the later Middle Ages, and even feature in the Charter of the United Nations (Ryan: 2012: 178).

Aquinas, another influential theorist of justice in war, contended that for a war to be lawful, three things are needed. First, it must be official, declared by a person or persons authorised to do it; private revenge and banditry are not war and cannot be justified as individuals have courts to turn to for the redress of injustice and neither need to resort to war nor have the authority to do so. Second, the cause of the war must be just: wars should be fought only in self-defence, but self-defence extends in one temporal direction to a pre-emptive strike to prevent attack, and in the other to taking belated measures, for instance, to recover territory that has been unjustly seized and not returned. Third, the war must be fought with the right intention, with the aim of restoring the peace and punishing the wicked always before our minds (Ryan: 2012: 247-248).

Augustine's resort to force can be viewed as a simple obligation of loving one's neighbour, an obligation embedded in Christianity. Within the Just War tradition, the use of force to pre-empt and prevent such an event in which an unarmed people face imminent slaughter is justified. The use of force in such circumstances protects innocents from certain harm. While Augustine believed that it is better to suffer harm than to inflict it, the obligation of charity requires one to move in the other direction: To save the lives of others, it may be necessary to endanger and even take the lives of their tormentors (Elshtain: 2004: 57). What constitutes a just or unjust resort to armed force is disclosed in what Michael Walzer names "the war convention". Walzer defines this as the "set of articulated norms, customs, professional codes, legal precepts, religious and philosophical principles, and reciprocal arrangements that shape our judgement of military conduct" (1977: 44). The shared war convention provides the raw material from which we generate the best interpretation of our core commitments in wartime. This interpretation establishes a set of firm rules to guide the conduct of persons and states. These are the rules of Just War theory (1977: 288-301). Within the war convention are the *jus ad bellum* and although Walzer offers a marginally different perspective, within the tradition a resort to force can only be justified if it fulfils each of the following requirements:

A state may only go to war for the correct reason. A just cause includes: self-defence from external attack; the protection of innocents; and punishment for wrongdoing.

A state must intend to fight the war only for the sake of a just cause. Having the right reason for commencing a war is not enough: the actual motivation behind the resort to war must also be morally appropriate, that is aimed at securing the just cause. This is called *right intention*.

A state may go to war only if the decision has been made by the appropriate authorities, according to the proper process, and made public, notably to its own citizens and to the enemy state(s).

A state may resort to war only if it has exhausted all plausible, peaceful alternatives to resolving the conflict in question, in particular, diplomatic negotiation. War must be a last resort.

A state may not resort to war if it can foresee that doing so will have no measurable impact on the situation. The aim of this criterion is to prevent an onset of inexorable violence, which is not going to have any substantial result. There must be a clear probability of success.

A state must, prior to initiating a war, weigh the universal goods expected to result from it, such as securing the just cause, against the universal evils expected to result, notably casualties. The war action may only proceed if the benefits are proportional to, or "worth", the costs (Orend: 2000: 525).

How then does the war in Afghanistan compare to the criteria, which require fulfilment, for the resort to the just use of force? It is widely agreed that the attacks of September 11th were acts of aggression, perpetrated by a terrorist group, in violation of U.S. sovereignty. The prevention of further harm and restoring the preconditions for civic tranquillity is hence justified under *just cause* (Elshtain: 2004: 59).

Regarding *right intention*, the intentions for a Just War include the removal of threat and restoration or establishment of a lawful regime likely to uphold human rights and international law. Evidence of ulterior motives (such as securing access to oil reserves or the pursuit of revenge) undermines assertions of legitimate intent. The intention to remove the threat of international terrorism led to action against al-Qaeda. While a war against non-state actors might not provide (legal) justification for an attack on a sovereign state, it was unavoidable given al-Qaeda's infiltration of the Taliban leadership (Leaning: 2002, Rashid: 2009: 15). In order to remove the terrorist threat, it was necessary to overthrow the Afghan government. The rapid rout of the Taliban permitted the U.S. to quickly slip in and out of the uncomfortable legal position of overthrowing a sovereign regime. However, international reaction has been notably muted, if not supportive, of this legally dubious

interlude, not only because it was accomplished so speedily, but also because the repressive Taliban had rendered Afghanistan a pariah state (Leaning: 2002).

According to Just War theory, the higher and more international the institution that authorises the use of force, the stronger the standing. The *proper authority and public declaration* criteria was met as both houses of U.S. Congress almost unanimously ratified the Authorisation for Use of Military Force Against Terrorists (AUMF) in 2001 (Bradley and Goldsmith: 2005: 2048). However, there are those who argue that the war in Afghanistan is illegal, since it was not formally authorised by the United Nations Security Council. This argument is nonetheless rendered invalid upon inspection of Article 51 in the U.N. Charter, which states that nothing shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a member of the U.N. (UN: 1945: 10). In *Descent Into Chaos*, Ahmed Rashid displays extensive evidence of the symbiotic relationship between the Taliban regime and Osama bin-Laden's al-Qaeda network (Rashid: 2009).

Concerning war as a last resort, all plausible political and economic means to effect the desired ends must be shown to have been seriously attempted and exhausted (Leaning: 2002). This criterion does not explicitly compel a government to try everything, before resorting to force, but rather to try to survey other options before doing so. However, obvious complications emerge concerning al-Qaeda, since it is a non-state actor, which presents no accountable, organised entity to engage. If its one aim is the destruction of others, what room is left for negotiation? It is not party to any structure of diplomacy and thus cannot be negotiated with (Elshtain: 2004: 61).

Although the U.S. displayed indisputable arrogance in rejecting NATO assistance, and initially relying on Special Forces and the Northern Alliance, within three months, the al-Qaeda network had been effectively disrupted (Leaning: 2002). However, the war is now in its 11th year, huge numbers of civilians have been killed, the infrastructure and socio-economic circumstances have marginally, if at all improved. Nation building was undermined by the Bush administration's inability to acknowledge and tackle the problem of opium production. Huge demand for opium and heroin in the west provided funding for warlords and terrorists in Afghanistan, which in turn prevented the establishment of the rule of law and political institutions. The failure to provide the groundwork for a proper, legal economy undermined all other reconstruction efforts (Rashid: 2009: 325). Success in Afghanistan depends upon the Obama administration, and the President's ability to reverse his predecessor's many failures, which include: the failure to send an adequate amount of troops; the over-reliance on warlords in the Northern Alliance; Rumsfeld's rejection of NATO assistance; not engaging in economic reconstruction, or 'nation-building'; support and reliance on a corrupt Afghan government; and when it realised that the war had not been won, contrary to initial views, it tried to

engage the Taliban resurgence from the air, without enough soldiers on the ground, resulting in the deaths of large numbers of Afghan civilians (Walzer: 2009). To the list of failures we can add the refusal to deploy troops on the Afghanistan-Pakistan border, thus enabling Taliban fighters to easily escape into a complicit Pakistan (Rashid: 2009: 405).

Proportionality concerning the conduct of both the Bush and Obama administrations is a hotly debated issue. According to Just War theory, the notion of proportionality entails that the good sought by the war must outweigh the evil it produces. This is difficult, since it requires balancing incommensurable goods (Afghan civilian lives lost versus al-Qaeda network disrupted; civil liberties versus security enforced). Only those with similar perspectives and conceptions of values will find this decree useful in assessing the war in Afghanistan (Leaning: 2002). However, debating *proportionality* opens up the second fundamental component of Just War theory.

For a war to be legitimate, it must not only comply with the criteria of *jus ad bellum*, but also *jus in bello*, which concerns the actions of governments in conducting a war. It is unfortunately easy, for a war to adhere *jus ad bellum,* without conforming to *jus in bello*. The two key *in bello* requirements are *proportionality* and *discrimination.* In this case, *proportionality* refers to the need to use the level of force equivalent to the nature of the threat faced. *Discrimination* refers to the need to differentiate between combatants and non-combatants. (Elshtain: 2004: 65).

Comparing the war in Afghanistan, and the conduct of troops and strategies implemented, with the *in bello* criteria, is not without dispute. The Obama administration's liberal use of predator drones has frequently resulted in the deaths of innocent non-combatants, in both Afghanistan and Pakistan (Shaukat: 2012). While some radical voices have claimed that the US is deliberately targeting civilians, it seems much more likely that these deaths (unfortunately termed 'collateral damage') are the result of failures in intelligence and information gathering techniques. The improved accuracy of the U.S. air war, conducted with weaponry of increased precision, which minimises the risk of collateral damage, serves the ends of discrimination (Elshtain: 2004: 67). Nevertheless, cases of troops arbitrarily targeting civilians continue to emerge, so whether we can accurately say that the conduct of troops in Afghanistan fulfils this criterion remains in dispute. However, *proportionality* remains to be analysed. It is a daunting issue in the war in Afghanistan, since the opposing side has no concept of proportionality, and has no intention of respecting this criterion. Terrorists aim to kill as many people as possible, whether they are combatants or non-combatants. They do not assess casualties against traditional war aims: their aim is to instil a sense of terror in civilians (Elshtain: 2004: 69). Despite the nature of the enemy, ISAF troops have largely respected the doctrine of *proportionality*. This is apparent since WMD have not been used, strategies based around targeting civilians have not

been considered, and the infrastructure has developed as American and European NGOs have been working in areas such as public health, health care, and education. Schools have opened for girls, and recruitment of teachers is on the rise (Walzer: 2009). Such progress would not have been possible, if proportionality had been utterly ignored and gung-ho strategies implemented.

Although the war in Afghanistan satisfies the criteria of Just War theory, pacifism and realpolitik both challenge its legitimacy. Absolute pacifists maintain that the use of force, regardless of the circumstances, is never justifiable. War (including in Afghanistan), therefore, is morally unacceptable. However, this form of pacifism is associated with the practices of early Christians who tied their pacifism to certain ascetical norms and withdrawal from the world. This challenge to the war in Afghanistan is mistaken, since such ideals cannot apply to leaders and governments, who are responsible for the security of their states, and cannot withdraw from the world. They are hence, never pacifists (Elshtain: 2004: 56).

Realpolitik, on the other hand, separates politics from ethics. Inspired by Machiavelli, who in *The Prince* states, "A ruler should have no other objective and no other concern, nor occupy himself with anything else except war and its methods and practices, for this pertains only to those who rule" (Ryan: 2012: 374). Machiavelli argues that the ruler concerns himself with nothing other than that which will consolidate his control of power. One can apply this to the reasoning behind intervening in Afghanistan. Terrorism had threatened the power and authority of the U.S., and as a result the government was obliged to retaliate, so as to ensure the prevention of future aggression. However, realpolitik finds the ethical boundaries preventing NATO troops and ISAF from acting in certain manners, unnecessary and obstructive.

The parameters set forth by Augustine and Aquinas present a specific vision for Just War theory. Only compliance to both *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello* can mean a war is wholly just. The war in Afghanistan initially adhered to the *jus ad bellum* without sparking much fury among commentators, since it was based upon the sovereign right to self-defence. However, it has been 11 years since 9/11 and the war's commencement. Reviewing the war in Afghanistan is necessary, since the frequent use of drone strikes in Pakistan and killing of civilians have greatly stretched initial justification and fuelled the debate of whether conduct has violated the *in bello* criteria. Although the initial reasoning behind the war is justified, and conduct of ISAF has largely adhered to Just War criteria, the Bush administration's various errors in conducting the war resulted in terrorist proliferation over

the last decade, expansion into neighbouring countries, the result of which is that terrorists continue to thrive and no clear end is in sight. The Obama administration must review the role of the U.S. in Afghanistan, renewing legitimacy and justness for their presence and to the on-going war.

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To what extent do the disadvantages of Britain's special relationship with America outweigh the benefits?

(Written for British Poltical History)

Elsa Nightingale

"The United States has no closer friend and ally than the United Kingdom"

President Barack Obama [2010][140]

"History warns us not to expect too much from this transatlantic relationship."

Paul Reynolds, BBC World Affairs Correspondent [2009][141]

The term 'special relationship' was first used by Winston Churchill in November 1945 to describe the close relations between Britain and America[142]. It was founded upon two principles: political and military cooperation, and a shared history[143] [144]. With a time lapse of almost seventy years it has become increasingly important to re-examine the advantages of this alliance and evaluate whether the advantages continue to override the disadvantages. In order to do this an exploration of Anglo-American history since 1945, and reference to critique, are vital requirements. The theme of this essay is the potential benefit of American support, and its impact on Britain's involvement with The European Union (EU). In any partnership the weaker nation undoubtedly benefits from the protection of her more powerful ally, but at what cost?

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[140] How the 'special relationship' between Britain and the US became something to fret over [Online] UK, The Telegraph, Heidi Blake. 2010. Available from: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/usa/7899926/How-the-special-relationship-between-Britain-and-the-US-became-something-to-fret-over.html [accessed on 29 September 2012]

[141] UK/US relationship not so special anymore [Online] UK, BBC, Paul Reynolds. 2009. Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/8382384.stm [accessed on 28 September 2012]

[142] Phrase Finder [Online] UK, Phrase Finder. 1996-2012. Available from: http://www.phrases.org.uk/meanings/special-relationship.html [accessed 28 October 2012]

[143] Centre for Strategic and International Studies [Online] Washington, Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Reginald Dale, Heather A. Conley. 2010. Available from: http://csis.org/publication/washington-perspective-fraying-bonds-special-relationship] [accessed 02 November 2012]

[144] John Dumbrell. The Special Relationship: Anglo American Relations In The Cold War and After. Introduction and p2 Great Britain and United States, McMillan Press 2001

A natural advantage of any alliance is the mutually assured protection it offers. In the 'special relationship' a collaboration of British and American military forces has been a unifying force - NATO and The United Nations has only codified this assurance[145] [146]. During the Cold War America's protection made Britain a much stronger force to be reckoned with [147] [148]. As academic John Dumbrell said, Europe "needed the security America provided"[149]. Post-war America emerged as a hegemon on the world stage and it is undeniable that Britain - the satellite - has benefitted greatly from this assurance of support.

Unfortunately American support for Britain is only an advantage if the threat of her enemies does not outweigh the protection that the American Government can offer. During the Cold War an American naval base, holding nuclear weapons, was installed in Holy Loch, Scotland[150] This made Britain a Soviet target.[151] In a modern context, a similar situation has occurred in the 'War on Terror'. When Tony Blair publicly allied with George Bush after the September 11th bombings, Britain's position in the 'War on Terror' changed[152] [153] [154]. No event made this danger more apparent than the London bombings of July the 7th, 2005[155]. As a result we must ask ourselves; has the 'War on Terror' saved more British lives than it has endangered? According to The Terrorism Risk Index, Britain "is at greater risk of attack than any other Western nation"[156]. David Cameron himself said that "the intervention in

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[145] UK Joint Delegation to NATO [Online] UK, United Kingdom Joint Delegation to NATO, NATO. 2012. Available at: http://uknato.fco.gov.uk/en/uk-in-nato/ [accessed on 11 November 2012]
[146] Dan Keohane. SECURITY IN BRITISH POLITICS 1945-1999. NATO and p117 Britain and America, MACMILLAN PRESS LTD 2000
[147] Peter Jones. AMERICA AND THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY - THE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP AT WORK. Labour in Power, Great Britain, I.B. Tauris Publishers 1997
[148] THE COLD WAR – PART 1: From World War To Cold War [Online] Youtube video, Youtube, Media Rich Learning. 2009. Available from: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HpYCplyBknI [accessed 29 October 2012]
Deitel, H.M. and Deitel P.J. Java: How to Program. p818 London, Prentice Hall 1999
[149] John Dumbrell. The Special Relationship: Anglo American Relations In The Cold War and After. p11 Great Britain and United States, McMillan Press 2001
[150] Undiscovered Scotland: The Ultimate Online Guide [Online] UK, Undiscovered Scotland, Undiscovered Scotland. 2012. Available from: http://www.undiscoveredscotland.co.uk/dunoon/dunoon/index.html [accessed on 1 October 2012]
[151] Memories of the US Navy Base in Holy Loch [Online] UK, Dunoon Community Radio 97.4FM, Lord George Robertson. 2011. Available from: http://www.dunooncommunityradio.org/homecoming-scotland-2009/memories-of-the-us-navy-base-in-holy-loch/ [accessed on 10 November 2012]
[152] Blair's statement in full [Online] UK, BBC, BBC. 2001. Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/1538551.stm [accessed on 19 September 2012]
[153] Peter Riddell. HUG THEM CLOSE – CLAIR, CLINTON, BUSH AND THE 'SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP'. How is Bush Going to React? and p148 Great Britain, Cox and Wyman 2004 revised
[154] Peter Riddell. HUG THEM CLOSE – CLAIR, CLINTON, BUSH AND THE 'SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP'. How is Bush Going to React? and p154 Great Britain, Cox and Wyman 2004 revised
[155] London bombers: Key Facts [Online] UK, BBC, BBC. 2005.
Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/4676861.stm [accessed 8 October 2012]
[156] London bombers: Key Facts [Online] UK, BBC, BBC. 2005.
Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/4676861.stm [accessed 8 October 2012]

Iraq has failed in its objectives so badly that the threat to this country is actually greater than it was before it began"[157]. While the American Government have the power and international dominance to play the role of 'international police', Britain cannot afford these associations. It appears that Britain's vulnerability has actually increased due to British support for American military action.

The threat that American enemies pose might well seem less of a disadvantage if American support for Britain proved to be consistent and unfaltering. Unfortunately recent history tells otherwise. British pleas for assistance were first rebuffed by the American Government during the Suez Crisis of 1956[158] [159]. During Britain's invasion of the Falkland Islands in 1982, the same occurred[160]. The American Government remained initially neutral on the invasion: according to Secretary of State Alexander Haig, America "would have a greater chance of influencing Argentine behaviour if they appeared not to favour one side or the other"[161] [162]. Previously confidential documents released this year contradict this version of events[163]. The political manoeuvring of Mr Haig not only favoured the Argentinians, but the terms discussed would have given ultimate sovereignty to Argentina[164]. Among other things this discredits the romanticised 'political marriage' that existed between Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan[165]. Clearly American support becomes less of an advantage to Britain if it is based solely on American interest, and thus cannot be relied upon.

Politically and economically Britain is closest to continental Europe, but this is compromised by the existence of the 'special relationship'. Despite being part of the EU Britain is often viewed as the 'odd man out' in Europe. Britain's affinity with America gives the British Government confidence to distance herself from Europe. As author John Dumbrell said "the

[157] Britain at risk because of Iraq failures, says Cameron [Online] London, Metro, Metro. 2012. Available from: http://www.metro.co.uk/news/29822-britain-at-risk-because-of-iraq-failures-says-cameron [accessed on 15 November 2012]
[158] Dan Keohane. SECURITY IN BRITISH POLITICS 1945-1999. The Suez War, Britain and America, MACMILLAN PRESS LTD [2000]
[159] Peter Jones. AMERICA AND THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY - THE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP AT WORK. The Opposition Years: Labour and the Suez Crisis, Great Britain, I.B. Tauris Publishers [1997]
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[163] How the US Almost Betrayed Britain [Online] America/Europe, Wall Street Journal, John O'Sullivan. 2012. Available from: http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052702303816504577313852502105454.html [accessed 17 October 2012]
[164] How the US Almost Betrayed Britain [Online] America/Europe, Wall Street Journal, John O'Sullivan. 2012. Available from: http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052702303816504577313852502105454.html [accessed 17 October 2012]
[165] Nicholas Wapshott. Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher: A Political Marriage. Audio book, England, Sentinel HC, 2007

'special relationship'... has been a powerful force militating against enthusiastic Europeanism in the UK"[166]. This is detrimental because Britain relies on European trade and her economy is tied up with that of the EU. Equally EU resentment for Britain has often stemmed from her close association with American foreign policy. America's use of capital punishment is a prime example of how British values often bear greater resemblance to those found in Europe. Britain's commitment to The European Declaration of Human Rights only supports this view further[167]. John Dumbrell sums this point up nicely when he says "Partnership with the United States is not an option for Britain. An active future in Europe is"[168].

A closer examination of history reveals the stresses and strains inherent in the 'special relationship'. While Anglo-American military collaboration may strengthen Britain's place on the world stage, this association has also made her a target. Furthermore if American support continues to hinge on American interests then Britain needs more consistent allies. As the 'special relationship' isolates Britain further from the EU, it is clear that the alliance risks more than it gives. The 'special relationship' seems to have an inherent paradox within it. With America we share a common language and a common history and instinctively we feel closer to America than we do to France, Germany or Italy. Looked at objectively our future lies within The EU and the special relationship remains a stumbling block to this more natural alliance that has already given us sixty years of peace[169].

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[166] John Dumbrell. The Special Relationship: Anglo American Relations In The Cold War and After [2001] p173, Great Britain and United States, McMillan Press [2001]

[167] Rome, Council of Europe [1953] European Declaration of Human Rights. Council of Europe and Rome
[168] John Dumbrell. The Special Relationship: Anglo American Relations In The Cold War and After [2001] p225 McMillan Press [2001]
[169] Nobel Peace Prize for the EU is also a recognition of our work outside the EU [Online] Latvia, European Commission, Andres Piebalgs. 2012. Available from: http://ec.europa.eu/commission_2010-2014/piebalgs/about/bio/index_en.htm [accessed on 18th November 2012]

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In the initial stages of Europe's post-Communist era, why was there a rise in minority nationalism across its former states, and what states in particular were affected?

(Written for European Politics)

Glenn Raymond

In the post-communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), the construction of democracy inevitably means coming to terms with the rise of nationalism, especially ethno-nationalism (Schōpflin, 1996). This essay will specifically concentrate on the disintegration of former Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, focusing on the rise of ethno-nationalism in these regions. It will argue that social and political institutions structurally entrenched ethno-nationalism, thus nationalistic sentiment, which was then exacerbated by certain opportunistic or political actors, Milošević and Mečiar being examples. I will argue that this is the prime causal factor; however, the essay will be extended by also arguing that an economic disposition may explain the rise in minority nationalism and to a lesser extent religion.

Firstly, this essay will argue that social structures, institutionalised by former communist regimes only suppressed ethno-nationalism temporarily - and when these regimes fell, this lead to the re-emergence of old and new forms of ethno-nationalism. Furthermore, the essay will argue that these failed structures were exacerbated by political actors and institutions.

Immediately after the collapse of communism, ethnic issues began to come to the surface, or, where they were already visible, became more significant (Stein, 2000, p.16). The collapse of the communist model led to the reawakening of old and the mobilisation of new nationalist minorities (Djilas, 1995, p. 81). These minorities stressed keen ethnic distinctiveness, not wanting to be homogenised with 'alien' culture and custom, promoting ideals of cultural preservation in fear of culturally-hegemonic regimes. An example of this is Vladimír Mečiar – in a radical sense - who incepted ideas of a 'pure' Slovakia, free from

Hungarian and Czech minorities who had burdened its culture long enough, with their culturally vastness, suppressing their own cultural growth.

The existence of minorities in each respective country, however, did not give rise to conflict, regardless of the endeavours of extremist groups. Indeed, Kupchan agrees with this statement claiming that the "burgeoning of nationalism is not something inherent in the makeup of the area, just because minorities merely exist; it can be explained by specific historic circumstances, which institutionalised nationalism or failed to address it initially." (Kupchan, 1995, p.68). We can see that difference in custom and creed alone, therefore, does not give rise to nationalism. Subsequently, it must have been formulated by a metaphysical construct created by the intelligentsia within a society or catalysed by a failed structure which was placating ethno-national sentiment.

In lieu of this, the ethno-national ambitions, fears, and frustrations of Yugoslavia's constituent groups, which formed the background of the civil war in 1991, for example, were not wholly down to the constructs of nationalist intellectuals and political elites, as actors, (Djilas, 1995). However this essay will argue their insolence made the civil war inevitable by manipulative nationalistic sentiment to their own political means. Ethno-nationalism and its zeal for cultural autonomy was the by-product of structural incompetence derived from quasi-federalism in the 1960's - positing Kupchan thesis. These institutions, which neutralised nationalism temporarily, only placed it in a latent phase.

The ethnic question returned to the political agenda in the 1960's in a relatively muffled form, with minorities at various times being successfully or unsuccessfully repressed or co-opted by processes of nation state building before that. The extreme decentralisation of the Yugoslav federation - introduced in the late 1960's - was a way of *federalising* countries. It tried to autonomise countries and suppress minorities 'but it created an easy answer for future regimes to mobilise ethno-nationalism', ironically (Samary, 1992, p.34). We know in theory that suppressing minority nationalism only appeases it in the short-term, not the future. The rise of post-communist nationalism in CEE is precisely down to the fact that civic institutions and the identities derived from these former regimes, such as the quasi-federalism and ethnic appeasement enacted in the 1960's, was too weak to fill the public

sphere in the long-term. Due to the weakness of the civil dimension, these institutions were entrenched in former Yugoslavian and Czechoslovakian political foundations; compensatory mechanisms began to emerge to try and fill the gap which ethno nationalism has made its own (Jowitt, 1992).

However, these decisions have only added to civic feebleness, entrenching the possibility of political actors using ethno-nationalistic sentiment as their "Trojan horse" to gain a majority (McCartney, 1995). Also, because of the far-reaching destruction of social framework under communism, public identities are frequently defined by ethno-national criteria (Caplan; Feffer, 1996, p. 108), regardless of whether it is appropriate. We can see that clear categorisation of ethnicity alienates groups, according to their race; possibly a slight digression but a post-Marxist may interpret this as the mechanisms of bourgeoisie nationalism in effect.

The origin of this stratification was caused by no mediation between individual and power (Schöpflin, 1996, p.56-76). For instance, Mečiar used Slovak suppression during the Austro-Hungarian Empire to mobilise support through symbolic means for the Slovakian National Party (SNP) after the "velvet revolution" to permeate his own political interests, completely unrestrained. To interpret this, a criterion based on race is just constructing prejudice, especially one being made by a sovereign body. This makes groups *aware* of their differentiation; certain groups may feel inferior due to a majority of one culture and feel alienated, and in extreme circumstances, persecuted, like the Hungarian minority in Slovakia

In addition to this, the feebleness of the civic sphere has led to political actors utilising ethnicity, cultural differences and nationhood to legitimise propositions or delegitimise opponents – making them if they lose "enemies to the nation," as opposed to people sharing the same commitment to the state (Stein, 2000, p. 89). Besides this clear exploitation of nationalist sentiment for personal gain, if a ruler decides to conceptualise themselves as above politics or embodying a *nation-state*, or condemn one ethnicity for its beliefs, it may lead to the veneration of extremely right-wing, even ethnocentric politics. 'Ethnic cleansing' in Bosnia, is an example of ethnocentric politics, because it was simply in the vested interest of the elite to do so alongside the dominant social paradigm. In a

democracy that is still trying to find its feet, where its citizens are politically and possibly culturally naive; leaders can exploit this, using it as an extremely powerful demagogic device.

If elites like Milošević and Tuđman had not irresponsibly and deliberately manipulated nationalistic sentiment with their propaganda and policies, there is an argument that nationalism may not have erupted as violently – certainly as bloodily – as it did, possibly even avoiding the Civil War. The force of nationalistic passions was whipped up by these opportunistic leaders not only making conflict inevitable, but making it exceptionally brutal. (Djilas, 1995) Milošević, for instance, purged Stambolic, his predecessor, clearing the way to take over SKJ on a programme of Serbian nationalism masquerading as a 'popular anti-bureaucratic revolution' (Schöpflin, 1995). He was thus able to manipulate the 'increasingly profound social despair in Yugoslavia as a means of securing a mere change in the *nomenklatura*.' (Fowkes, 1999).

These changes to key administrative positions allowed Milošević to gain public support to achieve his second aim in stages, which played on cultural-preservationist sentiment. The now widely endorsed slogan of Milošević's *discourses* seemed to transcend 'anti-bureaucratic revolutions' into Serbian nationalist character, in an atmosphere of hysteria whipped up by state-controlled media (Fowkes, 1999). This was the pre-cursor for the Serbian Assembly in Belgrade to vote for a number of 'constitutional amendments' which in practice abolished Kosovan and Vojvodinan autonomy (Heywood, 2001).

This was down to Serbian intellectuals starting to promote the idea that the Serbs, as a nation, had sacrificed themselves to Yugoslavia during the war, and now it was time to restore the balance (Schöpflin). Milošević cultivated this by lending heavily from a 1970's Serbian academies publication; this memorandum denounced the reign of Tito by claiming him and 'his colleagues were to blame for allowing the physical, political, legal and cultural genocide of Serbs in Kosovo and Metohija.' The implications of this piece of spin alone could be the most profound when considering the re-emergence of Serbian nationalism as a dominant ideology prior to the civil war; it preyed upon the free, politically inexperienced Serbians to claim back what was 'rightfully theirs.'

As well as being a destructive component in the rise of minority nationalism, the rhetoric of demagogues was deployed to maintain or consolidate political power thus exacerbating ethno-nationalism; Vladimír Mečiar of Slovakia is a prime example of this. He had no consideration for the cascading implications of his ethnically national-driven diction; he was a prototypical ethnic entrepreneur who was prepared to use every ethnic trick in the book to maintain himself in power (Schōpflin, 1996, p.56). The particular ethnic agenda of the Slovaks, the lines along which ethnic mobilisation could be placed, (Caplan. Feffer, 1996, p. 86) were self-definition against the Czechs, as their oppressors, and the Hungarians, who were portrayed as the historical hand of oppression. To make matters worse, Mečiar used this to his advantage to subjugate a minority of Hungarians who continued to inhabit the Southern-tip of the country. Mečiar and his party, the HZDS, as well as the Slovak National Party were in the forefront of depicting Hungarians as a threat to the integrity of the Slovakian territory and culture. (Holmes, 1997, p. 36)

They used allusive language - social, economic and political – to imply their problems, attributing them to the Hungarian minority (Holmes, 1997, ibid). This line of rhetoric appealed especially to those sections of the Slovak majority who most felt materially threatened. This is a reflexive action to minority nationalism. Mečiar played on volatile economic structures like employment, which would consequently increase if they managed to 'absterge' Slovakia.

This last point does blur the particular institutions the essay discusses but is still valid; some historians, such as Woodward, would go as far as saying that economic decisions made by political and economic institutions were the entire cause of minority nationalism and ethnic conflict (Woodward, 1995).

With the post-communist era came an acceptance to modernise economies, to embrace neo-liberal, free-markets tendencies, after all this is "the end of history"... The economic reforms pressed for by the IMF in the 1990's were implemented at federal level in Yugoslavia. But this created explosive social conditions within the country, such as large-scale unemployment, particularly of former-soldiers and security police, and a decline in

social welfare that could be blamed on unscrupulous members of the federal elites (Stein, 2000).

In times of socio-economic crisis, people tend to turn to nationalist parties or populous policies which favour indigenous citizens. (Bianchini, 1998**)** The theory does have substance, but to me, it is just a tautology; economic institutions make decisions that may cause a rise in nationalist sentiment thus exacerbating prejudice - if a policy favoured a minority for instance – but it is all underpinned by ethno-nationalist predispositions.

If the rise of ethno-nationalism was purely economic, we would surely see multicultural countries, like the United Kingdom, still in recession granting autonomy to various sects in society. This is a viable but unfeasible argument to account for the rise of minority nationalism, with some intellectuals like Hitchens agreeing with this. However, they posit religion as the main factor when considering post-communist CEE countries minority nationalism.

Franjo Tuđman, told a reporter in 1991 that 'Croats belong to a different culture, a different civilisation from the Serbs. Croats are part of Western Europe, part of the Mediterranean tradition. Serbs belong to the East like the Turks and Albanians.' This premise is based on the idea that the Yugoslav nation was a 'fantasy'; it had to break up because of the difference in religious tradition. Mark Thompson believed that 'religious fault lines between three civilisations existed.' (Thompson, 1992). Indeed, Western Catholic, Eastern Orthodox and Muslim all existed in post-communist Yugoslavia but religious discord being the main vein of ethno-nationalism is entirely misleading. It had an indirect role of shaping culture and custom and potentially political loyalties, in terms of alliance (Thompson, 1992). However, between them, there was an abundance of inter-marriage and no language barriers, as well as religious conversion (Fowkes, 1999). This probably shows that religion, alone, was not the most prominent driving force behind the resurgence of ethno-nationalism.

I believe Schöpflin's theory of one-sided modernisation is a suitable way to epitomise the prominence of actors manipulating ethno-nationalism. Even though the communist

revolution was a partial one, it did very effectively extend the power of the state of society and constructed a modern communications network that allowed the state to reach virtually the whole population (Schōpflin, 1995). The use of television to spread a message is more effective than what was available before electrification (Fowkes, 1999). We are politically socialised by our media - according to Gramsci - so when it preaches nationalist sentiment in a very new, fragile and liberal sphere it will be lapped up as sacrosanct. However, no national community can be dogmatic in its ethno-national claims if these are constantly examined and redefined under the impact of ever more information in the post-modern technological era alongside globalisation.

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Conflicts between the global North and South are still the most important barrier to progress on global environmental issues. Elucidate and comment with reference to two of the following issues: climate change; biodiversity and biotechnology; forests.

(Written for Global Environmental Politics)

Rebecca Steventon

Weiss (2009, 271) believes that the conflict between the global North and South as a barrier to progress on global environmental issues has been exaggerated by recent academia. Weiss believes that the divide is becoming increasingly irrelevant and any conflict between Northern and Southern actors is merely symbolic and attention-seeking (*ibid*, 271-273). In this essay I will argue that Weiss is mistaken in thinking that the conflict today isn't as important a barrier to progress as it was 20 years ago because the differences and distrust across the wealth divide go on unresolved. First I will consider academia's preoccupation with the divide and the issue of labelling, then I will go on to discuss the two greatest causes for conflict from the 1990s, both of which are still relevant today: the question of who should pay and accept blame, and the issue of sovereignty. Together these will explain why the conflict is real and important and not simply populist posturing, because the issues that divided the world during the first Rio conference still divide it today. After I will turn to other facts that are deemed the biggest barriers to progress – a lack of financing and weak institutions, and I will explain how their effect derives from the North-South divide, giving the conflict more scope, not detracting from it. I will illustrate these points with references to the issues of climate change and forests. I chose to do this because they are so intrinsically linked and as the 2008 President of Guyana stated there is no solution to climate change without protecting forests (Mardas, 2009, 9) and there are similar conflicts over both issues.

According to Weiss (2009, 271) dividing the world into rich and poor, and labelling them 'North and South' or 'developing and developed' or 'producers and consumers' is crude and

unrepresentative of real power relations. Though I agree that arbitrarily dividing the world into a 'global' North and South isn't geographically representative, it is politically representative of the very different aims across the global wealth divide and a useful term to distinguish between the wealthiest and the weakest. It is easy to see why Weiss would think that distinguishing between the two is out-dated when the balance of power is changing economically and recent negotiations have seen nations traditionally considered to be on separate sides of the ideological divide coming together. For example in 2009 at the Copenhagen summit when the US and B.A.S.I.C took it upon themselves to make their own non-legally binding agreement for the world (BBC News, 2009). But this isn't an example of the conflict ending and losing its blocking power, instead it is an example of the changing nature of power in the 21st century. The world economic order has significantly changed since Kyoto, but instead of making the divide irrelevant it has simply moved certain actors across the conflict, forming new ideological alliances, not breaking them down. So Weiss (2009, 271) is wrong that labels don't represent power relations because they continue to do so, some actors have just changed sides.

On-going conflicts

The two major conflicts between the North and the South during the late 20th century concerning the environment were who should pay to prevent climate change and whether attempts to prevent it were attacks on Southern sovereignty. Both of these issues are still concerns and sources of conflict in environmental negotiations, proving to be as major barriers to progress as they were twenty years ago. Firstly, the issue of financing the prevention of climate change and protection of forests. The Kyoto Protocol in 1992 only had binding targets for emissions and

Figure 27. Trends in regional CO_2 emissions
GtCO$_2$

Figure 1 - International Energy Agency 2012, CO2 Emissions from Fuel Combustion Highlights, [chart], IEA Publications, Paris, p27.

transferring technology and finance for developed OECD countries, known as Annex I countries (Lo, 2010, 42). This was a cause of conflict then because of the lack of targets for the rapidly expanding and polluting developing countries. It is an even bigger cause of
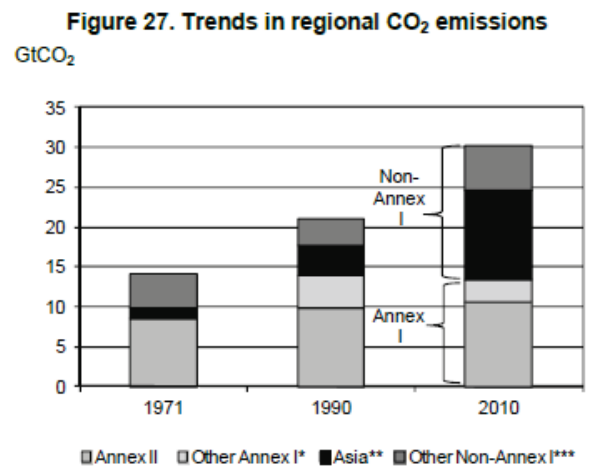
conflict now considering the renewed commitment to Kyoto in 2012 because non-Annex I countries have continued to grow and dominate. Figure One shows that since 1990 the non-Annex I countries have overtaken traditional polluters in terms of CO_2 emissions. Despite this it is still a battle to give developing countries legally binding targets, especially China who is determined not to give up its developing country status to protect its industry (Harvey, 2012b). Conflict over what financial contributions developing countries should make is incredibly stalling to progress and the countries signed up to the Kyoto Protocol are still the only legally bound few paying. Traditionally this is because of the effect of historic emissions as well as a potential "ecological debt" (Rice, 2009, 225) owed to developing countries for taking advantage of the South's resources and the global commons, and industrialising to their detriment. The North is considered hypocritical now because they have destroyed their own resources and now insist that the South doe not, according to the then Malaysian PM in 1993 a "glaring case of double standards" (Humphreys, 1996, 234). The conflict over payment between the case for historical emissions and current contributions is still incredibly vitriolic in negotiations: the most recent UN climate change conference at Doha was dominated by the divide between the North and South financially, despite an attempt to build a single discussion platform for all countries – the Durban Platform (Hedegaard, 2012). As a result of the divide agreements are increasingly put off such as the main consensus at Doha being to make decisions about legally binding payments in 2015, evidence that Weiss is wrong and the conflict between North and South is as powerful a barrier as ever.

The second dominating conflict is over sovereignty and whether the North has a right to interfere when it is the worst historical offender (Young, 1990, 343). The South is still distrustful and fearful of international agreements as a threat to their sovereignty, they fear being economically marginalised and the effect legally binding environmental targets will have on future generations (Gupta, 1996, 37-29). They see the North's attempts to protect forests for aesthetics and the environment as "neo-imperialism" (Laferriere, 1994, 97) and an attempt to legitimise protecting themselves and hindering the South's growth. On the other side of the debate the North sees the preservation of forests as protecting the "common heritage of mankind" (Ramakrishna, 1990, 434). As a result it is difficult for

nations to agree on legally binding agreements to make progress on preservation. When nations attempted to renew the Non-binding Forest Principle from UNCED from 1992 in 2005 they met the same problems and conflicts that occurred when it was created. The North argued that sovereignty meant stewardship and responsibility for forests whereas the G77 saw the North dictating what they can or cannot do with their resources as an attack on their sovereignty (Humphreys, 2010, 137). During the 2005 negotiations the US swapped sides to ideologically unite with Brazil and the Amazonian pact, another example of the changing dynamics of the divide, not a change in its relevance. The non-legally binding instrument on all types of forests in 2007 was a result of the conflict and yet again little progress has been made to dramatically and legally-bindingly protect forest because of the divide in geography and interests. If the conflict was irrelevant, as Weiss (2009) insists then protecting sovereignty wouldn't have been an issue and progress would have been made here.

Other issues derivative of the conflict between North and South

The other factors often blamed for the lack of progress on global environmental issues are the lack of funding; and weak institutions and agreements. But instead of forcing the divide between the North and South into the irrelevance Weiss believes they have fallen into, these issues are simply consequences of the conflict and make the arguments for its importance stronger. Firstly the issue of a lack of funding as a barrier originates from the debate about payment and blame. Indecision about blame and a lack of commitment have led to poorly funded institutions and un-legally binding agreements without the scope to make a difference to prevent climate change and deforestation. The conflict between North and South dominated even the latest UN climate change conference at Doha in December 2012, especially concerning forests where there was still a distinction made between developing and developed countries regarding forests and the need for richer countries to send financial aid to poorer nations (Oakes, Leggett, Cranford, Vickers, 2012, 21). This is an example of how little the debate has moved on since the 1990s and the continued preoccupation with the North-South divide for financing sustainable development. The main concern of all nations is not disadvantaging themselves by contributing more money than necessary (Smith, 1993, 34) and across the divide there are few attempts to think in the long

term. The South would rather spend money on social problems they can see such as poverty (Ramakrishna, 1990, 429) and the nature of Northern electoral cycles means that politicians are constantly thinking in the short term instead of what is best for the world. Money is a powerful fuel to the North and South conflict because the South demands "compensation for opportunity cost foregone" (Humphreys, 2010, 138) and the North demands that the South begins to pay its share. Figure 2 shows that it is necessary for the top polluters both historically and currently to settle the conflict and all agree to accept targets and pay to make a difference to the level of emissions. There will be no progress on preventing climate change or deforestation until then because both sides of the divide feel like they are being treated unfairly financially. Neither side is willing to make the biggest financial contributions because they don't feel like it is only their place to do so. They're still trapped in a funding prisoner's dilemma (Davenport, 2005, 109) until they can move on from the conflict.

The second factor that is often mistakenly assumed to be independent of the conflict between the North and South is the weakness of institutions created to fight climate change and subsequently the weakness of the agreements that they produce. Their futileness is merely a reflection of the distrustful relations between the North and South that created them and the lack of funding from either side. Arguably they are an even bigger barrier to progress than they were in the 1990s because at least then negotiations produced legally binding decisions such as the Kyoto Protocol 1992 whereas that has proved incredibly difficult in recent years. Newell (2008, 509) credits this to the lack of global government but in a world so divided, especially over climate change and forestry it would be impossible to set up a global government because it would involve sacrificing both sovereignty and money, the two biggest causes of conflict. There is further evidence of nations moving across the North and South divide here such as the uniting of the US and B.A.S.I.C (the alliance between Brazil, South Africa, India and China) at Copenhagen in 2009 to protect the sovereignty of their forests and limit any agreements legally binding them to protect them. These countries prefer informal settings with no wide negotiations or legally binding agreements (BBC News, 2009). But this doesn't support Weiss' (2009) argument that the divide is becoming as politically irrelevant and nonsensical as it is geographically, it is just an example of the changing international order and the new wealthiest countries reigniting the conflict and using their influence to block progress. Agreements take an incredibly long time

and are negotiated at the lowest common denominator because of the conflict between North and South and their inability to come together and resolve their issues. COP18 at Doha was deadlocked until the last day when 36 hour negotiations attempted to remove the "firewall" (Harvey, 2012a) between developing and developed countries but it only resulted in an agreement to discuss developing countries' contribution to financing progress in another three years' time (Schreurs, 2012, 21). Another example of general commitments instead of legally binding ones comes from the non-legally binding instrument on all types of forests which fails to coerce progress from anyone because the differences in the conflict were too much to overcome (UN Economic and Social Council, 2007, 1). And now Kyoto has been renewed and reduced to only European countries, Australia and New Zealand (Schreurs, 2012, 21) the divide has caused a worrying lack of progress across climate change and deforestation. Because both finance and weak institutions are such large barrier they are sometimes mistakenly assumed to be factors that hinders progress by themselves but they are really only derivative of the prisoner's dilemma between the North and the South and the little financial commitment or sovereignty release they are willing to make without the other making a larger commitment.

In conclusion, Weiss (2009, 271) was mistaken in thinking that in a 21st century post-materialist world the conflict between the North and South had become an irrelevant barrier to progress. The petty confrontations and disagreements may look dramatic and attention-seeking but they're just as powerful as ever and they are the main reason why there has been a lack of progress on global environmental issues. The influence of the North and South conflict is seen across environmental politics and creates other barriers to progress such as through a lack of funding and the creation of weak institutions and agreements. The prevention of climate change and deforestation are being let down by the conflicting North and South's inability to lay their issues from the 1990s to rest. Funding gaps, un-legally binding agreements, conferences and weak institutions that don't achieve anything serve as a distraction from their inability to move beyond their differences and come together to make progress. An issue to explore further would be the REDD+ initiatives, I found that they weren't entirely applicable to either side of the debate about the North and South conflict, despite being a prominent case of developed countries investing in developing countries. Analysing the effect of the conflict on REDD+ and its future as a

mechanism to restrict deforestation and subsequently climate change could contribute to the debate and it will be interesting to see what happens to it in 2015 if a legally binding developing world funding commitment comes into being.

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Did the events of 1989 in Bulgaria and Romania constitute revolutions or palace coups?

(Written for Political Change: Eastern Europe in Transition)

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The momentous events of 1989 which toppled the rotted communist regimes of Eastern Europe have often been regarded as a collective entity, leading them almost by default to acquire the name 'revolution' (Siani-Davies, 1996). Whilst such a label might be justified to the extent that it highlights the sudden and region-wide overthrow of Marxism-Leninism ideology, its generic application not only overlooks the various methods through which individual countries achieved this feat but, moreover, it fails to account for the different paces at which they pursued renunciation. Indeed, in the cases of Bulgaria and Romania, whilst the ousters of Zhivkov and Ceausescu and their subsequent democratisations might appear to readily conform with the narrative of a stereotypical revolution, the premise that they should be termed as such has come under such sustained attack since 1989 that many now prefer instead to talk of palace coups or even, in the case of Romania, a 'captured' revolution (Hall, 1999).

Fundamental to categorising these phenomena amidst such controversy is to first grapple with the task of defining a revolution and a palace coup. One such attempt is by Krejici, who proposes a three-dimensional framework against which historical developments can be compared across countries: specifically, the outcome of events – i.e. the nature and scope of change; the actors involved – i.e. the source of the impetus for change; and finally, the actions taken by the actors – i.e. the means through which change was achieved. According to this model, Krejici characterises a revolution as a major and irreversible discontinuity with the status quo – in ideology, political regime, ruling elites, and socio-economic structure – with the impetus for change coming from outside the ruling elites and, furthermore, with change having been brought about by mass action, usually with some level of violence (Krejici, 1983). On the contrary, applying the same three-part framework, Krejici defines a palace coup as being fundamentally less radical in its pursuit of change – often being

followed by a relatively quick return to what is perceived as normality – with the impetus for change coming from conspirators drawn from within the ranks of the ruling regime and, thus, with no connotations of mass mobilization or violence (Siani-Davies, 1996). By adopting and a revolution v palace coup structure, this paper maps the events of 1989 in Bulgaria and Romania on to Krejici's three-pronged framework in an attempt to categorize them as either revolutions or palace coups, before concluding that: because both countries contain elements of both revolution and palace coup – with events, to a greater or lesser extent, satisfying both Krejici's definitions in part, but neither in whole – the ultimate outcome is one of ambiguity.

The Argument for a Bulgarian Revolution

In addressing the first dimension of Krejici's framework for revolution – the outcome of events – there seems little doubt that the events of 1989 in Bulgaria prompted far-reaching and extensive change. Indeed, most fundamentally, the successful Roundtable Talks of 1990 culminated with the grand rejection of communist ideology, as manifest in the symbolic renaming of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) as the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) and the ratification of a new constitution in July 1991, which not only stripped the communists of forty-five years of monopoly rule, but furthermore eliminated comprehensively all previous references to socialism (Brown, 1991). At the same time, this shift to democracy was accompanied by the dismantling and replacement of Bulgaria's outdated totalitarian system, with new institutional features such as a Grand National Assembly elected by free elections; the separation of powers; and multiparty politics, unquestionably representing a drastically altered political regime and, hence, satisfying perfectly the fundamental change cardinal to Krejici's definition of revolution (Melone, 1998). Moreover, in further congruence with this revolutionary narrative is the transformation of Bulgaria's previously anti-reformist and oppressive socioeconomic structure, with a radical and unprecedented new commitment to human rights, social justice, civil society and a market economy (Melone, 1994). Indeed, to signify their commitment to change, the post-Zhivkov regime halted Bulgaria's persecution of ethnic Turks, curtailed the role of the secret police, de-ideologised education, permitted freedom of speech and religion, and moreover – in a move universally recognisable as endorsing free democratic values – unshackled Bulgaria's

national press (Crampton, 1990). Finally, with a codified constitution providing that crucial element of irreversibility – acting to prevent Bulgaria backsliding into a totalitarian abyss – the outcome of the events of 1989 appears to satisfy much of the criteria depicted in the first dimension of Krejici's definition of revolution.

Furthermore – with regards to the role played by social actors and the actions involved – whilst Bulgaria might have been notable as having one of the lowest levels of anti-government protest in the Soviet bloc, it's hard to argue that the events of 1989 fail to illustrate examples of mass action initiated from outside the ruling elite. Indeed, by the late 1980s, anti-regime organisations were hastily occupying the gap between Zhivkov's repressiveness and the permissiveness enforced on him by Gorbachev's reforms, with issues such as the defence of human rights – particularly against the forced assimilation and violent maltreatment of Bulgaria's Turkish minority – and the drive for perestroika-style reform catalysing the political scene and invigorating dissident activism (Brown, 1991). Yet, it was the environment that proved responsible for mobilizing the mainstream of Bulgarian opposition and, thus, it was Ecoglasnost, an ecological pressure group formed in April 1989, that provided the spearhead for the attack on Zhivkov's government (Linz & Stepan, 1996). Indeed, in early October 1989, Ecoglasnost delivered a crucial blow when an environmental march on parliament transformed into a mass anti-communist demonstration, with at least ten thousand protestors – an unprecedented number in Bulgaria – taking to the streets and chanting the word 'democracy' (Szczerbiak, 2012). This event above all others signalled the beginning of the end for Zhivkov, and indeed, within a month he had been supplanted by his Foreign Secretary, Petur Mladenov, in what has been dubbed a "palace revolution" (Synovitz, 1999).

Whilst Zhivkov's replacement was ultimately an internal affair, with an impetus for change unmistakably coming from below and a considerable role played by mass action, it must be determined that the events surrounding Zhivkov's demise reconcile – to some extent – with the second and third dimensions of Krejici's definition of revolution. Indeed, this narrative of change effectuated by popular uprising is further supported by subsequent events. Namely, despite Mladenov's efforts to sooth public discontent with the announcement of democratic reforms, his attempts at steadying the communist ship were met with wave after wave of devastating mass protest – so much so in fact that, in December 1989,

practically every legislative initiative of parliament provoked impassioned demonstrations for accelerated democratization (Elster, 1996). Appearing to buckle under such mass discontent, Mladenov renounced communist control on 11 December 1989 and rushed into open discussions with the opposition (Brown, 1991). In the Roundtable Talks that followed – and in perfect accordance with Krejici's requirement for change initiated from outside the ruling elite – opponents of the regime came directly from the streets under the auspices of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) to negotiate the dismantling of Bulgaria's discredited communist system. According to this narrative of revolution, it was mass action from below that was primarily responsible for driving Bulgaria into a new democratic era; indeed, Melone declares that; "individual political actors had successfully traversed difficult terrain to arrive at a point approximating the vicinity of destination democracy" (Melone, 1998, p. 2). With the outcome of events showing evidence of an extensive and irreversible departure from Zhivkov's regime and, moreover, with mass action from outside the ruling elite seemingly playing an instrumental role in its demise, the events of 1989 in Bulgaria appear to largely appease the three dimensions of Krejici's definition of revolution.

The Argument for a Palace Coup in Bulgaria

Quite the antithesis of his definition for revolution, Krejici characterises the outcome of a palace coup as being fundamentally less radical in terms of change. Whilst an argument for total continuity with the status quo is unjustifiable in light of Bulgaria's shift in national ideology and its radical changes in both political regime and socioeconomic structure, there is an area of tension between the outcome of the events in 1989 and Krejici's definition of revolution which renders the notion of them being termed as such highly questionable. That is, despite unseating Zhivkov, abandoning communism, and passing the threshold into a new democratic era, the post-revolutionary leadership consisted largely of elites from the old regime. Indeed, this lack of change is exemplified by the fact that following the free elections in June 1990, Bulgaria had a socialist president, a socialist government, and a socialist majority in its parliament (Melone, 1998). Evidently, despite their rebranding, the BCP was still in business; and, indeed, with its successor choosing to title its September 1990 party congress the 'Thirty-ninth Congress' instead of the 'First Party Congress', the argument for continuity appears forceful (Linz & Stepan, 1996). Furthermore, due to this

apparent inability to purge itself of communist-driven bureaucratic structures, Zhelev – the then leader of the UDF – warned that post-Zhivkov Bulgaria faced a very real threat of "communism dragging fledgling democracy into its grave" (Melone, 1994, p. 30). Not only does such striking evidence of elite continuity clash sharply with Krejici's revolutionary prerequisite of a meaningful break with the past but, by exemplifying regime continuity, it begins the argument for a palace coup.

In further support of this argument, with regards to social actors and their actions, whilst the narrative for revolution might assert the 'palace revolution' responsible for Zhivkov's ouster to be the consequence of mass action from below, there exists an overpowering argument to the contrary; specifically, that Zhivkov's replacement was in fact the direct result of a decision made by anxious conspirators within the ranks of the regime. Strengthening this proposition is the fact that, whilst Bulgaria's politics might have been strikingly more stable compared to other countries in the communist bloc, mounting popular discontent throughout the 1980s had generated considerable unrest within the Politburo; indeed, there was even a failed attempt to remove Zhivkov as early as July 1988 (Elster, 1996). Whilst, in this instance, the conditions for such a manoeuvre were premature, within a year there was widespread recognition that Bulgaria's ageing leader had failed to adapt to new conditions, as manifest in Mladenov's savage declaration that "Zhivkov's policy has thrown Bulgaria outside the stream of time" (Melone, 1994, p. 388). Anti-Zhivkov sentiment over the economy, the environment, and increasing international isolation – particularly over his elephantine bungling of the Turkish debacle – had reached boiling point. Furthermore, having witnessed the devastating effects of 'Gorbachev syndrome' on other communist countries, for Mladenov and other staunch pro-perestroika communists, Zhivkov's removal was tantamount to preventing the overthrow of the regime. Thus, using the swell of public discontent at home as a stimulus, the conspirators seized their opportunity to act and pounced – forcefully replacing Zhivkov with his number two (Todorova, 1992).

As much as Zhivkov's leadership had been shaken by unprecedented levels of street demonstrations; as much as mass action undoubtedly accelerated his demise, dissent from below did not cause his downfall. This was change imposed from the top (Melone, 1994); indeed, in congruence, Zhelev admits that, "despite the Ecoglasnost protests, the regime

was still in complete control in early November 1989" (Melone, 1994, p. 34). Conclusively, in the words of one activist: "It was not a revolution that brought Zhivkov down. It was just news on the radio" (Dyer, 2010). Clearly, this was a battle that was fought out within the Politburo itself, communist against communist; and, thus, it must be concluded that this perspective not only muddies the argument for revolution but, on the contrary, conforms wholly with the second dimension of Krejici's definition of a palace coup. Indeed, further reinforcing this notion is the fact that, whilst his government was doubtlessly unnerved by a continuous bombardment of mass protest from the street, Mladenov's decision to pursue open dialogue with the opposition was not – as the revolutionary narrative suggests – an act of submission but, rather, a pre-empted and skilful example of political craftsmanship. Indeed with the opposition still fearing suppression and desperate to guarantee a democratic future, they were only too keen to participate in talks – despite the pace of these talks being thoroughly dictated by the ex-communists. Under such favourable conditions, the BSP were not only able to guarantee their future and coexistence in the new democratic era but, moreover, they were able to secure conditions conducive to victory in Bulgaria's founding elections in 1990 (Szczerbiak, 2012). With high levels of elite continuity rendering Bulgaria's level of discontinuity with the past questionable; a transition to democracy ultimately initiated and controlled from the top; and, furthermore, an absence of violence throughout; the events of 1989 in Bulgaria meet much of the criteria set out in Krejici's definition of a palace coup.

The Argument for a Romanian Revolution

Whilst the events of 1989 in Romania failed to stimulate the far-reaching changes akin to its Bulgarian neighbour – with considerable disparity between reality and the Timisoara Proclamation's demands for revolutionary change – they nevertheless provoked noteworthy examples of departure from the previous regime. Fundamentally, as in Bulgaria – and in perfect concordance with Krejici's revolutionary criteria – there was an official revision of national ideology, with the overthrow of Ceausescu's tyrannical regime heralding an immediate repeal of the communist one-party system and an irrefutable shift towards democracy (Hall, 1999); indeed, as Tismaneanu notes, the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) – with its four million members – disappeared almost overnight (Tismaneanu, 1999).

Furthermore, whilst the changes in Romania's political regime might appear incremental relative to those in other post-communist countries – arguably due in part to the absence of organised opposition and national roundtable talks – Linz and Stepan maintain that many of the institutional aspects of democracy were still implemented (Linz & Stepan, 1996). For example, in a textbook illustration of democratic procedure, Romania held free elections in May 1990, with eighty political parties competing in a contest deemed legitimate by five hundred international observers (Rady, 1992). However, perhaps the most radical changes were seen in Romania's socioeconomic structure, where the National Salvation Front (NSF) swiftly realized the hopes of the population by abrogating the most oppressive features of Ceausescu's regime: the razing of peasant villages was stopped; the barbarous systematization programme were halted; compulsory gynaecological examinations were abolished; the typewriter registration law was repealed; Romanians were allowed personal passports; and, symbolically, no longer were Romanians obliged to address each other as 'comrade' (Rady, 1992). What's more, with the emergence of a vigorous free press, progress (although minimal) towards a market economy, and a new communist-free constitution ratified in 1991, there were certainly areas of fundamental change in line with Krejici's definition of revolution (Roper, 1994).

In identifying the impetus for change and the means of its execution, whilst systematic repression of dissent might have locked Romanian's in a fearful and passive sulk against Ceausescu's regime, there can be no doubt that the violent events of 1989 reconcile thoroughly with the second and third dimension of Krejici's definition of revolution (Sweeny, 1991). Indeed, twenty-four years of affliction – particularly as a result of the appalling social conditions imposed by Ceausescu's drive to pay back Romania's foreign debt – had spawned a formidable undercurrent of public contempt which, by 1989, had begun to swell menacingly below the communist ship (Szczerbiak, 2012). Roper characterises the relationship between the ruler and the ruled as one of "despair and a deep-seated hatred" with rebellion "ready to flare at the earliest opportunity" (Roper, 1994, p. 406). With winds of glasnost and perestroika and the diminished threat of Soviet intervention blowing the communist ship evermore closer to perilous waters, conditions seems such – to everyone apart from Ceausescu – that a single error in judgement would be enough to see the regime

dragged under. This error came on 18 December, with the gunning-down of unarmed anti-regime protestors in Timisoara. Far from crushing dissent, the cruelty of this massacre fuelled mass demonstrations throughout the country – with fifty thousand protesters reported on the streets of Timisoara by 20 December (Sweeny, 1991). With mass public unrest very close to on all-out rebellion, the watershed moment came at a pro-regime rally on 21 December when, after eyeing dissent in the crowd, a frail Ceausescu nervously spluttered to a stop in front of the whole nation. The myth of invincibility surrounding Ceausescu was instantaneously discredited. Indeed, Sweeny describes the significance of this event as:

> … Like the scene in the *Wizard of Oz* when Dorothy's dog goes backstage to reveal a tired old quack turning the fire wheels and roaring into the microphone. The fear was gone (Sweeny, 1991 p. 208).

Indeed, Ceausescu's humiliation sparked unprecedented mass action; hundreds of thousands participated in spontaneous anti-Ceausescu marches throughout the nation (Calinescu & Tismaneanu, 1991). With the army's deep-seated resentment of Ceausescu prompting their dramatic defection, the fate of the regime was sealed. On December 22 the world witnessed symbolic footage of Ceausescu and his wife fleeing by helicopter from the roof of the Central Committee Building – quite literally being chased from power by the hatred of the people (Stokes, 1993). With violent attempts by Ceausescu's private Securitate to reconquer power in the following days and nights – raising the final cost of Ceausescu's overthrow to over one thousand lives – this bloody narrative of mayhem and mass action from below appears to both irrefutably and comprehensively satisfy the second and third dimensions of Krejici's definition of revolution. Indeed, combined with the evidence for discontinuity with Ceausescu's regime, there appears a strong argument that what happened in Romania was a revolution.

The Argument for a Palace Coup in Romania

Whilst the manifestation of violence underlines a forceful case for a Romanian revolution, the argument for a palace coup is equally as compelling. Firstly, in addressing the first dimension of Krejici's definition of revolution – the outcome of events – although there were clearly areas of post-1989 Romania that represented a discontinuity with communist rule, there is an overwhelming argument that regime continuity is the dominant narrative. Fundamentally, the new organs of state power and, indeed, the entire provisional government formed by the NSF were dominated by Ceausescu's old elites – with their permanent positions secured by an NSF victory in the founding elections of May 1990. Furthermore, whilst the NSF pledged to establish full democracy in Romania, the chasm between the Front's rhetoric and its Leninist practice was considerable; indeed, Rady denounces their new regime as a "façade democracy" – an accusation that seems justified given that, not only did NSF leaders declare the multi-party system an "obsolete model" but, moreover, that the very notion of a political party had been "surpassed by history" and was no longer relevant to Romania's present conditions (Eyal, 1990, p. 159). Secretly rigged elections; considerable disruption of opponent's campaign activities; the reappearance of the Securitate; the violent intimidation of the opposition; the use of private paramilitaries – and even vigilante coal miners – against demonstrators; and a relentless campaign of disinformation over the bloodshed in 1989 only reinforces the argument for continuity with Ceausescu's regime (BBC, 1999). Even the death of Ceausescu itself represented a total rejection of democratic judicial norms. Political life in Romania was again characterised by malevolence, calumny, paranoia, and irresponsibility. Indeed, duplicating the first dimension of Krejici's definition of a palace coup almost word-for-word, Browne notes that "things were getting back to normal" (Brown, 1991, p. 210). Clearly, although Ceausescu was shot dead on Christmas day 1989, his policies were very much alive – with such overwhelming evidence of regime continuity and elite continuity appeasing Krejici's definition of a palace coup and, thus, casting a shadow over the notion of revolution.

At this juncture, the events of 1989 in Romania appear to represent a paradox, with the popular overthrow of communist regime yielding a new government of ex-communist leaders devoted to its resuscitation. However, in addressing the second dimension of Krejici's model – the impetus for change – this seemingly contradictory outcome appears

plausible. Whilst the narrative for revolution details a triumph for mass action from below, with the spontaneously formed revolutionary Front valiantly assuming the heavy burden of leading Romania towards a new democracy, the literature proposes a conflicting sequence of events; namely, that, after the popular overthrow of Ceausescu, communist plotters lurking in the Securitate, army and prospective NSF had managed to manipulate the popular uprising and 'capture' the revolution in a well-orchestrated coup. Indeed, the rapidity with which the new government of the NSF was formed strongly indicates that close discussions between these three parties were well underway (Rady, 1992). Furthermore, not only do eyewitness accounts claim that the disruption at Ceausescu's speech on 21 December was triggered by members of the Securitate but, furthermore, that they were seen to be directing the crowd in the events immediately preceding the infamous storming of the Central Committee the following day (Calinescu & Tismaneanu, 1991). However, the most compelling allegations of a pre-meditated coup concern the Securitate's supposed counter-revolution fought out against the army, which – despite its revolutionary appearance – Hall claims to be a mere diversion fabricated by NSF "in order to escalate the terror, suspicion, blood-spilling [and] chaos necessary to resolve the problem of [the NSF] seizing state power" (Hall, 1999, p. 510). Indeed, observers have wondered why, if there was a real struggle taking place, the only building on Palace Square not marked with bullet holes was precisely the one containing the NSF leaders; or, why the television tower that permitted them to get its message to the world was not disabled by a presumably well-trained Securitate; or, furthermore, why over the next two years, Securitate members seemed to end up in high government positions with no members being brought to trail (Stokes, 1993). With the NSF failing to give a full account of the activities of the Securitate during this period, there seems good reason both for speculation and accusation of a cover-up (Rady, 1992). Also lending credence to the hypothesis that Romania's revolutionary upheaval was immediately followed by a palace coup is the kangaroo trial and subsequent execution of the Ceausescus, for, whilst it's arguable that only the death of the dictator would have stopped the few genuine Securitate fanatics from fighting his corner, Sweeny argues that the NSF needed Ceausescu out of the way lest he embarrass them with revelations of their previous loyal behaviour (Sweeny, 1991). With this narrative of a 'captured' revolution depicting the prevailing force for change as coming from within the communist party and an

overwhelming case for regime continuity over change, there appears to be significant overlap between the events of 1989 and Krejici's definition of a palace coup.

Conclusion

Having correlated the events of 1989 in Bulgaria and Romania with Krejici's definitions for both revolution and palace coup, this paper paints a rather mixed picture. Indeed, starting with Bulgaria, whilst it's irrefutable that the outcome of events is indicative of a revolution – with a radical shift in national ideology best exemplifying areas of fundamental discontinuity with Zhivkov's regime – the high levels of elite continuity in the new government conform wholly to the legacy of a palace coup; indeed, as Melone argues, "this could have happened only if the party itself had caused the coup" (Melone, 1994). An assessment of the actors involved is equally as inconclusive, with the stimulus for change appearing to come from both inside and outside the ruling elites; in other words, whilst the replacement of Zhivkov and Mladenov's rapid democratization were undoubtedly in part a response to mounting opposition – affirming revolutionary elements – the dominant force for change came from conspirators within the ranks of the BCP, who initiated and retained control of the transition to democracy and, ultimately, were able to secure conditions conducive to their victory in the founding elections of 1990. Finally, in further concordance with this narrative of ambiguity, whilst the presence of mass action satisfies Krejici's definition of revolution, the absence of violence throughout reconciles strongly with that of a palace coup.

Romania's story is equally as mixed for, whilst widespread violence and mass action comprehensively appease the third dimension of Krejici's definition of revolution – underscoring a forceful argument for a revolution – in all other respects, Romania probably meets Krejici's definition the least. Indeed, not only is there overwhelming evidence for regime continuity but, moreover, with regard to the actions of social actors themselves, whilst there was undoubtedly an impetus for change coming from below – no plot could have planned the spontaneous explosion of popular wrath that brought down Ceausescu – Romania's high levels of regime and elite continuity strongly indicate that the prevailing

force for change came from within the ruling elites, supporting the notion of a 'captured' revolution conducted by the NSF. Accordingly, perhaps the Romanian experience is best characterised by Ceausescu's son, Nicu, who proposes the events of 1989 to be "a palace coup that took place against the backdrop of a revolution" (Stokes, 1993, p. 167). To conclude, because both countries contain elements of both revolution and palace coup – thus satisfying both Krejici's definitions in part, but neither in whole – there is no clear cut answer and, thus, the ultimate outcome is one of ambiguity.

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Was the Falklands War a political success or failure for the Thatcher Government?

(Written for Political Change: The Thatcher Years)

Luke Williams

On 2 April 1982, the British political system was rocked by news of an extraordinary event eight thousand miles away in the South Atlantic. A long-standing and thorny dispute with Argentina over sovereignty of the Falkland Islands – a tiny relic of empire proximate to the South American mainland – had erupted with a sudden and unprovoked invasion of British territory by Argentine forces. Britain's Conservative Government faced the greatest crisis in foreign affairs for a generation (Freedman, 1988). Behind this audacious Argentine manoeuvre laid the assumption that the British Government – struggling with union strife, plunging popularity and a faltering economy – had neither the strength nor willpower to defend remote islands which most of its electorate had never heard of. On the contrary, General Galtieri – the head of Argentina's military Junta – had made one crucial error: he'd seriously underestimated Britain's Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher. Dismissing pleas from her defence officials, Thatcher ordered a small taskforce to recover the Falklands in one of the most ambitious military undertakings in British history (Snow & Snow, 2007). Against all the odds, and spectacularly outnumbered, the British forces 'yomped' to a resounding and historic victory after only seventy-four days of war. On 14 June 1982, the poorly equipped and badly lead Argentine conscripts surrendered and the Falkland Islands were returned to British rule. In Britain, the glow of military success, decisive leadership from Thatcher, and fervent patriotic jubilation appeared to signify an unequivocal political success for the Government. Indeed, the Falklands episode is often regarded Thatcher's turning point; saving her unpopular administration, facilitating her 1983 election victory and paving the way for ten more years of Thatcherism – which was to leave a lasting legacy. Additionally, since 1982 the Islands themselves have been economically transformed with revenues from fishing and oil pouring into the national purse. Indeed, on the surface, the conflict seems an unambiguous political triumph. However, such a simple narrative would distort the

Falklands story. Critics have lambasted the conflict as an avoidable and tragic absurdity, arguing the huge physical, economic and emotional costs of war to be the consequence of unforgiveable diplomatic and political failings by Thatcher's administration. Indeed, considering the burden of continued tension with Argentina and the task of rebuilding a stagnant economy on the Islands, the success of the conflict appears questionable. Because a quantitative method for measuring the effects of war on governments remains elusive, this paper adopts a clear successes vs. failures framework to explore and scrutinize the political, economic and historical factors associated with the conflict and its legacy before arguing that, whilst it's by no means absolved of all political failure, the Falklands War must ultimately be considered a political success for Thatcher's administration.

The Falklands War as a Political Failure

In an interview with Channel Four, Lord Callaghan – British Prime Minister from 1976-79 – is quoted as saying: "It's the small issues, the pimples on the map; those are the issues that move quickly and cause a lot of trouble unless you keep a constant eye on them" (Falklands War, 1992). Indeed, Jenkins asserts the iron law of foreign policy to be that all crises arise from unexpected quarters (Jenkins, 2007). Thus, whilst Argentina is, of course, ultimately to blame for the Falklands War: no government can be condemned for the reckless aggression of another, Thatcher's administration can be considered culpable to the extent to which it instigated the invasion and, moreover, for what more it might have done to prevent it (Sharp, 1999).

Long before the Battle of Goose Green, the motives for a continued British presence in this far-flung residual of empire appeared puzzling. By the 1960s, the territory had all but outlived its commercial and strategic usefulness; its defence was financially untenable; and they caused a tremendous strain on British-Argentine relations. Relinquishing this imperial hangover to the nation that so passionately demanded its sovereignty seemed a perfect solution and, indeed, successive British governments have indicated a willingness to oblige (Jenkins, 2007). The difficulty, however, was that this most obvious of remedies has always contravened the expressed wishes of the local population, who consider themselves wholly

British. This clash of interests hatched a string of dilatory and rather confused policy initiatives, on the one hand assuring British rule to the Islanders whilst, at the same time, discussing a future transfer of sovereignty with Argentina (Sharp, 1999). Hence, by the time Thatcher came to power in 1979, Argentina's patience had worn thin, indeed, its national press were signalling dire consequences for Britain's continued filibustering. To break this uneasy deadlock, Thatcher's new Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington, proposed a compromise termed 'leaseback', which asserted Britain would concede sovereignty to Argentina on the condition that a British administration then is permitted to govern the Islands – hence protecting the lifestyles and freedoms of the local inhabitants (Freedman, 1988). With Thatcher's Government appearing prepared to relinquish the leftovers of empire – recently renouncing control of British Rhodesia – the leaseback initiative seemed a perfect solution to this vexed dilemma. Remarkably, however, in the event, it was trampled; first, by a response from Thatcher described as "thermonuclear" and then by a battering in the House of Commons "worse than anything MPs could recall in the course of Parliament" (Hastings & Jenkins, 1997, p. 55). Had Thatcher and her government had the courage of Carrington's convictions, leaseback could surely have been implemented and the 1982 conflict almost certainly avoided (Hastings & Jenkins, 1997). Instead, the rejection of leaseback was to mark the first of a number of short-sighted policy failures that ultimately lead Britain closer to war.

The news that leaseback was dead enraged the military junta in Buenos Aires. They were fighting for their political life and, faced with mass popular unrest, they badly needed something to galvanise the nation; securing the Falklands for Argentina had seemed the perfect solution (Middlebrook, 2001). However, with leaseback dead and a diplomatic solution appearing increasingly unlikely, the Junta were forced to revive their long-dormant invasion plan (Jenkins, 2012). General Galtieri appeared on the balcony of his presidential palace to declare that: "Whatever the cost, we will never give up Las Malvinas" (BBC, 2002). Such a provocative statement from a ruthless military dictator should have sounded alarm bells in London; yet, staggeringly, despite recommendations from the Foreign Office, Thatcher made no political or military attempts to strengthen Britain's political commitment to the Falklands (Sharp, 1999). Even more remarkably, certain government's actions not

only reduced the credibility of Britain's interest in the Falklands but actually appeared to imply tacit encouragement for Argentina's military ambitions (Hastings & Jenkins, 1997). Most prominently, John Nott – Thatcher's new Defence Secretary – announced cuts in 1981 which were to oversee the withdrawal of HMS Endurance – the ice-patrol ship which had come to symbolize Britain's commitment to the Islanders. Furthermore, in the same year, Falklanders were effectively declared second-class citizens with the passing of Parliament's new British Nationality Act. To compound these messages, critics have claimed that by using only junior personnel in sovereignty negotiations with Argentina, the British Government conveyed the impression that the fate of the Islands was of low priority (Sharp, 1999). By the spring of 1982, Britain had not only signalled that it lacked the will to defend the Falklands but, moreover, that it might actually welcome being gently nudged out of this particular post-colonial predicament. Indeed, if British policy was plotted on a graph – with the vertical axis representing their commitment to the South Atlantic and the horizontal axis representing time – as 1981 progressed, the graph appeared to be moving steadily downwards (Hastings & Jenkins, 1997). From this perspective, it hardly seems surprising that Argentina's desperate and unscrupulous Junta would succumb to the temptation of fulfilling a national aspiration and attack (Sharp, 1999). In Britain, the implications of this government complacency were realized far too late; the news of the invasion was met with outrage and a sense of utter disbelief. Thoroughly discredited by political failure, and after having experienced a roasting by Conservative back-bench MPs, Lord Carrington and his team of Foreign Office Ministers resigned.

Even as the British taskforce bore down on the Falklands, war was far from inevitable; indeed, a diplomatic settlement would have almost certainly prevented the loss of human life. To this end, UN and US diplomats worked tirelessly to negotiate a peaceful solution. However, with Thatcher refusing to back down, all attempts were quashed; she was criticised for not taking them seriously enough (Norpoth, 1987). These missed opportunities to avoid war were further compounded by Thatcher's decision not to issue Argentina with a warning before torpedoing their flagship, the General Belgrano. Three hundred and twenty-one Argentines drowned or burnt to death in the incident and, as they died, so too did all hopes of a peaceful settlement (Marr, 2009). In an age of total communication, the lack of

clear advance signals from Britain to Argentina is morally questionable and, thus, reflects quite poorly on Thatcher's Government (Hastings & Jenkins, 1997). Whilst an ultimatum may not have averted combat, its absence seemed to warrant critics' claim that Thatcher "had drawn Galtieri on to the punch" purely to save her political skin (Jenkins, 2012). This left the British electorate to question: "Was the government politically more motivated by the lure of glory than the need to save lives?" (Evans, 2004, p.102).

The Falklands war left 255 British servicemen dead with another 777 seriously wounded; 650 Argentines also lost their lives. The total cost to the British taxpayer is predicted at over £3billion (Jenkins, 2007). Britain won, but victory was never guaranteed. Thatcher had taken a huge gamble with young British lives. Had more of the Argentine bomb fuses worked properly or if the French delivered another batch of their deadly exocet missiles to the Argentines then the results could have been horrendous for Britain (Marr, 2009). Furthermore, as an international event the conflict is widely regarded as an avoidable aberration; butchery for a meaningless prize; or, in the words of David Watt: "one of the most incongruous and unnecessary international disputes which has ever broken out between states" (Sharp, 1999, p. 65). The sinking of the Belgrano sparked worldwide controversy; whilst Thatcher was publically supported for her actions – most memorably with the Sun's now infamous 'GOTCHA!' headline – there have been successive calls by the Belgrano Action Group for an inquiry, as "key documents have gone missing or [have] not been revealed" (Ponting, 2010). Major Chris Keeble of the Parachute Regiment described the "whole affair as one of tragedy", adding; "We should have never allowed ourselves to go to war" (Falklands War: The Untold Story, 2002).

In the thirty years that have passed – and despite restoring full diplomatic relations in 1990 – the Falklands issue continues to thwart bilateral relations with Argentina; the war has done nothing to settle the question over sovereignty. Indeed, the current government of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner has worked tirelessly to project the issue onto both regional and global stages, demanding the UN take immediate action against Britain's "colonial behaviour" (Dodds, 2012, p. 686). Moreover, recent British commercial ventures have exacerbated the situation. In particular, the oil drilling operations undertaken by British contracted companies in the waters surrounding the Falklands have seen the symbolic

importance of the Falklands for Argentina interwoven with the economic potential of the South Atlantic region, fuelling a new trend of resource nationalism (Benwell & Dodds, 2011). This "pillaging" or "robbery of [Argentina's] non-renewable natural resources" has fuelled increasingly belligerent Argentine protests, with attempts being made to disrupt British interests in the region (Dodds & Benwell, 2010, p.578). Instances of Falklands- and British-flagged vessels being prohibited from docking in Argentine ports, the deterrence of international investment in the Falkland Islands, and the boycotting of British goods and services within Argentina are all on the rise. It is worth noting that the UK is the fourth largest foreign direct investor in South America. UK–Argentine trade alone was worth around $1.5billion in 2011 (Dodds, 2012). There is a real danger that such behaviour, if intensified, could severely damage Britain's economic interest. Evidently, the war hasn't solved the problems of the Falkland Islands. Indeed, as Hobson notes: "We are simply back to square one, or rather back to square minus one and something will sooner or later have to be done to find a permanent solution for this problem unless British governments are simply content to keep an enormously expensive commitment going forever" (Hobson, 1983). Indeed, at this juncture, such an extensive catalogue of short-term political failings and unfavourable long-term consequences seems to render any notion that The Falklands War was an unmitigated success for the Thatcher government as utterly indefensible.

The Falklands War as a Political Success

Whilst this narrative of political failure is not unreasonably associated with the Falklands episode, the case for the Government's defence is equally as forceful. To begin, it should be remembered that, during the first two years of Thatcher's premiership, Thatcher's political energy was fully absorbed in consolidating her position as Prime Minister; breathing life back into Britain's wilting economy; and tackling demanding contemporary issues such as Europe and the IRA. Hence, whilst Thatcher's inclination to overlook a second-rate problem such as the long-standing Falklands issue cannot be considered acceptable, it might be considered understandable (Jenkins, 2007). This is not to suggest that Thatcher's preoccupation was responsible for the Government's failure to implement leaseback; indeed, whilst it was clearly of low priority, the fact is that leaseback was widely considered to be both unfeasible and unworkable. Its fundamental problem was that neither the

Islanders nor the Argentines wanted anything to do with it, for it satisfied neither the latter's sense of injustice and honour, nor the former's sense of security (Sharp, 1999). Furthermore, handing over two thousand British citizens to an oppressive and hostile Argentine regime with a blood curdling record on human rights was considered to be political suicide. Ultimately, however, it suffered ferocious opposition at the hands of Parliament's formidable Falklands Lobby – a cross-party coalition primarily of right-wing Conservative back benchers who had become particularly skilled in tapping the seam of sentimental attachment to the Islands (Freedman, 1988). For the Foreign Office, the rejection of leaseback reduced policy to Micawberism (Jenkins, 2007). Indeed, as Sir Richard Luce – one of three who resigned upon Argentina's invasion – recalls: "We became prisoners of our circumstances" (Falklands War, 1992). Whilst some critics asserted that this predicament demanded a "fortress Falklands", a major investment in the defence of this declining economy would have seemed outlandish and an easy target for the political opposition. In addition, there was a fear that, far from deterring a military response, such steps might provoke Argentina (Sharp, 1999).

On the invasion itself, there is little evidence to suggest that British actions weighed heavily in Argentina's decision: the fact that the attack took place before Nott's defence cuts were implemented reinforces this notion. Moreover, any evidence that the government was looking for Argentina to bring a merciful end to the affair remains highly ambiguous at best (Jenkins, 2007). Whilst Thatcher's Government had indicated there might come a time when it would relinquish control of the Islands, at no point did it indicate a preparedness to override the wishes of the inhabitants to achieve this solution. From here, it seems reasonable to assert that there was little the British government could have done to foresee or forestall the irrational Argentine invasion. Indeed, the post-war Franks Report asserted that: "We would not be justified in attaching any criticism or blame to the present Government" (West, 1997). This is not to suggest that British conduct was beyond reproach but, rather, that the war cannot be considered the direct consequence of political failure. Hence, whilst Carrington provided a political sacrifice, it is clear from their respective memoirs that neither he nor Thatcher thought him particularly to blame (Sharp, 1999).

In Thatcher's further defence, the preposition that she too eagerly sought war or, moreover, displayed cynicism in the pursuit of peace, does not withstand scrutiny. Indeed, upon the Argentine invasion, the British government made every conceivable diplomatic and military threat it could to prevent the attack, including: political isolation, economic sanctions, diplomatic mediation and the dispatching of a taskforce (Freedman, 1988). Yet, although UN Resolution 502 demanded the immediate withdrawal of Argentine forces from the Falklands, it was firmly rejected by Argentina and, furthermore, despite Nott's assertion that: "most of the terms that were offered by the Americans would have been seen as surrender in [Britain]", Thatcher persisted with negotiations, and it was the Junta who were ultimately condemned for rendering any diplomatic solution a near impossibility (Nott, 2002). Indeed, Thatcher was fully absolved of responsibility for the breakdown of the US mediation attempts (Hastings & Jenkins, 1997).

The fact is that Britain could not abandon the Falkland Islands. The Islanders desperately wanted Britain to stay; most of the British government and public did too. A great imperial power like Britain could not walk out on its responsibilities; its honour and reputation were at stake. Here was a clear act of aggression and a blatant breach of international law; it was a case of action by Britain or a victory for violence over peaceful negotiation. Moreover, there was a need to avenge what Lord Carrington described as the "national humiliation" of invasion (Freedman, 1988, p. 39). For these reasons, it's very hard to maintain that London should simply have accepted the new status quo. Indeed, as Thatcher proclaimed:

> I'm standing up for the right of self-determination. I'm standing up for our territory. I'm standing up for our people. I'm standing up for international law. I'm standing up for all those territories – those small territories and peoples the world over – whom, if someone doesn't stand up and say to an invader 'enough, stop' … would be at risk (Thatcher, 1995, p. 210).

And with all non-violent attempts at a resolution exhausted, military force – whilst appalling – was the only option left.

Following a British victory, the Falklands War can, in a number of ways, be considered a magnificent political victory for Thatcher and her government. Firstly, it was a triumph for the armed forces, providing an impressive demonstration of military efficiency. Despite tragedies on Sir Galahad and Sir Tristram, the cost in British lives was modest and, furthermore, whilst the Belgrano incident remains contentious, British conduct was widely considered impeccable (Hobson, 1983). Indeed, whilst only a minor skirmish, its domestic and international significance was enormous. In the words of Alan Clark – a junior minister in Thatcher's Government – the victory: "enormously increased [Britain's] world standing … It has made every other member of NATO say 'My God, the British are tough'" (Sharp, 1999, p.68). It also reinforced the rules and institutions which maintain international order and helped smooth the way for re-establishment of Argentine democracy by destroying Galtieri's military Junta. Above all, however, the war boosted Britain's self-image at a time when it was badly needed. It gave the British people a warm glow; indeed, for many, the victory was an almost mythic and romantic symbol of national re-birth (Marr, 2009). Britain, it seemed, could call itself great once more (Coughlin, 2008).

For Thatcher's Government, victory came with an immediate pay-off in popularity. With a patriotic upsurge ensuring broad political and public support for their military response – with some newspapers falling over themselves to demonstrate solidarity with the taskforce – the Conservatives profited enormously (Hobson, 1983). Thatcher triumphantly slammed the message home; "We the British people are proud of what has been done; proud of these heroic pages in our island story … proud to be British" (The Falklands War: The Untold Story, 2002). Her approval ratings soared, rising from a satisfaction rate of 31% to 51% in a Gallup poll; she went from Britain's most unpopular Prime Minister ever to the most popular in living memory (Crew, 1985). Even the British Foreign Office came out of the Falklands experience with some remarkable successes to its credit. UN resolution 502 was a tour de force in diplomatic manoeuvring and British diplomats could look proudly upon both their orchestration of American and domestic public opinion and their containment of world opposition to Britain's military actions (Hastings & Jenkins, 1997). Riding on the crest of her Falklands success, Thatcher cast a dominant presence over the 1983 election, winning with a resounding majority. Whilst her management of the crisis undoubtedly helped revive the

Conservative Government, the impact on their re-election remains a matter of psephological debate (Snow & Snow, 2007). Nonetheless, whilst economic indicators were beginning to look more hopeful: interest rates were falling and consumer spending was starting to rise; whilst Labour presented substandard opposition; and whilst the creation of the SDP-Liberal Alliance might have split the anti-Thatcher vote; Dunleavy and Husbands still predict the impact of the 'Falklands effect' on the 1983 election to be between 5% and 16% (Dunleavy and Husbands, 1985). Hence, the proposition that Thatcher's landslide owes a lot to General Galtieri seems at least plausible. Indeed, in the words of Clark: "the argument that the Falklands War was inconsequential, although intriguing, is quite simply incorrect" (Clarke, et al., 1990, p. 80).   For Thatcher, the war was a political and personal triumph. She had silenced her critics and, by capturing the public mood, created a bond between the nation and its leader not seen in years (Jenkins, 2007). Victory put Thatcher in plate armour; it transformed her position and she knew it (Marr, 2009). Alan Clark reflected after victory that: "The lady's authority is complete; she could make any policy and break any individual" (Jenkins, 2007, p. 75). Indeed, the war did more than save Thatcher's political bacon, it lead the way for Thatcherism. Whereas before she had power only to negotiate, she now had the confidence to command and control. She used her augmented authority to press ahead with revolution, pursuing more self-righteously her programme of domestic transformation – a hand she ultimately overplayed (Webb, 2012).

Since 1982, much has changed for the Islanders. Following the implementation of the second Shackleton report, the region has enjoyed remarkable growth and economic development; indeed, GDP has risen from about £5 million in 1980 to approximately £104 million in 2007 (FIS, 2012). Furthermore, the Falklands have become a valuable territory: not only has Bloomberg estimated its oil reserves at 8.3billion barrels – potentially earning Britain an estimated tax windfall of £111billion (Parry, 2012) – but the islands provide substantial mineral resources and secure Britain a valuable position in Antarctica (Freedman, 1988). The net result of these changes is a thriving British overseas territory; one of the wealthiest communities per capita in the South American region (Dodds & Benwell, 2010). UK development aid ended in 1991 and the Islands are now economically self-sufficient in all areas except defence – some 0.5% of the UK defence budget, which is

deemed sustainable (Dodds, 2012). Whilst there's anger in the region over the prospect of the waters surrounding the disputed islands being further exploited for commercial benefit, as long as only a modicum of political support is offered to Argentina, the situation is manageable. Additionally, overall, the impact on Britain's relations with Latin America as a whole does not appear to be significant.

Conclusion

Whilst Thatcher cannot escape her share of responsibility for the original debacle, it is this writer's view that the successes of the military victory overshadowed these preceding failures. Thatcher managed to transform a moment of potential disaster into a major political triumph – generating tremendous political capital for her Conservative government. Of course, taking Britain to war was an enormous political gamble; had it been lost she would have been finished. On the other hand, had it not occurred, she may not have survived the next election (Jenkins, 2007). In the event, Thatcher's new reputation as a tough, resolute and trustworthy leader not only yielded an immediate improvement in Conservative poll ratings, but helped her towards re-election in 1983, and ultimately paved the way for Thatcherism and its lasting legacy – if she'd been a one term premier then there wouldn't have been such a body of achievement. In the long-run, the extent to which the Falkland's economy has been transformed is difficult to exaggerate and, whilst the stormy waters that lie ahead between Britain and Argentina might backlash against future British governments, with almost no chance of another Argentine invasion and, providing Argentine protests remain relatively ineffectual, the legacy of Thatcher's decision to maintain a British presence in the South Atlantic continues to benefit the nation. Hence, if – as might seem reasonable – the objective of British governments is to both further Britain's interests and maximise the tenure of their administration, then the Falklands episode unambiguously facilitated both these goals for Thatcher. However, at this juncture, it must be recognized that measuring the political success and failure of the Falklands War for Thatcher's administration is ultimately dependent on ones norms and values – in particular, whether the status quo was maintained at an acceptable cost in human and economic resources. Henceforth, casting a single, un-contentious verdict is likely to provoke great controversy. Poignantly, however, on this final note, Dorothy Foulkes – a lady whose

husband was killed on the Atlantic conveyor by an Exocet missile – concludes: "[Whilst] no one will ever know the price my family paid, perhaps it was worth it for Britain's sake" (The Falklands War: The Untold Story, 2002).

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