International Relations Journal 2020

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Editorial Policy

OVERVIEW

The International Relations Journal at San Francisco State University strives to exhibit the diverse range of undergraduate and graduate research interests that flourish in our department.

Each semester, the Journal is offered as a course in which students participate as writers or editors in a peer review process, or as administrative staff members who assist authors and editors as well as guide the Journal through its production.

The goal of the course is to expose students to the peer review process, focusing on academic standards of argumentation and factual accuracy, citation formatting, and collaborative editing using Microsoft Word's "track changes" feature. More broadly, the Journal's executive editors aim to help students develop writing/editing skills applicable in other courses and promote a deeper understanding of the discipline of International Relations as a whole.

SUBMISSONS & PROCESS

The Journal encourages all students pursuing a B.A. or M.A. in International Relations to submit completed works (incomplete papers and abstracts are not accepted) at the beginning of each semester. From these submissions, the Journal's executive editors assign students to positions on the writing and editorial boards as well as a number of administrative-level appointments.

The course curriculum includes a number of informational workshops and at least three rounds of structured editing and revision. All editing is anonymous and each submission is reviewed by three different editors.

The structured peer review is as follows: [1] a submission is first edited by an undergraduate or graduate "peer expert" who has conducted prior research on topics and/or regions relevant to the paper and can thus provide fact checking and citation suggestions; [2] second round editing focuses on clarity and academic tone my paring the manuscript with an editor unfamiliar with the paper's subject; [3] finally, the paper is edited for proper citation formatting and technical aspects.

At the end of the semester, authors participating in this process are expected to submit a final manuscript for consideration by the Journal's executive editors and the faculty advisor.

PUBLICATION OF ARTICLES

Only submissions that have gone through the peer review process and meet the content and formatting requirements will be considered for publication. The Journal is published yearly.

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Acknowledgments

In memory of lives lost and people displaced during the COVID-19 Pandemic

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Adelkhan Niazi is a 2020 Master's graduate in International Relations at San Francisco State University; where he also earned his Bachelor's in International Relations with an emphasis on Security & Intelligence. He was born and raised in California by his refugee parents who came to America from Afghanistan 1988. He is lucky to be a child of some of the few poor rural Afghan families to escape the horrors of the Soviet-Afghan war. His academic career focus has been on Afghanistan and US Afghan affairs because he is passionate about human rights, security, and the future of Afghanistan. His hope is to one day see a free and peaceful Afghanistan. This article was written in 2018, prior to the release of the "Afghanistan Papers."

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Florence studied at Humboldt State University with an emphasis in social advocacy and intercultural relations, graduating with a bachelor's in communication in 2018. Currently a graduate student at San Francisco State University, Florence will be receiving a master's in international Relations in May 2020. Florence's interests are in narrative analysis and interdependence theories, with a focus on diplomacy and cooperation that incorporates a diverse background of study in both international relations as well as communication.

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Lauren Dominguez is a 2015 graduate from Chapman University with a B.A. in Peace Studies and a double minor in Spanish and Sociology and a 2020 graduate from San Francisco State University with an M.A in International Relations. Lauren lived in Guatemala for 2 years working with orphaned and abandoned children and then continued to work with students at an international boarding school in northern California. Being bilingual has helped her increase her academic prowess as well as given her the ability to work alongside many different local and international populations in the Bay Area, Guatemala, and Mexico. She currently serves as Secretary of the Board for an international nonprofit and hopes to continue her professional career in addressing and fighting local and global inequalities.

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Lauren Michael Kelley is a graduating senior at San Francisco State University. During undergrad, she studied International Relations. Her academic focus has been on asylum seeker and refugee's rights. She grew up in San Diego, California. Growing up so close to the U.S.-Mexico border shaped some of her earliest interests such as the relationship between border security and human rights. Her hope is to become a lawyer who defends asylum seeker and refugee's rights internationally.

PAOLO PONTONIERE

Paolo Pontoniere is a San Francisco State University Scholar in International Relations. He hopes to graduate from the International Relations Master's program in Fall 2020. A native of Italy with a background in journalism and communications, Pontoniere has served as a foreign correspondent and political analyst for several media outlets and news-wire agencies. Pontoniere's return to academia has been spurred by his desire to launch a consulting service in international relations devoted to fostering citizen diplomacy and people-to-people ties. Pontoniere's research currently focuses on exploring the function of ontology as a constitutive factor in the global system and its role in peace, conflict, and foreign policy.

SUAAD SALEH

Suaad Saleh is a San Francisco State graduate, with a bachelors in international relations. She is a first generation Afghan American who is especially passionate about feminism in the Middle East and Central Asia. In her free time, she enjoys spending time with her family and traveling around the world.

Afghanistan's Opium Industry & US Military Objectives

ADELKHAN NIAZI

ABSTRACT

Afghanistan's opium industry directly promotes the resilience of insurgency groups such as Al-Qaeda or the Taliban in the nation and region. The factional dissonance of insurgency groups has prevented the collection of empirical data regarding direct financial gain from Afghanistan's opium industry, scholars and policymakers debate whether the direct financial benefit to these groups is significant; some go as far as denying interdependence. This paper argues that, regardless of the substantiality of financial benefit to insurgency groups, the prosperity of the opium industry significantly contributes to the resilience of insurgency groups. The direct financial benefit to insurgency groups, which is in fact very substantial, actively undermines US foreign policy objectives in the country. The US foreign policy objectives in Afghanistan-such as the elimination of terrorist groups, an increase in economic stability, development of an effective self-sustaining Afghan Army, and establishing a self-sufficient trustworthy Afghan government able to provide security and basic services-can be accomplished if US military 'nation-building' objectives are broadened to include the elimination of Afghanistan's opium industry.

INTRODUCTION

For almost an entire-quarter century the United States has been involved in a critical war on terrorism in the Middle East, specifically in Afghanistan where it seems that the war will never end. The issues facing US military's two simple objectives in Afghanistan have become seemingly impossible to accomplish, eliminating Al-Qaeda, ISIS-Khorasan (ISIS-K), and affiliated terrorist groups so that the Afghan government can finally operate independent of US assistance to improve the lives of the Afghan people's security, institutions, infrastructure, and economy.[1] However, the Afghan government and military have proved that these goals are far from being reached. The US already tried a "status quo" exit strategy in 2014, created a strong democratic government, gave it sufficient economic support and weaponry to defend itself.[2] But the US was forced to return due to a massive resurgence. This situation has caused US foreign policy makers to reanalyze their goals, either reducing objectives into more accomplishable ones or rethinking the current US Military strategy so that original objectives can be accomplished. My evaluation proves that the current objectives (a combination of military and state-building goals) although realistic, cannot be accomplished through the current strategy due to its major underassessment of the impact of the Afghan opium industry's effect on all sectors of Afghan society.

1. U.S. Department of State. (2018). *Afghanistan*. [online] Available at: https://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5380.htm [Accessed 10 Dec. 2018].

2. Barack, Obama. National security strategy of the United States (2010). Diane Publishing, 2010.

If US military strategy is developed to incorporate equal priority of narcotics policing alongside counterinsurgency and nation-building goals, then current US military objectives can be accomplished.

The US military objective of nation-building is intrinsically flawed: even in President Obama's administration it was known that nation-building was not a realistic objective. Poppy cultivation is an inherent attribute to insecurity and corruption:

> *The Obama administration took office knowing that U.S. policy toward Afghanistan was in grave peril...The intelligence community had recently completed a very grim national intelligence estimate that warned of a downward spiral in the security, governance, and poppy cultivation situation in Afghanistan.*[3]

The internal corruption of the Afghan government is directly affected by the opium industry, for example the governor of Nangarhar Province, Gul Agha Sherzai, admitted to receiving around one million dollars a week from import duties and opium trade in his district.[4] In order to accomplish the objective of nation building the first logical step would be to create a strong and equal foundation. The foundation on which the current Afghan government is created is the opium industry-and that opium industry is the core supporter of terrorist groups; this is the cycle of corruption and terrorism that is continued through the support of the opium trade.[5] Only when Afghanistan is cleared of its opium industry will it be possible to elect more responsible officials that will allow the nation to check and balance itself.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature discusses the theoretical role of US foreign policy directed towards international narcotic industries. Since the war in Afghanistan is a coalition effort the US, therefore, must decide how to approach this issue, either as a coalition effort or independently. Defining the parameters of what constitutes a direct threat to US national security worthy of military intervention; for example, a direct terrorist threat. Moreover, defining which issues should be considered international security threats and therefore addressed by an international coalition; for example,a transborder drug trade organization. Theoretical methods about how to deal with an organized foreign drug industry (cultivation, production, and trafficking); the central theme of these theories is focused on dealing with transnational entities.

The first theoretical lens, neorealism, claims that a foreign drug industry is a direct national security threat and to the national security of other nations as well. Therefore, the US should play the primary role in global anti-narcotics politics for the purpose of establishing a global cooperation of international organizations and actors under a single American anti-narcotic doctrine.[6] As the world becomes increasingly more globalized through communication and trade, so does transnational crime,

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3. David P.Auerswald, and Stephen M. Saideman. NATO in Afghanistan: Fighting Together, Fighting Alone. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Pres, 2016.

4. "Economic Violence: It's Time to Change the Game." Military Review 91, no. 3 (May 2011): 77–82. http://jpllnet.sfsu.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,cookie,url,uid&db=mth&AN=64156691&site=ehost-live

5. AFGHANISTAN: Hitting drug labs will not defeat taliban. (2017, Dec 20). Oxford Analytica Daily Brief Service Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/1979469699?accountid=13802

6. David R. Bewley-Taylor, David R. United States and international drug control, 1909-1997. A&C Black, 2002.

"crime has been a silent partner in globalization".[7] Positive growth of globalization is interconnected with negative growth aspects such as human trafficking, arms dealing, terrorism, and drug trade.[8] This theory claims that foreign nations that lack American ideals concerning narcotics are what causes corruption and weak law enforcement capabilities; therefore international institutions must be created to implement strict social development programs and provide reliable enforcement agencies.[9]

The second theoretical lens, realism, provides that international institutions have no legitimate authority. Peter Reuter, professor at the University of Maryland and founder of RAND's Drug Policy Research Center claims that the use of "SOURCE-COUNTRY PROGRAMS", which are drug control programs implemented in nations that cultivate or manufacture drugs, is unlikely to have any legitimate benefit to the US.[10] There are no 'source-country' programs capable of deterring cultivators or producers through monetary incentives; because a drug will gain a large majority of its value once trafficked to its final market, drug traffickers are always capable of increasing incentives for cultivation and manufacturing.[11] Such large profits have prompted the evolution of organized drug industries:

> *Many major hot spots for drug trafficking around the world are mired by one or a combination of related and often interlinked security concerns, including regional conflict, transnational crime, international terrorism, and violence.[12]*

The paradoxical cycle of drug control policy and enforcement is that by making a substance illegal there is no decrease in its demand. Contrastingly, the added risk of incarceration decreases the supply and increases the profit margin for anyone willing to risk it; introducing the rise of violent non-state actors (cartels, mafias, terrorist groups, etc.) some of which have far greater capability and influence than their own government.[13] However, the responsibility of this paradox can be directly attributed to the demand for these drugs in developed countries that have made them illegal, the only way to deal with the crisis is to decrease demand and by doing so eliminate potential revenue of violent non-state actors.

The final theoretical lens, liberal pluralism, gives a nontraditional characterization of drug trade based on political toleration of differences, which "generates a neutral liberalism which abstains from difficult questions about the highest good".[14] Contrary to the fundamental approach of realist and neorealist theories depend on imposing influence on the drug policies of foreign nations and international institutions. Liberal

7. Mark Findlay. The Globalisation of Crime: Understanding Transitional Relationships in Context. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511489266.

8. Frank G. Madsen."International Organization and Crime, and Corruption." Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies. 9 Dec. 2018. http://internationalstudies.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.001.0001/acrefore-97801

9. Shang-JinWei.Corruption and globalization. Brookings Institution, 2001.

10. Peter Reuter. "The Limits and Consequences of U. S. Foreign Drug Control Efforts." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 521 (1992): 151-62. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1046547.

11. Peter H. Reuter. The Limitsof Supply-Side Drug Control. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2001. https://www.rand.org/pubs/reprints/RP942.html. Also available in print form.

12. Liana Sun Wyler. International drug control policy. DIANE Publishing, 2009.

13. David R. Bewley-Taylor. United States and international drug control, 1909-1997. A&C Black, 2002.

14. "Liberal Pluralism." In . : , http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199756223/obo-9780199756223-0193.xml.

pluralism considers the export/promotion of an ideology upon other nations, for the purpose of assimilation, as a moral crusade; this includes perspective globalization, the co-operation of singular interpretation through international institutions, and any form of external force intended to penetrate the ideological sovereignty of a state is a threat.[15] The act of intentionally influencing or imposing specific social values denies the morality of the individual, this is considered a threat or insult because social values are not universal; therefore any international drug control doctrine is a war of ideological preference. This is best exemplified by the hypocrisy exhibited by historical US foreign policies responsible for influencing international anti-marijuana institutions, however, due to recent legislative reforms a large portion of international illegal drug control operations are now legal.[16]

CORE ANALYSIS

This paper will begin with an examination of Afghanistan's opium industry, specifically aspects that provide support to insurgency groups and the detrimental consequences that have impacted Afghan society, government, and military. The mutual dependency between narcotics and terrorism will be discussed on a theoretical basis and applied to Afghanistan's current situation in juxtaposition with Afghanistan's historical interaction with opium as an industrial and cultural variable.

An introduction to the current US foreign policy in Afghanistan is key to understanding how hierarchical prioritization of objectives are established and how they are executed in US military practices. Then, in order to gain perspective of US drug control methodology, an evaluation of the recent International Narcotics Control Strategy Report (INCSR) will be discussed. Furthermore, an in-depth understanding of the contrast between US military goals and foreign policy goals regarding drug trade and then compare those goals to US military practices and foreign policy practices. After gaining a refined perspective through the lens of US military and foreign policy of the Afghan opium industry's impact on insurgency group, society, government, and military we will then develop a final assessment including a projection of Afghanistan as a nation without an opium crisis, and what US foreign policy needs to do in order to get there.

The cycle of destruction and corruption in Afghanistan is dependent upon the resilience of multiple variables that define the agency of actors that participate in the arena. In order for a narcotics kingpin to survive and prosper, his capability to do so is dependenton the strength of a state'sagency to deny him (anti-narcotics taskforce). However, in Afghanistan, the roles are reversed-the state's ability to survive and prosper is dependenton the strength of narcotics kingpin's agency to allow the state to operate. This is an intrinsic issue that affectsall levels of government and society-from protection bribes to the executive branch all the way down to the population of opium-addicted Afghan citizens (many of which are employed by the Afghan army and police).

In recent assessments of Afghanistan's opium industry there has been an incremental increase of poppy cultivation and development since the US invasion in 2001. The Afghan Ministry of Counter Narcotics (MCN) estimated total agricultural area used for opium poppy cultivation during the 2017-2018 season to be 328,304

15. David R. Bewley-Taylor.United States and internationaldrug control, 1909-1997. A&C Black, 2002.

16. Vanda Felbab-Brown, and Bradley S. Porter. "Global Consensus and Dissensus on Drug Policy." Brookings. July 29, 2016. Accessed December 03, 2018.

hectares (HA), yielding about 9,000 metric tons (MT) of raw opium; representing a single-year increase of 63 percent in area cultivation and 88 percent increase in production.[17] These are the most recent and most accurate reporting given to the president of the US to assess the international narcotics strategy and review aid funding for developing nations drug enforcement agencies. The goal of this report does not include a review of historical causations, it is meant for assessing recent strategy progress and potential reevaluation.

The aggregated development of the opium industry growth in Afghanistan encompasses the complex character of opium production output surges. Beginning at pre-US invasion of Afghanistan in the 1999-2000 season gross opium cultivation was approximately 82,172 hectares under Taliban government rule; in July 2000 of that season, the Taliban implemented an opium ban and began rigorous eradication of the opium industry.[18] In the following season, 2000-2001 opium season gross cultivation was down 7,598 hectares under Taliban enforcement. In the next season, 2001-2002, the tragedy of 9/11 caused a US invasion, fall of the Taliban, and created a power vacuum; cultivation for that season revived to 73,905 hectares.[19] About 12 years into the US war in Afghanistan gross opium cultivation for the 2012-2013 season had increased to approximately 216,731 hectares.[20] And as previously stated, cultivation levels for the 2017-2018 season was estimated at 328,304 hectares, in spite of eradication and counter-narcotics operations have increased.[21] The Taliban ban on opium cultivation in July 2000 generated some of the most intense and instantaneous results in Afghanistan's recent history.

The same Taliban that implemented and executed a flawless opium eradication program became the greatest promoter of opium production in the region. Taliban have embraced the opium industry on the merit of religious authority, claiming that it is permissible, or halal, because it is being sold to non-believers, or karifs; therefore the cultivation, production, and trafficking is considered "an act of war" against the West.[22] The Taliban are no longer an organized and unified group, since the US invasion in 2001 the Taliban has become fragmented. However, they continue to follow a unified agenda due to their shared religiosity, their argument for promoting opium, "the weapon of drugs does not make a noise. The victim does not bleed and leaves no trace of the killer",[23] a powerful and deeply insightful glimpse into a shared Taliban ideology.

Afghan society has suffered the brute of devastation, according to a 2015 US-supported Afghanistan National Drug Use Survey Afghanistan has the highest documented drug use by women and children worldwide, approximately 30.6 percent

17. "International Narcotics Control Strategy Report: Volume I: Drug and Chemical Control." International Narcotics Control Strategy Report: Volume I: Drug and Chemical Control.(p. COV-73) 1 (2018): International Narcotics Control Strategy Report, March 1, 2018, Vol.1.

18. A. E. Appendixes."Reducing the Cultivation of Opium Poppies in Southern Afghanistan." (2015).

19. A. E. Appendixes."Reducing the Cultivation of Opium Poppies in Southern Afghanistan." (2015).

20. A. E. Appendixes. "Reducing the Cultivation of Opium Poppies in Southern Afghanistan." (2015).

21. "International Narcotics Control Strategy Report: Volume I: Drug and Chemical Control." International Narcotics Control Strategy Report: Volume I: Drug and Chemical Control.(p. COV-73) 1 (2018): International Narcotics Control Strategy Report, March 1, 2018, Vol.1.

22. Farhana Schmidt. 2010. "From Islamic Warriors to Drug Lords: The Evolution of the Taliban Insurgency." Mediterranean Quarterly 21 (2): 61–1. doi:10.1215/10474552-2010-005.

23. Farhana Schmidt. 2010. "From Islamic Warriors to Drug Lords: The Evolution of the Taliban Insurgency." Mediterranean Quarterly 21 (2): 61–1. doi:10.1215/10474552-2010-005.

of rural Afghan households tested positive a form of illicit drug use.[24] A survey conducted by the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan Ministry of Counter Narcotics estimated that in 2005 there were 920,000 drug users nationwide; about 150,000 using opium and 50,000 using heroin, by 2009 opium use increased by 53 percent to 230,000 users and heroin use increased by 140 percent to 120,000 users nationwide.[25] The continuous warfare has led to major unemployment and poverty, Afghan opium and heroin users are growing at a similar rate to Afghanistan's opium industry.

Afghan government agencies at every level suffer from corruption, the cause for this internal strife goes beyond politics or even monetary gains and losses:

> *Ethnicity and tribalism are often held responsible for Afghan disunity. Indeed, practically all of the conflicting parties and groups, including the Taliban, show a certain emphasis on one or another ethnic group. Although the national unity of Afghanistan is on the agenda of all these groups, ethnic arguments are increasingly deployed in political agitation and there is a visible tendency towards ethnicization of the conflict.[26]*

Much of Afghanistan's history is based on these ethnic and tribal conflicts. Although it is seen as a curse, being the most prominent reason Afghanistan may never be capable of organizing as a unified nation of people, there is also a less understood benefit. Since the Afghan people are inherently conflictual on tribal and ethnic lines, there is no possibility of a foreign occupation. A characteristic Afghan's take a large, yet quiet, pride in. Constant war and conflict between tribal or ethnic groups is the natural environment Afghan have grown accustomed to throughout history; it is their societal equilibrium. And when a foreign invader attempts to occupy Afghanistan the equilibrium becomes unbalanced and instead of Afghan quarreling with one another, Afghans turn their attention towards the foreigner. Only that common distrust of foreign manipulators, Afghans halt internal feuds and unify on the pretext of going to war together; and after the war is over they resume their natural internal feuds.

Although governmental corruption for the purposes of acquiring opium profits cannot be empirically distinguished from ethnic or tribal rivalries, it is apparent. Corruption in Afghanistan's is so large it's almost impossible to accurately measure:

> *Farmers routinely bribe police and counter–narcotics eradication personnel to turn a blind eye. Law enforcement personnel are also paid off by drug traffickers to ignore or, in some cases, protect their movements. Afghan government officials are now believed to be involved in at least 70 percent of opium trafficking, and experts estimate that at least 13 former or present provincial governors are directly involved in the drug trade.[27]*

24. "International Narcotics Control Strategy Report: Volume I: Drug and Chemical Control." International Narcotics Control Strategy Report: Volume I:Drug and Chemical Control.(p. COV-73) 1 (2018): International Narcotics Control Strategy Report, March 1, 2018, Vol.1.

25. ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF AFGHANISTAN MINISTRY OF COUNTER NARCOTICS (MCN), "Reasons and Impact of Drug Consumption in Kabul Province and Response to the Problem," (n.d.), xx, https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and-analysis/aotp.html.

26. Bernt Glatzer."Is Afghanistan on the brink of ethnic and tribal disintegration?." Fundamentalism reborn (1998): 167-181.

27. John A. Glaze. Opium and Afghanistan: Reassessing US counternarcotics strategy. ARMY WAR COLL STRATEGIC STUDIES INST CARLISLE BARRACKS PA, 2007.

At every level of the government and in every segment of the military, corruption is so rampant it's almost a natural characteristic of Afghan institutions. Although this level can be understood as a repercussion to historical conflicts between ethnic and tribal associations, the goal to end rampant corruption is not impossible. Afghanistan may be a historically conflictual nation, but it has had periods of stability; for example, under Daud Khan's administration. These periods may not have been long-lived, but they have been accomplished.

The United States military objectives and strategy has evolved dramatically over the course of the war. Narrowing and shrinking the list of objectives to a comical point, 'somehow deny a possible terrorist threat to US soil and get out of Afghanistan'; with the former having priority over the latter. Although objectives have shrunk and strategy has become simplified the main purpose of America's 2001 invasion, to defend US sovereignty and eliminate all potential threats of terrorism in the nation. During President Obama's Administration, many specific promises were made but few kept, especially after the death of Osama bin Laden in 2011; withdraw American fighting forces in 2014, stabilize Afghanistan, defeat Taliban and al-Qaeda terrorist groups, and most of all prepare the Afghan government to continue counterterrorism missions and become self-reliant.[28] Nation-building was no longer a realistic goal, there were too many uncontrollable obstacles. President Obama's plan to surge Afghanistan with over 100,000 US troops with the mission of counterinsurgency and nation-building but after achieving minimal success the administration understood that the war was technically unwinnable, so he declared success and focused on improving the Afghan National Security Force (ANSF).[29] After withdrawing nearly all US troops, Obama launched Operation Freedom's Sentinel due to the dysfunction of the Afghan government and military:

> Afghanistan's political system was permeated by an endemic state of corruption at all levels of government. The ANSF suffered from a host of problems: attrition, drug abuse, desertion, illiteracy, poor recordkeeping, lack of management and logistical skills, poor intelligence, shortage of top-level leaders, less-than-optimal cooperation between police and the military, and significant levels of terrorist infiltration and ethnic strife between Pashtuns and other competing groups.[30]

Currently the situation is stagnant,and the objectives are even more narrow; to somehow establish a reliable Afghan government capable of maintaining stability and security against terrorism. Until then, the US will have no choice but to continue providing substantial support; training, advising, funding, the Afghan government and fighting terrorist groups alongside the Afghan military.

Furthermore, the current International Narcotics Control Strategy Report (INCSR) was published in March 2018, evaluating Afghanistan's drug industry, clarifying the US-Afghan drug control policy, and creating an image of Afghan government

28. Leonard Cutler. "President Barack Obama's Counterterrorism Strategy and Legacy: The Case of Afghanistan." PS: Political Science & Politics50, no. 1 (2017): 59-64.

29. Leonard Cutler. "President Barack Obama's Counterterrorism Strategy and Legacy: The Case of Afghanistan." PS: Political Science & Politics50, no. 1 (2017): 59-64.

30. LeonardCutler. "President Barack Obama's Counterterrorism Strategy and Legacy: The Case of Afghanistan." PS: Political Science & Politics 50, no. 1 (2017): 59-64.

capabilities. Many of the statements made in the report about Afghanistan are true and there are also multiple statements that contradict those truths:

> As a policy matter, the Government of Afghanistan does not encourage or facilitate illicit drug production or distribution, nor is it involved in laundering illicit proceeds.[31]

Although this statement specifies that the Afghan government is not involved in the illicit drug trade "As a policy matter", there are multiple instances in which it does. Many instances of top officials in the Afghan government, whose job it is to create policy, have been deeply involved in and directly benefited from facilitating illicit drug trading:

> However, widespread, longstanding, and credible allegations and media reporting suggest that many government officials directly engage in and benefit from the drug trade. Corrupt practices range from facilitating drug activities to benefiting from drug trade revenue streams to thwarting arrests and prosecutions.[32]

Clearly stating that these allegations are "credible". Examples of this can be seen even at the executive branch of the former President Hamid Karzai, his half-brother Ahmed Wali Karzai was a leader in drug trafficking who paid off top police officials approximately $40,000 per month; meanwhile, US intelligence knew about since 2005.[33] Ahmed Karzai died in 2011.[34] From this example, and the many more not discussed, we can formulate the perspective US takes on Afghanistan's opium industry. In terms of US foreign policy priorities, Afghanistan's opium crisis is unimportant to US military objectives.

It needs to be understood that counterinsurgency and counterterrorism missions are unwinnable. The only possible method capable of defeating and permanently eliminating terrorist-insurgency groups is by denying their main resources (opium), enforcing honest political leadership, and avoiding situations harmful to US reputation while damaging the reputation of terrorist groups. Currently the US is doing none of those. US international drug policy is incoherent. Applying neorealist methods by creating an international coalition and enforcing Afghanistan's government to adhere to policies which they do not believe in, nor willing to practice. Implementing realist methods, the first being "source-country programs," which have been proven ineffective due to lack of political reliability and cost-inefficiency. The second realist method, drug education to lower demand, this is the only legitimate tactic implemented by US drug policy that proven to lower national drug consumption. Lastly a very hypocritical and backward version of liberal pluralism, in which the US enforced the Afghan government to adopt US drug policies but does not bother enforcing those policies because the US does not want to impose itself into the delicate cultural interactions

31. "International Narcotics Control Strategy Report: Volume I: Drug and Chemical Control." International Narcotics Control Strategy Report: Volume I: Drug and Chemical Control.(p. COV-73) 1 (2018): International Narcotics Control Strategy Report, March 1, 2018, Vol.1.

32. "International Narcotics Control Strategy Report: Volume I: Drug and Chemical Control." International Narcotics Control Strategy Report: Volume I: Drug and Chemical Control.(p. COV-73) 1 (2018): International Narcotics Control Strategy Report, March 1, 2018, Vol.1.

33. Farhana Schmidt. "From Islamic Warriors to Drug Lords: The Evolution of the Taliban Insurgency." Mediterranean Quarterly 21, no. 2 (2010): 61-77. https://muse.jhu.edu/ (accessed December 10, 2018).

34. Moisés Naím. "Mafia States: Organized Crime Takes Office." Foreign Affairs 91, no. 3 (2012): 100.

within Afghan government and society; in reality, the US is overly focused on trying to eliminate terrorist groups directly and train the Afghan army. Either US policymakers feel that the US war in Afghanistan is unimportant or there is a significant lack of specialized policy development for Afghanistan.

CONCLUSION

The only way US military objectives in Afghanistan can be accomplished and the US will be allowed to exit the nation without fear of a terrorist resurgence is by rehabilitating Afghan society at the most fundamental critical level, opium. The US must understand that the people of Afghanistan do not hold allegiance to any nation, government or terrorist group; the people of Afghanistan hold allegiance to their own individual intuition. In the current environment, the Afghan people hold no obligation to align with the Taliban. The reason Afghan people align with the Taliban is simple, US policy objectives are shallow and unrelatable. The Taliban win by default, even though, they are promoting the cultivation, production, and trafficking of opium; they claim it's for a holy war. It makes sense to the average Afghan individual that, although the negative consequences of their actions dramatically outweigh the benefit, at least the Taliban are fighting for a sort of defense of Afghanistan and holy war. Their only other choice is America and there is absolutely zero benefit in supporting an invading nation that plans on leaving after it is done killing all the bad guys in your homeland; unless you're working in the government.

If the US wants to create a stable and secure Afghanistan at all levels of government and society,then it must defeat focus on portraying positive goals that undermine Taliban reputation. If the US military objectives prioritize the elimination of all poppy cultivation, production, and trafficking, then a number of things will happen. The Afghan people will have no choice but to understand and appreciate the US military. All Taliban and Taliban-affiliated individuals will rise to defend their product and once the elimination of poppy is done,all Taliban funding will be dependent on foreign donations. The added corruption on government by the opium industry will decline and eventually a chance for legitimate governance will be possible. Society will regain a large portion of its employable workforce, and the Afghan military can finally become reliable once substance abuse and opium bribery diminishes.

The US military is the most powerful and advanced military in modern history, but Afghanistan has been the 'graveyard of empires' for many centuries. US policymakers need to remember that their objective is to eliminate future threats and withdraw from Afghanistan. The Afghan people have no fear of a foreign threat, no objectives, and nowhere to go; going to war has become their way of life and if the US doesn't find a plan to withdraw in the near future, then they might never get out.

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Narrative Analysis of Aung San Suu Kyi's Role in Relation to the Changing Politics of Myanmar

FLORENCE CARROLL

ABSTRACT

Prominent leader and Nobel Peace Prize recipient Aung San Suu Kyi has remained a prominent figure in Burmese politics throughout political strife. In a short span of time the country of Burma was riddled with conflict, plagued with political unrest, Burma became Myanmar, transitioning through regimes, martial law, and accusations of ethnic cleansing. This paper explores the narrative created by Aung San Suu Kyi through a content analysis of speeches, books and interviews over a 30 year period. Exploring the themes and patterns of Kyi's messages alongside the historical context of unstable Burma, this analysis finds a significant lack of adaptation to extreme change. The analysis revealed that discrepancies come not from changes in the messages themselves, which remained constant in adherence to the ideas of unity and democracy, but in the lack of change despite new developments.

INTRODUCTION

What role has Aung San Suu Kyi's participation in Burmese politics had in the overall national narrative of Burma as it transitioned to Myanmar? Aung San Suu Kyi won a Nobel Peace Prize for being a proponent of peaceful change and is now being accused of turning her back on a genocide. I want to explore her relationship with governmental processes and how her narrative, throughout developments in the Burmese government, has changed and influenced national narrative and parties' overtime. I will use a timeline from 1988, when Aung San Suu Kyi was placed under house arrest in Burma, to her speech at World Economic Forum's meeting at the National Convention Center, Sept. 13, 2018, in Hanoi, Vietnam. I will juxtapose her messages with the foreign policies being made at the time to see how the two compare.

In this paper, the transition of Burma to Myanmar juxtaposes political change with the role of a prominent leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, and her rhetoric being used to inspire and motivate the people. I use a timeline of events to highlight how the country has settled, to identify the role played by Aung San Suu Kyi as her narrative has developed, and how that narrative assisted or helped shape outcomes of the national narrative. I am using narrative analysis to follow the leader Aung San Suu Kyi and analyzing her communications and decision making from the 1962 military takeover to her current action in government. The data that I have reviewed includes translated transcripts of her speeches, radio appearances and interviews, which I have assembled to convey how her influence and stance on issues have changed over time to form a narrative. My goal is to align her rhetoric with the perception and review of her messages from the audiences she is delivering, to the context of the events that occur during the time she is delivering her messages.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Analyzing how narratives are created to adjust perception and align beliefs can break down how these narratives are employed by countries to activate certain perceptions and to drive change. There are three types of strategic narratives: system narratives which are about the nature of the structure of international affairs; identity narratives which are about the identities of actors in international affairs that are in a process of constant negotiation and contestation"; and issue narratives which are "strategic in the sense of seeking to shape the terrain on which policy discussions take place.[1] Of these three categories of narratives, I will be applying the 'identity narrative' to Aung San Suu Kyi as an important political actor that uses her position to incite change. Using the idea of 'issue narratives' helps frame the political actions of the Burmese government throughout many changes of power and leadership.

To take Noort's identity narrative one step further, I want to pair it with the idea of heroism that comes into play in the work of Lynsey Mitchell. Constructions of a 'Heroic Narrative' allow for justification and attraction of public support for certain characters and polices. Heroic narratives have an element of danger to them in the way that they can misconstrue opinion and lack contestation.[2] Narratives that are constructed to idolize figures often create misconstructions of a figure's message; messages that are framed to gain approval and support often highlight aspects that gather favorable opinion and shadow the less favorable side of decisions or policies. Constructions of heroism are an important factor when looking into narratives of a country as well as perceptions of the players within the government who shape the narratives, because these factors all play a part in how narratives are perceived. In the case I will be looking at, Aung San Suu Kyi's role in the government of Myanmar was marked as heroism for peaceful protest and national pride. The people of Burma rallied behind her, placing her on a pedestal as a beacon of hope for the country in light of a military takeover. In the time period I look through, Aung San Suu Kyi is a character that has taken on a 'Heroic Narrative' acting as a voice of the people and a personification of resistance that upholds the identity of the nation.

National identity is a major factor when considering a country's handling of inner political turmoil. When a country is facing a political divide, the identity of the nation faces a divide as well. People choose to identify with the leaders or characters that reflect their view of national identity and support them as a way of supporting their beliefs. When there is political strife in a country that divides the people, external forces are minor players in the contestation of national identity. The relationship between the national 'self' and the foreign 'other' is a distinctive social-cultural environment. As moral justifications are linked to how a regime legitimizes itself, it is important for the narrative of a nation to create and support national identity..[3] The legitimization of these regimes can add to the division of the people, where they may pick sides or certain actors to stand behind that reflect their views and align with their constructions of national identity. These narratives are used to illustrate how affiliations are put into play to provide security for the people and give them faith in their constructions of national identity.

1. Carolijin Van Noort, (2017). Study of Strategic Narratives: The Case of BRICS. Politics and Governance, 5(3), 121-129

2. Lynsey Mitchell. "Monsters, Heroes, Martyrs and Their Storytellers: The Enduring Attraction of Culturally Embedded Narratives in the 'War on Terror.'" Liverpool Law Review 35, no. 1 (2014): 83–101. doi:10.1007/s10991-013-9146-8.

3. Liao Ning. "The Enabling and Constraining Effects of Strategic Narratives: Nationalist Discourse and China's Foreign Relations." Fudan Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences 6, no. 2(2013): 23–55

The idea of a personal type of security found in national identity is an important aspect in the cognitive construction of approval, or disapproval, of a nation's people. Narratives are selectively activated to provide a cognitive bridge between policy change that resolves the physical security challenge, while also preserving state ontological security through offering autobiographical continuity, a sense of routine, familiarity, and calm.[4] This selective activation allows for a state to be more fluid in its narrative constructions. This outlook is helpful for my analysis because it works to explain how, through all the change in powers, leaders, law and policy, Myanmar adapted and persevered through adversity. Looking at a 'less static' construction of state narrative allows for a broader understanding of how government and people react and respond to change.

Inspecting change in policy after a forced military takeover would naturally show a disturbance in the usual schematic justifications for policy change. But using this lens to inspect the narratives activated by the military government during the takeover, much of the narratives used fit well into Subotic's idea of actively selected narratives to address a physical security challenge. However, in my case, the physical security threat was also internal. Much of the narrative activated by the military takeover was focused on the protection of the citizens and their security. During the period of high anxiety, political actors do not create new narratives from scratch, nor do they significantly rewrite the existing ones. Instead, they use the wealth of multiple narrative tropes that exist in dominant state narratives to activate some elements of the narrative and deactivate others.[5] Though the decision was not voted upon, the narratives stayed strategically about citizen protections and maintaining national identity instead of solely violent and oppressive rhetoric, regardless of the actual actions taking place.

METHODOLOGY

I am using narrative analysis to follow the leader Aung San Suu Kyi and look at her communications and government involvement from the 1962 military takeover to her current action in government. This analysis will inspect how Aung San Suu Kyi's identity narrative took over a heroic narrative that transformed over time using her works and the perception of them.

The timeline begins when the government was taken over by martial law. The data I am using is a collection of public speeches and interviews given by Aung San Suu Kyi. I am using six transcripts to find any themes or inconsistencies in her rhetoric over the 30-year span. The six transcripts I am using are; "Speech to a Mass Rally at the Shwedagon Pagoda," Freedom from fear: And other writings Part 2, 'The Struggle,' 2010 Nobel Peace Prize lecture, 2013 BBC interview on Muslim attacks, Myanmar: Aung San Suu Kyi's first national speech on Rohingya crisis, World Economics' Forum's meeting at the National Convention center. These six works include four public speeches, two personal interviews and an excerpt from her book. Juxtaposed with these works of Aung San Suu Kyi I look at what is happening with the government in Myanmar/Burma and how the people respond by looking for records of public opinion. To see the public opinion of the Burmese I take election outcomes that were reported as well as reviews of her work and commentary on her interviews and speeches. The analysis is a qualitative inspection of ideas and themes presented in Aung San Suu Kyi's rhetoric over a 30-year period of Myanmar's fluctuating government and look at its effect and see if her words achieved what was intended with the intended audience.

4. Jelena Subotic. (2015) Narrative, Ontological Security, and Foreign Policy Change. Foreign Policy Analysis

5. Jelena Subotic. (2015) Narrative, Ontological Security, and Foreign Policy Change. Foreign Policy Analysis

CASE STUDY

I used six samples of Aung San Suu Kyi's speech and written world to inspect the nature of her message and if there were any major consistencies or inconstancies within her words over the 30-year period. Using Aung San Suu Kyi's public addresses in writing, interview and speech samples, I look at what her message is saying in the context of the historical background and then monitor how her messages are received by the audience through reviews and critique articles. "Speech to Mass Rally at the Shedwagon Pagoda" was a speech given by Aung San Suu Kyi in 1988 to a large rally of students. The rally was addressing a slow but steady path into a military dictatorship, students had gathered to protest many violations of human rights that were happening around the country. Aung San Suu Kyi is the daughter of a former 'nationalist hero,' Aung Sang and uses her standing as his daughter as a platform to enter into politics against the quickly increasing military presence. The audience for this speech was the students who had already been protesting and setting up rallies against government brutality. Aung San Suu Kyi addresses the students in her speech directly, speaking of the sacrifice made by students who have died in protests and holding a minute of silence in their honor.
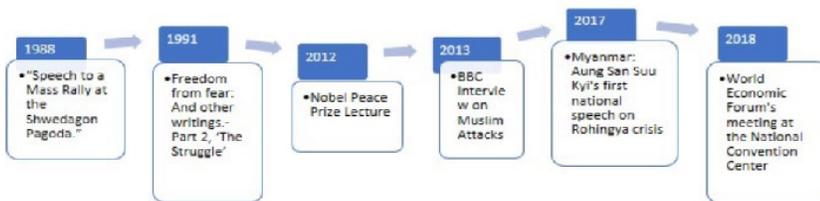
In this first speech, she is setting up a clear political platform on the heels of her late father, "I believe that all the people who have assembled here have without exception come with the unshakeable desire to strive for and win a multi-party democratic system. In order to arrive at this objective, all the people should march unitedly in a disciplined manner towards the goal of democracy.[6] She goes on to announce her entrance into Burmese politics and discusses the importance of unity and freedom that comes with a democratic state. She calls for the army to be a force that the people can trust and respect as a pillar of the country, calling for the students who had been butting heads with the military to not 'lose their affection for the army,' and circles back to the importance of unity as a whole. A multi-party system is mentioned continuously throughout her speech, saying that the nation is unified in its desire for democracy. She speaks about the need for peace between those who do not agree and addresses that principles must be upheld to ensure peace.

In a Harvard profile of Myanmar, the most prominently practiced religion is Buddhism, making up around 90% of the population.[7] When Aung San Suu Kyi speaks of overarching principles, it is safe to assume she is bringing in principles of Buddhist teachings with which the vast majority of the audience is familiar. One year

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6. Aung San Suu Kyi (n.d.). Women in World History, "Speech to a Mass Rally at the Shwedagon Pagoda." Retrieved from http://chnm.gmu.edu/wwh/p/119.html

7. Diane Moore (Ed.). (2017, October 1). Country Profile: Myanmar. Retrieved from https://rlp.hds.harvard.edu/files/hds-rlp/files/country_profile_-myanmar.pdfReligious Literacy Project

after this speech was given, Aung San Suu Kyi was placed under house arrest in Burma, given a referendum to leave the country forever (to go back to England and be with her husband), or to remain in the country on house arrest. Aung San Suu Kyi studied in England and lived there most of her life, she was criticized by many for her entrance into Burmese politics when she was considered a person who left the country. This is part of why Aung San Suu Kyi's decision to stay in Burma under the conditions of house arrest proved to resonate deeply with the people of Burma. Her sacrifice became an even greater feat when her husband, Michael Aris was diagnosed with cancer and she was unable to visit him before he passed away in 1999.

Aung San Suu Kyi chose to be placed on house arrest in 1991 instead of fleeing the country, and from house arrest she released her book, "Freedom from fear: And other writings," that was edited by her husband. This book is a collection of essays, speeches, letters, and interviews from Aung San Suu Kyi about her hopes and fight for democracy in Burma. For this case study I chose a smaller section of the book, Part 2, 'The Struggle', to analyze. In the second section of her book she goes into the nations 'Quest for Democracy,' talking about how it would be a brand-new phenomenon for the Burmese people, but how it was needed to help combat human rights abuses and guarantee freedoms. In her book she brings more of the Buddhist ideology to back up her claims, again catering to the majority of Burmese people who practice Buddhism. Democracy is continuously introduced as an answer to the call of Buddha to abandon unwholesome practices and respect the human rights of others. In her speech to her students as well as in her book, she speaks of the corruption and manipulation of the people at the hand of the government and proposes a multi-party democratic system to combat this.

Later in the second part of the book she discusses the power of fear and how it contributes to corruption. Kyi talks of fear as a constraint to justice and breaking away from fear to gain true freedom, then relates it back to religion stating, "Without a spiritual revolution, the forces which produced the iniquities will remain. Consequently, it is insufficient to call for 'freedom, democracy and human rights. People must be united in their determination to make sacrifices 'in the name of enduring truths, to resist the corrupting influences of desire, ill will, ignorance and fear.'[8]

Regarding audience reception, the people of Burma showed their support for these ideas through their vote. Aung San Suu Kyi as part of the NLD, National League for Democracy, helped gain a large victory for the NLD in the 1991 elections. The people of Burma voted overwhelmingly for the NLD to take power in Burma, showing that Aung San Suu Kyi's messages were not only getting across, but that they were a message that people wanted to rally behind. The election results were suppressed by the military and the NLD was unable to take power, the military refused to give the leadership position over and tried to frame the elections as a simple reform exercise.[9] Though the election results were not upheld, they speak volumes about the effectiveness of Aung San Suu Kyi's message and the positive reception they received from the people of Burma. In the same year, 1991, Aung San Suu Kyi was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for her commitment to non-violent peace, still under house arrest, she was unable to attend the ceremony.

8. Aung San Suu Kyi, S., & Michael Aris, (2010). Freedom from fear: And other writings. London: Penguin Books

9. Diane Moore,. (Ed.). (2017, October 1). Country Profile: Myanmar. Retrieved from https://rlp.hds.harvard.edu/files/hds-rlp/files/country_profile_-myanmar.pdfReligious Literacy Project

It was not until 2012 that Aung San Suu Kyi gave her Nobel Peace Prize lecture in Oslo, Norway. In her lecture she speaks first about her time under house arrest and the toll that it took on her, while remaining very humble about receiving the prize. She is consistent with her message of a democratic Burma being the path to freedom. She talks about how her prize drew necessary attention to Burma that it needed to make changes and not be forgotten. Kyi spoke of humanity and the need for unity among all humans, to take care of each other and create peace instead of destruction, bringing in Lord Buddha. Kyi speaks of how faith got her through times of suffering when she was under house arrest and returns to the goal of a democracy that will ensure that human rights are respected. She is very clear about her view and the link between democracy and human rights, 'If I am asked why I am fighting for democracy in Burma, it is because I believe that democratic institutions and practices are necessary for the guarantee of human rights.'[10]

In her Nobel Prize speech, she talks about the progress that has been made and how that democratic progress has come about through ceasefires and a call for unity. At this point in time Aung San Suu Kyi had risen to the top of the NLD, though she remains lawfully barred from the presidency. The people of Burma continued to support her and her message through their voting, keeping the NLD in power and continuing to place the heroic narrative on her as an actor that represents national identity and values. The votes of people within Burma, however, are not reflective of all of the people living there. The same year that this lecture was given, Burma was experiencing acts of religious violence resulting in civilian casualties. Violent acts had killed 200 people and left 150,000 homeless in Rakhine, a prominently Rohingya population. Many Rohingya have been fleeing to places like Malaysia, 112,000 over a three-year span. (Hunt, 2017) As far as measuring opinions and perceptions of Aung San Suu Kyi's leadership and messages through votes, it is worth mentioning that 1.2 million Rohingya people have been stripped of voting rights and are unable to participate. Due to historical events being told by the government in power, it is difficult to find writing or output of opposing opinions when groups are being oppressed.

In 2013 the increasing death count from religious violence in Burma received international attention, Aung San Suu Kyi sat down with BBC to discuss the growing number of Muslim attacks for the first time since the news of injustice had surfaced. The interview was an on-camera one-on-one discussion about ethnic violence. Aung San Suu Kyi spoke against the idea of the crisis as ethnic cleansing and brought up fear as a main component of the conflict. When asked to clarify what she meant when she was reluctant to call the crisis ethnic cleansing, Aung San Suu Kyi responded, 'Fear is not just on the side of the Muslims but the Buddhists as well.[11] The interview was five minutes long and covered only the crisis. The interviewer was asking pointed questions about the crisis and Aung San Suu Kyi's responses remained true to her rhetoric of previous years: democracy is important and human rights had been stunted by the dictatorship that was in power. Aung San Suu Kyi was firm in saying that she condemns any type of hate and that they are working within the laws to create a solution, though her response to the crisis seemed to belittle the conflict. She spoke of a Buddhist fear of Muslim global power as contributing to the actions of the Buddhist

10. Aung San Suu Kyi, (2012, June 16). The Nobel Peace Prize 1991. Retrieved from https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/1991/kyi/26193-aung-san-suu-kyi-nobel-lecture1991/

11. BBC News. (2018, September 03). Myanmar profile - Timeline. Retrieved from https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-12992883

Burmese against the Muslim Burmese population. In the case of this interview, it wasn't the Burmese people who reacted negatively but the international community. She was compared to Donald Trump in the interview for her reluctance to condemn the actions against Muslim people. Her once heroic narrative in the international sphere has become challenged by her unwavering support of the Buddhist population in Burma and her justification of their actions.

In 2017 Aung San Suu Kyi gave a public address to the crisis in the capital, Naypyidaw, Myanmar. The speech was the first public address of the crisis and she spoke at a podium to a room full of people, the overall message of her speech is that she 'condemns violence.' She spoke of the need to restore peace and unity among the people and stayed away from any specific examples or any blame being placed. The reporter covering her speech pointed out that she focused mainly on villages that were not attacked. Aung San Suu Kyi discussed a need to look at places where there are no problems. The Al Jazeera video offered feedback from the international community on what she had to say. Pointing out that her reluctance to place blame was deemed as 'textbook ethnic cleansing' by the United Nations. Though Aung San Suu Kyi still spoke of peace and human rights, public opinion in the international community had shifted dramatically since her receiving of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1991. While many diplomatic figures condemned her speech as complete neglect to address the problem, other diplomats, such as Russian ambassador to Myanmar, Nikolay Listopdov, said it was a good start toward addressing the issue.[12]

The last speech, in this case study, that Aung San Suu Kyi gave was in 2018, given at the World Economic Forum's meeting at the National Convention Center in Hanoi, Vietnam, in an interview platform style with an audience. Much of the discussion revolved around the economic potential for Myanmar and the need for development and entrepreneurship to come help the country thrive after a long period of political strife. In her interview, Kyi maintained her respect for the military and her unwavering support for the troops, though she did mention some discussion of changes to the constitution that better aligned with democratic views and values.[13] Aung San Suu Kyi won a landslide victory in 2015, by 2018 she occupied the highest position other than the president that was said to be created specifically for her. She spoke of the NLD and the value that they place on the law and that changing the law wasn't necessary for change, but that change could be mediated through negotiation. The Rakhine state was also brought up in this in this interview and the question was not directly answered, she spoke of how multiple states are now involved due to the migration and talked about reaching across borders to create a solution. She was also asked about her opinion on the military's handling of the crisis, and she responded, though the government only has 75% of power, we must accept 100% of the responsibility.[14]

She also spoke again about how all ethnic and religious groups need to have equal treatment, taking the attention away from the Rohingya and turning it toward smaller groups. She dismisses the Rohingya Muslims as a large group that the international

12. Scott Heidler, (2017, September 19). Myanmar: Aung San Suu Kyi's first national speech on Rohingya crisis. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eHV6_BQrKeA

13. Aung San Suu Kyi, (2018, September 12). A Conversation with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, State Counsellor of Myanmar. Retrieved from https://www.weforum.org/events/world-economic-forum-on-asean/sessions/a-conversation-with-daw-aung-san-suu-kyi-state-counsellor-of-myanmar

14. Aung San Suu Kyi, (2018, September 12). A Conversation with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, State Counsellor of Myanmar. Retrieved from https://www.weforum.org/events/world-economic-forum-on-asean/sessions/a-conversation-with-daw-aung-san-suu-kyi-state-counsellor-of-myanmar

sphere is heavily focused on and points to smaller groups as being neglected and positive strides not being counted. When talking about future elections, Kyi focused on the goal of peace and prosperity and the need for more education in Myanmar. The interview is 30 minutes long and involves many different lines of question from the political crises to their membership with ASEAN where Aung San Suu Kyi stayed consistent with her rhetoric of democracy and the need for peaceful relations.

ANALYSIS

Aung San Suu Kyi's narrative remains consistent throughout speeches and interviews on the points of democracy, human rights, Buddhist teachings and fear as a basis of corruption. Throughout the period of 30 years, her rhetoric has been consistent regarding respect for the military, the will of the people and their cry for a multi-party democratic system and human rights. Though her messages are consistent, her speeches and writing did not adapt to account for changing situations. Her narrative has continued to remain the same throughout changes in historical context despite Myanmar having drastically changed over a 30 year period. The Rohingya crisis conflicts with Aung San Suu Kyi's rhetoric around human rights and equal treatment. Though she has come to acknowledge that there is an issue, her message does not change to address the severity of the hate crimes, nor does she condemn the side that has been condemned in the international community as responsible for the violence.

Conflict in Myanmar's government has involved changes in the narrative around the place of religion in government, whether it has a place and how heavily it should be implemented. The country has made great efforts to improve its image and settle the rifts between ethnic and religious minorities. Much of the war and strife in Myanmar has involved ethnic minorities rebelling for rights and freedoms. Many groups in Myanmar succeeded with peace accords, but not the 1.2 million Rohingya people who were stripped of voting rights and not acknowledged by the state. Much of the public opinion was shown through election outcomes, which showed resounding positivity for Aung San Suu Kyi's messages through consistent landslide victories of the NLD party. This positive outlook is not reflective of the people deprived of the right to vote, and the people who are not given this right are also the people who have been targeted.

The largest shift of public opinion was shown not internally, but globally over the period of 30 years. Aung San Suu Kyi was successful in creating a very consistent identity narrative for herself that encompassed pillars of Buddhism, focused greatly on peace and prosperity, and highlighted the importance of human rights. At the beginning of the timeline, we see that international acceptance was given to Aung San Suu Kyi when she was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for her efforts towards a democratic system and she was idolized worldwide as the 'iron orchid,' Mother Suu, and 'The Lady.'[15] Marked as a hero for her efforts to peacefully bring Myanmar into a democratic peace, she was idolized as a savior of her people.

Public perception in the international community began to change when refugees began trying to escape Myanmar due to religious persecution that was being ignored by the state. When Aung San Suu Kyi left these human rights violations unchecked, the international community began to question her rhetoric about the rights of every human. Aung San Suu Kyi practices Buddhism like the vast majority of her people and uses many of the Buddhist teachings in her speeches and her justifications for human rights and the need for peace. There is a bit of cognitive dissonance occurring between

15. Salt. (2016, March 07). #1 Aung San Suu Kyi. Retrieved from https://www.wearesalt.org/1-aung-san-suu-kyi-2/

her rhetoric of equal treatment and human rights for all and her turning a blind eye to citizens who are Buddhists that commit violence in the name of religion.

CONCLUSION

Aung San Suu Kyi's narrative has played a role in Burmese politics through providing a consistent narrative that people could rally behind, though as time passed, her consistent rhetoric failed to adapt to new situations and address conflicts. Her core principles stress the importance of human rights and a need for democracy that has helped create the politics of Myanmar into the government we see today, though her consistent message was found to be geared towards the majority population of Buddhist Burmese citizens than the entirety of the people within the country. Her consistency in rhetoric did not create a consistent public opinion. While she remained highly voted for and admired, her reputation globally has severely diminished. One of the starkest examples of a change in international opinion of Aung San Suu Kyi was the revocations of her honorary Canadian citizenship. The honor had been given to her in 2007 as a badge of honor for her peaceful protest to gain democracy. In October 2018 the Canadian Senate voted to revoke her honorary citizenship, the first time in history that it had ever been done.[16]

As a country, the narrative of Myanmar has fluctuated with many changes of leadership from socialism, to martial law, to an attempt at a democracy. Myanmar has had many modifications in government and leaders, but each worked to frame the narrative of the country as protecting and unifying their people, despite actions that were not consistent with the narrative that they put out. As an influential leader, Aung San Suu Kyi impacted the narrative of the county through a consistent rhetoric that created a clear narrative that was based around goals of democracy, peace and prosperity. Myanmar has attempted to make unity part of their narrative but failed to act on this supposed objective with actions that betray their positive messaging. The country has been through many variations of political, ethnic and religious turmoil and has a long road ahead before it can achieve a democracy that protects the human rights of all people.

16. Kathleen Harris (2018, October 03). Aung San Suu Kyi officially stripped of honorary Canadian citizenship | CBC News. Retrieved from https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/suu-kyi-honorary-canadian-citizenship-1.4847568

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European Defense Lobbying and the European Military-Industrial Complex

GRIFFIN HATCHEL

ABSTRACT

Modern pressures on the European Union continue to influence its defense policies, but no pressure is more pronounced than that of Europe's Military-Industrial Complex. European politicians and members of the EU consider this spending to be very important in maintaining the continent's peace, promoting international development and aid. However, internal and external influences from the arms and defense industries continue to utilize the European Unions' framework to persuade policymakers for economic gains. Lobbying groups, think tanks, and elite entrepreneurs within Europe's arms and defense industries have a big hand in the construction and intellectualization of defense policies. This paper examines the impacts of the defense industry on European defense policy to understand the methods, aims, and interests of Europe's powerful Military-Industrial Complex.

INTRODUCTION

With accords like the 2007 Lisbon Treaty, the international community has witnessed a steady rise in policies and treaties under the European Union (EU) which establish a concrete aim for addressing issues of European security interest. The implementation of EU defense agreements and policies are constantly under scrutiny by its own EU members. Furthermore, EU defense actions receive international attention for the methods they conduct operations, implement protections and financially maintain defense and security. Through modern European political structures and agreements, political groups and public figures are able to construct and fund important military security policies with the help of external interest groups. Specifically, the influence of lobbying groups and think tanks can play a large and mysterious role in the construction of EU policies and European political systems.

Lobbying groups have existed since the 1800s in London, when interest groups would wait in the lobbies of the House of Commons in order to push their interests upon members of the British Parliament. In the 20th Century, modern interest groups began to develop strategic ways of influencing, based on lobbying techniques in the 1970's American political system. With having right-wing think tank groups as examples such as The Heritage Foundation and the CATO Institute. Think tanks are research-intensive groups that provide vast amounts of specific examinations of policies, strategies and economics, with forms of bias or political purpose. American lobbying methods started to influence the lobbying and think tank groups of Europe and their political influence on politics, through financial approaches to implement the change most beneficial to them.

Regardless of political orientation, think tanks and lobbying in Europe have an important part in the outcomes made by supranational bodies of the EU. Through political and financial investment, lobbyists and think tanks can entice EU politicians

to incorporate their objectives into European Affairs, without public knowledge. These European Affairs include the EU's defense and security, allowing a select few within positions of power to have a global impact.

Over the course of this paper, I will implement research and analysis of special interest groups in EU Affairs in order to answer, "How has lobbying within the European Union affected the ways in which defense policies are shaped and carried out?" This paper will start with an analysis of the present theoretical debates and writings in the Literature Review, followed by two case studies concerning examples of European lobbying and conclude with a reflection of the collective research and its application.

LITERATURE REVIEW

High influences in European politics, specifically through defense and security interests, have brought up different interpretations within the canons of International Relations theory. Within this section, I review scholarly interpretations of realism, liberalism globalism and post-imperialism literature. The discussion of European defense lobbying and its influence results in multifaceted viewpoints and emphases of International Relations and the topic of lobbying in EU politics.

First, much of the defense policy literature relates to the preventative nature of European policy. Realism theorists suggest the power analysis that dominates defense and security is used in preventative war interest of nations. This focus of prevention is implemented through policies targeted at issues regarded as dangerous in nature that underline conflicts and situations that are inevitable.[1] In preventative measures, realism would suggest that constructed defense policy is financed to protect the interests and power structures in Europe from outside and inside separatist forces.

Divergent from the realist theory, liberalism theory and its literary application would argue European defense spending is promoted in order to aid international cooperation efforts, and diminish intergovernmental conflicts. Preemptive measures are rarely explored within the IR literature I researched, but I notice similar influences surrounding defense and state actions aimed toward Liberalism. Theorists attribute liberalism to the foundations of conflict resolution carried out by government agencies and international organizations, like the EU. For this reason, the liberalist scholars argue that defense actions and interests of Europe as institutions reflect a political approach to create more cohesion than divide using defense and security spending.[2] Because there is not much research within the field of preemptive policies, I find this aspect of defense lobbying substantive in answering my question.

Regarding globalization theory, the main defense and security concepts recognized in the literature are the multilateral efforts in which policies are put into action. Globalization theorists discuss the importance that the integrated "Global Village" of politics has on creating links between most nations today, through common agreements and norms. The multilateralism of the "Global Village" includes the integration of

1. Jack Snyder, "Imperial Temptations." The National Interest, no.71 (2003): 30. www.jstor.org/stable/42895593; Daniel Deudney & John Ikenberry, "Realism, Liberalism and the Iraq War" Survival, Vol. 59 No.4 (2017): 7-26. doi:10.1080/00396338.2017.1349757; Scott Silverstone, "Preventive War and Preemption - International Relations," Oxford Bibliographies Online, (2011), www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199743292/obo-9780199743292-0053.xml

2. Bruce Buchan. "Explaining War and Peace: Kant and Liberal IR Theory." Alternatives: Social Transformation and Humane Governancel, vol. 27, no. 4 (2002): 407–428. https://doi.org/10.1177/030437540202700401; Dale C. Copeland, "Origins of Major War" Cornell University Press (2001):52; Craig, Campbell, "The hell of good intentions". Journal of Strategic Studies Vol. 42 No. 3-4: (2019): 557-565. https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390.2019.1575024.

communications and intergovernmental security frameworks, as NATO for example. The globalized security interests unite countries with common goals to maintain multilateral defense and security in geopolitics, including the share of security information between states in times of crisis and multinational security agreements.[3] I believe the efforts of globalism have produced many positive and negative effects to global security and should not be disassociated from international defense research.

Finally, Post-Imperialism theory looks at European security and defense policies as a way for European countries to maintain control and suppression of non-western nations. Aligned with the theory is the idea that western colonialism had a profound influence on other countries after their initial decolonization period, yet western countries maintain a large presence. In terms of European security and defense, European post-imperialism involves the ways in which Europe continue to maintain their interests and investments abroad with the use of policies to assure European countries citizens, and businesses that they can maintain their presence under the guise of security and defense policies.[4] While this argument is strong, the interaction between European countries and intergovernmental organizations also promote progressive forms of involvement, such as humanitarian or economic aid.

Within the literature, I have noticed varying topics that all entertain the same notions of benefits or disadvantages that the security and defense affairs have had on policy development and the theoretical approaches behind them. After assessing the literature, I am certain that all the theories views on the defense and security policies observe international political development's role has made adverse effects on European policy-making. I see it can be pinpointed to lobbyist groups within the EU and linked to various private interests I will explore in my case studies.

CASE STUDIES

Within the next section, I will utilize the literature and themes to examine European defense and security policies, and analyze the influences which have shaped modern European defense development. The following two cases focus on real-world applications of European defense lobbying, to understand why it is of notable importance. Through the examination of EU defense actions, the case studies will provide a comparison of how the impact of specialized interest lobbying groups contribute to policy-making of the EU.

Case Study 1: The European External Actions Service (EEAS) & the European defense industry
In June of 2016, the European Union's High Representative, Federica Mogherini, introduced the EU's next phase for its strategic interests, the Global Strategy (EUGS) for Foreign and Security Policy.[5] Under this strategy, the European External Action

3. Adam Svendsen, "Understanding the Globalization of Intelligence." Palgrave Macmillan, (2012). Doi: 10.1057/9781137283313; Mark Lowenthal, "Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy" Perspectives on Political Science. Vol 35 No. 2. (2006): 110; Björn Müller-Wille, "Intelligence and Democratic Accountability", European Security, Vol. 15, No. 4 (2006): 491-506. DOI: 10.1080/09662830701306128

4. Catherine Gegout, "Why Europe Intervenes in Africa: Security Prestige and the Legacy of Colonialism", Oxford University Press, Incorporated, (2018): DOI:10.1093/oso/9780190845162.001.0001; Matthew P Fitzpatrick, "Colonialism, Postcolonialism, and Decolonization." Central European History, Vol. 51, No. 1, (2018): 83–89; Jean-Dominique Giuliani and Arnaud Danjean. "European Issues and Interviews Defense: Europe's Awakening" Robert Schuman Foundation, (2018). www.robert-schuman.eu/en/european-issues/0474-defense-europe-s-awakening.

5. "A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy," EEAS Press Team. EEAS, June 2016, eeas. europa.eu/topics/eu-global-strategy/17304/global-strategy-european-unions-foreign-and-security-policy_en.

Services (EEAS) promotes strategic policies concerning global pressures and Member States. One action taken under the EEAS was the advancement of the EU's security and defense cooperation. This is clear by the way specific European Defense Policies have been shaped to align with one another in common defense goals. While it is important that this cooperation underlines basic strategic defense measures, it can also be a strategic move when the interests of defense and security industries have been able to shape these policies through their involvement in EIs. The recent defense measures that have been taken through the EEAS show concerning ties between defense industries' policy-making influences in the EU, and the benefits from enacted defense measures.

First examining the security and defense needs of Europe in 2015, the EU took action by putting together a research group made up of an interesting assortment of members. The European Commission (EC) appointed Elżbieta Bieńkowska as Commissioner, who oversaw the research assembly labeled the Group of Personalities on Defense Research.[6] Bieńkowska included 16 members in the Group of Personalities, 9 of whom represented major European military arms corporations and defense researchers, including representatives of Airbus, Finmeccanica or Leonardo, BAE Systems, and INDRA. The Group of Personalities was tasked to research and generate the key defense technologies needed to ensure Europe's long-term operational autonomy and stimulate the defense market with the integration of arms companies.[7] When the final report released in 2016, the Group of Personalities' defense industries made recommendations that would be taken to the EC for approval. Within months of its publication, the research draft of the 2017 EU Budget included robust defense policies and measures, such as the EC Defense Action Plan. The plan, Preparatory Action for research in Defense and launched of the European Defense Fund that would profit the Group's defense industry members. This specific aspect of the research in which EU defense and security action is put into action shows the clear influence of arms and defense industries has on current European defense initiatives, and how they economically benefit from their direct involvement.

Introduced in 2016 by the European Commission, the European Defense Fund (EDF) is one of the most important elements of the Security and Defense initiatives, and has one of the largest investments of all EU defense policies. The EDF produces financial incentives for Member States in order to foster defensive cooperation across Europe. EDF cooperation often includes budgetary action for Member States' research and/or development of defense and security competences, through the EU's co-financing. According to the EC, the EDF would allocate more than 40 billion euros to the research, development and procurement of weapons with 30 billion euros directly contributed from Member States.[8] The concerning issue with the EDF is its policies and their resemblances to proposals made by the European defense industry. Brum Vranken, a researcher in European Union policy influences, finds the Fund is aimed more towards an Industrial Incentive Fund[9] for major European arms multinationals.

6. "High-Level Group of Personalities on Defense Research Issues Statement," European Defense Agency, (2015), www.eda.europa.eu/info-hub/press-centre/latest-news/2015/06/18/high-level-group-of-personalities-on-defense-research-issues-statement.

7. Ibid.

8. "European Defense Fund and EU Defense Industrial Development Programme." European Commission, accessed April 17. 2019, ec.europa.eu/info/law/better-regulation/initiatives/com-2017-294_en.

9. "Securing Profits: How the Arms Lobby is Hijacking Europe's Defense Policy," Bram Vranken, Vredesactie, (2017), https://www.vredesactie.be/node/13967

In this way, the EDF unnecessarily creates a continuous case of supply and demand for Europe, which is funded by public money. By doing so, the EDF keeps the competitiveness of global arms and military industry going and continuous spending into the security and defense industries.

In 2018, the EEAS measures correlated with the introduction of the Permanent Structured Cooperation on security and defense (PESCO), outlined in the Lisbon Treaty Article 42(6) and 46. Following PESCO, 25 EU Member States have voluntarily agreed to enhance their development of defense capabilities, integrate and strengthen the EU framework of defense cooperation. The EU's goal through PESCO is to enhance the Union's impacts as an international forbearer of security for its citizens, and to increase its spending on defense. The Cooperation measures to increase military spending are favored by European leaders and politicians, but the funding of adopted and proposed projects has caused public upset.

While on the Council Level, Member States are able to make decisions, third party actors operate on the project's development level of PESCO. At this level, defense industries can participate with Member States on the Cooperation Agreement in order to structure policies to benefit their industries through the Council's adoption.[10] Agreeing Member States must also assure an increase of their progress when addressing defense and cooperation capabilities in order to achieve PESCO's initiative goals.[11] By assuring investments in shared defense projects, EU Member States have also reinforced projects and research is conducted on the bias of the arms industries, who work to increase spending and dependence on the cooperation policies.

With the goal of boosting the EEAS Policy's capabilities, the development of existing and future defense policies, investments, and bilateral strategies show a clear interest in European governments to advance defense actions. But, they also show the influence the European Military Industrial Complex has in regards to the EEAS's existence. From the Global Strategy for Security and Defense, EDF, and PESCO, the EU and the Member States have created mutually reinforcing tools to enhance defense capabilities. Moreover, these connected defense measures have created lucrative opportunities for arms and defense industries, who take part in the formulation of defense research and implementation, which created a dependent European defense agency that continues to fund billions into the European Military-Industrial Complex.

Case Study 2: European Parliament's relationship with defense companies
The term draining the swamp, a common phrase used by American politicians, concerns the action of cleaning up government agencies and limiting the power of special interest groups and lobbyists that cloud the policy-making in government. Within the European Union, measures have been put into place that prevent special interest groups and lobbyists from gaining too much power in European organizations, such as the Transparency Register (TR) introduced in 2011. Since the 90s, the European Union has had to face criticism over the transparency of its institutions and was demanded to have the accountability of the Union's policy-making process, eventually leading the European Parliament (EP) to set up the premier EU institutional TR in 1995. Enacted in 2008, the European Commissions' TR

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10. "Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) – Factsheet," EEAS Press Team, EEAS, (2019), eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-HoMEPage/34226/permanent-structured-cooperation-pesco-factsheet_en.

11. Ibid.

gave European citizens research capabilities to hold public figures and institutions accountable for their ties to lobbying groups.

According to the EP Research Service, when Parliament and the Commission merged their transparency registers into the joint instrument under the basis of the Inter-Institutional Agreement (IIA), the Register created a broader network of interconnected European politics.[12] But the EU Institutions still have a long way to go in order to solve the issues that lobbying groups still present today, as important EU institutions do not fully enable measures of transparency. Of the current lobbying and interest groups that have staked their claims in Brussels, the arms and defense industries have made their interests very apparent, spending millions and meetings with MEP's and other backroom policy-making discussions. Defense and security interest groups have forced their way into current European institutions, to systematically influence policies and discussions implemented by powerful representatives in governments, exacerbating the growing problem of the European Military-Industrial Complex.

An interesting trend, that often occurs, is the influx of industry experts who enter as Members of European Parliament (MEPs), after working for arms and defense groups as lobbyists. There is a necessity to have experts within Parliament to make knowledgeable decisions on key issues and strategies. But, it can be argued that experts who have entered into their positions also have biases to incorporate previous interests into European policy, to forge profits from these actions. For example, Karl von Wogau implements defense research and spending on his longstanding industry. Wogau had an important role as an MEP for the German Christian Democrats for 6 terms, the Chairperson for the defense and security sub-committee, Kangaroo Group, and as a regular participant in the New Defense Agenda (NDA). Wogau had previously had an extensive career from 1971-1984 working for the chemical giant, Sandoz, which conducts chemical weapon research and is linked to Wogau's promotion of defense measures in the Kangaroo Group, the NDA and his memberships in the Group of Personalities, all representing large scale investments into defense and security research and development.[13]

Giles Merritt is another example of a veteran lobbyist who entered European politics with an approach to policy formulation and research that favored the defense and security industry. Merritt was the director for both the Forum Europe and the NDA and has called for substantial increases in national defense budgets because he found it would solve what he believed was a danger to the EU's economy.[14] In Iraklis Oikonomou's view, the corporate membership and extensive involvement in the promotion of defense and security actions by certain individuals of EIs embodies the EU-Politico Military Industrial Complex, and its impact specific industries have through predications in the defense and arms industries.[15] This summarizes the concerns in the European research community who are interested in the political tactics of lobbyist influence.

12. "EU Transparency Register. European Parliamentary Research Service," Mańko, Rafał, et al (2014), www.europarl. europa.eu/EPRS/EPRS-Briefing-542170-European-Transparency-Register-FINAL.pdf.

13. Frank Slijper, "The emerging EU Military-Industrial Complex: Arms industry lobbying in Brussels", Transnational Institute, (2005): 11-13.

14. Giles Merritt, and Karl Wogau. "The Path to European Defense New Roads, New Horizons," (John Harper Publishing, 2009).

15. Iraklis Oikonomou "The political economy of European security, European Security," Vol. 27 No. 4 (2018): 537-540, DOI: 10.1080/09662839.2018.1502175

The lobbyist networking done in Brussel and Strasbourg is common but can be separated into formal and informal discussion with EU members. The formal negotiations allow lobbying groups to establish relations within EU Institutions under the 2011 TR. According to the European Parliament, around 11,000 stakeholders have registered since 2017 which permits them access to engage with European political officials in EU institutions. Lobbyists are also required to follow a Code of Conduct, and must regularly update their online information at LobbyFacts.eu, where the public has access to lobbyists' interests, who they represent, and how much they spend.[16] This allows a clear view of interest groups for European citizens and officials and diminish the corrupt, often, disreputable behavior associated with lobbying.

While the Code of Conduct must be abided by for access to the EP and the EC, the Council of the EU does not voluntarily observe the Register completely. This allows the free flow of interest groups to enter negotiations with ranking members in the EU Institution. This loophole allows lobbyists to focus lobbying outcomes in the Parliament and Commission without satisfying the formal measures set to keep industries from creating strong and private relationships with European officials. While the formal methods of the EU and member states may have an impact on the lobbying industry process, it does not stop certain organizations from using this loophole to hide their influences from the public eye and it should be improved.

Lobbyists can also use informal backdoor diplomacy when certain defense industry lobbyists are only granted a certain amount of access to the European bodies.[17] Defense industry lobbyists can influence important legislative makers, including task forces, working groups, and forums. One informal method is the use of Arms Fairs. Hosted by elite defense companies, Arms Fairs invite politicians, like MEP's, to attend events such as the Eurosatory Exhibition. The Exhibition can be held accountable for the launch of modern defense task forces, like the European Land Defense Industry Group (ELDIG) and opened to top EU officials, like Chairman Gianpiero Lorandi. Since then, the ELDIG task force has implemented successful support of defense initiatives in Europe, like the European Defense Agency.[18] This shows an alignment between the informal negotiations of the defense industry, and the effects of their influence in Europe's defense development, while avoiding formal measures put into place.

Furthermore, the annual European Defense Agency is regarded as one of the highest profiles for a defense lobbying conference, where about 300 arms companies, lobby groups and think tanks are invited to mingle with policy-makers of the EU, NATO, or even the High Representative, Mogherini.[19] This informal action of lobbyists illustrate another way defense industries have communications with important members of the European Union, and not abide by regulatory and public assessments on their discussions. This is because it is easier to express social and fiscal power to infinitely impact European defense actions and subvert transparency.

To conclude, the European Union's ethics are undermined by the continued lack of transparency and commitment to the EU framework. The formal and informal

16. "Statistics." LobbyFacts Database, Corporate Europe Observatory and Lobby Control, (2019), lobbyfacts.eu/charts-graphs.

17. Slijper, "EU Military-Industrial Complex": 20-23.

18. "ELDIG's Chairmanship Passes from Leonardo to Rheinmetall," Leonardo Company, June 2018, www.leonardocompany.com/documents/20142/3071939/ComLDO_ELDIG_Chairmanship_11_06_2018_ENG.PDF?t=1549547080326.

19. Vranken "Securing Profits", Vredesactie, (2017). https://www.vredesactie.be/node/13967

methods of negotiation carried out by arms and defense interest groups have also questioned the future of defense policy-making. European civil liberties researcher, Ben Hayes, argues that current standards allow corporate interests to determine the public interest and lead to increased spending on defense with issues, like the influx of refugees into Europe, and proposals of increased border security technology.[20] Major arms industries and current members with EU institutions are able to utilize the European system as an efficient way to grow the European Military-Industrial Complex and will continue to do so. If no solutions are made in hopes of deterring European funds on an already oversaturated market for security and defense research, organizations, and policies.

CONCLUSION

The influence of the Military-Industrial Complex has been forged by defense and security lobbyists that represent major arms and military interests who are responsible for creating a significant economic impact on European Union policies and the policymakers. European arms manufacturers such BAE Systems, Airbus, Thales, and Leonardo have all played large roles in EU defense policy spending, investing millions of euros in order to receive incentive-based policies that offer minimal turnout compared to input. According to the National Bank of Belgium, the European defense industry has increased its profits from 94 billion euros in 2010 to over 102 billion in 2015 in Brussels, a turnover that is far too underestimated.[21] The underestimation can be linked to the backroom and informal methods that arms groups have used to avoid showing their funding to EU organizations and institution member, attempting to curtail the policies in place which would allow their influence within the European Union policy-making to be public through EU structural discrepancies in policy-structuring.

The future of the European Union seems focused upon the creation of continuous policies and research that will benefit the defense and military industries in Europe and global arms trades. This shift in EU spending can reduce spending and policy building towards global issues of climate change, refugee policies, and the enhancement of democratic western values. What solutions can be taken to create a more integrated political interest system in Europe? Within the secrecy and questionable actions of lobbying groups, how can EU institutions address concerns of disreputable practices? Will the Military Industrial Complex, growing inside Europe, continue to squeeze its grasp on EU institutions until it becomes the sole provider and taker of economic funding? These are questions I believe will continue a dogmatic debate concerning the future of European defense policy-making and the legitimacy of global political lobbying reform.

20. Ben Hayes, "Arming Big Brother: The EU's Security Research Programme," Transnational Institute, (2006): 40.

21. "Comptes annuels en euros ASD 2015", National Bank of Belgium (2016)

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Nike vs. Adidas

LAUREN DOMINGUEZ

ABSTRACT

Multinational corporations (MNCs) have become a growing focus in today's international global economy. As corporations span across nations, they also increase the number of communities and individuals that are impacted due to their growing sphere of influence. To better represent themselves to the communities in which they are established, MNCs can choose to focus on programs of corporate social responsibility. These programs provide better corporate-employee relationships, support for people and industries in their local communities. Nike and Adidas are both MNCs that carry similar product lines and which appeal to similar demographics. However, Adidas can be considered a more socially responsible MNC due to its adherence to and respect for maintaining corporate social responsibility. In sum, this work yields a positive impact to communities worldwide.

INTRODUCTION

Today, multinational corporations (MNCs) are notorious. They are consistently accused of different types of crimes and atrocities against humanity: human rights violations, a lack of consideration for the environment, and its monopolization of market economies. MNCs have become heavy handed within the communities they are located in. Whether it is an increase in their products on the local market, or the influence they have on the local government, or how they impact the environment, MNCs need to be responsible for their actions and the effects on their hosts. One area that MNCs have a strong impact on is the surrounding community of where they are physically established.[1] For a corporation to be favored by their host community, they must also be aware of their surroundings and not only how they affect the society as a whole, but also the individuals of the society. Corporations often open up subsidiaries in areas with a promise of prosperity (e.g., employment or other socioeconomic opportunities). Corporate social responsibility policies, practices, and standards are the best way to compare corporations with the direct impact they have on the surrounding communities. The following paper uses Nike and Adidas as its case study to compare the aforementioned tenets. Nike and Adidas are two corporations that both market athletic gear, shoes, and leisure apparel. In doing a comparison of the social responsibility actions and standards of these two corporations, I will show how Adidas is the superior of the two in that Adidas is both aware of and has a more positive impact vis-à-vis their host communities.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Corporate social responsibility is a term used among scholars and corporations to study and measure how corporations positively or negatively affect societies in which

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1. Katie Kross, "Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)," Profession and Purpose: A Resource Guide for MBA Careers in Sustainability, vol. 1, no. 73, (2009): 50.

they operate.[2] While there are many different theories, most agree that helping local communities is not only good for the community, but also good for the corporation overall. In the recent literature, there has been the theorizing for how to best put corporate social responsibility into practice. Authors Lindgreen and Swaen note the conflicting ideas of policy implementation for corporations. Some scholars argue that it is best to integrate corporate social responsibility into corporate regulations and guidelines in slow increments; others contend that quick, radical change is the best way.[3] Another conflict that they note is the lack of structure and directive for managers and corporate leaders attempting to become more socially responsible. Some examples of corporate social responsibility programs are volunteer programs, marketing initiatives which protect social welfare, among other programs monitoring the impact of corporations in developing countries or their impact on human rights.[4] Lindgreen and Swaen offer a brief introduction to corporate social responsibility and how it can be implemented.

In the article, "Organizing Corporate Social Responsibility in Small and Large Firms: Size Matters", by Dorothée Baumann-Pauly, et al., the authors discuss the advantages and disadvantages based on corporation size in regard to corporate social responsibility. For large MNCs; the authors note the advantage of having a plethora of employees[5] and departments—some of which can be retained to strictly focus on implementation of social responsibility programming. They also note that the presence of a CEO and an executive board can help create and enforce social responsibility programs for host communities, as well as develop corporate regulations and policies.[6] Larger MNCs also have the resources to formally incentivize employees to raise awareness of social responsibility and be participants in the cause.[7] Similarly, MNCs have the resources available to be, "strong communicators of CSR,".[8] Overall, MNCs have the power and the resources available to be able to successfully implement policies for corporate social responsibility.

MNCs are more frequently being scrutinized for the affect they have on local communities in their host countries. Part of the study into MNCs includes their policies and practices of corporate social responsibility. In the article, "From Voids to Sophistication: Institutional Environment and MNC CSR Crisis in Emerging Markets", the authors argue that MNCs are collectively facing more criticism for their policies and practices of corporate social responsibility. They state that some one of the reasons why MNCs face crises in markets where they have not previously been established is due to the fact that locals, "increasingly perceive MNCs as a source of social and environmental problems,".[9] The authors also argue that, due to the rapid increase of multinational corporations in developing countries, there are more

2. Kross, "Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)," 49.

3. Adam Lindgreen and Valerie Swaen, "Corporate Social Responsibility", International Journal of Management Reviews vol 12, (2010): 2.

4. Lindgreen and Swaen "Corporate Social Responsibility," 3.

5. Dorthée Baumann-Pauly, et al., "Organizing Corporate Social Responsibility in Small and Large Firms: Size Matters." Journal of Business Ethics, vol. 115, no. 4 (2013): 693.

6. Baumann-Pauly et al., "Organizing", 695.

7. Baumann-Pauly et al., "Organizing", 696.

8. Baumann-Pauly et al., "Organizing", 700.

9. Meng Zhao, et al., "From Voids to Sophistication: Institutional Environment and MNC CSR Crisis in Emerging Markets." Journal of Business Ethics, vol. 122, no. 4 (2014): 655.

organizations and policies in place to hold them accountable for their actions in local communities. The authors use international non-governmental organizations and grassroots activists as an example of how new organizations work from the bottom up to scrutinize and uncover wrongdoings by MNCs in developing countries.[10] In the article, the authors use examples of national legislation as a way to show a top-down approach to keeping MNCs in line with countries that are not as developed.[11] More frequently, MNCs are often evaluated on their corporate social responsibility practices (or lack thereof) and are being held more accountable.

NIKE

Nike is a very well known, international clothing brand. They specialize in athletic gear and apparel, and they sponsor many famous athletes worldwide. On their website they state that, "Our purpose is to use the power of sport to move the world forward. We believe in a fair, sustainable future-one where everyone thrives on a healthy planet and level playing field".[12] Under preliminary investigation, their website shows different branches of a corporate social responsibility program such as, "standing up for equality"; "making products responsibly"; "innovating sustainability"; "inspiring communities"; and "protecting our environment". Nike promotes ideas of community, sustainability, and equality, and they claim their mission is to "bring inspiration and innovation to every athlete". "If you have a body, you are an athlete". Nike is based in Beaverton, Oregon albeit their consumer base and store locations are worldwide: North and South America, Europe, Asia-Pacific (which for Nike, includes Australia), Africa, and the Middle East.[13] It is important to note that NikePlus, Jordan, Hurley, and Converse all fall under the purview of Nike—their parent company.

While Nike is an umbrella for many different affiliates, they all focus on production and sales of apparel and athletic wear. When exploring their corporate social responsibilities, it appears as though all of its affiliate companies fall directly under the policies and practices of Nike. On their website, Nike offers information about their investors and their sustainability policies alongside their corporate social responsibility actions.[14] Their corporate social responsibility is broken down into the categories of: Community Impact, What We Do, How We Give, Get Involved. Nike has many programs that help marginalized groups. For example, one of their community initiatives, Nike N7, includes athletic programs and financial support to Native American reservations in North America. One of their two focus areas within the Community Impact branch is "Made to Play" which focuses on "getting kids moving to unleash their full potential".[15] This program also includes a specific initiative to promote young girls to be athletic and promote equality. The other area in Community Impact is "Fueling Communities," which focuses on their direct community in Oregon as well other affiliated groups in the United States and abroad.

Under the tab of "what we do", they have also listed their affiliated nonprofits. Most of the affiliate groups and partner organizations regarding the corporate social responsibility practices of Nike are based in the United States and Europe

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10. Zhao et al., "From Voids," 665.

11. Zhao et al., "From Voids," 662.

12. Nike 2019.

13. Nike 2019.

14. Nike 2019.

15. Nike 2019.

like in Belgium, the Netherlands, and Spain.[16] On the Nike website, they share the information of their affiliated nonprofits that promote athleticism and healthy lifestyles, as previously stated most organizations are in Europe and the United States.[17] Most of the nonprofits listed are countries where Nike sells their products, rather than where Nike produces and manufactures their products. It appears their company's primary concern is their image in markets where they can profit from, juxtaposed to the areas where they yield a societal impact. They have three organizations listed that are based in China; however, upon selecting their websites, only 1 of the 3 successfully went to a webpage for a non-profit. Finally, under How We Give, they list different grassroots organizations that they financially support. All of the grants and funds they support are located in the United States, Belgium, and the Netherlands.[18] Nike's corporate social responsibility policies and initiatives help promote a healthy lifestyle among children, support local community grassroots organizations, and help fund educational programs in different countries. One aspect that seems to be lacking, is any mention of developing countries. Beside the few mentions of organizations in China that Nike supports, there is a lack of any information about their responsibility in developing countries where they have factories and subsidiaries. For example, on a list of disclosed manufacturing sites, they have countries such as Mexico, Vietnam, El Salvador, Cambodia, and Sri Lanka.[19] Through their website, Nike demonstrates how they structure their corporate social responsibility practices which projects a positive image of them and how they help their surrounding communities both at home and abroad. While the structure is shared and accessible on the website, it seems to be more of a tool to project a positive image rather than an applied practice by the Nike corporation.

Although Nike has many corporate social responsibility projects that they implement and promote, their image has not always been so positive. Part of Nike's practices include working with preexisting organizations and nonprofits to fulfill the Nike mission statement in a way that benefits the community, such as working with nonprofits in European countries rather than Latin American or African countries. One problem that Nike faced in upholding its image has been their lack of corporate social responsibility in developing countries. One incident was noted in the Nike branches in Vietnam, Indonesia, and China in the early 2000s.[20] The issue was the poor working conditions in the factories. The way that Nike handled this controversy was by developing a strategy that gave them control over the asymmetrical communication of their corporate social responsibility. They issued non-financial reports, "a one-way instrument that gives the producer an opportunity to control the distribution of quantitative ratings related to CSR programs and initiatives,".[21] Nike gamed the system by publishing reports they wrote to give them grace in regard to their CSR policies. Another country where Nike faced controversy was in their use of outsourcing production to Pakistan. The existing CSR policy used by Nike overlooked the female workforce in Pakistan that made soccer balls.[22] This lack of consideration for their

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16. Nike 2019.

17. Nike 2019.

18. Nike 2019.

19. Nike Interactive Map.

20. Paul Ziek, "CSR Infrastructure for Communication and the Nike Controversy." Journal of Management and Sustainability, vol. 3, no. 1 (2012): 63.

21. Ziek "CSR Infrastructure," 68.

22. Peter Lund-Thomsen, and Neil M. Coe. "Corporate Social Responsibility and Labour Agency: the Case of Nike in

workforce caused a controversy and forced Nike to reevaluate their CSR in Pakistan. After the controversy, Nike implemented a new long term program to better monitor working conditions and training programs as well as improve the human resource management with the locals in and around manufacturing sites in Pakistan. However, in 2008 when the financial crisis hit, Nike was no longer able to financially support the corporate social responsibility policies that they had formerly implemented.[23] While Nike did plan for a long term CSR project, outside factors seem to have hindered its progress.

Another example of an unsuccessful attempt at social responsibility in developing areas was their attempt to fight HIV/AIDS in Africa.[24] Nike sold specific products whereby all the proceeds went directly towards financially supporting HIV/AIDS education organizations in Africa.[25] Throughout the campaign, the product showed the coming together of athletes across the world supporting the cause.[26] However, with the professional athletes being the only ones in their countries in Africa who can afford the Nike products, the vision shifts from supporting HIV/AIDS education to a more of an advertising campaign to a focus on professional athletes. It also promoted the idea that there was not unity before the involvement of a US-based MNC.[27] Nike has had issues with its image based on their subsidiaries abroad, but they do publish how much money their employees donate, which they match, as well as how they financially support their home community in Oregon (See Appendix Fig. 1). While Nike does promote corporate social responsibility through policies and programs in different countries, there is a heavy focus on the United States and Europe and very minimal efforts towards developing countries that host Nike factories and subsidiaries.

ADIDAS

Adidas is another well-known brand of apparel that also focuses on athletic merchandise. According to the Adidas quarterly report, as of March 2019, they had a net cash position of €908 million (approximately $1001.75 million) which represents a, "year-over-year increase of € 537 million"[28] (approximately $592.45 million).

On their website their mission statement reads

> *We want to be the best sports company in the world. What does that mean? Well, to us 'best' means that we design, build, and sell the best sports products in the world, with the best service and experience, and that we do so in a sustainable way. But 'best' is also what our consumers, athletes, teams, partners, media and shareholders say about us. (Adidas 2019)*

The Adidas corporation was founded in Germany, however they list their 'key locations' as Amsterdam, Portland, Boston, Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Panama. On the website they offer a visual and numerical breakdown of their sales, shares,

Pakistan," Journal of Economic Geography, vol. 15, no. 2 (2015): 284.

23. Lund-Thomsen and Coe, "Corporate Social Responsibility and Labour," 276.

24. Courtney Szto, "Saving Lives With Soccer and Shoelaces: The Hyperreality of Nike (RED)," Sociology Of Sport Journal, vol. 30, no. 1 (2013): 43.

25. Szto, "Saving Lives," 44.

26. Szto, "Saving Lives," 48.

27. Szto, "Saving Lives," 50.

28. Adidas Financial Publication 2019.

employees, and research and development. They have one affiliate company which is Reebok, which similarly produces and sells athletic merchandise. Also on their website, they offer a breakdown of the responsibilities they take for, "the entire life cycle of sport".[29] Their breakdown includes the two categories: product and people. Under product responsibilities they cite their value of water, innovation, and energy conservation. Regarding people, they focus on empowerment, health, and action. Besides offering a general company breakdown, and a breakdown of their responsibilities, Adidas also offers a breakdown of their investors and who they work with outside of their affiliation with Rebook.

In their breakdown of corporate social responsibility, Adidas takes it a step further than just focusing on the empowerment and health of people. They have a "compliance" section. This section focuses on how they hold themselves accountable in different aspects of their corporation. The "compliance" section is broken down into categories of governance and risk management, human rights, supply chain approach, environmental approach, and sustainability team.[30] On the Adidas website they also have a tab on "Reporting and Policies" which is made up of their Reporting Approach, Sustainability Reports, Green Company Reports, and Policies and Standards. Under Policies and Standards, they talk about their established Labor Rights Charter, Code of Conduct for Employees and another for Suppliers with workplace standards, their Policy on Modern Slavery, and Responsible Sourcing and Purchasing policies among others.[31]

In a section titled "People" (under sustainability), Adidas offers information that focuses on employees, factory workers, and communities. This focuses on the individuals within the sphere of the Adidas corporation seems to be unique. In the area of communities, the website states that, "Our community engagement is essential to our overall approach to sustainability that focuses on three strategic 'People' priorities: empowering people, improving health, and inspiring action. These strategic priorities are supported by our corporate giving guidelines and various programs for employee and community involvement".[32] Through programs like the Adidas Fund, the corporation not only financially supports community organizations, they also rely on employee participation as well. Through the Adidas CSR, there are also long-term programs that help the communities where Adidas is located. Since 2017, the number of international projects increased, as well as the number of volunteer hours.[33] On the Adidas website, they offer a list of organizations that they support throughout the world. Whilst most of the organizations are based in Europe and the United States, the organizations listed use donations to support and fund projects in other countries. For example, Adidas partners with an organization called Global Aid Network (GAiN) which has headquarters in Europe and the US, as well as Korea, and the Philippines among others. Adidas financially supports GAiN to construct sports facilities in Armenia, Nigeria, and Uganda.[34] Adidas also partners with the Ministry of Education in China to donate equipment for schools as well as offer athletic teacher training as well as offering camps to students.[35] They also partner with a women's empowerment

29. Adidas 2019.

30. Adidas 2019.

31. Adidas 2019.

32. Adidas 2019.

33. Adidas 2019.

34. Adidas 2019.

35. Adidas 2019.

program in Pakistan. Adidas has had manufacturing operations in Pakistan that were used to hand-stitch balls used for sports. However, with the advancement of technology, balls are now machine-stitched—leaving women jobless due to the closure and downsizing of stitching factories. Adidas helps women in these areas of Pakistan refine their skills and enhance their education to find new jobs.[36] The Adidas website states

> *Throughout the world, we aim to maximize our positive impact by targeting countries and regions in which we have major sourcing operations. We recognize that people in our local offices best understand the needs and cultural sensitivities in their communities. For that reason, we regularly partner with local organizations. After implementation of a project, we also involve NGOs to review the impact of the work.[37]*

That is also to say that the Adidas corporation also focuses on assisting communities where they produce their products, not only the communities where they sell their products.

While Adidas promotes a very positive image of corporate social responsibility, they have not escaped the rising scrutiny of practices of MNCs. Adidas was featured in a political cartoon after the London Riots in 2011 that negatively associated them with greed and power grabbing.[38] During the riots, participants were seen looting stores, with the large focus being on a sporting goods store.[39] Most of the people who rioted in 2011 were teenagers and twenty-year-olds, which is also their marketing population. News outlets criticized Adidas for their brand marketing as well as calling their clothing look "gangster chic".[40] Being that Adidas is associated with the elite, rather than the middle class, this gave them a poorer public image.

While an increase in corporate social responsibility polices can be a result of negative media depictions, Adidas has implemented a system that seems to work. In their sustainability reports, they publish the number of projects in each region that they financially support, as well as the number of volunteer hours in each area (See Appendix Fig. 2). With their published reports, Adidas maintains an accessible and transparent archive of their impact. The corporate social responsibility policies and practices of Adidas have been used in case studies as an example of what is successful. Some of the problems that are meant to be addressed by corporate social responsibility policies are the ethical manufacturing for employees and of the environment, as well as the and promotion of social justice. Adidas has integrated responsibility and sustainability directly into their general development strategy.[41] By "empowering people improving health, and inspiring action",[42] Adidas is able to create a corporate structure that promotes and follows a socially responsible outline.

COMPARISON

While Adidas and Nike hold some similarities in their approaches to corporate social

36. Adidas 2019.

37. Adidas 2019.

38. Rupert Neate et al. "UK Riots," The Guardian (2011).

39. Noelle McElhatton, "Riots Pose Tough CSR Questions," Marketing (2011): 23.

40. Neate, "UK Riots".

41. Maria-Teresa Bosch-Badia, et al., "Efficiency and Sustainability of CSR Projects," Sustainability, vol. 9, no. 10, (2017):

42. Bosch-Badia, et al., "Efficiency," 11.

responsibility, there are some striking differences in the manner by which they operate. Upon first glance on their websites, both corporations offer large, inspiring images of athletes. However, when attempting to locate information on their practices and policies, it was much easier to navigate the Adidas website which offered many different breakdowns of what they do and who they work with. While Nike similarly listed the organizations and nonprofits they support, they did not explicitly state how or why they do it. Although investigating the website might seem trivial, it does offer a glimpse of how Nike and Adidas portray themselves to the world. With more and more people having access to technology, it is in a corporation's best interest to keep their social media up to date and to maintain it in a way that sends a positive image to both consumers and scholars.

While corporate social responsibility is beneficial to the overall productivity of a corporation, it seems that most companies enforce or implement corporate social responsibility policies only in response to a negative image in the marketplace. "[G]lobal corporations especially are increasingly receiving pressure from customers, non-governmental organizations (NGPs), and other constituents to be more transparent about, and accountable for their social…impacts".[43] For Nike, it was the attention given to their lack of labor standards and image as being sweatshops, and for Adidas, it was their negative media after the London Riots. While both companies thrive on global markets, they must keep consumers and communities on board with their social impact in order to remain profitable.

Nike's image in the United States was tarnished, "Nike embraced CSR after a criticism of its overseas factory conditions hurt sales in the United States".[44] While this source is from 2009, in more recent news, Nike has been brought into the spotlight again for issues regarding their factories in developing countries. For example, according to the Worker Rights Consortium (WRC)—an independent organization that monitors labor rights—Nike has had issues with the factories as recently as 2018.[45] The issue that the WRC is concerned with, is how Nike is making decisions about a factory in Indonesia, without being there where the factory is located. The press release states that, "When a major brand like Nike relocates production away from a longtime supplier, the lives and wellbeing of workers and their families are upended and, in some cases, permanently harmed. Those effects result from a decision made thousands of miles away".[46] This incident, along with a similar incident of inhumane conditions in a factory in Vietnam,[47] have caused protests movements against Nike for their lack of respect for their global subsidiaries, their workers, and their world impact.[48] After these incidences with Nike, they disallowed WRC to inspect their factories.[49] When looking at the archives of WRC, the most recent mention of Adidas was in 2013. The memo released was appreciative of Adidas for signing the "Accord on Fire and Building Safety in Bangladesh". According to the memo, this Accord allows for inspections of buildings to improve work safety conditions in Bangladesh.[50] While Nike and Adidas

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43. Kross, "Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)," 50.

44. Kross, "Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)," 50.

45. Scott Nova, "Information Concerning Nike's Indonesia Production," WRC (2018).

46. Nova, "Information Concerning".

47. Scott Nova and Ben Hensler, "WRC Assessment of Hansae Vietnam (Nike)," WRC (2016).

48. Mark Bain, "Nike is Facing a New Wave of Anti-Sweatshop Protests," Quartz (2017).

49. Yvette Hymann, "Nike vs Adidas-Who's More Ethical," Good On You (2017).

50. Scott Nova, "University Memo." WRC (2013).

go head to head on sales, it seems that Adidas comes out on top for corporate social responsibility.

CONCLUSION

Nike and Adidas are companies that market, manufacture, and sell similar products throughout the world. While both have a corporate social responsibility structure, Adidas is more successful due to the fact that they continuously recognize the impact that they have on the global community. Adidas reaches and helps more people in more countries than Nike and understands the influence and the responsibility they have as a MNC. Ideally, all large corporations, multinational or otherwise, would make it a priority to give back to the society which supports them and helps them to thrive. Since social responsibility can mean giving up time and money to help others, it is not always a top priority among MNCs who are driven by profit increases. However, part of corporate social responsibility seems to be about image, and making sure corporations project an image to their consumers that makes them as a corporation, and therefore their products, more desirable. While corporate social responsibility may seem costly in the short term; in the longer term these programs can help people all over the world, help corporations maintain a positive image among their consumers, and help corporations promote their brand, thus, making them both socially responsible and profitable corporations.

APPENDIX

UNLEASH HUMAN POTENTIAL: BY THE NUMBERS

$5.3M
DONATED BY EMPLOYEES, supported by NIKE Foundation's match-giving in FY17

14.5M
KIDS MOVING through Made to Play

57
PERCENTAGE OF MEN used our Family Care Benefit

350K
KIDS RUNNING through partnership with Marathon Kids

$54M
DONATED BY NIKE in Oregon to support communities from FY12–FY17

8
EMPLOYEE NETWORKS to support diversity

Alex Hausman, FY1/17 Sustainable Business Report (Nike Inc. 2017), 63, Fig.1

COMMUNITY AFFAIRS STATISTICS [1]

Region	Donation requests received			Total number of projects supported			Units of products donated			Volunteer hours		
	2016	2015	2014[2]	2016	2015	2014	2016	2015	2014	2016	2015	2014
EMEA	2,725	2,459	2,924	249	165	384	482,204	144,567	130,513	35,263	33,480	20,935
Latin America	115	124	77	45	54	7	73,916	74,013	5,581	4,151	3,801	3,005
North America	1,642	9,023	7,702	111	683	590	59,011	27,202	367,349	1,624	2,862	3,202
Asia Pacific	241	507	539	71	66	58	23,158	9,659	41,406	3,853	7,710	1,608
Total	**4,723**	**12,113**	**11,242**	**476**	**968**	**1,039**	**638,289**	**255,441**	**544,849**	**44,891**	**47,853**	**28,750**

1 Numbers include: brand activities, corporate activities, Reebok Foundation as well as worldwide adidas Fund activities.
2 Restatement: Due to double counts caused by the data tracking systems, the 2014 donation requests received for the EMEA region had to be corrected.

PERFORMANCE DATA

Adidas Group, Calling All Creators (Adidas Sustainability report 2016, 2017), 83, Fig. 2

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Climate Refugees in Mainstream Media

LAUREN MICHAEL KELLEY

ABSTRACT

Migrants who have had to relocate due to natural disasters in their countries of origin's perspectives are often misperceived by host states' news media outlets, making it more challenging to advocate for themselves. Instead, the representation of climate migrants in Western news media is often used to leverage political narratives. Climate migrants are viewed as outsiders, as illegal, as threats, as victims, and as activists in the news. Until a fundamental definition of climate refugees is recognized as legitimate in international law, climate migrants will continue to face common stereotypes projected onto them by host states.

INTRODUCTION

There is minimal scholarship legitimizing the notion of climate refugees. From a legal perspective, the term does not exist. That does not make the lived reality for climate migrants any less real. How has the definition of a 'climate refugee' led to the depiction of migrants in mainstream media in the West? What about the representation of migrants lends a political narrative to readers? Western mainstream news sources depict climate migrants in five distinct ways: they are perceived as outsiders, as illegal, as threats, as victims, and as activists. These conceptions come from recent news articles published about climate refugees in the Pacific Islands. The world is just beginning to experience the effects of a warming world. Lack of recognition of these changing conditions free states of their responsibility to protect climate migrants by arguing that they do not exist.

This paper addresses which people are refugees, what a 'climate refugee' is, theories that legitimize climate refugees in a legal framework, and the role that fear plays against legitimacy. The distinction that international refugee law creates defines the experiences of migrants that are legitimized versus silenced. Just because a person can be made to appear invisible does not mean that they seize to exist.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Who is a Refugee?

In the 1951 Refugee Convention in Geneva, a refugee was defined as a person who is outside their country of nationality or habitual residence, has a well-founded fear of being persecuted because of his or her their "race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail" themselves of the "protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution."[1] This definition internationally recognized that "states are responsible for

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1. Roberta Cohen, "The Responsibility to Protect: Human Rights and Humanitarian Dimensions," Brookings, February

protecting the fundamental human rights of their citizens."[2] Therefore, it is essential to define who is protected within state borders to maintain sovereignty. Betts notes that "people who cross borders" are not perceived as falling within the framework of the 1951 Convention Relating to the status of refugees with very few exceptions. They are viewed as "returnable and without protection needs."[3] States use this standard to ensure that they protect the rights of a refugee, so long as people claiming refugee status qualify under the convention's rules. So, what happens when people find themselves within the outliers of this definition?

Climate Refugees

According to Denis Sert, a constructivist theorist, the notion of climate refugees extends from "environmental hazards…both natural hazards, such as earthquakes, hurricanes, tsunamis, and technological, environmental hazards, nuclear waste facilities, and chemical spills that can cause people to move."[4] From his understanding, climate change is the cause, and people migrating are the effect. Similarly, theorists such as Wolpert agree with Betts that migration is a "response to the stress" experienced from environmental problems such as pollution.[5] Although Betts is clear about environmental conditions' direct relation to migration, he also maintains that it is not the only determinant.

Theorists such as Elida Høeg, Christopher D. Tulloch, Jesse Ribot, Papa Faye, and Matthew D. Turner disagree with Betts' working definition of climate refugees, arguing that rates of emigration cannot be attributed to climate or climate change alone. Ecology is "regreening" while migration is on the rise, signaling that people are moving for reasons beyond just climate change.[6] In a study conducted by Høeg and Tulloch, they take a look at Kenyan migrants who have been framed in mainstream media as "climate refugees."[7] Their studies show that climate change and the need to emigrate are not as directly related as mainstream media portrays. Instead they argue that the Kenyan migrants are economic migrants, thus invalidating the term 'climate refugee.'

The State of Exception

A driving factor behind the construction of the definition of climate refugees extends from the 'state of exception.' Kerstin Lueck, Clemence Due and Martha Augoustinos would argue, a "sovereign power" can employ or "defer to a 'state of exception' in

20, 2009, https://www.brookings.edu/on-the-record/the-responsibility-to-protect-human-rights-and-humanitarian-dimensions/.

2. Roberta Cohen, "The Responsibility to Protect: Human Rights and Humanitarian Dimensions," Brookings, February 20, 2009, https://www.brookings.edu/on-the-record/the-responsibility-to-protect-human-rights-and-humanitarian-dimensions/.

3. Alexander Betts, "Survival Migration: A New Protection Framework," Global Governance 16 (2010): 361–82.

4. Deniz Sert, "Explaining Why People Move: Intra and Interdisciplinary Debates about the Causes of International Migration," OXFORD RESEARCH ENCYCLOPEDIA, INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, November 6, 2019, https://oxfordre-com.jpllnet.sfsu.edu/internationalstudies/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.001.0001/acrefore-9780190846626-e-18?print=pdf.

5. Wolpert 1996; Hunter (2005). Elaborating on Wolpert's model, Speare (1974).

6. Elida Høeg and Christopher Tulloch, "Sinking Strangers: Media Representations of Climate Refugees on the BBC and Al Jazeera," SAGE Journal of Communication Inquiry 43 (December 13, 2018), https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0196859918809486.

7. Høeg and Tulloch.

times of supposed crisis, in which the standard rule of law is suspended."[8] According to the 1951 Refugee Convention, states are supposed to protect the rights of refugees, and are therefore not "obligated to protect" anyone who does not have legal refugee status.[9] Liberal theorist, and left-wing activist Burcu Togral Koca in her study, agrees with theorists such as Kerstin Lueck, Clemence Due, and Martha Augoustinos that sovereign powers have "justified excluding" thousands of asylum seekers from international protection. Togral Koca notes that "since the 1994 legal changes, 20 people from outside of Europe" have been allowed to apply for "temporary asylum" in Turkey.[10] Twenty may have been let in, while thousands are left out. While states protect their sovereignty by creating a distinction between who is allowed to enter their region, and who must exist elsewhere, they create an intense situation in which people become exist between borders, caught amongst the boundaries of international law and its loopholes for exclusion. By creating this distinction, states can justify that there are "voluntary and involuntary migrants."[11]

Høeg and Tulloch recognize that there is a global unwillingness to prioritize climate refugees in an international legal framework, and perhaps this stems from states' lack of accountability to legitimize the term. They explain, in their study, that under the 1951 Refugee Convention, "climate refugees are left out", due to time and place.[12] The lack of visibility exists because, at the time of the convention, the issue of climate change was unheard of. It is also just as accurate that in contemporary international law, powerful sovereign states avoid responsibility for considering the variables that would create a climate refugee, by merely failing to let the term be legitimized. So, with this, all in mind, do climate refugees exist even if states do not recognize them?

Survival Migration

Another factor that contributes to the conditions of climate refugees is the theory of survival migration. Betts argues that survival migration refers to "persons outside their country of origin because of an existential threat to which they have no access to a domestic remedy or resolution."[13] The 'state of exception' and survival migration are complementary lenses that allow factors around the visibility of climate refugees to exist because they both argue that people do exist outside of state boundaries, and their reasons for emigrating are not considered valid within the context of the 1951 Refugee Convention's criteria for refugee status. Even though stateless people exist within border boundaries that are not protected under refugee status, they still have rights according to international law. Betts makes this distinction by stating that those who are not claimed under international refugee law may be "entitled to international

8. Kerstin Lueck, Clemence Due, and Martha Augoustinos, "Neoliberalism and Nationalism: Representations of Asylum Seekers in the Australian Mainstream News Media," Sage Publications, Ltd. 26 (2015): 608–29.

9. Dr. Paul Weis, E. Lauterpatcht, and Dr. Sadako Ogata, "The Refugee Convention, 1951."

10. Maggie Koerth, "The World Isn't Ready for Climate Refugees," FiveThirtyEight, September 12, 2019, https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/the-world-isnt-ready-for-climate-refugees/.

11. R. Michael Fisher, "'Fearism': A Critical Analysis of Uses and Discourses in Global Migration Studies," In Search of Fearlessness Research Institute Technical Paper No. 64 (2017), file:///Users/lauren/Downloads/Fearism%20Fisher.pdf.

12. Høeg and Tulloch, "Sinking Strangers: Media Representations of Climate Refugees on the BBC and Al Jazeera."

13. Alexander Betts, "Survival Migration: A New Protection Framework," Global Governance 16 (2010): 361–82. org/10.1177%2F0196859918809486.

protection" if they face, for example, "the prospect of torture or cruel, inhumane, and degrading treatment" on their return.[14]

How do climate refugees fit into this perspective?
If climate refugees are people who are affected by the effects of climate change, such as rising sea level, desertification, or pollution, forcing them to move, then those factors can qualify people as involuntary migrants who are not protected by a state. Although they are not being persecuted by their country of origin based on "race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion," they do have a well-founded fear that is rooted in displacement via external factors outside of their control such as floods, hurricanes, heatwaves, tsunami's, and many other forms of extreme weather caused by climate change.[15] Scholarship legitimizing the notion of climate refugees is limited. From a legal perspective, the term does not exist, however, that does not make the lived reality for stateless people any less real. What is important to remember is that "refugees are survival migrants, but not all survival migrants are refugees; survival migrants are international migrants, but not all international migrants are survival migrants."[16] The distinction created in international refugee law defines the experiences of migrants that are legitimized versus silenced.

Fearism
Theorist R. Michael Fisher asserts that "fear is the most powerful enemy of reason. Both fear and reason are essential to human survival, but the relationship between them is unbalanced."[17] For climate refugees, the threat of environmental degradation within their country of origin becomes a well-founded fear that makes for a valid enough reason to prompt the need to move. Guy S. Goodwin-Gill argues that "fear of persecution" and "lack of protection" are themselves interrelated elements.[18] As climate refugees exist within the invisible barriers of transnational border relations, they remain defenseless against the states that exclude them.

Fear also motivates agendas. Zembylas argues that immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers have become key figures in a new "fearism" that "enables" their "complete de-humanization" as a way to deny them any right to "dwell among juridical citizens."[19] When refugees are forced to flee, they often become stateless until adopted by a host state, and this is normally because of the threat of persecution and the lack of protection from their own. If climate refugees are not recognized as legitimate by host states according to international law, then these people continue to experience intentional displacement by host states that contribute to climate refugees' suffering.

Kerstin Lueck, Clemence Due, and Martha Augoustinos confirmed evidence in their research that nationalist talk was used to "legitimize the human rights violations of the Australian Government" concerning asylum seekers.[20] They contend that the

14. Alexander Betts, "Survival Migration: A New Protection Framework," Global Governance 16 (2010): 361–82.

15. "THE 1951 CONVENTION Relating to the Status s of Refugees AND ITS 1967 PROTOCOL."

16. Betts, "Survival Migration: A New Protection Framework."

17. Fisher, "'Fearism': A Critical Analysis of Uses and Discourses in Global Migration Studies."(2017).

18. Guy S. Goodwin-Gill, "CONVENTION RELATING TO THE STATUS OF REFUGEES PROTOCOL RELATING TO THE STATUS OF REFUGEES" (United Nations Audiovisual Library of International Law, 2008), http://legal.un.org/avl/pdf/ha/prsr/prsr_e.pdf.

19. Fisher, "'Fearism': A Critical Analysis of Uses and Discourses in Global Migration Studies."(2017).

20. Lueck, Due, and Augoustinos, "Neoliberalism and Nationalism: Representations of Asylum Seekers in the Australian

state is complicit with using fear as a tool to justify and exclude asylum seekers their right to gain refugee status. Forms of life not protected are referred to as depoliticized and termed homo sacer, Latin for "bare life."[21]

Climate refugees exist within this framework because their lack of recognition projected onto them by host states keep them limbo in the quest for resettlement. They cannot go back home, but they also cannot stay where they would like to reside. When in such a defenseless predicament, where does this leave climate refugees?

Media Representation of Climate Refugees
An important notion to consider concerning climate refugees is the role of mainstream media. The essential function of the media in the West is to provide information for the citizens; But who influences the media exactly? If the host states' foreign policy agendas can control and regulate the press within their territories, how can this affect the perception of climate refugees? Jesse Ribot, Papa Faye, and Matthew D. Turner argue that "European and American protectionists and racists fear emigrants."[22] Their study explains that Protectionists see climate advocates who use climate refugees as talking points to convince them that climate change needs attention, more than the people themselves. Climate refugees become delegitimized because, within the public debate, the idea of supporting climate change is associated with a leftist point of view.

Asylum seekers and refugees entering Western countries have "attracted increased attention" in the press media within the past decade, but why are they drawing so much attention?[23] What is it about the notion of climate refugees that causes so much controversy amongst host states? Perhaps it is a failure of the mainstream media to highlight the reasons why increasing numbers of displaced people are seeking asylum, and it is equally as valid that the reasons for this have more to do with a state's plan on immigration than a discrepancy in reporting. If mainstream media informs the people, and the state influences the media, is it then possible that perhaps the state uses media as propaganda to keep climate refugees displaced to devoid responsibility for their protection?

CASE STUDY: *Controlling the Narrative of Pacific Islander Climate Refugees*
In terms of the media's representation of climate refugees, about five conclusions can be drawn. Climate refugees in Western news media are presented as outsiders, as illegal, as a threat, as guests, as victims, and as activists. In this next section, the media representations above are compared to recent news article titles on climate refugees in the Pacific Islands. Using headlines to introduce their stories, various Western media sources are analyzed to understand how these perceptions can shape public opinion on climate refugees.

Perception 1: Outsiders
Rhetoric involving the depiction of refugees in news media is often related to hosting

Mainstream News Media." BBC, (2015).

21. Giorgio Agamben, Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life (Stanford, California, 1995).

22. Jesse Ribot, Papa Faye, and Matthew D. Turner, "Climate of Anxiety in the Sahel: Emigration in Xenophobic Times," Public Culture 32 (January 2020), file:///Users/lauren/Downloads/Ribot%20Faye%20Turner%202020%20climate%20 refugees%20NOT.pdf.

23. Lueck, Due, and Augoustinos, "Neoliberalism and Nationalism: Representations of Asylum Seekers in the Australian Mainstream News Media." (2015).

countries presenting refugees as outsiders. When climate refugees do appear in the news, they can appear to be "silent passive others."[24] The "othering" that Tulloch and Heøg speak of in their studies is used by the media to confirm stereotypes. Rather than conveying the individual stories, the diversity, and the agency of climate refugees, stories related to depicting refugees as outsiders serve to drive polarization between citizens and asylum seekers. The effect that this has allows for anti-migration sentiment to be upheld. When looking at the research that Koca conducted on Syrian refugees in Turkey, slogans like "We do not want Syrians" circulated news outlets.[25] Comparing Syrian refugees to climate refugees, similar beliefs are reflected. When news outlets focus on othering, it can confirm, or increase the fear of people emigrating. Fischer explains how a wide variety of studies show that host states' mistrust towards climate refugees is constructed within the news and that its function is to "hinder social inclusion via visual and linguistic strategies."[26]

HEADLINE 1: *"Low Lying Pacific Islands Sue Over Climate Change."*[27]
By depicting climate refugees as others, their legitimacy for claiming asylum is, therefore, further questioned. Media sources act as mirrors, both reflecting the publics' beliefs about people immigrating and convincing them that what they see is the truth. These tactics can be harmful to climate refugees because it can lead to acts of violence and injustice carried out against them from people within host states out of fear. When the news implores the tactic of othering climate refugees, they plant seeds of concern in the minds of readers who have the social mobility to advocate for the legitimacy of climate refugees' needs to be recognized.

Perception 2: Illegal
Related literature exists on climate refugees' depiction as illegal. When the media in the West report stories on climate refugees, they often make a note to point out "elements of race, religion, and decontextualized narratives" based on illegal status.[28] The primary function of focusing on how climate refugees are illegal serves to mask the reality of why people need to flee their state of origin, to begin with. Luek et al. would argue that in most cases, climate refugees are escaping from a "legitimate threat," natural disaster.[29] In Australia, for example, climate refugees are framed as illegitimate, therefore justifying stricter border control. Categorizing climate refugees by illegality presents them as "deviant, criminal, or sub-human."[30]

Such depictions work in similar ways that climate refugees framed as outsiders do, however, when stating that they are illegal, it sheds light on the lack of recognition in international law to recognize this type of status.

24. Høeg and Tulloch, "Sinking Strangers: Media Representations of Climate Refugees on the BBC and Al Jazeera."(2017).

25. Burcu Togral Koca, "Syrian Refugees in Turkey: From 'Guests' to 'Enemies'?" New Perspectives on Turkey and Cambridge University Press 54 (2016): 55–75.

26. Fisher, "'Fearism': A Critical Analysis of Uses and Discourses in Global Migration Studies."

27. Tim Stephens, "Low Lying Pacific Islands Sue Over Climate Change," October 30, 2019, https://www.maritime-executive.com/editorials/low-lying-pacific-islands-sue-over-climate-change.

28. Høeg and Tulloch, "Sinking Strangers: Media Representations of Climate Refugees on the BBC and Al Jazeera."

29. Lueck, Due, and Augoustinos, "Neoliberalism and Nationalism: Representations of Asylum Seekers in the Australian Mainstream News Media." (2015).

30. Lueck, Due, and Augoustinos, "Neoliberalism and Nationalism: Representations of Asylum Seekers in the Australian Mainstream News Media." (2015).

HEADLINE 2: *"Climate Refugees Refused UN Protection & Denied Rights Under International Law."*[31]

For climate refugees to be legitimized, laws would have to be changed, or new rules must be created. If host states do not want to take responsibility for these critical steps in solving climate-related issues, such a refugee status in relation to climate change, then climate refugees will continue to be recognized as illegal.

Perception 3: A Threat

Western news outlets when reporting on climate refugees showcase them as a threat to host states' sovereignty. Building off of related themes of depicting refugees as "others," or "illegal", when refugees are perceived as a threat, it stems more from the idea that climate refugees "disturb public order."[32] Even if climate refugees, back in their states of origin, were good citizens, with moral reputed, the new identity they take on as asylum seekers in search of refuge due to climate disaster is often met with distaste.

HEADLINE 3: *"Ramping up Repression as the Australian Continent Burns."*[33]

Framing climate refugees as security threats in news stories signals to the reader in the Global North that there is a reason for concern. They become the scapegoat or the cause of conflict. For instance, if climate refugees are traveling in large groups, photos of them presented in mainstream media show "poor people in high numbers threatening to destabilize society."[34] It is essential to recognize that the security component exists in displaying climate refugees as threats and is rooted in a racist ideology that can legitimize host states existing discriminatory practices.

Perception 4: Victims

News sources can present stories around climate refugees based on emotional appeals. The impact of this rhetoric creates a call to action for readers to support the cause. By focusing on emotional personal stories in news reports, Pantti and Ojala argue that there is a "higher level of interest" from audiences "based on understanding."[35] Making an appeal based on pathos can have a positive impact that helps alleviate negative criticism surrounding climate refugees seeking asylum. By adding emotion when framing their stories, these news outlets create a sympathetic feel in order to have the readers view climate refugees as human. This elicits a "humanitarian discourse influenced by climate justice" because it calls for the Global North to act.[36] Not only do readers begin to understand the issue that climate refugees face in seeking refuge, but it also validates the adverse effects that climate change has on people and the environment.

31. Miles Young, "Climate Refugees Refused UN Protection & Denied Rights Under International Law," December 9, 2019, http://www.ipsnews.net/2019/12/climate-refugees-refused-un-protection-denied-rights-international-law/.

32. Koca, "Syrian Refugees in Turkey: From 'Guests' to 'Enemies'?"

33. Jeff Sparrow, "Ramping up Repression as the Australian Continent Burns," November 17, 2019, https://www.jacobinmag.com/2019/11/australia-bushfires-climate-protest-ban.

34. Høeg and Tulloch, "Sinking Strangers: Media Representations of Climate Refugees on the BBC and Al Jazeera."

35. Mervi Pantti and Markus Ojala, "Caught between Sympathy and Suspicion: Journalistic Perceptions and Practices of Telling Asylum Seekers' Personal Stories," Media, Culture, and Society 41 (February 9, 2018), https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0163443718756177.

36. Høeg and Tulloch, "Sinking Strangers: Media Representations of Climate Refugees on the BBC and Al Jazeera."

HEADLINE 4: *"'We Need Support': Pacific Islands Seek Unity to Fight Climate Change."*[37]

When "empathetic curiosity" is used by news outlets such as CNN, TIME, BBC News, The Independent, and the New York Times, it creates a platform that can advocate for the legitimacy of climate refugees to be recognized in international law by the Global North.[38]

While it is exceptional that some news sources in the West use their platform to advocate for refugees, climate refugees are still in a way treated as a third party because other people are speaking on their behalf. It is good that climate refugees are recognized. However, reporters speaking on their behalf can cause them to lose autonomy over their situation.

Perception 5: Activists

Climate refugees are activists. Climate refugees are resilient, but the strength of their internal battle is likely to be revealed in news outlets. In the struggle for survival, how do climate refugees find agency in host states that perceive them negatively? How do they show that they are more than victims? There is more literature surrounding the negative perceptions of refugees than on their resiliency. Tulloch and Hoegel would argue that sometimes when news outlets "portray climate refugees as activists", their activism is perceived by host states as challenging and facing the direct situation.[39] This is an important step that refugees make to gain autonomy.

HEADLINE 5: *"The Climate Crisis Isn't Just Taking Pacific Islanders' Homes, It's Taking Our Identities."*[40]

Activism allows refugees to be agents of their own destiny. By rejecting the status quo that host states project onto them, they empower themselves. Because climate refugees technically are not recognized in Western countries under refugee law, it is crucial for them to regain power over their bodies and stories in a powerless situation. This shows the bravery of climate refugees. When news outlets frame climate refugees as activists, it creates "confrontational representation" in which rich countries are put in a position to reflect on the results of the "historical responsibility they bear."[41] This reflection, however, is necessary for a response made by host states to be implemented. For host states to hold that much power over climate refugees' claims for legitimacy in the legal system reveals the hegemonic structures at play.

CONCLUSION

As climate change increases, so will the number of people displaced by natural disasters. This may only be the beginning. Still, if host states in the West act quickly to pass new laws promptly, they may be able to find a comprehensive solution to

37. Ashley Westerman, "'We Need Support':Pacific Islands Seek Unity To Fight Climate Change," NPR, October 5, 2019, https://www.npr.org/2019/10/05/764570478/we-need-support-pacific-islands-seek-help-and-unity-to-fight-climate-change.

38. Lilie Chouliaraki, "Symbolic Bordering: The Self-Representation of Migrants and Refugees in Digital News," Routeledge Taylor and Francis Group 15 (n.d.): 78–94.

39. Høeg and Tulloch, "Sinking Strangers: Media Representations of Climate Refugees on the BBC and Al Jazeera."

40. Leilani Ganser, "The Climate Crisis Isn't Just Taking Pacific Islanders' Homes, It's Taking Our Identities," December 4, 2019, https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/43kje3/climate-change-isnt-just-taking-indigenous-pacific-islanders-homes-its-taking-our-identities.

41. Høeg and Tulloch, "Sinking Strangers: Media Representations of Climate Refugees on the BBC and Al Jazeera."(2015).

recognizing the displacement climate refugees experience. Five conclusions can be drawn from how mainstream news media in the West cover stories on climate refugees. They are seen as outsiders, which can confirm interstate fears about refugees immigrating to host states. They are perceived as illegal in coverage, to showcase the lack of accountability host states avoids through international law's lack of a cohesive definition that legitimizes climate refugees' situations. They can be framed as threats that reflect the racist ideology and discriminatory practices that are upheld by host states in the West. They are portrayed as victims who lack agency and need host states to advocate for their rights on their behalf. Lastly, some Western news sources point out that climate refugees are activists who empower themselves by challenging stereotypes mentioned previously to regain autonomy in a powerless situation.

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Ontological Insecurity and the Reframing of National Identity in Nuclear Politics Across the Asia-Pacific Region

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ABSTRACT

When it comes to nuclear politics, the three, central and theoretical "-isms" commonly used in international relations offer no other alternatives. There is either the logic of consequence or the logic of appropriateness.[1] These beliefs hold particularly true across the Asia-Pacific region, which from Iran to North Korea, remains the most active theatre in terms of nuclear proliferation. Here from catalytic posture and thus a Chinese involvement, to assured retaliation such as the case of China and India, to what appears to be North-Korea's asymmetric escalation and mutually assured destruction policy, offensive realism and zero-sum game scenarios all prevail.[2]

However, what if we can change this perspective? If we abandon, just for a moment, the security point of view and adopt an ontological point of view? More specifically, what if we can look at the nuclear politic of countries seeking to attain atomic self-reliance as a constitutive tool to which they recur to reconstitute a national identity narrative that has been compromised—that is, either by war, civil unrest, scission or globalization? What kind of policy could then be derived from this reading?

INTRODUCTION

In "Nuclear Logics," Etel Solingen examines the factors by which the analyst can account for the difference in behavior among nations which decide to pursue nuclear weapons development as well as those who renounce to them altogether.[3] Citing Economics Nobel Laureate, Thomas Schelling, Solingen—though not citing the relevance of identity narrative—reiterates that we need to shift the attention to things that incentives compliance and meet expectations.[4]

If compliance, with this advice, had a poor record beginning in 2007, things are certainly not better today. Moon finds that it is, in fact, mismatched expectations, domestic concerns, and South Korea's condition, of what an ancient Korean proverb connotes South Korea being the shrimp among a sea of whales, which has affected denuclearization negotiations and security concerns in the Korean Peninsula.[5]

Jervis and Rapp-Hooper recently brought our attention to the complications arising from signaling mismatch to the lack of coherent and credible signaling in the

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1. Byun, S-W.,"*Asia and the World System*." PPT. In Class lecture. San Francisco State University Spring 2019.

2. Narang, V. "Nuclear Strategies of Emerging Nuclear Powers: North Korea and Iran." The Washington Quarterly. 38:1 pp. 73–91. 2015; Panda, A. & Narang, V., The Hanoi Summit was Doomed from the Start…" Foreign Affairs. 2019

3. Solingen, E., "Nuclear Logics." Princeton University Press. 2007.

4. Ibid

5. Moon, C., "The Next Stage of the Korean Peace Process." SNAPSHOT. Foreign Affairs, 2019.

negotiating record of the US as well as North Korea.[6] The divarication of signaling was something that this author also found to be true in the relation between Pakistan and the US at the time of the Pakistani bombing.[7]

According to Cha's calculations of the US administration, there are expectations that continue to apply sanction pressures which conjoin with a charming bromance between the two leaders, thus producing a Quaddafy-like reaction on the part of Kim Jong-un, and which also explains the current National Security Adviser's commitment to these sanctions.[8] However, although real, the relevance of leadership analysis in this context since the fall of Libya, has limited applicability; other factors have come into play which makes the survival of the Kim Regime an unresolved obstacle.

DISCUSSION

One essential debate in international relations concerns the role that should be assigned to nuclear armaments (proliferation) when it comes to the strategic security of regional areas of the Asia-Pacific Region and the Middle East. Within this context and given the recent "failure" of the US-North-Korea meeting in Hanoi, the risk of a return to a season of rocket testing across the bow still remains. South Korean and Japan allies are not secondary, the issue of North-Korea denuclearization is paramount.

However, the relations between the US and North Korea remain much hotter across the Asia-Pacific region as the issue of nuclear proliferation is currently being handled from a security point of view. Being the prevailing interpretation Realist, it prescribes that self-help and power balancing against the pressure of surrounding neighbors (who may possess superior military superiority or who are already members of the nuclear club) are the main drivers. So, although South East Asia seems to be immune from this disease, the belief that the pressure to proliferate across the whole region will compel nations such as Singapore, Indonesia, South Korea, Malaysia, Thailand, and even Taiwan or Japan to seek a nuclear arsenal is widely contested.[9] However, none of these countries have up to now tried to attain this capability. To the contrary, institutes of international governance, treaties, and standardized norms have been adopted by these countries to negotiate disputes, to diffuse tensions, and to increase the security cooperation (Ibid.).

This paper intends to delve beneath the aforementioned line of inquiry. It hypothesizes that sifted through the lens of identity narrative, the race toward nuclearization for states such as Pakistan, India and North Korea it is as much as about deterring aggression, and asserting sovereignty, as it is mending a fractured sense of ontological security. Under this guise, reaching a Final Fully Verified Denuclearization with North Korea, for example, could become a secondary or even a tertiary level goal in the negotiations with the US.[10] Assuming this posture would help to make some progress on negotiating fronts which include bottom-up initiatives that connect to

6. Jervis, R. & Rapp-Hooper, M., "Perception and Misperception in the Korean Peninsula." Foreign Affairs. 2018.

7. Pontoniere, P., "Pakistan: For the U.S. the road out of Afghanistan goes through the Land of the Pure." Vironomics. L'espresso. 2019.

8. Cha, V., "U.S. Policy Toward North Korea After the Second Summit," Written testimony, SFRC East Asia Subcommittee on Foreign Relations Subcommittee on East Asia, The Pacific, and International Cybersecurity Policy. Center for Strategic and International Studies. (2019).

9. See Seng, T., "The Road Not Taken." The Long Shadow Nuclear Weapons and Security in 21st Century Asia. 2008.

10. Moon, C., "The Next Stage of the Korean Peace Process." SNAPSHOT. Foreign Affairs, 2019.

private and nonprofit institutions, as well as help the horizontal cooperation initiatives, such as Track-II and people-to-people diplomacy.[11]

It is appropriate to explain the nuclear behavior of some states across the Asian chessboard via national identity's and historical data. These seem to confirm that nuclear weapons have had a minimal impact on shifting the regional balance of power, and this may also serve as an explanation why the security dilemma hypothesis has not been reified across the South and Southeast China Sea, where the pressure to nuclearize and proliferate militarily remains low.[12]

CASE STUDY

Contrarily to the five nuclear powers (i.e., US, USSR, UK, France and China) originally recognized by the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons whose capability was sought and developed within a declared war context following the zero-sum logic of the Cold-War bloc's confrontation, others like India, Pakistan, South Africa, Israel and North-Korea have attained their capacity during times of global peace, but in areas of regional instability. Here, a smaller, and less powerful state was undergoing a phase of ontological insecurity caused by the convergence of internal and external factors, as it was in the case of India's Partition in 1947, the Kashmir War of 1965, East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) secession from Pakistan in 1971, and North Korea.

This paper will limit itself to the case of countries such as India, Pakistan, South Africa, Israel, and North Korea, where nuclear capability was attained in the post-Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons of 1968. We believe, however, that our hypothesis would enrich the conclusions derived with other methodological tools also in the cases of the other countries that pursued the capability as a result of WWII or in its immediate Cold War aftermath.

Here we will discuss the Indian, Pakistani and North Korean cases for which supportive sources have been found in literature and the exegesis of former European diplomats. We will also briefly examine the applicability of the model to the middle eastern theatre. Taken these cases together, allow us to confirm an observation that this author had made about the importance of the nuclear program and the atomic bomb in Pakistan's strategy to re-establish its national identity following the split (civil war/military confrontation with India of 1971) of East Pakistan.[13]

Where the realist theory may serve to rationalize the Pakistani pursuit of the Islamic Bomb based on self-help and power balancing against the pressure of surrounding neighbors (who already possessed nuclear devices), this author introduced the idea that issues linked to Pakistan's ontological security and national identity may have played as much a role, if not a more definitive one. Adopting a constructivist point of view and inserting history, religion, and security concerns in the region's governance equation, this writer theorizes that domestic factors drove Pakistan's intentions more than it did direct terrorizing India. The necessity of the reframing of the national narrative which had been shattered by the crisis of 1971, offered the country's military, political, and religious elites the opportunity to reframe the national identity in

11. Homans, C., "Track II Diplomacy: A Short History. How the left-field idea of diplomacy without diplomats became an essential tool of statecraft." IN BOX. Foreign Policy. 2011.

12. See Seng, T., "The Road Not Taken." The Long Shadow Nuclear Weapons and Security in 21st Century Asia. 2008.

13. Pontoniere, P., "Pakistan: For the U.S. the road out of Afghanistan goes through the Land of the Pure." Vironomics. L'espresso. 2019.

the direction of 1) a militarized version of Islam and 2) politically as an illiberal democracy.[14] The atomic bomb, which was imagined as a sort of sword of Islam served to bridge the ontological abyss created by the secession of Bangladesh from Pakistan.

While much is debated about the India-Pakistan ongoing contention over the Kashmir—which has been ongoing since the First Kashmir War of 1947—in the latest development, Pakistan in April of 2019, assessed a punishing blow to India's military pride and affirmed its air dominance over the region (nobody has until now ever feared that the two nations may use the atomic bomb against each other or any of their neighbors). In the years following, the first clash of 1947 Bhutto, Zia ul-Haq, Musharraf and Zardari, and every leader thereafter and in-between, Pakistan has remained the "Guardian of Islam" because it was the first Islamic country to attain an atomic status. Pakistani's elite leveraged to Islamize and militarize the Pakistani society, and at the same time gained a degree of independence from the US, thus increasing its own defense self-reliance, and through hedging China and India, obtained the (military) respect it sought at the regional level.[15]

A case similar to Pakistan's is India's following the blowing defeat suffered by China during the Sino-Indian conflict. Here, while the prevalent interpretation for justifying Indira Gandhi's 1974 authorization of the first nuclear test was India's desire to balance China's threat after the war of 1962, the atomic pursuit can also be explained as a tool to reframe India's national identity.[16] An identity which, according to its elites, remained a country which faced great difficulty to transform itself into a modern nation (Ibid.).

As in the cases of Pakistan and India, the shift toward the militarization of a country's national identity and the centrality of developing its nuclear portfolio were attained through the revisionist examination of the intentions of the founders of the Nation. In this direction and in her paper "State, Identity and Representations of Nuclear (In)Securities in India and Pakistan," Runa Das contends that Indira Gandhi was a proponent of military nationalism in re-interpreting India's nationalist identity.[17] Due to converging realities of China's modernizing nuclear technology, Pakistan's turning to authoritarianism and the USA's anti-Indian involvement in South Asia helped Gandhi to reconnect the shattered ontological certitude on which the nation stood with the seemingly contradictory Nehruvian intent for modern India to play a peaceful co-existence role for the future of the region. Moreover, while in Pakistan the superior call which justified the effort was based on the supposition that it would become a moral beacon for Islam in the world, in the case of India, it was the commitment to a non-colonial global order and non-nuclear apartheid, and hence to thinking which remained based in its identity. In this context, nuclear technology took on a special significance as an explicit example of both the promise and the threat of Western modernity. Further, it promised to instill in India what Nehru referred to as a scientific temper.[18]

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14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Thornley, T., "India's Nuclear Restraint and the Peaceful Nuclear Explosion. E-International Relation;

17. Das, R. State, Identity and Representations of Nuclear (In)Securities in India and Pakistan. Journal of Asian and African Studies. 45(2) 146–169. 2011.

18. Chacko, P., "The search for a scientific temper: nuclear technology and the ambivalence of India's postcolonial modernity." Review of International Studies." 37, 185–208, 2011.

It was not the nonmilitary intent, but rather the identity and domestic rooting of India's pursuit of a nuclear capability that is recognized by Indian and Pakistani authority, Stephen Cohen. Already, in 1998, in a seminal paper about India's nuclear aims, while indicating that factors such as security, geographical constraints, energy, environmental circumstances, and checkered technological development all played a role in the country's atomic drive. Cohen admonished that cultural and self-image factors were relevant as well—if not foundational—in unpacking India's intentions.[19] Cohen as well traces the effort back to Nehru—the country's founding father. According to Cohen in "The Reborn India", Nehru saw nuclear power as a tool to leapfrog the country from a dung power to a nuclear power in a single steep, thus gaining its place into modernity and confirming India's tradition as a supremely advanced scientific state while the west and Islam were mired in ignorance.[20]

Revisited in the same non-securitized perspective, North Korea's ongoing rattling of the nuclear saber and the unnerving for global powers and neighboring nations, still does not instill the sacred terror of impending military action, and the atomic catastrophe that one would expect. The North Korean nuclear threat (while being more of a negotiating tool than a real sword of Damocles dangling over the head of western powers) is also a tool to create national cohesion. It also has the power to change the narrative of North Korea as a pariah state.

The domestic and identity aims of North Korea's pursuit of nuclear readiness also emerged in the analysis of Cha and the recollection of former US Ambassador to South Korea, Kathleen Stephen.[21] In their report, the bomb then becomes a mean by which North Korea seeks to arrest the decline it faces vis-à-vis South Korea, and to present itself as the sole power on the Korean Peninsula. It is a country of long traditions and unbroken sovereignty for hundreds of years proud people. In Pakistan, and in North Korea, the race toward nuclearization has served Kim Jong-un and his predecessors, not only to entrap the US into a negotiation that it does not control, but also to further the advancement of militaristic pride among the nation's people.[22]

However, considering the recent failed meeting in Hanoi, Panda and Narang speculate that North Korea may pull back from the assured retaliatory posture it was assuming toward the US. And rather than abandoning catalytic attempts toward China and asymmetric escalation as a nuclear policy of choice, it will return to it with a vengeance.[23]

Moreover, Kim's 2019 New Year's declaration may prove how Panda and Narang are correct. "If the United States……persists in imposing sanctions and pressure against our republic we may be compelled to find a new way for defending the sovereignty of the country," warned Kim foretelling a potential breakdown and re-centering the narrative around the supreme rights of the country.[24] In his story, nuclear weapons are a tool to set the country on its predestined path of future of greatness.

19. Cohen, S.P., "Nuclear Weapons and Conflict in South Asia." Brookings Education. 1998.

20. Ibid.

21. Cha, V., "U.S. Policy Toward North Korea After the Second Summit," Written testimony, SFRC East Asia Subcommittee on Foreign Relations Subcommittee on East Asia, The Pacific, and International Cybersecurity Policy. Center for Strategic and International Studies. 2019; Stephens. K., "Diplomacy on North Korea." Q&A Session with former Ambassador to South Korea and Econo9mic Institute President & CEO. San Francisco State University. Apr. 25, 2019.

22. Jervis, R. & Rapp-Hooper, M., "Perception and Misperception in the Korean Peninsula." Foreign Affairs. 2018.

23. Panda, A. & Narang, V., The Hanoi Summit was Doomed from the Start…" Foreign Affairs. 2019

24. Ibid.

We turn to Narang to also debate the case of Iran. Although any discussion about Iran's nuclear future remains mostly speculative (because at this stage it is difficult even to assess the effects sorted by the 2015 Iran Nuclear Deal Framework) Narang hypothesizes that a Nuclear Iran would look more like an India than a North Korea.[25] (Narang, 2015). He furthers that it would rely on an assured retaliation policy, thus resort to a posture in which (what?) would be transparent about its capabilities. However, Iran's recent hours announcement signaled that they are ramping up its uranium production in response to the US. Furthermore, the genocidal taunts confirm two new developments. First, that Tehran is now following North Korea's example, and second that the US pressure has served to the place the nuclear at the heart of the survival of the new Iran.

Confirmed also by Solingen and Jervis & Rapp-Hooper, the idea that nuclear proliferation is driven mostly by internal factors in international relations should also serve as a cautionary tale about the real political cohesiveness of nations such as North Korea or Iran, which seek to become nuclear powers.[26] While it is unlikely that they will use their devices to resolve border contentions and political disagreement, the deterrence they provide from total destruction (as well as the protection they offer from invasion and final defeat) make them a contributing factor to the likeliness that conventional military means may be sued to resolve regional contestations.

CONCLUSION

How countries recur to seeking nuclear capability to heal an ontological rupture that they have suffered in their national narrative and the kinds of policies that could be derived from this understanding have been seldom discussed in international relations. Particularly, this is in relation to the Asia-Pacific region, which is reputed to be a hotbed for this pursuit. The fact is that beyond all speculations, a Spaceballs-sort of politics has been playing for years across the Asia-Pacific about the nuclearization of the region. Across the Asia-Pacific the rattling of nuclear sabers has served principally to puff up the credibility of states that have failed in their most basic duty: defending the integrity of their borders, and thus failing to allow a narrative that bonds their people together. In Asia, ontologically insecure nations try to shore up their international standing and find a new identity through the acquisition of nuclear devices and the promotion of a narrative which justifies their addition as a necessary step to affirm the new national trajectory. While this does not mean that power balancing, self-help, and hedging external threats do not play a role in the drive toward nuclearization. It is important to understand that, within the realm of national identity (and thus inextricably linked to the domestic aims of the policy) the nuclear threat loses much of its relevance on the bilateral level. Contrary to being an obstacle, we venture that a good negotiator could leverage one to open the doors to the possibility of cooperation among (also adversaries) on the front of traditional military coordination, cybersecurity integration and Track-II like initiatives at the level of the civil society as in the case of Pakistan. From this descends that Trump's and Kim Jong-un's contention about "who has got the larger Schwartz" or the "bigger button." Nevertheless, this should not distract us from understanding what the real options are. The fact is that

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25. Narang, V. "Nuclear Strategies of Emerging Nuclear Powers: North Korea and Iran." The Washington Quarterly. 38:1 pp. 73–91. 2015.

26. Solingen, E., "Nuclear Logics." Princeton University Press. 2007; Jervis, R. & Rapp-Hooper, M., "Perception and Misperception in the Korean Peninsula." Foreign Affairs. 2018.

at this stage both for the US, and North-Korea short of total conventional war on the Korean peninsula there is no other option but to continue seeking for the out-of-the box proposal that may unblock the stalemate and provide the necessary propaganda de-escalation. This solution, in this author's opinion, would be segregating nuclear talks to the context of international institutions while advancing areas of cooperation at all other levels but particularly at the horizontal level of the two societies level. Once implemented toward North Korea, this policy forbids nothing and it also applies in the relations with Iran.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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Struggle for Women's Rights in Afghanistan

SUAAD SALEH

ABSTRACT

Women in Afghanistan have been struggling with numerous issues, which magnified with the rise and occupation of the Taliban. The purpose of this paper is to examine not only the history of women's rights in Afghanistan but also their current political and social state in a country that has been scrutinized for their treatment of women. By exploring the deep history of Afghanistan and its rule under the Taliban, this paper will transition to the Taliban's treatment of women and elaborate on whether or not women's rights have truly progressed.

INTRODUCTION

Afghanistan is a country known for its notorious human rights abuses. A significant predicament of human rights abuse in Afghanistan is its record of the ill-treatment of women. Women, to this day struggle to achieve greater social, political, and economic freedom. Afghan women fight everyday to achieve independence and equality in the developing world. It is crucial to analyze the history of Afghanistan and its role in the treatment of women. It has been demonstrated that policies denying women's rights were not part of women's history in Afghanistan. They were rather integrated in the establishment of the conservative and Islamist group Taliban, which drastically weakened the position of women in both social and private settings completely. With the rise of the Taliban patriarchy, extremist policies emerged and denied women their basic human rights. Its repercussions manifested in their everyday lives, affecting their mental health, social standing, and political role in society which is still relevant today. Among the rights and liberties stripped by the Taliban included receiving an education, leaving the house without a male guardian, and other severe restrictions that will be discussed in this paper.

The objective of this paper is to evaluate both the history of women's rights in Afghanistan and their current social state. This paper will first highlight the historical aspect of Afghanistan and its rule under the Taliban, then elaborate on how the Taliban treat women, and lastly demonstrate whether women truly progressed. The central argument of this paper is that the women of Afghanistan are less likely to attain the same degree of equality and privileges as their male counterparts due to the strong patriarchal traditions that the Taliban left behind. Because of this, the protection and promotion of women's rights becomes a paramount challenge for women across Afghanistan.

A Historical Overview

Throughout their history, Afghanistan has been a crossroad for nations, religions, and empires. The variety of ethnic communities, along with ethno-linguistic and tribal differences, have left the country in a vulnerable condition where differences have

created a polarized state rather than a unified one. With a number of wars fought consecutively, Afghanistan has often struggled to form a cohesive government amid the influence of outside invaders and internal power-hungry actors. Afghanistan is perceived to be in a perpetual state of warfare, but many do not realize that it was once a nation of peace, progress, and liberation for both men and women. Afghanistan in the 1960s, before the Soviet invasion and rise of the Taliban, is unrecognizable when compared to its current conditions. The period between 1955-1973 was considered to be the peak of Western influence in Afghanistan.[1] This was evident not only in Afghan fashion but the promotion of the arts, education, poetry, and socio-economic occupations. Afghanistan's capital, Kabul, became a hub for modern nightclubs and hotels. Elite hotels hosted fashion shows that featured Afghan women and Western fashions. Fashion became one of the fastest growing trends of westernization. Women spent huge sums of money just to resemble their counterparts in Europe. The Afghan women started walking the streets of Kabul wearing miniskirts and sleeveless dresses.

Nevertheless, these trends and lifestyles failed to expand to the rural parts of Afghanistan, and instead led to oppositional demands by clerics and religious extremists from these areas. By the spring of 1970, these religious extremists took to the streets of Kabul calling for a restriction on Westernization. This included bans on miniskirts, coeducation, and alcohol.[2] Despite the hostility from these clerics and conservatives, modern programs continued to flourish until 1992, when the coalition of Islamic parties, such as the "People's democratic Party in Afghanistan," came to power.

The Islamic parties that came to power were determined to build a country based on Islamic principles and teachings in an already Muslim society. This new regime detrimentally affected the lives and freedom of Afghan women. Women were mandated to wear hijab (head covering) and ordered to discard Western clothing. In addition, women were not allowed to work. On August 1993, the Government Office of Research and Decrees of the Supreme Court ordered government agencies and state functionaries to dismiss all female employees from their positions, further providing a guideline of what women's societal obligations should be. The decree reads:

> *Women need not leave their homes at all, unless absolutely necessary, in which case, they are to cover themselves completely; are not to wear attractive clothing and decorative accessories; do not wear perfume; their jewelry must not make any noise; they are not to walk gracefully or with pride and in the middle of the sidewalk; are not to talk to strangers; are not to speak loudly or laugh in public; and they must always ask their husbands' permission to leave home.*[3]

Men also became victim to these new regulations. They were required to grow thick beards, and wear long traditional shirts with loose pants and turbans. Anything perceived to be "anti-Islamic" was banned. Thus, came the end to nightclubs, theatres, the media and books that was claimed to be against Islam or promoted Western ideologies.

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2. Skaine, Rosemarie. The Women of Afghanistan under the Taliban. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2002.

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CASE STUDY

Afghanistan under the Taliban

In the year 1996, the Taliban, an ultraconservative political and religious group, seized power in Afghanistan. The Taliban was supported by Pakistan, which was in turn supported by the US.[4] The US was under the impression that welcoming the Taliban would benefit their economic interests with Pakistan. However, the United States did not foresee how this would later be harmful to them. While the Taliban had been prominent for some time in the rural areas of Afghanistan, they played a relatively small role in society. A series of unfortunate historical events occurred in Afghanistan that led to the extremist groups coming to power: the social justice policies of President Daoud Khan playing into the hands of the communists, the communists inviting the Soviets, the Soviets calling for resistance, the resistance inspiring a fratricidal war, and the struggles leading to acts of violence.[5]

The Taliban gained popular support because of the country's vulnerability after the Soviet invasion. Many people were eager for some sort of direction, and for Afghanistan to be the furthest away politically from the country's previous invaders. The support the Taliban received is evident in a speech by the governor of Herat, Afghanistan:

> *It is a matter of pride for all Afghanistan that we have kept our women at home. … The Sharia has described everyone's way of conduct. I mean that the Sharia allows for a woman to see a male doctor when she becomes ill. The fact of the matter is that no other country has given women the rights we have given them. We have given women the rights that God and his Messenger have instructed, that is to stay in their homes and to gain religious instructions in hijab (seclusion).*[6]

It is imperative to remember that, while there are no justifications for their actions, many members of the Taliban were rural Pashtuns who were born in refugee camps in Pakistan and attended exclusively male Quranic schools (madrasas). They were raised in an isolated and belligerent atmosphere. A majority of them did not know how to read or write.[7] Without any knowledge of the area, it was not difficult to paint the West as diabolical. From this sentiment, the seed of abhorrence and animosity for anyone who did not adhere to their ideology grew.

Women under the Taliban

The restrictions placed on women pushed them back in a number of significant ways that ultimately shifted their position in society. The Taliban implemented stricter laws on Afghan women, requiring them to wear burqas (head to toe covering), prohibiting them again to leave their house without a mahram (male guardian), whipping them if their ankles showed, and stoning them to death if they were accused of adultery.[8] All of

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these restrictions affected the lives of women much more than simply restricting them to their homes. Women were prevented from working outside of the home, therefore making them unable to become doctors or nurses. Women were also forbidden from being examined by male doctors, heavily affecting the physical health of women across Afghanistan. These strict and conservative rules were the Taliban's way of following through with their intention of implementing what they considered to be Sharia Law (Islamic Law). The Taliban recruited an army of enforcers to help make sure these rules were followed. Due to these strict interpretations of Sharia Law, women were subjected to severe violations of human rights by the Taliban. Before the Taliban rose to power in Kabul, 70 percent of teachers and 40 percent of doctors were female. Over half the students enrolled in schools were female and women were employed in various fields of work.[9] The suppression of women was sudden. Announcements were made on the radio and in the streets with the new restrictions drastically affecting the lives of Afghan women.

One of the first laws the Taliban announced was the prohibition of females attending school. Humanitarian groups attempted to find a loophole by establishing schools in private homes to teach girls how to weave and sew. Nevertheless, in 1998, the Taliban continued to issue new laws which ordered the closure of privately funded schools, set the age limit on girls who could receive an education to eight years old, and further restricted women to simply be educated on the Quran.[10] The banning of women from both teaching and receiving an education also significantly affected the lives of Afghan men, because a majority of Afghan teachers were female, an immense decline of educators consequently ensued. A majority of the boys in Taliban-controlled areas did not attend school. The quality of education for those who did attend school was questionable.

To escape the brutal enforcement of the laws implemented by the Taliban, many people sought refuge in the neighboring country of Pakistan. A large number of educated women who actively participated in Afghanistan's socioeconomic development before and during the Soviet invasion also migrated to Pakistan in hopes of participating in the liberation struggle.[11] However, the refugee camps in Pakistan inherited some of the same restrictions in Afghanistan. Women in these camps were still required to cover up and were prohibited from continuing their education after the age of 10. Instead, they were most often forced into home-based occupations, such as weaving carpets and rugs. In addition, women who were politically active were constantly harassed and some were assassinated. The 1990's presented a chapter in Afghan women's history that painted an appalling portrait of patriarchy, oppression, violence, and decline of basic human rights. The next section presents how Afghan women have transformed since the 1990's, and also how the past continues to linger in their present society.

Current Snapshot
Afghanistan today is not the same country it was eighteen years ago, but women are still not always treated better than they previously were. There have been positive improvements toward women in various fields, including having the option to attend

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9. Ellis, Deborah. Women of the Afghan War. Praeger, 2000. page 62

10. Delloye, Isabelle. Women of Afghanistan. Ruminator Books, 2003. Page 64

11. Brown, Brenda. "The Lived Experience of Afghan Women Refugees in Three ..." Accessed May 9, 2019. https://digitalcommons.kennesaw.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1007&context=dns_etd.

school and being allowed to participate in certain international events such as the Olympic games. Women are also allowed to work again as it once was before the Taliban rule. Amongst all of Afghanistan's neighboring countries, Afghanistan holds the highest number of women in parliament. Furthermore, in 2009, former president Hamid Karzai signed the Elimination of Violence Against Women (EVAW) Law which lists 22 acts of violence against women and commends punishments for them, along with setting out various related government responsibilities.[12] On paper, this law appears to hamper oppressive patriarchy, as it criminalizes mental, physical, and emotional abuse. However, creating a feminist culture in a country that has struggled with the treatment of women for so many years can be a difficult process.

While these laws seem to be progressive, the actual conditions of women tell a strikingly different story. While women are allowed to drive, those who do are typically subjected to continuous harassment. Although the burka that was mandated by the Taliban is not a requirement anymore, women who do not wear it often receive harassment from men on the street or even by their fathers and husbands. While they don't need a mahram to go out, women are often harassed in the streets, simply for being women.

Horrifying rituals such as honor killings are still not uncommon in this third world country. Women and girls suspected of 'disgracing' their family are often killed by their husbands, fathers, and brothers to maintain their 'honor.' Many times, the perpetrators are not held accountable for their actions. In May 2018, the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan released the report: Injustice and Impunity: Mediation of Criminal Offences of Violence against Women, which focused on the injustice of the violence committed against women. Tadamichi Yamomoto, the UN Secretary General's Special Representative for Afghanistan states said, "The use of mediation in criminal cases serves not only to normalize violence against women but also to undermine confidence in the criminal justice system as a whole. The report's findings, including details indicating unchecked impunity in honor killings and the murder of Afghan women, signals that justice for Afghan women victims of violence remains severely inadequate."[13]

While journalists and activists have reported many cases of violence against women in Afghanistan, a recent case in particular came to be quite shocking to many people across the globe. Falsely accused of burning the Quran, 27-year old Farkhunda Malikzada was grabbed outside a mosque, dragged along a road by a frenzied mob that stoned her to death, ran her over with a car, then set her body on fire. The horrific event not only embarrassed officials of the Western-backed government, which has attempted to promote women's rights in the conservative society, but further proved Afghanistan to be a country where women are often killed with impunity in the name of protecting family honor.[14]

As of early 2019, peace talks have increased in Afghanistan. In February, the Taliban released a statement guaranteeing the rights of women so long as it fell under

12. "Afghan Government Ignoring Violence Against Women." Human Rights Watch, 31 May 2018, www.hrw.org/news/2018/05/30/afghan-government-ignoring-violence-against-women.

13. "Access to Justice for Afghan Women Victims of Violence 'Severely Inadequate' – UN Envoy." UNAMA, 29 May 2018, unama.unmissions.org/access-justice-afghan-women-victims-violence-'severely-inadequate'–––un-envoy.

14. Constable, Pamela. "It Was a Brutal Killing That Shocked Afghanistan. Now, the Outrage Has Faded." The Washington Post, WP Company, 28 Mar. 2017, www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/it-was-a-brutal-killing-that-shocked-afghanistan-now-the-outrage-has-faded/2017/03/27/e3301f5a-109c-11e7-aa57-2ca1b05c41b8_story.html?utm_term=.d1d5a61c2799.

the umbrella of Islam. The statement denounced "so-called" activists referring to female advocates that were members of women organizations, and demanded a new constitution based on "Islamic principles, national interests, historic pride, and social justice."[15] Many Afghan women fear that their rights protected under the constitution will be given away as part of a peace settlement between the Afghan government and the Taliban. The constitution guarantees the same rights to women as men. However, in practice, women still face discrimination, injustice, and suppression. Since the overthrow of the Taliban, women have sought to return to their former jobs as teachers, doctors, and civil servants. Radio and television broadcasts in Kabul have once again featured female commentators.

In recent years, the Afghanistan Ministry of Health has prioritized the creation and application of reproductive health programs, especially the provision of emergency obstetric care and family-planning services. Midwives are being trained to provide basic reproductive health services. Obstetricians provide high-risk obstetric care, including cesarean births at hospitals.

Thousands of women have been trained by the All Afghan Women's Union, which is a training center for women entrepreneurs based in Kabul. According to Microfinance Times, 75 percent of all active microcredit borrowers in Afghanistan are now women. Many of these women use their loans to start new businesses such as beauty parlors, tailoring shops, and bakeries. Many women even earn enough to support themselves and their families independently. In addition, the Afghan Women Judges Association is the country's first association of female judges. Their goal is to ensure the active participation of female judges and lawyers in the judicial system, as well as to promote professional legal advice for vulnerable Afghan women across the country. There are currently some 50 female judges in Afghanistan, most of them work in Kabul.[16]

CONCLUSION

A large number of women in Afghanistan are uneducated. Therefore, they are often unable to demand equality and are less informed when it comes to their faith. These women rely on Mullahs for their information about their Islamic faith. However, because these Mullahs are also uneducated, they interpret Islam in the Quran the way they believe is beneficial. They often disregard the contributions women have made to society and further seek to limit their role in society.[17] Conservative clerics constantly encourage women to work, but at home; as wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters. They call for womens 'traditional' role in society of domestic responsibility, their primary objective is to guarantee the subordination of women to men and to maintain the idea that men are the guardians of women.

Having dissected the context of womens rights in Afghanistan, it is safe to conclude that the womens struggle for freedom faces a colossal challenge toward progressive change in the country. The current conditions fall short of equality. I believe that the case of women in Afghanistan is far from a completely lost cause. While there are many

15. Bezhan, Frud, and Frud Bezhan. "Afghan Taliban Open To Women's Rights -- But Only On Its Terms." RadioFreeEurope/RadioLiberty, RadioFreeEurope/RadioLiberty, 7 Feb. 2019, www.rferl.org/a/taliban-afghanistan-open-women-s-rights-only-terms/29755102.html.

16. "Women in Afghanistan ~ Employment." PBS, Public Broadcasting Service, 14 Oct. 2008, www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/interactives-extras/photo-galleries/women-in-afghanistan-employment/2202/.

17. Emadi, Hafizullah. Repression, Resistance, and Women in Afghanistan. Westport: Greenwood Group, Incorporated, 2002. Page 112

different roads to take for the progression of Afghanistan, one of the key aspects that could heavily improve the lives of women in Afghanistan is to receive proper education. While the process is difficult, receiving an education is very likely to empower them in socio-economic and political terms.

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