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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.

Submissions & 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 by 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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We would like to thank Professor Joshua Singer and his team of talented student designers for the new look of our journal.

In Memory of Lee Ann Fujii

Lee Ann Fujii received her MA from our Department in 2001, went on to get her doctorate and attained renown for her book, *Killing Neighbors*, about the Rwanda genocide. She passed away in March and those of us who knew her will always remember her fondly.

Author Biographies

Megan Stone

Megan Stone is a student at San Francisco State University and is a ninth generation Californian. She studies international relations with an interest in gender studies and is in her final year of her undergraduate degree. She studied at Cardiff University during the spring of 2017 where she attended the school of journalism. She plans to work in legislation and policy making in the future.

Theodore Prompichai

Theodore Supanarong Prompichai, working on his undergraduate degree at San Francisco State University, majors in International Relations with an emphasis on International Organizations and Middle-East and Islamic Studies. His interests in international politics began with his first job upon moving to Berkeley where he served as cultural liaison, English tutor and housing manager at an international English learning school. It was through this term that Theodore was able to immerse himself in the wealth of all cultures, acquire invaluable cross-cultural exchanges and begin to identify himself as a global citizen. Furthermore, his experience with local Bay Area non-profit organizations and certification in counseling psychology has encouraged him to pursue his passion to holistically build stronger more unified local and global communities. Expected to graduate in Fall of 2017, he aims to pursue a career in the non-profit sector advocating for social-justice and the advancement of human rights both at home and internationally.

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Mohamed Abdulla Al Thani is an international graduate student from Qatar who started his educational journey in the Bay Area of California in 2013 at Diablo Valley College (DVC). Subsequent to DVC in 2014, Mohamed transferred to California State University- Long Beach, where he graduated in the Spring of 2016 with a bachelor's degree in political science, with an area of concentration in global politics. He vehemently started his master's program here at San Francisco State University (SFSU) in the international relations department where he passionately wrote on issues concerning different forms of security threats and conflicts in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), and graduated in the Fall of 2017. Throughout his education here in the United States, Mohamed worked as an intern at one of the top non-governmental organizations such as the American Red Cross in 2014, and at the General Consulate of Qatar in Los Angeles within the media department. Looking forward, Mohamed will be working within the government of his country, in the diplomatic field representing Qatar on issues plaguing the nation's networks and its global influence.

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Tatiana Cortes-Mondragon is a senior student at the San Francisco State University, graduating in the spring of 2018 with a bachelor's degree in International Relations. As an International Relations major, she has acquired academic knowledge to understand current foreign affairs in general, such as international politics, global economy, and pressing societal issues that we are facing today. She has emphasized her academic journey in gender inequality, inequalities exacerbated by the economic liberalization, global terrorism, and environmental impacts due to industrialization – All with the focus on global human rights, security, and peace. Tatiana transferred from Las Positas College and is planning to attend law school after graduating. She wants to continue with her focus on human rights, aspiring to become an attorney for an international organization that defends children and/or women globally. She is bilingual, proficient in Spanish with some knowledge of French, these are good tools that will help reach her goals as a human right's attorney.

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“She is not a Criminal”: An Analysis of the Religious and Political Impact on Abortion Policy

Megan Stone

Abstract

The matter of reproductive rights remains a global issue. This paper examines the implication that the Catholic Church drives conservative views in regions with high church presence, such as The Republic of Ireland. Through a feminist argument, this paper evaluates this claim, analyzing religion in a social context, religious and political institutionalism, and external pressures in relation to Ireland’s abortion policy. It is concluded rather, that a religious foundation is what compels conservative policies in disregard to contemporary reformative views of the state.

Introduction

Approximately 50 million abortions are carried out every year in the world, and it is estimated that 40 percent are performed illegally¹. The global issue of women’s reproductive rights is an ongoing debate. This paper will discuss the role of religion in determining a country’s political agenda addressing abortion policy while focusing on the unique case of Ireland, which is a country that has long had connections with the Catholic Church. The evidence will be presented into sub-sections examining religion in terms of social context, the institutional relationship of religion and politics, and external pressures urging for reform. I propose that religion alone does not determine a country’s policy stance on morality issues such as abortion, rather its role in the foundations of the country and political ties drive the views of conservative politics.

1. “Member States | United Nations,” *UN News Center*, UN, n.d. Web.

Theoretical Debate

Social Context of Religion

Many controversial political issues arise from varying perceptions of morality. Previous research has centralized religion as a primary factor as to what shapes countries’ conservative nature. However, further investigation by Professors Amy Adamczyk and Cassidy Pitt in their article, “Shaping attitudes about homosexuality: The role of religion and cultural context,” reveals that a nation’s public policy stance does not solely rise from individuals and their religious practices, but rather from the foundations that religion has instilled upon its politics.²

Following this reasoning, Dr. Kotler-Berkowitz agrees that the social context of religion plays a vital role in affecting state policies. However, in his article, “Religion and Voting Behaviour in Great Britain: A Reassessment,” he focuses on the influence that a religious environment has on individual voting practices, rather than state politics as a whole. He explains, “religious practices, religious beliefs and the religious composition of households also affect voting behavior,”³ and that this concept is still relevant after examining and accounting for other variables that may determine a voter’s choice. He concludes that, “interaction effects, both among religious variables and between religious and class variables, further influence the relationship between religion and voting behavior.”⁴ Kotler-Berkowitz believes that British analysts have overlooked the importance of religion when it comes to voting patterns and stresses the data from the British Household Panel Study (BHPS) on the important role religion has in how people vote.⁵

Kotler-Berkowitz highlights a similar idea of Pitt and Adamczyk’s when he introduces the “Theory of Religious Dimensions and Politics,” which emphasizes three dimensions of religion, “belonging, behaving and believing. Belonging refers to affiliation with a religious community, denomination or tradition. Behaving signifies the practice of faith. Believing refers to acceptance of the religious tenets or doctrine that the tradition upholds.” Scholars note while they are often times grouped together, they are separate components of religion and while all three can exist together, there can be one or two present and the other absent. For example, there can be, “non-practising members of a religious group (belonging without behaving) and differences in doctrinal orthodoxy within religious communities (belonging with variations in believing).”⁶

This three-dimensional theory relates back to Adamczyk and Pitt’s concept about religious values having survived secularization. It supports their argument by showing the distinct differences of engaging with a religion. Adamczyk and Pitt’s proposal that an individual’s religious practice does not necessarily correspond to a specific voting pattern relates to the idea of belonging (to a religious society) without behaving

2. Amy Adamczyk and Cassidy Pitt, “Shaping attitudes about homosexuality: The role of religion and cultural context,” *Social Science Research* 38.2, 2009: 338-351.

3. Laurence A. Kotler-Berkowitz, “Religion and Voting Behaviour in Great Britain: A Reassessment,” *British Journal of Political Science* 31.3, 2001: 523-54, Web.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Laurence A. Kotler-Berkowitz, “Religion and Voting Behaviour in Great Britain: A Reassessment,” *British Journal of Political Science* 31.3, 2001: 523-54, Web.

(actively practicing the religious traditions).⁷ A study conducted in the United States and Europe explained by Adamczyk and Pitt projects the concept that, “even people who are not personally religious may be influenced by the religious culture in which they live.”⁸ The study explains that people tend to express conservative values due to their religion and not due to their own personal belief. Furthermore, it has been found that a country’s religious foundation can long outstand actual individual practices but reveal itself in the form of conservative values which then shape the culture and politics.⁹

Religion and Political Institutionalism

In addition to the social context of religion, many scholars have examined the role religious political parties have played in the obstruction of progressive reformations. In his article, “Party Politics, Religion and Elections in Western Democracies,” Michael Minkenburg notes that church influence on voting behavior is “strongest in countries where Protestant or Catholic/Christian Democratic parties or movements have been established and which have experienced a particular shift in secularization as disenchantment.”¹⁰

When analyzing Catholic and Protestant Countries, scholars argue that religion, “might be more important in accounting for differences in reform speed than for differences in cross-national policy output.”¹¹ In “Brake rather than Barrier: The Impact of the Catholic Church on Morality Policies in Western Europe,” they found that the Catholic Church’s delaying influence is strong as, “long as institutional and cultural opportunity structures do not promote secular efforts to politicize the issue and build consensus for policy change.”¹² As a result, the Catholic Church is able to prevent “permissive legislation” from being put on the political agenda, which hinders progressive acceptance throughout the state.¹³

The Catholic Church has been able to decelerate the speed in which policies, such as abortion and same-sex unions (SSUs), are passed due to their embedded relationship within the political system. Kotler-Berkowitz asserts the formation of political parties that represent religious groups and traditions are prevalent in Europe.¹⁴ He defines a term ‘prophetic conversion’ in which he says is, “the effort of clergy to convert the members of their congregations from one set of political views to another, or to moderate the political preferences of highly committed group members who, in the absence of such countervailing clerical cues, would be especially likely to follow the group’s normative behavior.”¹⁵ This idea is contended by Professor Storror that the obstruction of reform is prevalent when a political party such as The Christian

7. Amy Adamczyk and Cassidy Pitt, “Shaping attitudes about homosexuality: The role of religion and cultural context,” *Social Science Research* 38.2, 2009: 338-351.

8. Ibid.

9. Amy Adamczyk and Cassidy Pitt, “Shaping attitudes about homosexuality: The role of religion and cultural context,” *Social Science Research* 38.2, 2009: 338-351.

10. Michael Mikenburg, “Party Politics, Religion and Elections in Western Democracies,” *Comparative European Politics* 8.4, 2010: 401-403.

11. Christoph Knill, Caroline Preidel, and Kerstin Nebel, “Brake rather than barrier: The impact of the Catholic Church on morality policies in Western Europe,” *West European Politics* 37.5, 2014: 845-866.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. Laurence A. Kotler-Berkowitz, “Religion and Voting Behaviour in Great Britain: A Reassessment,” *British Journal of Political Science* 31.3, 2001: 523-54, Web.

15. Ibid.

Democratic Party is one that ‘acts largely as an agent of the Church’.¹⁶

External Pressure for Reform

Even though the Church holds political influence, there are outside factors that have generated reform in countries that call for it. Anne-Marie Kramer discusses in, “The Polish Parliament and the making of politics through abortion: nation, gender and democracy in the 1996 Liberalization Amendment Debate,” that progressive groups such as the Polish Parliamentary Women’s Group, as well as liberal, feminist, socialist and post-communist groups, have ‘mobilized’ the matter of abortion while the Roman Catholic Church largely dominates the pro-life position.¹⁷ Kramer notes that the Church’s influence, “has been instrumental in preventing the question of abortion being put before a national Referendum, given that around 60 per cent of Poles accept abortion with certain limits,” yet the law remains very restrictive.¹⁸

While the Church does play a role, the effect of agencies such as the European Court of Human Rights are evident regarding this issue. A Polish woman (Tysi c) with a medical issue causing poor eye sight was denied access to an abortion even after she was told carrying a child to full term would worsen her vision and risk her health.¹⁹ The ECHR ruled in the 2007 Tysi c v. Poland case that under Article 8 of the European Convention of Human Rights, the Polish Government failed to ensure her right to a private life and awarded damages to recognize her “anguish and suffering” under the violation of the Polish law to provide abortion when a woman’s health is in danger.²⁰ Similar cases in Poland led to an attempt to change the law in late 2016 to nearly ban all abortion.²¹ However, the restricted nature of the law and active national and international protest with examples of past court cases led to its failure to pass.²²

The networking of the EU and the Council of Europe are influential; as argued by Ana Covaciu in “Institutional change through discursive opportunities: The path to marriage equality in Ireland.” She explains that, “these networks play at least as important a role in SSU outcomes as the networks of advocacy nongovernmental organizations (NGO) that so often are highlighted in the literature.”²³ Scholars argue that changing national values and the declining of public standing of the Catholic Church increases the spread of liberal attitudes which leads to better organized activists and new ideas on the political agenda.²⁴

16. Richard F. Storrow, “Religion, Feminism and Abortion: The Regulation of Assisted Reproduction in Two Catholic Countries,” *Rutgers LJ* 42, 2010: 725.

17. Anne-Marie Kramer, “The Polish Parliament and the making of politics through abortion: nation, gender and democracy in the 1996 Liberalization Amendment Debate,” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 11.1, 2009: 81-101.

18. Ibid.

19. “Tysi c v. Poland, European Court of Human Rights,” *Center for Reproductive Rights*, 19 February 2014, <https://www.reproductiverights.org/press-room/Tysi c-v-poland-european-court-of-human-rights>.

20. Ibid.

21. J. Weston Phippen, “Poland’s Increasingly Unpopular Abortion Ban,” *The Atlantic*, 5 October 2016, <https://www.theatlantic.com/news/archive/2016/10/poland-abortion-ban/503012/>.

22. Ibid.

23. Ana Covaciu, “Institutional change through discursive opportunities: The path to marriage equality in Ireland,” 2015.

24. Christoph Knill, Caroline Preidel, and Kerstin Nebel, “Brake rather than barrier: The impact of the Catholic Church on morality policies in Western Europe,” *West European Politics* 37.5, 2014: 845-866.

Research Design

Using a feminist lens, I argue that progressive politics, such as reproductive rights, operate around different visions of the state and analyze how it interacts around morality and politics in various policy orientations. Using Ireland as a case study, this paper will examine the influence of religion on state policies through three factors: the social context of religion in the state, the strength of religion in political institutions, and the power of external pressure on policy reform. The research will examine the last 30 years of this case and focus on the recent debates within the last few years. The government of Ireland is a key player in the debate surrounding morality politics and is therefore fundamental to examine in regards to how religious factors impact politics. The Church has a strong presence in Ireland, which has secular claims, but supports religious political parties like the Christian Democratic Party (CDP). NGOs and other non-state agencies are presenting cases to assure human rights in this region are protected. The following paper will examine this case and provide an analysis for the role religion plays in policy making.

The Republic of Ireland: Abortion Policy

Social Context

Eighty-four percent of The Republic of Ireland identifies as Catholic, and therefore restrictive reproductive rights laws are not surprising.²⁵ Going back to 1983, the eighth amendment was passed by a referendum with a majority of sixty-seven percent. It changed the Offenses Against the Person Act, passed in 1861, which criminalized the willful ending of a pregnancy of any kind.²⁶ While abortion was already illegal in Ireland, the United States Supreme Court Case *Roe v. Wade* and recent cases of the Supreme Court of Ireland led anti-abortion campaigners to push for new restrictive legislation.²⁷ The law that passed in 1983 then placed “the right of the unborn” equal to the right of the mother’s life by enacting a constitutional ban on abortion, in order to ensure it would not be legalized in the future.²⁸ The legislation supported by the Roman Catholic Church passed quite easily in a country where 90 percent of the population attended regular mass that supported those values.²⁹

However, during the 33 years since the law was emplaced, the country’s faith in the Catholic Church and the values that it teaches have altered. Secularization in Ireland is becoming a favorable view according to Malachi O’Doherty’s 2008 book *Empty Pulpits: Ireland’s Retreat from Religion* in which he states, “people are rejecting something they don’t even remember,” with the percentage of regular mass attendance having dropped from 90 to 18 percent in 2011 and are continuing to fall.³⁰ These numbers represent the growing divide between the practicing members of the Catholic

25. “Numbers in Ireland’s Catholic Church Continue to Drop - Stigma Attached to Attending Mass,” *Irish Central*, N.p., 27 March 2013, Web.

26. Kate Doran, “A History of Ireland’s Abortion Laws – HeadStuff,” *HeadStuff*, N.p., 24 September 2015, Web.

27. Tom Heneghan, “Could Irish abortion case lead to a “European *Roe v. Wade*?”” *Reuters*, 10 December 2009, <http://blogs.reuters.com/faithworld/2009/12/10/could-irish-abortion-case-lead-to-a-european-roe-v-wade/>.

28. “Abortion & Irish Law,” *Irish Family Planning Association* |. N.p., n.d. Web.

29. “Numbers in Ireland’s Catholic Church Continue to Drop - Stigma Attached to Attending Mass,” *Irish Central*, N.p., 27 March 2013, Web.

30. *Ibid.*

Church versus the belonging ones.

Many women who have said to have had abortions in Ireland have identified as Catholic and therefore this decision was very difficult, however they still asserted their reproductive right.³¹ A *Time* article from October 18, 2016 titled “How Irish Women Are Getting Around Abortion Laws” discussed that women of all different ages, demographics, and backgrounds have received abortions.³² One woman stated, “this was a difficult decision to have to make because of my religious beliefs but I feel it is very important that women should have the same choice regardless of where in the world they live.”³³ Dr. Abigail Aiken asserts that women are more than capable to make the correct decision for themselves and for their bodies, however, she expressed concern over the fear it causes women to act against the law.³⁴ A report from the Central Statistics Office recently polled that half of the population supports abortion-on-demand, 78% support medically necessary abortion, 70% believe it should be decriminalized, 50% believe it is a woman’s right to choose and lastly 85% are in favor of broadening the grounds around abortion.³⁵ These facts support the claim that Irish men and women are willing and wanting a reformation of reproductive rights legislation yet the policies are not reflecting that.

Religion and Political Institutionalism

Reform campaigners argue that historically Ireland has had weak political leadership as demonstrated by the past and current abortion laws.³⁶ When the eighth amendment was passed, it was pushed for by a few Catholic right pro-life groups and met nearly no opposition by any political force.³⁷ It was not until 1992, that the constitution saw the Thirteenth and Fourteenth amendments which procured a small victory for women by allowing for freedom of speech and travel in regard to abortion cases.³⁸ This effort was not fought for nine years previously when the eighth amendment was passed.³⁹ Like many controversial policies, the discussion around abortion only takes place after something horrific has happened in Ireland. In order for the Thirteenth and Fourteenth amendment as well as the current law, the Protection of Life Act to be passed; many women have had to endure extreme trauma, physical and mental pain, as well as death.

The larger social issue, feminists argue when debating the opposition, is the continued effort to distinguish between Church and state.⁴⁰ The Fine Gael Party is a liberal-conservative and Christian democratic party and was in power during the time the eighth amendment was passed and they are also in power now.⁴¹ Other

31. Alexandra Sifferlin, “How Irish Women Are Getting Around Abortion Laws,” *Time*, 18 October 2016, Web.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. Alexandra Sifferlin, “How Irish Women Are Getting Around Abortion Laws,” *Time*, 18 October 2016, Web.

35. Carol Anne Hudson, “Women’s Rights in the Republic of Ireland: The Politics of Abortion and the Irish National Election,” *Global Research*, Centre for Research on Globalization, 24 February 2016, Web.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. Kate Doran, “A History of Ireland’s Abortion Laws – HeadStuff,” *HeadStuff*, N.p., 24 September 2015, Web.

39. Carol Anne Hudson, “Women’s Rights in the Republic of Ireland: The Politics of Abortion and the Irish National Election,” *Global Research*, Centre for Research on Globalization, 24 February 2016, Web.

40. Ibid.

41. Hans Slomp, “Europe, a Political Profile,” *Google Books*, N.p., 1 January 2011, Web.

political groups such as Sinn Féin, The Green Party and Social Democrats have taken positions on abortion and the eighth amendment, either standing firm on the eighth or supporting small varying aspects of reform. However, The Anti-Austerity Alliance-People Before Profit and the Workers’ Party supports a woman’s right to choose as well as repealing the eighth.⁴² Historically, these parties have not put this type of legislation up in front as a major platform during election time, however this topic has become one of great importance in 2016.⁴³

Female members of the Irish Socialist Party in 2013 established ROSA (Reproductive rights, against Oppression, Sexism, and Austerity), a pro-choice organization urging for the repeal of the ‘right-to-life’ eighth amendment as well as free and safe abortion services nation-wide.⁴⁴ Parties showing support for repealing of the eighth are gaining momentum and the strong ties between the Church and political agenda may be diminishing.⁴⁵

External Pressure

Many organizations have begun to form in order to provide women the knowledge, health and legal care they need when it comes to their reproductive rights. The Irish Family Planning Association’s website outlines women’s rights and places to receive information for safe abortions. The site highlights the link to The Irish Parliament Houses of Oireachtas in which it provides detail of the Protection of Life During Pregnancy Act 2013 which states that, “abortion is against the law in Ireland unless the pregnancy endangers the life of the woman.”⁴⁶ The restricted nature of the law is reiterated on the site by the clear distinctions of what is considered criminal in Ireland. According to the site, abortion is not legal in Ireland even in cases of rape, incest, or fetal anomaly. While no woman has yet to be prosecuted for taking abortion pills while in Ireland, the law states a woman can face up to a 14-year prison sentence for violation.^{47 48} In addition to these, there are services that attempt to harass and intimidate women attempting to receive an abortion.⁴⁹ The limited rights listed include being able to receive the procedure only under conditions of emergency physical or mental health risk such as the threat of suicide or up to 24 weeks of pregnancy by traveling to other places like Britain; it is estimated that every year 5,000 Irish women travel outside the country to have an abortion performed.⁵⁰

Other non-state actors getting involved include agencies like the United Nations Human Rights Committee (UNHRC) that have taken large strides for human rights by examining cases such as *Mellet v. Ireland*. The Center for Reproductive Rights on July 8, 2016 released a statement outlining the UNHRC’s, “ground-breaking ruling [that] marks the first time that, in response to an individual complaint, an international human rights court or committee has recognized that by criminalizing abortion a

42. Carol Anne Hudson, “Women’s Rights in the Republic of Ireland: The Politics of Abortion and the Irish National Election,” *Global Research*, Centre for Research on Globalization, 24 February 2016, Web.

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid.

46. “Abortion & Irish Law,” *Irish Family Planning Association* | N.p., n.d. Web.

47. Duffy Ronan, “Could an Irish Woman Be Jailed for Taking an Abortion Pill?” *The Journalist*, N.p. 5 April 2016, Web.

48. “Abortion & Irish Law,” *Irish Family Planning Association* | N.p., n.d. Web.

49. Catherine Smyth, “70% ‘support Northern Ireland Abortion Law Change,’” *BBC News*, N.p. 18 October 2016, Web.

50. “Abortion & Irish Law,” *Irish Family Planning Association* | N.p., n.d. Web.

state has violated a woman’s human rights.”⁵¹ This 2011 case of pregnant Amanda Mellet who learned her fetus had fatal impairment and was denied an abortion is a revolutionary case because the hearing concluded that Mellet had endured, due to Ireland’s law, “severe mental suffering and anguish,” and that this ban, “can cause severe suffering and undermines their personal integrity and autonomy, which results in acute violations of their human rights...[and] violates her right to be free from cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment, as well as her right to privacy.”⁵² The government was told it must act according to the ruling to ‘redress the harm and reform its laws to ensure other women do not face similar human rights violations’ within 180 days.⁵³ Following this ruling, one week before the deadline, the government did financially compensated Mellet and offered counseling which is the first time the Irish government has acknowledged someone in this way.⁵⁴ This is a ground-breaking case according to the UN committee, stating if other women in similar situations bring these cases to the committee, Ireland will have to compensate them as well.⁵⁵

Analysis

The Republic of Ireland was uniquely selected due to its traditional stance on conservative politics as well as being a deeply rooted Catholic nation. As mentioned in the thesis, this paper has argued that religion is not the deciding factor on morality policies in this country but the way the country was formed with conservative values being a part of that. These can be misinterpreted to be the fault of religion and therefore the resulting policies as the will of the people, but as shown in the previous research, many urge for reform from within.

The literature discussed before supports this idea that conservative politics does not only stem from the present-day conservative religion, but from a deeper-rooted concept. The theories presented by Kotler-Berkowitz are shown to be true in the case of Ireland by testimonials of many different people of different social status who describe the conservative environment they are in to be what holds many back from speaking and being able to receive reproductive rights.⁵⁶ The concept of prophetic conversion can be seen in Ireland, where the Catholic Church still has great influence in political agenda by means of political parties and traditional power to push its interest.⁵⁷ The most compelling evidence that proves this theory of conservative policies versus individual religious driven ideals, is Kotler-Berkowitz’s Theory of Religious Dimensions and Politics. The case study shows that many reports of individual religious membership have changed over the years, and that this belonging vs. behaving vs. believing mentality is what results in a majority of these populations, in statistics, claiming to have religious values yet support the liberalization of reproductive rights in practicality.⁵⁸ The literature shows that many NGOs have been important players in world-wide reproductive right progression, however, specifically in the case of Ireland, they have been proven vital.

51. “Mellet v. Ireland,” *Center for Reproductive Rights*, N.p., 7 August 2016, Web.

52. “Mellet v. Ireland,” *Center for Reproductive Rights*, N.p., 7 August 2016, Web.

53. Ibid.

54. Pat Leahy, “Government will not give UN commitment to change abortion laws,” *The Irish Times*, 20 November 2016.

55. Ibid.

56. Laurence A. Kotler-Berkowitz, “Religion and Voting Behaviour in Great Britain: A Reassessment,” *British Journal of Political Science* 31.3, 2001: 523-54, Web.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid.

Conclusion

Secularization has been the prevailing theme of the modern world, however, reproductive rights legislation world-wide appears to be driven by outdated religious teachings. Many have argued that individual religious beliefs are what drives conservative politics, yet it is the original structural ideas that result in conservative policies. Ireland is an example of how a traditional Catholic country has internal conflicting ideas of how religion and progression can coexist. The case proves that while the conservative nature of the legislation may show the country to be driven by religious tendencies, it is the influence of the Church and the changing nature of how people belong to a religion that result in this outcome. While there is an international presence of contrasting views on reproductive human rights, religious affiliation and progressive politics may coincide in future to account for the changing religious outlook.

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Migrant Workers in Saudi Arabia: Impacts on Regime Stability

Theodore Prompichai

Abstract

This paper explores the compound effects of Saudi Arabia’s reliance upon migrant workers and their overall impact on regime stability. Non-governmental human rights organizations and the international community have explicitly voiced concerns over migrant worker abuses in the conservative oil-rich nation. Saudi leadership is required to address these concerns internally lest face ever increasing pressure by the international community. Through an illustration of migrant worker abuses and highlighting key changes in domestic legislature, this paper serves to argue that Saudi leadership must confront with the concerns of migrant workers if they are to ensure continued regime stability. A failure to address these concerns can only serve to increase friction both domestically and abroad as Saudi Arabia struggles to maintain both regional hegemony and internal legitimacy.

Introduction

Saudi Arabia’s unique position as the largest exporter of oil makes it an integral player in the international arena. Saudi’s reliance on oil as the primary export and dependency on migrant workers, however, has presented a compound problem for the country. The recent oil glut and subsequent drop in oil prices have numerous effects on the relationship between state and society. With a population of 29.9 million, a demographic consisting of 9.5 million non-native workers, record unemployment, and decreasing demand for Saudi oil, the Saudi regime is at a critical moment. A careful, pragmatic approach must be taken in order to ensure regime and regional stability. The purpose of this paper is to investigate the plight of migrant workers in Saudi Arabia and the implications they have on regime stability. The timeline of this paper will be limited to recent historical events and topics such as the youth demographic and international shift away from petrochemicals within the context of migrant workers. As migrant workers make up a significant proportion of the Saudi Arabia’s population demographic, they introduce a myriad of confounding variables to the regime. If Saudi Arabia is to ensure regime stability and regional hegemony in light of the current geopolitical climate, it must contend with the dynamic impacts of migrant workers.

Overview

In order to understand the complex dynamics of Saudi Arabia, it is with prudence that a variety of factors are considered: economics, governance, and demographics. With the discovery of oil in 1938, Saudi Arabia's economic status and geostrategic position rose to the forefront within the international sphere. It is currently the biggest economy in the Persian Gulf, facilitated at large by having the world's second largest known oil reserves. Saudi Arabia has seen significant inward migration to meet high demands for labor in the oil sector; and “as of mid-2013, expatriates made up 32 percent of the Kingdom's population, most of them coming from South Asia accounting for 56.5% of the employed population and 89% of the private sector workforce.”¹

The late 1930's to 1970's in Saudi Arabia were marked by significant economic growth and diversification, and heavy investment in infrastructure so as to accommodate the growing migrant workforce and rapid urbanization. Much of the migrant labor in this time period were Arabs from neighboring countries and a smaller percentage from South Asia. This demographic changed in the 1970's in reaction to the growing trend towards Arab-nationalism in the region as employers shifted their hiring preference towards non-politicized non-Arabs, primarily South Asians and Asian laborers.² In context of the geopolitical climate at the time, the shift towards South Asian and Asian laborers was a strategic policy move by the Saudi regime in order to curb the rise of Arab-nationalism and protect the interests of the monarchy.

As Saudi Arabia is characterized by a monarchical system, the King reigns as the supreme authority. This is an important consideration to make as much of the power structures in the region take their direction from the King of Saudi Arabia. As the largest economy in the Arab world, chief architect of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), largest exporter of oil, and a central hub of pilgrimage for the Muslim demographic, Saudi Arabia's regime and its respective policy decisions are a crucial component to the political economy and stability of the region. This unique position affords the Saudi regime a great responsibility and an incentive to maintain the strength of its monarchical regime as it seeks to pursue regional hegemony and autonomy from external forces such as non-governmental organizations, pervasive democracy and liberal-institutional norms. As the regime of Saudi Arabia is both vanguard and bastion for the GCC, the regime must contend with the problems migrant workers present.

Examination of Migrant Workers Demographics and Issues

Saudi Arabia's population is one of the fastest growing in the world. According to the Gulf Research Center, the official number of non-Saudis in 2014 stood at 9,723,214 out of a total resident population of 29,994,272.³ In short, the non-national population was approximately 32.4% of the country's total. Of this number, migrant workers make up 89.1% of the private sector's workforce and are largely employed in the service industry, including but not limited to construction and retail.⁴ Though the regime of Saudi Arabia conceals official data pertaining to the demographic breakdown of foreign

1. Bel-Air, Françoise De. “Demography Migration and Labour Market in Saudi Arabia.” N.p.: *Gulf Labour Markets and Migration*, 2014. Migration Policy Center. Web. 9 Apr. 2017.

2. Ibid.

3. Bel-Air, Françoise De. “Demography, Migration and Labour Market in Saudi Arabia.” N.p.: *Gulf Labour Markets and Migration*, 2014. Migration Policy Center. Web. 9 Apr. 2017.

4. Ibid.

residents, the World Bank has estimated that India, Egypt, and Pakistan are the largest remittance beneficiaries, suggesting that these are the top sender countries for inward migration.⁵ Other significant sources of migrant workers also hail from Bangladesh, Indonesia, Sudan, Yemen, Philippines, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Burma.⁶ Many workers migrate to Saudi Arabia in search of better employment and an opportunity to improve their family's conditions. It should be noted that many migrant workers seek work in Saudi Arabia because of Saudi Arabia's rapid development, construction projects, and its high demand for labor.

Migrant Workers' Grievances

The rights and responsibilities of the Saudi regime are arguably nuanced by the relatively conservative nature of the nation. In order to engage with the discussion of migrant workers' rights, it is important to identify the abuses and grievances of migrant workers to contextualize the response of the Saudi regime. The grievances migrant workers have are numerous. The complaints often arise in the realm of employer abuses, including but not limited to low or lack of pay, long hours, poor living conditions, and abusive employee-employer relationships.⁷ The general consensus of organizations advocating for human rights is such that many employers in Saudi Arabia engage in exploitative business practices.⁸

It is argued that the source of worker grievances lays within the *kafala* system. *Kafala* is a sponsorship system that was established in the 1950's in order to regulate the relationship between employers and migrant workers. The purpose of this system is to allow the rapidly growing Gulf economies, such as Saudi Arabia, the ability to respond to the high demands for labor through the rapid injection of temporary labor via contract. Under the *kafala* system, migrant workers are legally bound to the employer or sponsor (*kafeel*) for their contract period. One of the aspects of the *kafala* system that is most problematic is such that it gives the employer near total control over the welfare of the migrant worker.⁹

In order for a migrant worker to gain legal employment in Saudi Arabia, they must first secure sponsorship from a *kafeel*. The responsibilities of the sponsors are such that they pay the costs of recruiting the migrant worker to the GCC country, assume full economic and legal responsibility for the worker, and also hold onto the worker's visa status. The *kafeel*, as a sponsor, has complete control over the mobility of the worker, as the worker cannot transfer employment without first obtaining an official consent from the *kafeel*, and furthermore, the migrant worker cannot leave the country without first receiving an 'exit-visa' from the sponsor.¹⁰ Additionally, Saudi law prohibits the migrant worker from running away from their *kafeel*. Sponsorship of migrant workers was meant to be a system whereby Saudi nationals would be delegated with the care of non-nationals. In theory, this would provide the Saudi regime with a high degree of domestic stability whereby the migrant workers' employment status is

5. "Some estimates of the non-nationals by country of citizenship (Saudi Arabia, November 3, 2013)." *GLMM*. N.p., 25 Sept. 2015. Web. 09 May 2017.

6. Ibid.

7. "Bad Dreams". HRW. *Human Rights Watch*, 29 Apr. 2015. Web. 11 May 2017

8. Ibid.

9. "Reform of the Kefala System." *International Labor Organization*. Migrant Forum in Asia, n.d. Web. 06 May 2017.

10. Bajracharya, Roojaa. "Kafala' or 'Sponsorship System' Kathmandu: Centre for the Study of Labour and Mobility", n.d. Web. 07 May 2017.

wholly dependent upon their ability to cooperate with their employer, thereby ensuring domestic security and relieving the regime from the responsibility of managing migrant workers.¹¹ However, as the task of monitoring and maintaining migrant workers has been delegated upon Saudi employers and nationals, it creates a high degree of separation between the Saudi regime and Saudi nationals with regards to the treatment of migrant workers.

It is equally important to consider the demographic of migrant workers in Saudi Arabia. An overwhelming number of those who engage in contractual migrant labor are South Asian and choose to work in Saudi Arabia due to the high demand for unskilled labor and relatively high pay.¹² Additionally, the Saudi regime has expressed preference towards South Asian workers as they are notably apolitical and thus non-align to the Saudi regime and its respective interests. The majority of South Asian migrant workers are of a lower socioeconomic class, often typified by low education and livelihoods below the poverty line. The prospect of working in Saudi Arabia is attractive for many migrant workers as the wages promised by sponsors and recruiters are significantly higher than they can achieve in their respective countries.

Many migrant workers who have invested significant time and money to work in Saudi Arabia are also less inclined to act in discord with their *kafeel* for the benefits of doing so seemingly outweighs the costs. Running away would mean that workers would relinquish any form of justice resulting from *kafeel* abuses. It would also mean that if the worker wishes to stay in Saudi Arabia, they would have to work illegally, which will expose them to arrest and detainment.¹³

The types of abuses that migrant workers face are not unique to Saudi Arabia; however, it is important to note that relatively little has been done to address the issue. Economic abuses can be defined as ‘terms and conditions of the work contract intentionally violated by the employer’ include lack of timely payment, lack of appropriate payment, or an entire lack of pay.¹⁴ This is expressed most vividly through the plight of stranded workers in Saudi labor camps. As of October 2016, thousands of migrant workers found themselves abandoned by their employers without pay in dormitory-styled labor camps.¹⁵ Some estimates say up to 150,000 workers are stranded without pay, and unable to afford food, water, or even medical care.¹⁶ The falling rate of oil and resulting economic downturn in conjunction with Saudi austerity measures have coalesced into a humanitarian crisis and has led to increased international pressure for response from the Saudi regime.

As these workers have yet to be paid, they are left in legal limbo. Because of the *kafala* system, they are unable to obtain an exit-visa to leave the country or even petition their employers for the opportunity to find a job elsewhere, under the fear that doing so would prevent them from getting paid. This situation is further compounded for migrant workers in the domestic sector as they are not protected by the same rights

11. “Understanding Kafala: An archaic law at cross purposes with modern development.” *Migrant Rights*. N.p., 11 Mar. 2015. Web. 05 May 2017.

12. Ar-Rašīd, Madāwi. *A history of Saudi Arabia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

13. Bajracharya, Roojaa. ‘Kafala’ or ‘Sponsorship System’ Kathmandu: Centre for the Study of Labour and Mobility, n.d. Web. 07 May 2017.

14. Ibid.

15. Lynch, James. “Migrant workers bear the brunt of Saudi’s archaic kafala system.” *Middle East Eye*. *Middle East Eye*, 10 Oct. 2016. Web. 09 May 2017.

16. Ibid.

and responsibilities as guaranteed however rhetorically through the Saudi Labor Law. In fact, domestic laborers are exempt from labor laws as seen in Section 7(b) of the Labour Act which states that “domestic laborers and the like ... shall be exempted from the implementation of the provisions of this Law”.¹⁷ The inability of migrant-workers to realize promises made by their *kafeels*, lack of social and economic mobility, and the systemic abuse towards migrant workers are incongruent with internationally recognized standards for human rights.

Migrant Workers’ Rights

There are a variety of perspectives pertaining to migrant workers’ rights and it is important to understand the varying degrees of perspectives on workers’ rights. On one hand, there is the international norm for workers’ rights, formed through various international institutions such as the UN, and advocated for through non-governmental organizations like Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch. These are the norms that are often exported to other countries with the aims of gaining compliance. However, within Saudi Arabia, the operating norm is much different and informed through internal mechanisms; such as Shari’ah law and the Arab Charter on Human Rights. These rights are used to provide a lens to the situation of migrant workers within Saudi Arabia.

The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families provides a normatively informed definition for a migrant worker, to be understood as “a person who is to be engaged, is engaged, or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a state of which he or she is not a national.”¹⁸ This convention states that migrant workers are to be granted certain protections as ascertained by the committee. These protections are meant to be universal for all migrant workers. They include but are not limited to (a) equality of treatment with nationals in areas involving the courts and tribunals, (b) terms of employment, (c) the freedom to join trade unions, (d) medical treatment, (e) access to education for their children, (f) respect for their cultural identity and furthermore (g) protection from collective expulsion.¹⁹ However, as Saudi Arabia is not party to this convention, this indicates their stance towards the international norms regarding the rights of migrant workers. Saudi Arabia, nonetheless, is still party to certain conventions with regards to migrant workers’ rights, specifically a few within the *International Labour Organization* (ILO). Those that Saudi Arabia is a party to, are: (1) *Abolition of Forced Labour Convention* (2) *Convention Concerning Discrimination in Respect of Employment and Occupation*, (3) *Hours of Work Convention*, (4) *Weekly Rest Convention*, and equally important, the (4) *Labour Inspection Convention*; all of which were ratified and entered into force on June 15, 1978.²⁰ Granted the aforementioned, the Saudi regime has yet to fully execute many of the provisions stipulated in the conventions, and hence the reason organizations like Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch highlight the abuse of migrant workers continuing today.

17. “Saudi Labour Law.” *Bureau of Emigration & Overseas Employment. Government of Pakistan*, 2005. Web. 04 May 2017. Sourced from Saudi Arabia’s : Royal Decree No. M/51, 23 Sha’ban 1426 / 27 September 2005

18. Geneva. United Nations. Office of the High Commissioner. *International Convention on the protection of the rights of all migrant workers and members of their families*. By General Assembly. Geneva: ILO,1991.<http://www.ohchr.org/>. United Nations Office of the High Commissioner. Web. 12 Apr. 2017. Article(2).

19. *Ibid.*, Article (18), (22), (25), (26), (28).

20. “Ratifications for Saudi Arabia.” *Ratifications of ILO conventions: Ratifications for Saudi Arabia*. International Labour Organization, n.d. Web. 10 May 2017.

The plight of migrant workers is further augmented by the fact that Saudi Arabia has yet to recognize two fundamental ILO conventions which would work in favor of the migrant workers' ability to establish a unified front and voice against employer abuses. *The Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention* (1948) and *Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention* (1949) protects the rights for workers to join organizations of their own choosing without previous employer authorization, as well as provides for protection against anti-union discrimination respectively.²¹ The simple fact that workers are not able to organize collectively for the purpose of self-representation in conjunction with the deeply ingrained *kafala* system is entirely symptomatic of the Saudi regime's stance.

Furthermore, though the Saudi regime has ratified the *Labour Inspection Convention*, it was not until recently that issues pertaining to workers' rights were addressed. In addition, Saudi Arabia is not party to either the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* or the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, though it has announced that it may soon accede to those treaties.²² This lack of congruence with international norms with regards to migrant workers has become a significant source of criticism on the Saudi regime.

The Saudi government has used other mechanisms to address human rights, such as the *Arab Charter on Human Rights*. This charter, adopted by the *Council of the League of Arab States* on September 15, 1994 and later revised and adopted in 2004, essentially affirms principles contained in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, the *International Covenant on Human Rights* and the *Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam* (CDHRI).²³ The membership of Saudi Arabia on these international forums is essential as it confirms, rhetorically, Saudi Arabia's commitment to human rights, and by extension, the rights of migrant workers.

The CDHRI is notable in that it makes explicit the perspective that Saudi Arabia has with regards to human rights. In short, this declaration emphasizes that the rights and freedoms that are provided to the populace are subject to interpretation according to Islamic Shari'ah.²⁴ Shari'ah also happens to be “the only source of reference for the explanation or clarification of any of the articles in the declaration.”²⁵ This is of importance when speaking of the Saudi regime, as they promote a very conservative brand of Islam which has serious implications for the rights of migrant workers, for many of them do not adhere to this ideology and hence face discrimination from Saudi employers and authorities.

Issues Within the Saudi Regime

Saudi Arabia's regime is in a relatively complex situation right now as a variety of factors have come to both inform and constrain the actions that can be taken to ensure stability. Perhaps one of Saudi Arabia's largest domestic issues has to do with

21. “C087 - Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87).” . International Labour Organization, n.d. Web. 10 May 2017. AND “C098 - Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949 (No. 98).” *International Labour Organization*, n.d. Web. 10 May 2017.

22. “Ratification of 18 International Human Rights Treaties.” OHCHR Dashboard. *United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner*, n.d. Web. 08 May 2017.

23. Shaw, Malcolm Nathan. *International Law*. 7th ed. Cambridge: Cambridge U Press, 2014. Print, pp. 283.

24. “Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam, Aug. 5, 1990, U.N. GAOR, World Conf. on Hum. Rts., 4th Sess., Agenda Item 5, U.N. Doc. A/CONF.157/PC/62/Add.18 (1993) [English translation].” *Human Rights Library*. University of Minnesota, n.d. Web. 12 Apr. 2017. Article (24)

25. *Ibid.*, Article (25).

the current oil glut which has put a significant strain on the traditional modes of governance for the regime. The prices for oil have dropped from their peak in 2008 and consequently, the Saudi economy has slowed as well.²⁶ The result is a Saudi regime that is less capable of using its economic wealth to alleviate internal domestic problems. As a rentier state, oil has served to finance the Saudi economy, government, and social structure; but the recent trend towards cleaner energy and international shift from oil has led to serious economic consequences. Saudi Arabia is suffering from the lessened demand and lower prices, but they simultaneously fear making significant cuts to oil production for fear of losing market share and political influence. The significance of oil is that it functions as a sort of “social- contract,” in that the regime has used the revenues gained from oil to maintain domestic stability through the injections of funds into public works projects and economically tangible human investments. Within the context of migrant workers, economic slowdown has created a situation that further entrenches their mobility and employment as many Saudi employers can no longer afford to pay them and thus lay them off.

The oil boom of the 1970s allowed for a period of rapid development and modernization in combination with an increase in family size. However, the oil boom which once propped up the regime, now serves to harm it as persons born in that period are coming of age. It is estimated that by 2030, the population of Saudi Arabia will reach 39.1 million, a marked increase of 24% from 2015’s population which will put increasing demands on the Saudi regime as well as the investments necessary to maintain Saudi social and political infrastructure.²⁷ The youth are making increasing demands for recognition by the Saudi regime and are distinctly self-determined to realize their goals of economic independence. Current data shows that 75% of the population of Saudi Arabia is under the age of 30; of this demographic, 25% are unemployed, leaving the youth feeling unfulfilled in their professional aspirations.²⁸ This subsequently creates tensions between Saudi nationals and migrant workers as they compete in a dwindling job market.

The interests of the regime are inherently threatened by growing domestic unrest. Saudi Arabia must address the concerns that migrant workers present to the regime if they are to ensure stability in the years ahead. The austerity measures, economic slump, unemployed youth, and international pressure for human rights create complications for the Saudi regime. As Saudi oil is a finite resource, the regime must embark on a more considered approach when it comes to regime stability. Hence, the Saudi regime has embarked on an aggressive policy of economic and social reform as a means of ensuring stability.

Problems Migrant Workers Present to the Regime

Migrant-workers as a demographic do not possess the necessary tools and legal representation in order to address their concerns. Consequently, international organizations like *Amnesty International* and *Human Rights Watch* have made it a mission to expose the regime for its lack of response to the grievances of migrant workers.²⁹ Furthermore, the respective governments of migrant workers have worked

26. “Crude Oil Prices” macrotrends.net. <http://www.macrotrrends.net/1369/crude-oil-price-history-chart> (12 Sep. 2017)

27. “Saudi Arabia Population Forecast 2016–2020.” Saudi Arabia Population Forecast 2016–2020. *Trading Economics*, n.d. Web. 10 May 2017.

28. Molavi, Afshin. “Young and Restless.” *Smithsonian.com. Smithsonian Institution*, 01 Apr. 2006. Web. 10 May 2017.

29. “About Us,” *Amnesty International*, accessed September 12, 2017, <https://www.amnestyusa.org/about-us/>.

to make a case for migrant workers, using their diplomatic offices as both a platform and an amplifier to make these abuses known to the international community thereby exposing the Saudi regime to further criticism.

As workers are legally bound and immobile, they often cannot seek help or support through the embassies in Riyadh, making it especially crucial for international organizations and diplomatic offices to serve as a voice for the plight of migrant workers. Unlike other domestic issues, the Saudi regime cannot traditionally use its enormous wealth to remedy this particular issue and has been forced to partake in a more directed effort. The influx of migrant workers, in conjunction with the nation's current economic decline has created a multi-dimensional problem for the Saudi regime. Considering the aforementioned economic dilemma, the Saudi regime must find ways to make redress with other governments who have taken a stand against migrant worker abuses. Furthermore, as migrant workers make up such large portion of the work-force, the Saudi regime must find a way to manage this reality as they try to alleviate problems of their own domestic unemployment.

How Saudi Arabia Addresses these Problems

Though they have signed onto a variety of treaties, Saudi Arabia has made some reservations to a variety of the human rights protocols they are party to. One of which most important to note is that they do not recognize any international body by which to manage/settle disputes with regards to human rights violations. For example, under the *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons*, a protocol established partly to address issues regarding the trafficking in of migrant workers, the Saudi regime does not consider itself obligated to Article 15, paragraph 2, which stipulates that party states must establish jurisdiction over the offenses done to non-nationals. Essentially, they do not adjudicate or prosecute crimes committed to migrant workers. However, this lack of response has come to change in recent years in response to international pressure.

On October 18, 2015, a package of 38 amendments were made to the Labor Law, which is notable for it specifically creates executable punishments for employers who abuse migrant workers. Codifying the nature of and consequences for abusive practices is a powerful step towards international norms regarding human rights. Within these 38 amendments, the Labor Ministry has both introduced and raised fines regarding employer abuses, prohibiting the confiscation of migrant workers' passports, and legally requiring timely payment for work, as well as mandating the provision of work contracts to migrant workers. Furthermore, these amendments also allocate “provisions for paid leave, compensation for job-related injuries and requires employers to provide a day a week with full pay to employees to seek other employment if they terminate workers' contracts.”³⁰ 2015 also marks the year where the Labor Ministry took a more affirmative effort in enforcing legislature as reported by *Arab News*; 1,441 companies were shut down by the Labor Ministry for noncompliance with wage-protection programs.³¹ Additionally, seven recruitment firms were shut down for failing to abide by the newly established regulations.³²

Providing punitive measures for workers' rights violations is not adequate, and

30. “Saudi Arabia: Steps Toward Migrant Workers' Rights.” *Human Rights Watch*. N.p., 15 Nov. 2015. Web. 09 May 2017.

31. Tago, Abdul Hannan. “1,441 firms shut for not complying with salary protection program.” *Arab News*. , 26 Oct. 2015. Web. 08 May 2017.

32. “Labor Ministry bans eight recruitment firms.” *Arab News*. 11 Nov. 2015. Web. 10 May 2017.

thus the Saudi regime has also taken measures to address the issue of abandoned workers who reside undocumented within their borders. Part of these measures include extending mass amnesty for undocumented workers. For instance, on March 21, 2017, the Saudi regime announced amnesty for thousands of undocumented workers, providing a 90-day grace period for ‘illegal’ immigrants to correct their status.³³ Whereas before, many of these migrant workers would have been subjected to arrest, detainment, and a subsequent ban from working anywhere within the GCC, this measure provides a means for migrant workers to continue their pursuit of employment within Saudi Arabia.

According to the Centre for the Study of Labour and Mobility, this measure serves dual interests for the Saudi regime, “In recent months, hundreds of companies in Saudi Arabia have made huge job cuts rendering thousands of migrant workers without protection of sponsors. Saudi authorities see this as an effort to flush out foreigners stranded in the kingdom, while providing many others the chance to find new sponsors.”³⁴ This functions as a strategic move for regime stability. By allowing those workers who wish to leave the country an opportunity to do so, the Saudi government is able to remove an internal threat. Likewise, providing an opportunity for migrant workers to find new sponsors lessens the strain of having to prosecute employer abuses towards migrant workers as workers are now able to legally seek other employment without fear of arrest or detainment.

The Saudi government, in an attempt to resolve problems with the youth demographic and unemployment is also implementing projects aimed at increasing the participation of Saudi nationals in the workforce. Allowing migrant workers to leave the country under the amnesty grant would theoretically provide more room for domestic Saudi employment. Termed Nitaqat, this plan is also commonly referred to as the Saudization plan. In essence, this is to be understood as a policy requiring Saudi companies to employ a minimum percentage of Saudi workers in addition to expanding work opportunities for Saudi women and youth.³⁵

This strategy is part of the regime’s attempt to limit public discontent and addresses a core issue within Saudi Arabia. Through better oversight of the migrant labor workforce, the Saudi regime will also gain the necessary tools and data required to resolve domestic unemployment. According to the Ministry of Labor’s vice-minister Al-Haqbani, “The government is ready to intervene on both the supply and demand side of the labor market... We expect we will need 1.1 million to 1.3 million jobs to reduce the unemployment rate to 7%.”³⁶ As Saudi Arabia is a destination for migrant work, it has become absolutely necessary for the regime to address the issues that these workers present to the regime bearing in mind the nation’s current economic standing. Hence, Saudi youth may begin to see an expansion in the types of work available to them that were once reserved solely for migrant workers.

These amendments were enacted, in large part, as a response to international pressure and is indicative of a broad transformation in the Saudi legal system. These labor reforms are especially encouraging with regards to the recognition of and

33. Shalhoub, Lulwa, and Nada Hameed. “90-day amnesty period allows illegal workers to return to Saudi Arabia.” *Arab News*, 21 Mar. 2017. Web. 11 May 2017.

34. “Saudi amnesty for undocumented workers”. *Centre for the Study of Labour and Mobility*, n.d. Web. 11 May 2017.

35. “Nitaqat.” Ministry of Labor and Social Development : Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. *Ministry of Labor and Social Development*, n.d. Web. 09 May 2017.

36. “New Nitaqat under Vision 2030.” *Arab News*. N.p., 04 May 2016. Web. 11 May 2017.

response to migrant workers' grievances. The Saudi regime is making necessary adjustments with regards to how they address migrant workers as the issue can no longer be taken lightly by the regime.

Looking Ahead

Though Saudi Arabia has made attempts to address the issues regarding the migrant workers, there is still much that must be done in order to ensure the stability of the regime. There is no dearth of problems that they must contend with and thus this paper will provide some suggestions for the regime. As migrant workers will continue to pursue work in the region, the Saudi regime should enact new laws protecting their status and working conditions as well as enforce pre-existing laws. Failure to do so would only lead to increased outcry amongst the international community which would not bode well for their economy. Moreover, the regime should revise the archaic *kafala* system which only serves as a hurdle towards the self-determination of migrant workers and acts as a hindrance for economic prosperity.

Since the regime is dependent upon migrant workers for development, their contributions should be noted. The elimination of the *kafala* system would create openings for migrant workers to realize their full potential and in effect serve to prop up the regime as they integrate into Saudi society. Sending countries would in effect reduce their demands for Saudi reform and the Saudi regime would regain much of the autonomy lost with a liberalized and privatized economy. Preventing this would only foster greater friction on the domestic and international front.

The Saudi regime should also enter into force the remaining ILO conventions they are not yet party to. The benefits of which would be innumerable for it would encourage foreign direct investment and create tangible incentives for investment. As Saudi Arabia seeks to expand and diversify its economy, they should enact internal policy that indicates a stance reflective of international norms towards human rights lest face sanctions or lack of investment from nations who find migrant worker abuses unpalatable. If the regime truly wants to reduce domestic youth unemployment and cultivate more jobs, it is with great necessity that they create an atmosphere welcoming towards job creation. Becoming party to, implementing and enforcing ILO provisions would give the Saudi regime more transparency with regards to the internal dynamics of their economy. Hence, this paper argues that an integral component of regime stability is dependent upon detailed oversight of their economy and further integration of the entire Saudi workforce.

Conclusion

The plight of migrant workers within Saudi Arabia has become an international concern and as such the Saudi regime has been forced to address it. In light of the recent oil glut and economic slowdown, the Saudi regime must act with great care and pragmatism if they are to maintain control. The increased friction from the international community and calls for reform within the Saudi leadership, in conjunction with high unemployment and diminishing wealth due to the recent oil glut, has led to much internal discord. If Saudi Arabia is to ensure regime stability and regional hegemony in light of the current geopolitical climate, it must contend with the dynamic impacts of migrant workers. Human rights and by extension, workers' rights, are deemed universal, and if the regime is unable to adjust to this verity, it is highly unlikely that the Saudi regime can accomplish their goals. It is only with this sober reality that they can maintain their leadership and preserve their role as both vanguard and bastion for the Arab world.

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A Revolution Which Never Ended; A Gulf Perspective on Iran’s Thirst for Hegemony

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Abstract

This paper discusses U.S. foreign policy towards Iran in response to its recent expansionism. It considers how other countries are responding to Iran’s expansionism including Saudi Arabia and Israel. It discusses the impact of the U.S.’s relationship with Iran on its other relationships in the region and how other states are responding. Following this it considers why Iran has been labeled a sponsor of terrorism. It follows on to discuss why the lifting of United Nations sanctions on Iran is a cause for concern for other countries in the region.

Introduction

The world and in particular, the Middle East, face the frightening question of whether Iran will continue its territorial expansion and extension by controlling the four capital cities in the Middle East namely Beirut in Lebanon, Sanaa in Yemen, and Damascus in Syria and Baghdad in Iraq. Since 2014, oil prices have significantly declined making countries which depend on it such as Iran to suffer from empty treasuries and budget deficits.¹ The threat of Iranian expansion has forced other Arab states, mainly in the Gulf, to increase their military spending to counter the actions of Iran.² Since the Iran Nuclear deal in July 2015, the expansionist policies of Iran were strengthened by the lifting of United Nations (UN) sanctions. Therefore, Iran is able to continue developing its nuclear facility albeit under supervision from countries such as the United States.³ Both Saudi Arabia and Israel fear that lifting the sanctions against Iran through the nuclear agreement will result in further Iranian expansionism. Israel has continued to oppose the Iran nuclear deal calling the United States (U.S.) to force Iran to accept the legitimacy of Israel as a state and stop its active funding and logistical support of terror groups.⁴ My paper will reveal the Iranian expansion policy and the

1. Kenneth Rogoff, “What’s behind the drop in oil prices?” *World Economic Forum*, March 2, 2016, <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2016/03/what-s-behind-the-drop-in-oil-prices/>.

2. Vivienne Walt, “Why America’s ‘Special’ Relationship with Saudi Arabia Is on the Rocks,” *Fortune*, March 28, 2017, <http://fortune.com/2016/04/22/why-americas-special-relationship-with-saudi-arabia-is-on-the-rocks>.

3. Washington Institute, “Public Statement on U.S. Policy Toward the Iran Nuclear Negotiations,” *The Washington Institute*, June 24, 2015, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/public-statement-on-u.s.-policy-toward-the-iran-nuclear-negotiations>.

4. Condoleezza Rice, “Promoting the national interest,” *Foreign Aff*, 79, 2000.

reactions from countries in the Middle East and the U.S. , in terms of containing such expansionism by a country considered to be a threat to international peace and security.

US foreign policy towards Iran

The United States and Iran’s foreign policy has not always run smooth since the two countries have been at odds with each other due to various political and economic reasons.⁵ Since 1953 when the United States supported a coup that removed the national leader of Iran, and replaced him with the Shah who was pro-U.S. and ruled the nation until 1979. The 1979 Islamic Revolution brought an end to the rule of the Shah and established a theocratic regime that has continued to lead Iran to the present day. This particular regime has been at odds with the US.⁶ From 1979 to 1981, 52 American embassy workers were held captive by the Iranian authorities for a period of 444 days showing the tension in the diplomatic relations between the two countries.⁷ Following this incident, the U.S. broke its diplomatic relations with Iran in 1980. In April 1981, the Swiss government became the representative of U.S. interests in Tehran, while at the same time Iranian interests in the U.S. were represented by the Pakistani government.⁸ Through the Algiers declaration of January 1981, the Iran-U.S. Claims Tribunal at The Hague was put in place, basically to handle the claims of U.S. citizens against Iran and Iranian citizens against the United States.⁹ The United States contact with Iran was restricted only to legal matters.¹⁰

Business relations between the USA and Iran are limited by sanctions implemented by the United States.¹¹ Commercial relations are restricted to the purchases of medical equipment and food and the United States’ purchases of food and carpets. For this reason, the government of the US prohibits most trade with Iran. According to the US, its normal relations with Iran cannot be restored unless the policies of Iran, which are considered hurtful, change.¹² The U.S. government has offered dialogue with the authorized representatives of Iran without any preconditions, something that was declined by the authorities of Iran.

However, the latest turn of events after the Iran Nuclear deal under the support of the Joint Comprehensive Action Plan (JCAP) has emitted hope for relations between the two nations.¹³ The deal limits the Iran nuclear program for the next 15 years, the U.S. inspectors will have access to the Iranian nuclear facilities at any time to prevent cheating. Lastly the U.S. holds the absolute threat of having the UN sanctions reinstated. The agreement aims at ensuring that Iran does not develop a nuclear facility anytime soon since this will jeopardize the already unstable situation in the Middle

5. Christopher Blanchard, “Saudi Arabia: Background and US Relations,” *DIANE Publishing*, 2010.

6. Ali Ansari, “Confronting Iran: the failure of American foreign policy and the next great crisis in the Middle East,” *Basic books*, 2007.

7. Vivienne Walt, “Why America’s ‘Special’ Relationship with Saudi Arabia Is on the Rocks.”

8. Julien Mercille, “US foreign policy towards Iran,” *Exploring Geopolitics*, Jan, 2009, http://www.exploringgeopolitics.org/interview_mercille_julien_us_foreign_policy_iran_nuclear_program_radical_geopolitics_geopolitical_briefing/.

9. Jane Kinninmont, “Saudi Foreign Policy: A State of Flux,” *Hoover*, 2016, <http://www.hoover.org/research/saudi-foreign-policy-state-flux>.

10. Christopher Blanchard, “Saudi Arabia: Background and US Relations.”

11. Newsteam Staff, “U.S.-Saudi Relations”. *Council on Foreign Relations*, May, 2017, <http://www.cfr.org/saudi-arabia/us-saudi-relations/p36524>.

12. Vivienne Walt, “Why America’s ‘Special’ Relationship with Saudi Arabia Is on the Rocks.”

13. *Washington Institute*

East.¹⁴ The United States, through the Iran Nuclear deal, has eased the sanctions that it had imposed on Iran. This agreement, however, is not perfect given the fact that it does not prevent Iran from having weapons of nuclear capability, it will not call for the dismantling of the nuclear enrichment infrastructure of Iran and the only thing it does is to reduce the particular nuclear infrastructure for the next 10-15 years.¹⁵ However, the agreement imposes inspections, transparency and consequences to the regime with the aim of preventing and deterring Iran from building nuclear weapons. The agreement is secured on the hope that in the next 15 years, Iran will have developed better ties with Middle Eastern countries and the United States.

US foreign policy towards Saudi Arabia

The strong U.S.-Saudi alliance survived both the 1973 oil embargo and the attacks of the World Trade Centre of September 2001, in which 15 of the 19 passenger jet hijackers were Saudi citizens is facing some serious strains.¹⁶ The latest generation of Saudi Arabian leaders are making adjustments to a resurgent Iran and a retreating US which made an announcement of taking a firm military role in the Middle East.¹⁷ The Obama administration has for a long time pointed to the policies of Saudi Arabia that it says have worsened the conflicts in the region and at the same time holds onto the fact that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has undermined the interests of the United States while still under the protection of the umbrella of the U.S. security protection.¹⁸

The two countries are on the same side of the military campaign against the Islamic State in Syria and Iraq.¹⁹ Also, the U.S. has been providing logistical and intelligence support to the Saudi against the Iran-backed Houthi Militias in Yemen.²⁰ Additionally, the two countries have a history of close cooperation in the field of counterterrorism and intelligence gathering and Saudi Arabia has continued to prefer U.S. weapons and training.²¹ Being among the leading oil exporters in the world, the U.S. benefits from Saudi’s oil.²² It was not until 1991 when the US-Saudi military cooperation reached at its peak under the U.S.-led army that pushed the Iraqi forces from Kuwait.²³ According to the State Department report, Saudi Arabia and the U.S. have maintained a strong counterterrorism relationship.²⁴

Based on the latest events and accusations against Saudi Arabia, such as terrorism financing, human rights abuses against women, the export of Saudi’s strict Islam

14. Kenneth M. Pollack, “U.S. policy toward the Middle East after the Iranian nuclear agreement,” *Brookings*, <https://www.brookings.edu/testimonies/u-s-policy-toward-the-middle-east-after-the-iranian-nuclear-agreement/>.

15. Jane Kinninmont, “Saudi Foreign Policy: A State of Flux.”

16. Vivienne Walt, “Why America’s ‘Special’ Relationship with Saudi Arabia Is on the Rocks.”

17. Ali Ansari, “Confronting Iran: the failure of American foreign policy and the next great crisis in the Middle East.”

18. Gardner, “How strained are US-Saudi relations?” BBC, April 20, 2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-36083990>.

19. Christopher M. Blanchard, Carla E. Humud, and Mary Beth D. Nikitin, “Armed conflict in Syria: overview and US response,” *Library of Congress*, Washington DC Congressional Research Service, 2014.

20. Abraham H. Foxman, “How to Deal with Iranian Expansionism,” *Huffington Post*, March 28, 2017, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/abraham-h-foxman/how-to-deal-with-iranian-expansionism_b_7064596.html.

21. Litwak, Robert, “Rogue states and US foreign policy: containment after the Cold War,” *Woodrow Wilson Center Press*, 2000

22. Jane Kinninmont, “Saudi Foreign Policy: A State of Flux.”

23. Vivienne Walt, “Why America’s ‘Special’ Relationship with Saudi Arabia Is on the Rocks.”

24. Gregory Gause III, “The Future of U.S.-Saudi Relations,” *Council on Foreign Relations*, July, 2016, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2016-06-13/future-us-saudi-relations>.

interpretation, as expressed by the state department, has increased friction to the US-Saudi foreign relations. The U.S. response to the Arab Spring, and the nuclear deal with Iran of July 2015 have created cracks in the political relations of the two countries that are going to be hard to correct according to analysts.²⁵ For example, the Obama administration publicly questioned the value of Riyadh as a friend blaming it for the sectarian conflict in the region. When the prime minister of Australia asked Obama whether he perceived the Saudis as allies, the president response was, “it’s complicated”. Additionally, many U.S. nationals continue to believe that the government of Saudi Arabia was involved in the 2001 September attacks despite the fact that the 9/11 commission of inquiry found no proof of either institutional or top-level Saudi support of the terror attacks.²⁶ Connected to this is the fact that in 2016, US Senate passed legislation that makes it possible for American citizens to sue the government of Saudi Arabia in the US courts for its alleged backing of terrorism.²⁷

The Foreign Policies of Both Saudi Arabia and the U.S. Towards Iran’s Expansionist Ambitions, and how that is Countered

The foreign policy of Saudi Arabia emphasizes the fact that their aim in Yemen is to bring back to power the President.²⁸ In addition, they will be upholding the international norms and standards both regionally and domestically. Their narrative in this regard focuses on pushing the influence of Iran out from the Arabian Peninsula and as such, they will be able to maintain a traditional Arab sphere.²⁹ For this reason, the rivalry between Saudi Arabia and Iran has little or nothing to do with both sectarian and ethnic issues and instead is all to do with opposition to the power and influence of Iran in the region, just as in the same manner Iran perceived Nasser’s pan-Arabism as a foe. Tensions between Iran and Saudi are extremely high today due to the objections of the Iranian role in Iraq, Syria and Yemen and the concerns that the United States is failing to contain or hinder the increasing influence of Iran in the Middle East.

The activities of both countries continue to contribute to trans-border conflicts and the weakening of the sovereignty of numerous states within the Middle East.³⁰ Saudi Arabia is containing the expansionist ambition of Iran by simply concentrating on building its external structures and making new friends who support the role of the West in activities of the region. It wants to isolate Iran in the region, to control both the geopolitics and the economy of the Middle East.

The U.S. is more concerned with the building of nuclear power by Iran and this led to its support of the negotiations that led to the signing of the Iran nuclear deal that are to see Iran engage in reduced nuclear activities for the next 10-15 years.³¹ This deal is meant to ensure that Iran does not acquire enormous military power and influence in

25. Vivienne Walt, “Why America’s ‘Special’ Relationship with Saudi Arabia Is on the Rocks.”

26. Vivienne Walt, “Why America’s ‘Special’ Relationship with Saudi Arabia Is on the Rocks.”

27. Jane Kinninmont, “Saudi Foreign Policy: A State of Flux.”

28. Bruce Riedel, “Why did Saudi Arabia save Yemen’s ex-president again?” *Al-Monitor*, Oct 18, 2017, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/10/saudi-arabia-yemen-save-ali-abdullah-saleh-russia.html>.

29. Rouhollah Ramazani, “Revolutionary Iran: challenge and response in the Middle East,” *JHU Press*, 1988.

30. Vivienne Walt, “Why America’s ‘Special’ Relationship with Saudi Arabia Is on the Rocks.”

31. AIPAC, “Book Review: Iran’s Deadly Ambition: The Islamic Republic’s Quest for Global Power,” *AIPAC*, November 10, 2015, <http://www.aipac.org/news-hub?id=%7B53BBA1E1-8336-41B9-81DD-CF2C7AF2FDD5%7D&elqTrackId=A6FB7E7179A469A90683EAC7876A8EC3&elq=aa7f40be9325451c80d081d7d77592cc&elqCampaignId=&elqaid=13219&elqat=1#>.

the Middle East.³² The deal also comes with other requirements such as Iran providing unlimited access to the inspectors of its nuclear facility and ensuring that it does not continue with its construction of the nuclear facility. Iran benefits by having most of its sanctions under the United Nations lifted therefore making it possible for the country to strengthen its international relations with other nations. Iran, due to this deal, has started its negotiations with the World Trade Organization on how to join the body and expand its trading market, a move that does not sit well with the Saudis. Iran is also among the Arab nations that are facing immigration bans to the United States which is also another way of showing that its relations under the Trump administration may further be strained and its influence in the Middle East contained despite the nuclear deal that seems to be giving it too much power.

To counter the U.S. and Saudi policies that are threatening its expansionist ambitions, Iran is engaging in some activities that are aimed at building its influence within the Middle East region and have a great influence on the four major cities of Beirut in Lebanon, Sanaa in Yemen, Damascus in Syria and Baghdad in Iraq and in other countries in Latin America. Iran and Hezbollah remain very active in South America.³³ This fact has full attention of both the U.S. intelligence officials and their counterparts on the south border.³⁴ The 1994 bombing of the Asociacion Mutual Israelita Argentina (AMIA) which is one of the largest Jewish Community Centers in Buenos Aires attracted the global attention to the operations of Hezbollah in South America as directed by Iran.³⁵ The recently killed Alberto Nisman, an Argentine prosecutor who was investigating the AMIA attack released a report in which he specifically warns the authorities of Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile, Tobago and Trinidad, Colombia and Suriname to be on high alert concerning the political infiltration by Iran and which ultimately convinced Interpol that Iran was behind the massacre.³⁶

Recently, the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) made a shocking announcement on how it had exposed one of the largest international criminal activities by Shi’ite Islamic group Hezbollah in which the group used money from drug trafficking operations to buy weapons and finance its other activities.³⁷ The congressional task force reports: “Based in Lebanon, the Shiite Muslim terror group Hezbollah has been linked with South American drug trafficking organizations operating out of the tri-border [Paraguay, Argentina, Brazil] region. This criminal partnership has generated millions of dollars in revenue for the group to fund their operations in the Middle East.³⁸ Further, there is a growing concern that terrorist groups could use Latin American criminal organizations to infiltrate the United

32. Jane Kinninmont, “Saudi Foreign Policy: A State of Flux.”

33. Peter Beinart, “Is Iran Revolutionary? Assessing the true nature of Tehran’s foreign policy,” *The Atlantic*, April 13, 2015, <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/04/is-iran-revolutionary-foreign-policy/390357/>.

34. Jane Kinninmont, “Saudi Foreign Policy: A State of Flux.”

35. AIPAC, “Book Review: Iran’s Deadly Ambition: The Islamic Republic’s Quest for Global Power.”

36. APT, “APT releases English Translation of Alberto Nisman’s Original 2006 Report Implicating Iran in the Imia Bombing,” *APT*, Feb 4, 2015, <http://www.peaceandtolerance.org/2015/02/04/apt-releases-alberto-nisman-report-iranian-bombing/>

37. Guy Taylor, “Hezbollah moving ‘tons of cocaine’ in Latin America, Europe to finance terror operations,” *Washington Times*, June 8, 2016, <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2016/jun/8/hezbollah-moving-tons-of-cocaine-in-latin-america/>.

38. Edwin Mora, “House Report: Hezbollah Trafficking Drugs ‘Virtually Unopposed’ in Latin America” *Breitbart*, Dec 21, 2016, <http://www.breitbart.com/national-security/2016/12/21/congressional-task-force-hezbollah-drug-trafficking-latin-america/>.

States”. Quoting Michael Braun, a former DEA operations chief, the bipartisan task force reports that Hezbollah is operating a “virtually unopposed drug trafficking operation... in South America.” Furthermore, Mr. Braun told the House Financial Services Committee that Hezbollah has “metastasized into a hydra with international connections that the likes of [the Islamic State] and groups like al Qaeda could only hope to have”.³⁹

The first one is that it is deeply involved in the funding of the non-state actors in the countries such as Yemen in the Middle East. Furthermore, Iran is negotiating back its entry in the World Trade Organization something that will see it expand its trading activities with the other nations as a way of not continuing being in control by the US in terms of trading activities.⁴⁰

Is the Iranian Behavior as Country More of a Revolution or a Country?

The lid on the revolutionary behavior of Iran was opened when the Foreign Minister Adel Al-Jubeir gave a proper reply to the consul general of Iran during a lecture at Egmont Research Center of the Foreign Ministry of Belgium in Brussels, after the consul alleged the Kingdom supported terrorism. Al-Jubeir argued that the constitution of Iran explicitly refers or rather talks about exporting revolution and taking care of the deprived Shias. He further alleged that it is Iran that founded Hezbollah which is among the leading terror groups in the world. Moreover, Al-Jubeir openly states that Iran attacked approximately 12 embassies inside Saudi Arabia therefore violating the entire set of international laws. It is also an Iranian engineer who planned and implemented attacks on residences of the American forces in Alkhobar in 1996 according to Al-Jubeir as described in the video.

Al-Jubeir stated “When there were explosions in Riyadh in 2003, Saif Al-Adel was in Iran with Saad Bin Laden, Al-Qaeda’s propaganda official, as well as another four or five commanders. We asked Iran to hand them over. But they refused our demand. Some of them are still in Iran.”

In his address to the Iranian consul, Al-Jubeir further said, “If you don’t want Saudi officials criticizing Iran, then do not behave in a way which attracts criticism. So far your history is full of death and destruction, noncompliance with international law and the principles which have existed since the emergence of the United Nations, particularly those related to good neighborly relations and noninterference in the affairs of others.”

The Gulf countries perceive the Iranian expansionism as a revolutionary act. This is our assessment of how Iran is pursuing its expansionism agenda both in and outside the Middle East Region.⁴¹ The first one is in the sense that Iran supports terror groups that it is using to assert its influence in other gulf countries while also trying to heavily invest in nuclear facilities something that has irritated its neighbors especially Israel and Saudi Arabia which argue that the revolutionary behavior of Iran cannot allow it to have nuclear facilities at its disposal since this will pose a great threat to the already unstable peace in the region.⁴²

It is clear that Iran has shipped tons of ammunitions and weapons to the Houthi Militias in Yemen including several other shipments immediately after signing the

39. Edwin Mora, “House Report: Hezbollah Trafficking Drugs ‘Virtually Unopposed’ in Latin America”

40. Newsteam Staff, “U.S.-Saudi Relations.”

41. Condoleezza Rice, “Promoting the national interest.”

42. AIPAC, “Book Review: Iran’s Deadly Ambition: The Islamic Republic’s Quest for Global Power”

nuclear deal in July 2015. Furthermore, Iran has often threatened to topple Jordan.⁴³ Its intelligence has it that Iran’s leading proxy (Hezbollah) brought into Lebanon SA-22 missiles to down the Israeli planes and also the Cruise missiles aimed at sinking the ships belonging to Israel. At the same time, it also supplied Hezbollah with precision-guided-surface-to-surface missiles as well as attack drones for it to accurately hit any of the targets of its choice in Israel. Another revolutionary behavior of Iran has been shown when it made clear its plans to open new terror fronts against Israel, with an assured promise to “arm Palestinians in the West Bank” and at the same time sending its Revolutionary Guard generals to the Golan Heights from which the Iranian operatives have been reported to have fired rockets on the north of Israel. Intelligence also has it that after every few weeks, Hezbollah and Iran established new terror cells in the cities all over the world.⁴⁴ Three of such terror cells were in the recent past revealed in Cyprus, Kuwait and Jordan. In the month of May last year, the Cyprus security forces raided the apartment of an agent of Hezbollah in Larnaca where they uncovered 5 tones of ammonium nitrate that is the same as the one used in the blowing up of the federal building in the city of Oklahoma.⁴⁵

Israel officials stridently criticized the deal which they believed brought about a “surrender to terror”.⁴⁶ Furthermore, Netanyahu in his address to congress said that “immediately after the signing of the nuclear deal, Iran is on record for increasing its supply of dangerous weapons of mass destruction to Syria alongside sending a record number of its Revolutionary Guard into Syria. Moreover, Iran has sent hundreds or even thousands of its Pakistani and Afghani Shi’ite fighters to Syria”.⁴⁷ Israel sees Iran as a grave threat since Hezbollah is Iran’s most prized non-state proxy and Iran has furnished Hezbollah with rockets pointed at Israel.⁴⁸ The Iran deal also jeopardizes Israel’s position as the regional hegemon and its monopoly on nuclear arms in the region.⁴⁹ Israel can look to its ally the U.S. for help, since the alliance between the two countries runs deep, however reports suggest that Israel feels let down by the negotiations.⁵⁰

In the wake of the Iran nuclear deal, Iran has been accused of spending billions of dollars on satellites and weapons alone.⁵¹ This by any standard cannot be a move of advancing peace but rather preparing itself for a major war therefore a threat to international peace and security. Since the year 2015, Iran has been accused of executing numerous political prisoners, increasing its regional aggression and at the same time working towards the expansion of its global terror network. All these are true pointers to the fact that Iran is more of a revolution that it wants to destabilize

43. Peter Beinart, “Is Iran Revolutionary? Assessing the true nature of Tehran’s foreign policy.”

44. Condoleezza Rice, “Promoting the national interest.”

45. Newsteam Staff, “U.S.-Saudi Relations.”

46. Peter Beaumont, “Netanyahu denounces Iran nuclear deal but faces criticism from within Israel,” *The Guardian*, Jul 14, 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/14/netanyahu-denounces-iran-nuclear-dealcriticism-israel>.

47. Peter Beinart, “Is Iran Revolutionary? Assessing the true nature of Tehran’s foreign policy.”

48. Jonathan Schanzer, “The Iran Nuclear Deal means War between Israel and Hezbollah,” *Huffington Post*, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jonathan-schanzer/the-iran-nuclear-deal-means-war_b_8015144.html.

49. Al Jazeera, “Why Saudi Arabi and Israel oppose Iran Nuclear Deal,” *Al Jazeera*, April 14, 2015, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/04/saudi-arabia-israel-oppose-iran-nuclear-deal-150401061906177.html>

50. Al Jazeera, “Why Saudi Arabi and Israel oppose Iran Nuclear Deal.”

51. Kenneth M. Pollack, “U.S. policy toward the Middle East after the Iranian nuclear agreement.”

international peace and security.⁵² Right now, the greatest threat to global peace and security is terrorism which Iran has been accused by various countries with serious intelligence such as the U.S. and Israel for funding.⁵³

In February of last year, the Deputy Commander of Iran’s Revolutionary Guard Quds Force explicitly said that “The Islamic revolution is not limited by geographic borders....” He further bragged that Afghanistan, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, Palestine and Yemen are among the nations being “conquered by the Islamic Republic of Iran”.⁵⁴ Just five days after signing the Iran nuclear deal of July 2015, the Supreme Leader of Iran Ayatollah Khamenei said “our policies towards the arrogant government of the United States will not change”.⁵⁵ He further swore that the U.S. will always remain to be Iran’s foe. Iran has also clearly demonstrated its behavior by being ready to make nuclear facilities to attain the military superpower that will make it able to fight its neighbors and to take the military control of the Middle East. In the recent issue of *The Wall Street Journal*, Henry Kissinger and George Shultz cautioned that, “Iran’s representatives (including its Supreme Leader) continue to profess a revolutionary anti-Western concept of international order.” In the year 2015, in a column arguing for bombing Tehran, Joshua Muravchik further cautioned that, “Iran aims to carry its Islamic revolution across the Middle East and beyond”.

Why Iran is Labeled as a State Sponsor of Terrorism by the U.S.

Iran has been labeled as a sponsor for terrorism by the United States for various reasons. To begin with, from the moment the U.S. embassy in Tehran was stormed by the radicals in the year 1979 and took 52 American workers hostage, the notion that Iran employs terror as one of its greatest political tools has refused to leave the minds of Americans.⁵⁶ This is one of the many reasons as to why every president of the U.S. from then on often refers to Iran as the greatest sponsor of terrorism in the whole world. Furthermore, officials of the United States often recite the alleged misbehaviors such as the support of Hezbollah by Iran, the Shiite militia of Lebanon that is being held by the U.S. as being responsible for the various terrorists’ acts against Americans during the 1980s and this has greatly increased since then. Moreover, the accusation that was handed down during the 1996 bombing of the Khobar Towers case established that the perpetrators of this terrible act were supported, inspired and directed by the authorities of the government of Iran though Iran has emphatically stood in denial of this charge.⁵⁷

In the interview, Obama made the following remarks, “Iran clearly engages in dangerous and destabilizing behavior in different countries across the region. Iran is a state sponsor of terrorism”.⁵⁸ Obama sustained his attack on Tehran by saying that Iran was to blame for supporting “violent proxies inside the borders of other nations”. He proceeded to argue that “it helps prop up the Assad regime in Syria. It supports

52. Condoleezza Rice, “Promoting the national interest.”

53. Peter Beinart, “Is Iran Revolutionary? Assessing the true nature of Tehran’s foreign policy.”

54. Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs “PM Netanyahu addresses the UN General Assembly.” *Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, Oct 1, 2015 <http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2015/Pages/PM-Netanyahu-addresses-the-UN-General-Assembly-1-Oct-2015.aspx>.

55. Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “PM Netanyahu addresses the UN General Assembly.”

56. Ali Ansari, “Confronting Iran: the failure of American foreign policy and the next great crisis in the Middle East.”

57. Condoleezza Rice, “Promoting the national interest.”

58. Kenneth Roth, “‘Sponsor of terrorism’: Obama slams Iran months after saying it’s off terrorist list,” RT, May 13, 2015, <https://www.rt.com/usa/258213-iran-obama-terrorism-sponsor/>.

Hezbollah in Lebanon and Hamas in the Gaza Strip. It aids the Houthi rebels in Yemen. So countries in the region are right to be deeply concerned about Iran’s activities”.⁵⁹ It can be concluded that the United States has continually believed that Iran is the sponsor of all the terror acts that are happening all over the world.

Al-Jubeir in his response to the consul general of Iran during a lecture at Egmont Research Center of the Foreign Ministry of Belgium in Brussels said that “Iranian agents have links with terrorist attacks in Europe and South America”.⁶⁰

Al-Jubeir continues to argue in the clip that “When there were explosions in Riyadh in 2003, Saif Al-Adel was in Iran with Saad Bin Laden, Al-Qaeda’s propaganda official, as well as another four or five commanders.⁶¹ We asked Iran to hand them over. But they refused our demand. Some of them are still in Iran”.⁶²

Conclusion

To conclude, the U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East is balancing many interests. It revolves around curbing the building of the nuclear facility by Iran, at the same time having good relations with Saudi Arabia while supporting its long-term ally Israel. The signing of the Iran Nuclear Deal in July 2015 introduced a great turn of events when the United Nations sanctions that were imposed on Iran were withdrawn something that is not sitting well with not only Saudi Arabia but also with the other powers in the Middle East such as Israel. Iran is still largely viewed as the leading sponsor of terror groups in the world and being a country that is revolutionary based on its activities that revolve around building sophisticated weapons of war and funding. The world is now watching whether Iran will comply with the Nuclear Deal and whether in order to maintain its good graces with the US it will curb its expansionism and halt its terrorist activities elsewhere.

59. Kenneth Roth, “Sponsor of terrorism: Obama slams Iran months after saying it’s off terrorist list.”

60. Adel Al Jubeir, “Adel Al Jubeir responds to Criticism from Iran in Brussels” YouTube, Aug 2, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5Gd_CHX_yoY.

61. Adel Al-Jubeir, “Adel Al-Jubeir (Powerful speech) With Malay Translation,” YouTube, May 26, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aOotXjJuTY>.

62. Adel Al Jubeir, “Adel Al Jubeir responds to Criticism from Iran in Brussels.”

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China and South Africa Relations: Unsustainable Economic Growth In South Africa

Lena Stampfli

Abstract

China and South Africa have created a strong trade and investment relationship in which South Africa enjoys economic growth and China enjoys unlimited access to natural resources for its massive manufacturing sector. Both countries are currently benefiting from their relationship, however, this paper argues potential negative consequences for South Africa which may arise over time. Dependency theory is used to refute liberal institutionalism to argue that South Africa's growth is unsustainable, because China is at an unfair advantage. The most pressing consequence for South Africa will be environmental issues related to resource extraction and climate change. Inexpensive Chinese goods have also saturated South African markets, hurting the local economy by putting natives out of business. Lastly, China is moving toward a service industry, and phasing out industrial capital. Consequently, China's interest in South Africa's resources will decrease, and South Africa will be at a disadvantage.

Introduction

In recent years, the economic relationship between China and Africa has been rapidly increasing. China's thriving economy and manufacturing sector demand large amounts of raw materials from African countries to continue its growth as a nation. As a result, China has created a strong relationship with ten African countries in the form of trade, aid and investment in exchange for access to Africa's abundance of natural resources. South Africa is enjoying short-term economic growth; however, dependency theory suggests that its growth is unsustainable. South Africa's economic structure is based heavily on the extraction of raw materials. As China moves away from manufacturing, it will lose the necessity to trade with African countries like South Africa. South African markets are also heavily saturated with cheap Chinese goods, which outcompete local manufacturers and lead to economic disparities.

Western aid comes with structural adjustment policies and reforms that are often harmful to the African countries who implement them. They cause economic disparities, increased unemployment, poverty and debt. African countries are eager to receive aid from non-Western countries like China because there are less strings attached. The absence of structural adjustment policies allows for more freedom in trade between the two parties. South Africa's economy has grown in recent years, but its dependence on the Chinese demand leaves it vulnerable.

China and South Africa's relationship is deeply rooted in exploitative practices.

South Africa's dependence on the extraction of its raw materials for trade has created vulnerability to environmental issues like pollution, resource scarcity and climate change. These issues worsen with time and are essentially unavoidable. When China's interests shift, South Africa will be left to pick up the pieces of its shattered economy and deal with the negative impacts of resource extraction and environmental degradation.

Scholars like Robert Keohane and Lisa Martin might argue that liberal institutionalism best describes the relationship between China and South Africa. The theory argues that cooperation and institutions between states are always beneficial for both parties. While the current relationship between South Africa and China seems to be beneficial for both parties in terms of economic growth, liberal institutionalism fails to explain the likely negative consequences that will arise over time. Dependency theory offers a better explanation for the vulnerable position of South Africa.

China in Africa

China's booming economic development due to its expansive manufacturing and export sector has decreased poverty and increased international trade. In recent years, China's economy and foreign relations have advanced so vastly, that both developed and developing countries have had to adjust to its new competitiveness in the world market. The world has also had to adjust to China's stronger transnational corporate practices.¹ The rise of China is both threatening and opportunistic for countries around the world, as it becomes a global superpower.²

China's foreign policy has changed dramatically since the early 1990s. It has become more interested in playing an active role globally along with international organizations. China has increasingly distanced itself from Western powers, growing relations with lesser developed Asian, South American, Middle Eastern, and African countries; China has recently given most of its attention and aid to Africa.

Due to the African perception that the West has abandoned Africa, China has easily gained popularity and influence in many African countries. Chinese investment is a welcomed alternative.³ Africans prefer Chinese aid to Western aid, because aid from Western institution like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) come with strict structural adjustments.⁴ Implementing mandatory structural adjustment policies and economic reforms creates a reliance on natural resources for economic stability.⁵

Chinese and African relations have increased greatly in the last two decades, due to an increase in interactions and visits between political leaders.⁶ From 2001 to 2014, trade between the countries increased significantly. As a result, China has become a primary importer of natural resources and goods from many African countries.⁷ Over a

1. Mark Beeson, et al. "The New Resource Politics: Can Australia and South Africa Accommodate China?" *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs) 1944, vol. 87, no. 6, 2011, pp. 1365–1384. JSTOR.

2. Timothy M. Shaw, et al. "Global and/Or Regional Development at the Start of the 21st Century? China, India and (South) Africa." *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 28, no. 7, 2007, pp. 1255–1270. JSTOR.

3. Ibid, 153-156.

4. Tull, China's Engagement in Africa: Scope, Significance and Consequences, 460.

5. Rajen Harshe, "New South Africa: Ironies and Challenges." *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 29, no. 40, 1994, pp. 2591–2594. JSTOR.

6. Adam Bodomo. "Africa-China Relations: Symmetry, Soft Power and South Africa." *China Review*, vol. 9, no. 2, 2009, pp. 169–178. JSTOR.

7. Huang, Revisiting China-Africa Trade from an Environmental Perspective, 554.

ten year period, African exports to China grew to \$25 billion by 2006, an increase of 1200%.⁸ China is now Africa’s third largest trading partner, mainly through its trade relations with South Africa, Angola, Sudan, Republic of Congo, Equatorial-Guinea, Gabon, Nigeria, Algeria, Morocco, and Chad.⁹ Chinese aid and investment in Africa have also increased significantly due to the increase in successful trade deals. For example, Africa received 44% of all Chinese aid given to developing countries in 2002.¹⁰

In the last twenty years, the People’s Republic of China has greatly increased its influence in Africa.¹¹ China’s interest has led to economic growth, increased trade, and more aid, particularly to South Africa.¹² The driving force of China’s interest in Africa is the pursuit of resources for its growing economy and manufacturing sector.¹³ China continuously expands its ownership of Africa resource, mining, and oil companies.¹⁴ In 2004, 28.7% of all oil imports to China came from Africa, and have increased significantly since then.¹⁵ By 2020, Chinese transnational corporations plan to invest \$360 billion in African oil, potentially reaching 13 million barrels per day. Africa is also rich in precious resources including arable land, biodiversity, and raw minerals including, gold, diamonds, iron, chromium, manganese, pearls, and platinum.¹⁶ While the extraction of minerals leads to economic growth for both countries, there are negative consequences for South African in the form of environmental degradation, pollution, and climate change.¹⁷

China is always looking for new markets because its economic growth can only be sustained if it can sell its large amounts of manufactured goods.¹⁸ African countries are a perfect market because poverty stricken areas in the continent have high demand for cheap goods.¹⁹ Many African countries like South Africa import high levels of Chinese goods such as clothing, shoes, toys, machinery, and technology.²⁰ Because Chinese goods offer a cheaper alternative to goods made elsewhere or locally, African manufactures have a difficult time competing with the prices. This issue puts many Africans out of work, creating a perpetual cycle of economic disparity.²¹

8. Shaw, Global and/Or Regional Development at the Start of the 21st Century? China, India and (South) Africa, 126.

9. Bodomo, Africa-China Relations: Symmetry, Soft Power and South Africa, 170. ; Karon, South Africa: Facing New Challenges, 62.

10. Tull, China’s Engagement in Africa: Scope, Significance and Consequences, 469.

11. Denis M. Tull, “China’s Engagement in Africa: Scope, Significance and Consequences.” *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 44.3 (2006): 459-79. Web.

12. Ibid, 360.

13. Robert Mason. “China’s Impact on the Landscape of African International Relations: Implications for Dependency Theory.” *Third World Quarterly* 38.1 (2017): 84-96. Web.

14. Shaw, Global and/Or Regional Development at the Start of the 21st Century? China, India and (South) Africa, 1265.

15. Tull, China’s Engagement in Africa: Scope, Significance and Consequences, 465-466.

16. Shupe Huang, et al. “Revisiting China-Africa Trade from an Environmental Perspective.” *Journal of Cleaner Production*, vol. 167, 20 Nov. 2017, pp. 553-570. EBSCOhost. ; Tony Karon, “South Africa: Facing New Challenges.” *Great Decisions*, 2007, pp. 53-64. JSTOR.

17. Mason, China’s Impact on the Landscape of African International Relations: Implications for Dependency Theory, 87.

18. Mason, China’s Impact on the Landscape of African International Relations: Implications for Dependency Theory, 84-96.

19. Tull, China’s Engagement in Africa: Scope, Significance and Consequences, 464.

20. Mason, China’s Impact on the Landscape of African International Relations: Implications for Dependency Theory, 84-96.

21. Beeson, The New Resource Politics: Can Australia and South Africa Accommodate China?, 1379. ; Chris Alden, “China in Africa.” *Survival* 47.3 (2005): 147-164.

China and South Africa

South Africa has become a more globalized state in recent years.²² Due to these advancements, South Africa is now one of the most economically advanced countries on the continent of Africa.²³ A large part of its rapid economic growth has occurred because of Chinese involvement in the forms of aid, investment, and trade.²⁴

China and South Africa strengthened their ties in 1998 through formal diplomatic relations and have grown closer together than China has with most other African countries.²⁵ In 2010, the President of the Republic of South Africa, Jacob Zuma, and Chinese president, Hu Jintao, signed the Beijing Declaration and Comprehensive Strategic Partnership Agreement. The agreement ensured bilateral trade between the two countries. Three years later, Zuma met with Chinese President Xi Jinping of the People’s Republic of China to ensure that their countries’ interests were still aligned, which they were.²⁶

The relationship between China and South Africa has grown since the meetings, particularly in 2009 when China became South Africa’s biggest bilateral trading partner.²⁷ Between 2001 and 2012, China-South Africa trade jumped from 20% to 30% of total China-Africa trade. China receives most of South Africa’s exports, and South Africa imports many manufactured goods from China. Largely due to China’s investment, South Africa is one of the ten African Countries that makes up most of African trade.²⁸ As a result of the successful trade deals, China is also a major investor in the country. China is the biggest foreign investing nation in South Africa, which receives a fourth of total Chinese investment in Africa.²⁹

Liberal Institutionalism refuted by Dependency Theory

Liberal institution theory argues that trade and relations between all countries are beneficial for both parties. Institutions help to encourage and sustain cooperation between the states. Liberal institutions recognize that agreements cannot be hierarchically enforced, and that collaboration only occurs when states have many of the same interests. Robert Keohane and Lisa Martin point out that institutions are created between states in response to their interactions and interests, resulting in beneficial outcomes. Institutions can have a substantial, and positive effect between and within countries.³⁰ Keohane and Martin have a very positive view of liberal institutions and cooperation between states. In the case of China and South Africa, the relationship can appear to be quite beneficial for both parties, because both use each other to achieve economic growth. However, the benefits of the relationship for South Africa are short-term, and dependency theory can be used to explain the likely shift in Chinese-South African relations.

The current relationship between China and South Africa is currently quite positive,

22. Harshe, *New South Africa: Ironies and Challenges*, 2591.

23. Shaw, *Global and/Or Regional Development at the Start of the 21st Century? China, India and (South) Africa*, 1258.

24. Tull, *China’s Engagement in Africa: Scope, Significance and Consequences*, 460.

25. Beeson, *The New Resource Politics: Can Australia and South Africa Accommodate China?*, 1376. ; Mason, *China’s Impact on the Landscape of African International Relations: Implications for Dependency Theory*, 86.

26. April, *Perspectives on South Africa-China Relations at 15 Years*, 28.

27. Beeson, *The New Resource Politics: Can Australia and South Africa Accommodate China?*, 1377.

28. Huang, *Revisiting China-Africa Trade from an Environmental Perspective*, 558.

29. Shaw, *Global and/Or Regional Development at the Start of the 21st Century? China, India and (South) Africa*, 1259.

30. Robert Keohane, and Lisa Martin. “The Promise of Institutional Theory.” *International Security* 20.1 (1995): 39. Web.

and both countries are helping each other achieve rapid economic growth. China views South Africa as strategically crucial for economic growth, because of the vast mineral reserves that lie beneath South Africa's ground. China's growing industrial development is reliant on such minerals.³¹ China also must import agricultural products from other countries, like South Africa, to avoid food insecurity; China has a large, growing population, and has experienced a loss of farmable land due to industrialization.³² As a result of China's desire for resources, imports from South Africa help to keep China's booming economy going.

China is also heavily invested in South Africa's markets. China must continue to sell its manufactured goods at high rates to sustain its economic growth. The stronger its economy gets, the harder achieving growth becomes. South African markets have been flooded with Chinese goods, allowing China to sell many of its products. As a result, South African markets have helped China sustain its high growth rate.

China has created a policy called the 'Beijing Declaration,' which provides aid and investment to Africa in exchange for its natural resources.³³ Aid comes from China in many forms, including railways, agriculture, building, hospitals, tourism, information technology, healthcare and debt alleviation.³⁴ China has also invested largely in South African textiles, agriculture, communication, electronics, and banking. This all leads to economic growth in South Africa.³⁵ With such aid and investment from China, many African countries are able to become more involved with the world economy.³⁶

Economic policy in South Africa has opened its doors to foreign investments, and the economy is rapidly growing as a result.³⁷ South Africa is favorable of Chinese investment, because it helps alleviate poverty, social inequality, and high unemployment. China's investments have provided South Africa with the ability to strengthen infrastructure and grow its economy.³⁸ Investment in infrastructure makes life easier for many of the people of South Africa, and jobs have been created in the process.³⁹ Many South Africans see China's interest in investment as a development opportunity, and generally do not feel threatened.⁴⁰

Both China and South Africa can benefit by initiating reform of the United Nations Security Council.⁴¹ Because South Africa is not a permanent member of the UN, it needs Chinese support to achieve its interests.⁴² China can help the UN decide in South Africa's favor and preserve its seat, which incentivises South Africa to continued engagement with China.⁴³ China can benefit from South Africa gaining a permanent seat, because some of the US's power will be redirected to China.⁴⁴

31. Beeson, *The New Resource Politics: Can Australia and South Africa Accommodate China?*, 1381.

32. Alden, *China in Africa*, 149.

33. Huang, *Revisiting China-Africa Trade from an Environmental Perspective*, 555.

34. April, *Perspectives on South Africa-China Relations at 15 Years*, 2-35.

35. Beeson, *The New Resource Politics: Can Australia and South Africa Accommodate China?*, 1377.

36. Huang, *Revisiting China-Africa Trade from an Environmental Perspective*, 555.

37. Harshe, *New South Africa: Ironies and Challenges*, 2591.

38. Beeson, *The New Resource Politics: Can Australia and South Africa Accommodate China?*, 1371-1381.

39. Huang, *Revisiting China-Africa Trade from an Environmental Perspective*, 555.

40. Alden, *China in Africa*, 153.

41. April, *Perspectives on South Africa-China Relations at 15 Years*, 22.

42. Beeson, *The New Resource Politics: Can Australia and South Africa Accommodate China?*, 1381.

43. Alden, *China in Africa*, 156. ; April, *Perspectives on South Africa-China Relations at 15 Years*, 3-21.

44. Beeson, *The New Resource Politics: Can Australia and South Africa Accommodate China?*, 1381.

The current relationship between China and South Africa is clearly beneficial for both parties, but I argue that South Africa’s economic growth is unsustainable. Institutions and relations between the two countries are likely to change as China’s needs for certain resources lessen. South Africa is highly dependent of Chinese investment and aid for economic growth, and as Chinese interests change, South Africa’s economy will be strongly affected.

Many South Africans also fear that too much trade and reliance on China could hinder the economy in the long run.⁴⁵ South African markets are becoming too saturated with inexpensive Chinese goods. China imports mostly textiles, shoes and plastic products to South Africa,⁴⁶ and South Africans are slowly losing customers to the more affordable Chinese goods.⁴⁷ Policy-makers in South Africa have realized that Chinese imports have taken many jobs away from the manufacturing sector and have contributed to a high rate of unemployment.⁴⁸ Keohane and Martin’s positive view of institutions do not take into account the negative consequences of unfair trade deals such as China and South Africa’s relationship. The stronger country will always benefit more than the smaller, exploited country.

Liberal institutionalism also cannot explain the failure of Western institutions like the IMF and World Bank to lift many countries out of poverty. Many African countries have particularly been negatively affected by such institutions. The structural adjustment that come with the institutions’ loans, leave the poor countries in horrible conditions. The vulnerable countries also become more dependent on natural resources for revenue. China does not require structural adjustment in exchange for goods, but it does similarly require South Africa to be dependent on its natural resources for economic growth. If China loses interest in some of South Africa’s raw materials, South Africa will be hurt.

Dependency theory

Dependency theory explains the function of economic institutions and social classes.⁴⁹ It is also used to explain underdevelopment in many of the world’s countries.⁵⁰ The primary argument of dependency theory, is that developing countries which lie on the periphery of the world are unable to develop due to their dependency on rich nations which lie in the center. Rich, historically Western nations,⁵¹ exploit peripheral countries for their natural resources, and consequently, the poor countries are never able to advance their economies to a more independent state. Dependency theory is commonly used to describe the relationship between Latin American and African countries with Western states, but similar patterns have recently become prevalent in Chinese-African relations, particularly between China and South Africa.⁵²

South Africa has experienced dysfunctional economic growth since Western powers colonized, decolonized, and continued to intervene in its affairs. While China’s approach to South Africa is different from the West, their current trade

45. Mason, *China’s Impact on the Landscape of African International Relations: Implications for Dependency Theory*, 93.

46. Beeson, *The New Resource Politics: Can Australia and South Africa Accommodate China?*, 1378.

47. Larabee, *The China Shop Phenomenon: Trade Supply within the Chinese Diaspora in South Africa*, 367.

48. Beeson, *The New Resource Politics: Can Australia and South Africa Accommodate China?*, 1379.

49. Louis A Perez, “Dependency.” *The Journal of American History*, vol. 77, no. 1, 1990, pp. 133–142. JSTOR.

50. Andrés Velasco, “Dependency Theory.” *Foreign Policy*, no. 133, 2002, pp. 44–45. JSTOR.

51. Perez, *Dependency*, 137.

52. Mason, *China’s Impact on the Landscape of African International Relations: Implications for Dependency Theory*, 91.

relationship still leaves South Africa at a disadvantage. Robert Mason argues that dependency theory can be used to explain the negative impacts of China’s growing interest in African countries. Also, African international relations are changing due to its relationship with China.⁵³ China’s economic boom, and huge manufacturing and export sectors have created a strong need for raw materials, many of which lie in South Africa. As a result, China and South Africa have begun a strong trading relationship, in which South Africa exports its natural resources to China, and imports manufactured goods from China. As dependency theory suggests, South Africa is now being exploited, and is stuck in an unfair trade deal that it cannot escape; all of the negative impacts of resource extraction will far outweigh the benefits of importing manufactured goods from China.

Mason also argues that China’s interest in Africa is likely to lessen, particularly as China develops past the “commodity-intensive industrialization phase.” China’s interest in Africa is changing from strictly raw materials and leaning more toward market exploration. South Africa has attempted to create policies that allow it some freedom from China, but it is still reliant on China for growing and sustaining its economic status.⁵⁴ Consequently, South Africa’s dependency on Chinese investment and aid will result in slower economic growth. Dependency theory helps to explain the idea that South Africa’s current economic growth due to advancing Chinese-African relations is unsustainable; it will result in a situation similar to African-Western relations, in which African dependency on the stronger nations leads to exploitation, a hindered economy, and an endless cycle of poverty.

Natural resources and exports

South African President Zuma, has noted that his country’s current method of trade with China is unsustainable.⁵⁵ South Africa exports large amounts of raw materials, and China exports even larger amounts of manufactured goods to South Africa. As a result, South Africa is under threat of a trade deficit, debt, and underdevelopment.⁵⁶

China is motivated to trade for South Africa’s raw materials because its expansive manufacturing sector requires the resources to function and grow. China imports less than 10% of South Africa’s manufactured goods,⁵⁷ and imports seventy percent of South Africa’s raw materials and energy supplies.⁵⁸ Because South Africa exports such high amounts of its raw materials to China, the economic growth of its own manufacturing sector is inhibited. While an increase in exports is good for short-term economic gain, long-term it will become unsustainable. Countries that do not rely on their own natural resources are typically unable to provide essential services for the wellbeing of the majority of their populations, including food, clothes, electricity, education, and health care.⁵⁹

Concerned scholars point out that China’s trade can be harmful to South Africa. China receives less monetary return from Africa than it invests, but Africa loses critical

53. Ibid, 84-85.

54. Ibid, 92-93.

55. April, Perspectives on South Africa-China Relations at 15 Years, 30.

56. Beeson, The New Resource Politics: Can Australia and South Africa Accommodate China?, 1378.

57. April, Perspectives on South Africa-China Relations at 15 Years, 1.

58. Beeson, The New Resource Politics: Can Australia and South Africa Accommodate China?, 1378.

59. Huang, Revisiting China-Africa Trade from an Environmental Perspective, 558-559.

resources in their trade relationship.⁶⁰ While some African countries benefit slightly from trade in the form of monetary and economic growth, many scholars argue that the continent is overall worse off due to exploitation. As a result of exploitation in certain communities, economic growth is sparse, and resource extraction pollutes natural resources including drinking water. Resource extraction also degrades the environment and biodiversity.⁶¹

The extraction of natural resources leads to toxin induced health issues in nearby communities, the loss of usable resources like arable land and clean water due to pollution, as well as climate change.⁶² Climate change is caused by the release of toxins like Carbon Dioxide (CO₂) into the atmosphere, which leads to sea level rise, severe and extreme weather patterns, food insecurity, climate refugees, and dangerous ecosystem interferences.⁶³ South Africans will be very vulnerable to these consequences of trade with China. Poverty stricken Africans suffering from the effects of pollution and climate change will also be unlikely to have the means to move away from heavily affected areas leading to unavoidable suffering in South Africa.⁶⁴

South Africa is not the only country which will be negatively affected by the consequences of pollution and climate change. China is already severely polluted due to its manufacturing and export sectors. China's air quality, water, and wheat production are just a few of the things that have become severely affected.⁶⁵ The biggest pollutants in China are industrial dust, soot, and SO₂ from coal usage by the industrial sector. The manufacturing sector also used two billion tons of coal in 2008, and a large portion came from Africa. This pollution leads to cardiovascular disease, cancer, morbidity, cognitive underdevelopment, and many other health issues.⁶⁶ The people of China are suffering due to pollution and climate change just as the South African have begun to. In time, the extraction, trade, and usage of natural resources will leave both countries in desperate situations.

To some extent, this issue goes beyond dependency theory. Not only will South Africa suffer, but China is going to experience the same consequences of environmental degradation. The current trade relationship between the two countries is also unsustainable because pollution and climate change affect the entire world and cannot be ignored forever. The issues will only worsen, and all countries will have to adjust their international relations and national actions drastically. China is no exemption from the environmental issues awaiting South Africa.

60. Ibid, 558-559.

61. Huang, Revisiting China-Africa Trade from an Environmental Perspective, 553-554.

62. Naomi Klein, "This Changes Everything." (2014): n. pag. 7 Feb. 2017. Web.

63. Joshua W. Busby, "Who Cares about the Weather?: Climate Change and U.S. National Security. Security Studies. 13 Feb. 2017. Web. ; Brian Tokar, "Toward Climate Justice: Perspectives on the Climate Crisis and Social Change. Porsgrunn: New Compass Press, 2010. Print. ; McKibben, Bill. "Introduction." *Earth: Making a Life on a Tough New Planet*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2011. N. pag. EBSCOhost. 1 Nov. 2016. Web.

64. Diane C Bates, "Environmental refugees? Classifying human migrations caused by environmental change." *Population & Environment* 23.5 (2002): 465-477.

65. Jing Zhang, *Foreign direct investment, governance, and the environment in China: Regional dimensions*. Springer, 2014.

66. Doug Guthrie, *China and Globalization: The Social, Economic and Political Transformation of Chinese Society*, Taylor and Francis, 2012. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Conclusion

Dependency theory best describes Chinese-South African relations. While Keohane and Marin’s argument of liberal institution theory can explain the current, positive relationship, Mason’s argument of dependency theory explains the likely negative consequences of Chinese-South African relations. The negative consequences will lead to economic decline in South Africa, as well as pollution and climate change related issues. China is exploiting South Africa for its raw materials, and the negative effects of resource extraction will be detrimental to South Africa. China will also suffer from the effects of resource extraction and usage, pollution, and climate change.

South Africa’s economic growth is almost entirely dependent on Chinese investment and aid, and South Africa’s economy will struggle when Chinese interests change. If China moves away from its “commodity-intensive industrialization phase,” and loses interest in some or many of Africa’s resources, South Africa will no longer have anything to trade. Without the trade, China will no longer be interested in investing or providing aid. China will be more interested in expanding to new markets that have not yet been saturated with its goods, and South Africa will be left with a shattered economy.

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The Paris Agreement and Its Success Without the United States

Tatiana Cortes-Mondragon

Abstract

Climate change caused by human actions remains an urgent global threat. This paper examines the possibility of the Paris Agreement’s success even after the United States decided to no longer participate to fight against Earth’s rising temperatures. Four international relations theories will be analyzed and contrasted with evidence: Kathryn Sikkink’s standards of behavior as the norm theory,¹ Robert Keohane’s cooperation through international institutions theory,² Joseph Grieco’s limits of cooperation theory,³ and Robert Cox’s problem-solving theory.⁴ These theories help determine if the Paris Agreement will succeed without the United States.

Introduction

Emitting considerable amounts of greenhouse gases have increased since the pre-industrial era and have been driven largely by economic and population growth. Climate change, consequently, has impacted natural systems such as soil, water, vegetation, and living organisms in all continents. Since 1950, extreme weather and climate changes have been attributed to human actions.⁵ As a result, climate change has been exacerbated, making the earth warmer at accelerated rates and posing an imminent threat to humanity. Scientific studies concluded that if carbon emissions continue at the same rate, atmospheric temperatures will continue to rise, and the planet will be hotter, sea levels will rise, storms will be more powerful, droughts will become severe and lead to food shortages, along with other extreme conditions.⁶

The Paris Agreement is a United Nations climate treaty that aims to strengthen the global response to the threat of climate change by maintaining the global temperature

1. James V. Riker Sanieev Khagram, and Kathryn Sikkink, *Restructuring World Politics: Transnational, Social Movements and Norms* (University of Minnesota Press, 1995).

2. Robert Keohane, *Power and Governance in a Partially Globalized World* (Taylor and Francis, 2002).

3. Robert W. Cox, *Universal Foreigner: The Individual and the World* (Singapore, SINGAPORE: World Scientific Publishing Co Pte Ltd, 2014).

4. Joseph M. Grieco, “Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism,” *International Organization* 42, no. No 3 (1988).

5. Climate Change 2014 Synthesis Report Summary for Policymakers. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change.

6. Jonathan Ellis, “The Paris Climate Deal: What You Need to Know,” *The New York Times*.

increase below 2 degrees Celsius.⁷ Although the Paris Agreement has brought countries together to collectively mitigate climate change, the Trump administration has decided to pull out of the Paris Agreement. This is significant because the U.S. is second in greenhouse gas emissions in the world.⁸ Will the Paris Agreement be successful without the United States? This paper argues that climate change mitigation will be the new norm through international cooperation and this will allow for the Paris Agreement to be successful without the United States.

Literature Review

Amid a growing globalized world, anarchical-independent states find themselves unintendedly or intendedly interconnected with other states. Within this dynamic, is an inclination for different states to cooperate with one another through international institutions, which enforce, set, or change international norms. Yet, norms of cooperation are heavily debated among international relations' theorists. Their arguments are based on their school of thought or paradigm. With four distinctive theorists and four different paradigms, we can analyze how norms are corrected and established—then examine the reason and purpose for cooperation. This will help us question and form our own ideology of how and why anarchical states use international institutions to restructure norms in our globalized world.

According to Robert Cox, one of the intellectual founders and leading thinkers of the British School of International Political Economy, it is necessary and practical to analyze academic disciplines by understanding the social context. By limiting the number of factors involved, we can have a better analysis. If we limit the number of variables, we can come close to precise examination. He developed the problem-solving theory which states that by reducing a problem to a limited number of variables, it will facilitate precise examination. The *ceteris paribus* assumption allows for statements of laws/regularities, which have general applicability of the parameters assumed in the problem-solving approach.⁹ When correcting or questioning norms, one should limit the number of conditions to allow for accurate analysis of the problem area to enable a more precise examination.

Adding to the perception of norms and how they are constructed as such, Kathryn Sikkink, professor of human rights, uses the standards of behavior norm theory. According to Sikkink, norms consist of proper behavior, we know what is right by reference to the judgments of a society. Sikkink states that norm-breaking behavior is recognized because it generates disapproval, while norm conforming behavior produces praise.¹⁰ In her theory, Sikkink argues that if a certain number of states accept a principle as a norm, then it becomes the new standard of behavior. To understand the emergence of international norms, one needs to pay close attention to the role of transnational networks, coalitions, and movements. A considerable number of states must accept the standards of behavior before they can be considered norms. Some states have more weight than others when it comes to promoting new norms. It is suggested that approximately one-quarter to one-third of states must support the new standards

7. United Nations “The Paris Agreement,” *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change* (2018)

8. Union of Concerned Scientists. “Each Country’s Share of CO2 Emissions” (2017)

9. Robert W. Cox, *Universal Foreigner: The Individual and the World* (Singapore, SINGAPORE: *World Scientific Publishing Co Pte Ltd*, 2014).

10. Martha; Sikkink Finnemore, Kathryn “International Norm Dynamics and Political Change,” *International organization* 52, no. 4 (1998).

of behavior before they can be called new norms.¹¹

Transitioning from theories that provide logic and an analysis of how norms are restructured, we move on to examine the reasons and purpose for cooperation. According to Robert Keohane institutions, cooperation under anarchy, transnational relations, complex interdependence, and domestic politics now stand as fundamental reference points for current discussions in this field.¹² He states that international institutions are important because they provide a platform where states can act collectively by confronting issues together. Collaboration is accomplished because it provides incentives for governments by keeping their own commitments, and it ensures that other states will do the same. If states act collectively, states act more predictably.¹³ In international economic transactions, we see cooperation of states through the World Trade Organization (WTO), “An international institution who deals with the global rules of trade between nations. Its main function is to ensure that trade flows smoothly, predictably and as freely as possible.”¹⁴ Therefore, international institutions encourage states to act cooperatively, making their behavior more predictable.

Keohane international institutions’ theory has been a matter of intense debate for theorists such as Joseph Grieco, a neorealist who opposes Keohane’s theory. Grieco is a professor of political science who concentrates on theories of international relations, issues of international political economy and problems of international conflict.¹⁵ According to Grieco, if states in cooperative arrangements worry that their partners will benefit more than they do, it is because they realize that states seek relative gains. If states seek relative gains, states in cooperation worry that their partners will benefit more than they do. A state will focus on its absolute and relative gains from cooperation. A state that is satisfied with a partner’s compliance in a joint arrangement might still exit from it because the partner is achieving relatively greater gains.¹⁶ Therefore, states seeking relative gains will not want to cooperate because they worry that their partners will benefit more than them.

Climate Change Findings

Climate change is a phenomenon that affects every country on the globe, and without states working collectively, mitigation will not be significant enough to reduce the earth’s increased warming. The Earth’s surface has progressively become warmer since 1850. The period from 1983 to 2012 was likely the warmest 30-year period of the last 1400 years in the Northern Hemisphere. The global average, combined land and ocean surface temperature data, shows a temperature increase of 0.85 °C [0.65 to 1.06] from 1880 to 2012.¹⁷ Acknowledging the climate change threat, different states have compromised to cooperate with one another through the United Nations treaty to collectively reduce global warming.

11. James V. Riker Sanieev Khagram, and Kathryn Sikkink, *Restructuring World Politics: Transnational, Social Movements and Norms* (University of Minnesota Press, 1995).

12. Peter A. Gourevitch, “Robert O. Keohane: The Study of International Relations,” *Cambridge University*, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/S1049096500050150>.

13. Keohane, Robert. *Power and Governance in a Partially Globalized World*. Taylor and Francis, 2002.

14. World Trade Organization, “The World Trade Organization,” https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/thewto_e.htm.

15. Duke Trinity College of Arts and Sciences, “Joseph Grieco,” Duke Trinity College of Arts and Sciences, <https://polisci.duke.edu/people/joseph-grieco>.

16. Joseph M. Grieco, “Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism,” *International Organization* 42, no. No 3 (1988).

17. Climate Change 2014 Synthesis Report Summary for Policymakers. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change.

If a Certain Number of States Accept a Principle as a Norm

Sikkink’s norm theory states that for the emergence and effectiveness of international norms, it is vital to pay attention to the crucial role of transnational networks and coalitions, like that of the United Nations. Sikkink proceeds to reveal that a critical mass of actors must accept the standards of behavior before they can be considered norms. 174 out of 195 countries (89%), with the exclusion of the United States, have joined under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) to become part of the Paris Agreement, a pact aimed to reduce emissions of planet-warming greenhouse gases.¹⁸

The crucial role of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC,) an international coalition where states are joining together to mitigate climate change, along with the critical number of states that are part of this accord, is to establish international norms, according to Sikkink’s theory. The theory claims that some states have more weight than others when it comes to promoting new norms. The United States is one of those states that carries significant weight in promoting new international norms. “Political analysts say it’s not clear whether any of them can replace the United States and the immense diplomatic machinery it commands when engaged on an issue.”¹⁹ The weight and the influence of the United States in climate mitigation is important, “the United States is the second-largest emitter worldwide, behind only China, and its promised emissions cuts accounted for about 20 percent of global cuts foreseen by the agreement.”²⁰ If the United States represents about 20 percent of the global cuts predicted by the Paris accord, but there are still 174 other states that adhere to the to the Paris Agreement, it does not represent enough weight for the climate mitigation to fail as a norm. The difference in the weight that all other states have, compared to the hegemon — the United States — is higher than that of the United States’ weight alone.

Furthermore, Sikkink argues that defining norms involve standards of ‘proper’ behavior. We only know what is appropriate by reference to the judgments of a society. We recognize norm-breaking behavior because it generates disapproval, and norm conforming behavior produces praise. If defining a norm requires appropriate behavior, the United States is not acting appropriately by rejecting to compromise to reduce global warming. Global warming will affect all states, especially developing countries that do not have the resources and infrastructure to withstand and function after a devastating natural disaster. Sikkink interprets ‘appropriate’ based on the judgment of a society. If 174 nations are fighting global warming, the baseline it establishes on what is ‘appropriate’ is well defined. She also explains that norm-breaking behavior generates disapproval. Before “The United States’ European allies have lobbied hard against a U.S. exit... the decision will endanger U.S. national security and prosperity by sabotaging U.S. global leadership.”²¹ The disapproval and criticism against the Trump administration for leaving the Paris Agreement has been strong nationally and internationally. This has placed the United States in an isolated position on this matter, and it has also weakened its moral authority as a hegemon. Based on Kathryn Sikkink’s definition of norms, and her theory of how a norm is adopted, climate change

18. Ellis, “The Paris Climate Deal: What You Need to Know.”

19. Lisa Friedman, “As U.S. Sheds Role as Climate Change Leader, Who Will Fill the Void?” *The New York Times* November 13, 2017.

20. James McBride, “The Consequences of Leaving the Paris Agreement,” Council on Foreign Relations.

21. McBride, “The Consequences of Leaving the Paris Agreement.”

mitigation is likely become the new standard of behavior for 174 states. So, mitigation will be cascading as a new norm. Thus, if climate change mitigation is established as a new norm, the Paris Agreement is likely to succeed without the United States.

If States Act Collectively

Now we will examine the reason and purpose for cooperation under anarchy and the importance of international institutions. According to Keohane, international institutions are important because they provide a platform where states can act collectively by confronting issues together. If states act collectively, states act more predictably. Institutions enforce cooperation, reduce cost, enforce agreements, promote reciprocity, provide incentives, and allow predictability.²² Will the climate change mitigation that is enforced by the UNFCCC help the Paris Agreement be successful without the United States? Under the United Nations, this treaty for climate mitigation will benefit everyone living on earth. As states unite and act toward the same goal, they are cooperating in mutually beneficial ways.²³

Keohane states that cooperation among states reinforces practices of reciprocity. Moreover, being a non-signatory, the United States will empower China to fill the leadership vacuum, relinquishing its influence in the clean energy race and empowering China's influence on other important issues, such as territorial disputes in the South China Sea. There are indications that China is forging new alliances with the European Union to advance common climate policies without the United States.²⁴ As states advance in their cooperation with one another, they will become more reciprocal. Not only on climate change mitigation but forming strong alliances on other matters.

Governments also launched new joint initiatives. India and France led 120 countries in announcing an International Solar Alliance, which supports solar energy deployment in developing countries. More than 20 developed and developing countries launched Mission Innovation, pledging to double public investment in clean energy research and development over five years.²⁵

With his theory, Keohane asserts that if countries follow the rules of a well-established international institution, the behavior of other countries becomes more predictable. The Paris Agreement crucially depends on transparency as a means of holding countries accountable.²⁶ The UNFCCC encourages that states cooperate in mutually beneficial ways, reinforcing practices of reciprocity, which provides incentives for governments. With the Paris Agreement, states act collectively and cooperatively toward the fight against global warming, making their behavior more predictable. International cooperation and predictability will allow for the Paris Agreement to proceed without the United States.

If States in Cooperative Arrangement Worry That Their Partners Will Benefit More

Joseph Grieco argues from a perspective of anarchy and the limits of cooperation, where a state will focus on its absolute and relative gains from cooperation. A state that is satisfied with a partner's compliance in a joint arrangement might exit from it

22. Robert Keohane, *Power and Governance in a Partially Globalized World* (Taylor and Francis, 2002),

23. Ellis, “The Paris Climate Deal: What You Need to Know.”

24. Ibid.

25. “Outcomes of the U.N. Climate Change Conference in Paris,” Center for Climate and Energy Solutions.

26. “Outcomes of the U.N. Climate Change Conference in Paris.”

because its partner is achieving relatively greater gains.²⁷ Relative gains seem to support Trump’s claim of his ‘America First’ rhetoric. He argues that the Paris Agreement benefits other countries at the expense of the United States.²⁸ In considering the total effects of global temperatures rising, it is necessary to account for long-term global risks such as international security, transnational economies, and political effects worldwide. Due to the impact of climate change as a ‘threat multiplier,’ the benefits of cooperation now outweigh the potential gap in relative gains between cooperating countries.²⁹ Trump argues that the Paris deal undermines the United States while empowering the world’s top polluting countries, indicating that foreign lobbyists’ motives are to give their country an economic advantage over the United States.³⁰ Not considering the imminent threats caused by earth’s rising temperatures, his administration seems to be failing to understand the consequences of climate change. Trump’s interpretation of the Paris Agreement — one where the other state participants benefit over the United States — disregards the potential threats of climate change to all nations. There are more intense and severe weather events, erosion of vital and arable land has expanded, causing a climate-driven migration which has contributed to the European refugee crisis.³¹ Relative gains will be of little significance in the event of devastating weather events, food, and water shortages, unwanted migration, or national uprisings. The United States’ exit from the Paris Agreement equates to protectionism, choosing isolation over cooperation.³² Global warming intensifies existing conflicts and exacerbates instability. Within 30 years, severe weather events are expected to kill 2.5 million people and caused similar droughts that doubled the price of wheat in the lead up to the 2011 Arab uprisings.³³ If the threat of climate change could be impersonated as a state, a realist response would be to form an international alliance to fight climate change. In a world that has progressed with diplomacy and cooperation instead of wars, the long-term benefits seem to be better than relative gains. The United States has seemingly failed to act as the hegemon by withdrawing from the Paris Accord.

If We Limit the Number of Variables

Keohane endorses cooperation through international institutions and Grieco exposes the limits of cooperation based on the anarchic world order. Robert Cox’s problem-solving theory offers a solution: by limiting the number of factors involved, we can have a better analysis. This will help evaluate and determine if each theory’s condition supports the notion that the Paris Agreement will succeed without the United States. Cox states that the ability to fix parameters to a problem area and reducing the statement of a problem to a limited number of variables will allow precise examination. The *ceteris paribus*, upon which his theorizing is based, determines causation to isolate multiple independent variables affecting the dependent variable.

27. Joseph M. Grieco, “Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism,” *International Organization* 42, no. No 3 (1988).

28. Donald Trump, “Statement by President Trump on the Paris Climate Accord,” news release, June 01, 2017, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/06/01/statement-president-trump-paris-climate-accord>.

29. Ken Sofer, “The Realist Case for Climate Change Cooperation,” Center for American Progress, <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/security/news/2015/11/30/126356/the-realist-case-for-climate-change-cooperation/>.

30. Trump, “Statement by President Trump on the Paris Climate Accord.”

31. Sofer, “The Realist Case for Climate Change Cooperation.”

32. Trump, “Statement by President Trump on the Paris Climate Accord.”

33. Sofer, “The Realist Case for Climate Change Cooperation.”

This makes it possible to arrive at statements of laws or regularities.³⁴ Using Cox’s problem-solving approach, will the Paris Agreement succeed without the United States? Kathryn Sikkink’s theory of norms indicates that if a certain number (one-quarter - one-third) of states accept climate change mitigation, it becomes the new norm. The United States, before exiting the Paris Agreement, had promised emissions cuts of about 20 percent.³⁵ If we measure the weight the United States would have had based on its foreseen emissions cuts, it does not weigh more than one-quarter to one-third. Robert Keohane’s theory of cooperation and international institutions argues that if states act collectively, states act more predictably. Under the UNFCCC, 174 states will act collectively achieving the same goal of climate change mitigation. The Paris Agreement initiates a process through which climate change will be collectively mitigated. Ultimately, Joseph Grieco’s theory implies that if states in cooperative arrangement worry that their partners will benefit more than they do, it is because they realize that states seek relative gains. 174 states are not seeking relative gains because they are in cooperative arrangements without worrying about the gains of others; rather, they are worried about the imminent threats climate change brings. With Grieco’s theory, the Paris Agreement will not succeed. States like the United States will not want to cooperate because they are seeking relative gains. Based on Robert Cox’s problem-solving approach, I conclude that Sikkink and Keohane’s theory indicates that the Paris Agreement will be successful without the United States. Grieco’s theory conflicts with international norms (Sikkink) which are enforced by international institutions (Keohane). Both theories act as a joint force to prevent catastrophes created by global warming; they do not focus on what other states are gaining in the process. Therefore, Grieco’s theory is flawed because states are not focusing on relative gains. Two out of the three theories predict that the Paris Accord is likely to be successful without the United States.

34. Robert W. Cox, *Universal Foreigner: The Individual and the World* (Singapore, SINGAPORE: *World Scientific Publishing Co Pte Ltd*, 2014).

35. McBride, James. “The Consequences of Leaving the Paris Agreement.” Council on Foreign Relations.

Conclusion

The criticism against the Trump administration for leaving the Paris agreement has been vast. This has placed the United States in an isolated position, and it has also weakened its moral authority as a hegemon. On the account of Kathryn Sikkink, the climate change mitigation has become the new standard of behavior adopted by 174 states. Mitigation cascades as the new norm.³⁶ Robert Keohane international institutions and cooperation theory emphasize that states cooperate in mutually beneficial ways.³⁷ With the Paris Agreement, states act collectively and cooperatively toward the fight against global warming, making their behavior more predictable. When applying Joseph Grieco’s limits of cooperation theory to current events, the outcomes do not support the theory.³⁸ In a world that has become so intertwined due to globalization, one could argue diplomacy and alliances are the norm. Thus, cooperation is better off than relative gains. Grieco’s theory does not provide accurate evidence as to why the Paris Accord could not succeed without the United States. Robert Cox’s problem-solving approach, with its limited number of variables, helps conclude that the factors from Sikkink and Keohane’s theory both indicate that the Paris Accord will be successful without the United States due to international cooperation and predictability.

36. James V. Riker Sanieev Khagram, and Kathryn Sikkink, *Restructuring World Politics: Transnational, Social Movements and Norms* (University of Minnesota Press, 1995).

37. Robert Keohane, *Power and Governance in a Partially Globalized World* (Taylor and Francis, 2002).

38. Joseph M. Grieco, “Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism,” *International Organization* 42, no. No 3 (1988).

- Climate Change 2014 Synthesis Report Summary for Policymakers. *Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*. 2014. http://ipcc.ch/pdf/assessment-report/ar5/syr/AR5_SYR_FINAL_SPM.pdf
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Critical Theory is to Marxism as Fourth Wave Feminism is to Second Wave Feminism

Paolo Pontoniere

Abstract

An ongoing debate in International Relations theory circles concerns the direction of fourth wave feminism—what is the aim of this new movement? How does it relate to earlier waves of feminism, such as the second wave, which has been undeniably successful in affirming women’s economic contributions? This question is even more pressing at this political junction, in which women’s economic gains are being challenged by public policies that disinvest from the social common. This shift takes place at a time when third wave intersectional feminism seems to have pushed the movement over the edge of the dialectical struggle between sexuality, power, and identity. In this direction, I posit that the experience of critical theory, its evolution from the main body of historical materialism and Marxism, and the contribution it has made to the international relations, may provide a viable ‘parallel’ comparative model, both in political intent and philosophical conception. This comparison will allow us to understand both the relations running between the second wave and the current wave of feminism and also to gain a sense of what direction the fourth wave may take in the future.

Introduction

Establishing a Comparative Equivalency

To begin, let us equate Marxism to second wave feminism, not only because of its strong economic and materialistic reading of societal relations, but also because of its tendency to propose political models which are not fully realized unless some cathartic event takes place. In the case of Marxism, this event is the revolution of the proletariat, which eventually leads to the end of their exploitation and alienation, and to the establishment of a communal system of interests. Not, however, without a blood bath happening first. The October Revolution and Chinese Revolution—although neither took place in a fully mature industrial society as Marx had posited—should serve as points of references.

In the case of the second wave of Feminism the cathartic event—also unrealized—is smashing the glass ceiling that prevents women from accessing the top echelons of

corporate and political boardrooms. Let us say the Sheryl Sandberg¹/Hillary Clinton² binomial representation of second wave feminism will be achieved eventually, but only if the “Good Girls”³ will get on with the program. The program, as Keohane defines it, encompasses a framework that should advance economic and parity rights for women within a benevolent context defined by a male driven political philosophy, and a testosterone imbued structural and normative ecosystem.⁴ Such is a game that requires them first to validate the centrality of the masculine point of view in the system—which argues that human nature is basically fraught, and that states negotiate on the tip of their sword, even when they’re compelled to overcome anarchy. Essentially, they’re required to accept the very point that the fourth wave intends to discuss: the role of patriarchy in the violent masculine underpinning of international relations among states as they stand today. Only upon doing so, can they then offer the feminine point of view from their peripheral position of exclusion.

Marxism and Critical Theory

Having elucidated roughly the rationale behind the proposed first term of the equivalency, it is imperative to elucidate the contribution that Critical Theory has made to the evolution of Marxism and the advent of the Neo-Marxist and post-materialist experience.

Endeavoring the concept of the superstructure to the four main factors driving history in the materialistic analysis—alienation, stagnation, exploitation, and surplus—Critical Theory provides Marxism with an avenue to escape the binding of history and the unavoidable progression toward the proletarian revolution. Italian Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci, a forefather of Critical Theory and founder the Italian Communist Party, asserts that by subverting the narrative paradigm we can take a different pathway to achieving the emancipation of the working class. A win-win situation that does not necessarily encompass the prevailing on one position above the other, but believes that the competing classes can work together and reach a compromise position which allows both to benefit from the solution at play. Operating on a cultural and semantic level, it is believed that “the only real possibility is compromise, since force can be used against enemies, not against a part of oneself that one wants to quickly assimilate.”⁵ The discourse about what direction must be imparted to history to realize the full potential of human nature can lead the proletariat to emancipation without the need for an armed revolution.

For Gramsci, struggling parties must step out the box of their narrow interests to formulate tactical articulations of their strategic vision. This exercise will serve to ameliorate the immediate living conditions of the exploited masses while voiding the power of oppressive bureaucratic structures from within and envisioning a different interpretation of the dominant normative narrative.

In ‘Quaderni dal Carcere’, produced while prisoner of the Italian Fascist government, Gramsci describes a lasting and gradual process that erodes the power

1. E. Bruening, Sheryl Sandberg’s Lean In Feminism Puts Women Issues at Risk, *New Republic*, March 9, 2105

2. M. Mirashem, What Young Feminists Think of Hillary Clinton - *The Atlantic*, May 15, 2105

3. Cynthia Weber, ‘Good Girls, Little, Girls, and Bad Girls: Male Paranoia in Robert Keohane Critique of Feminism in International Relation,’ *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 1994, Vol.23, Np.2, pp.337-49

4. Roberth Keohane, ‘International Relations Theory: Contributions of a Feminist Standpoint,’ *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 1994, Vol.18, p.251

5. A. Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere*, a cura di V. Gerratana, Torino, Einaudi, 1975,

of the State and its bureaucratic structures from the inside out, and transfers it to the working masses through the creation of proletariat’s centers of social power. Called the Casematte, these bunkers of proletariat social power would, in effect, rule alternatively and contextually to the state’s official structures. Through these centers, the revolution would conquer people’s hearts and minds, thus emancipating them. Italian Marxist scholar Alexander Hobel writes:

Gramsci proposes that before thinking to taking the state the working class must fight for hegemony in the civil society, which means hegemony on the ideological and cultural level, but also means conquering – during a long “war of position” that alternates with phases of “war of movement” – those “casemates,” those trenches, the myriad of small and large centers of power (or resistance) that are popular unions, cooperatives, municipalities, associations, and all the network of structures that make our civil society... It is in the course of this process, that the subaltern class becomes a “historical subject,” a class by itself; that is, it begins to become a ruling class and lays the foundations for becoming a ruling class, to conquer political power on the basis of consensus and mass sharing, the expression of a new “historical bloc.” (Google translation from the Italian)

It is therefore through this process that the subaltern class “becomes historical subject.”⁷ Class, onto itself and morphing into ruling class, lays the foundation to also become dominant.

Gramsci’s Critical Theory exerted a profound impact on some of Europe’s most relevant 20th century events. On one hand, it laid the foundation of Europe’s Federalism and eventually the creation of the European Union. On the other hand, his way of thinking gave rise to Eurocommunism, a form of Neo-Marxism which led to European communist parties distancing themselves from Stalinism and Russia, and to the Italian political strategy of the ‘Historical Compromise.’ A political strategy which sought a compromise between the working class and the capital, this was eventually realized in the mid-seventies when communists and Christian Democrats formed a coalition government and defeated Italy’s domestic terrorism.⁸

Waves of Feminist Activism

In parallel, the Feminist experience displays a different perspective. In 1920, the first wave of Feminism gained the female vote, but not economic independence. During World War II, the second wave began to coalesce as women hit the market in droves, showing society that, they too, could drive the economy.

By the end of the war, women were pressured to relinquish their jobs back to American male soldiers returning home from the front and to retreat into the private sphere of their families. The Weltanschauung, prior to WWII and after, was that of women happily pursuing a suburban lifestyle, which includes, but is not limited to, a lifestyle with children, a manicured front lawn, and the like. Upon re-entering the traditional role assigned to them by society, women had thus, become again, characters in a Norman Rockwell like depiction of what life in America was supposed to be:

6. Alexander Hobel, ‘Gramsci E L’ Egeomnia. Complessita E Trasformazione Sociale, *Quaderni di Malacoda*, 2017

7. A. Belcamino, L’Idealismo Antimarxista di Luckács, *Bandiera Rossa*. July 4, 2011 Web. Site: <https://bentornatabandierarossa.blogspot.com/2011/06/lidealismo-antimarxista-di-lukacs-di.html>, Accessed: 02-19-2018

8. Antonio Negri, Between “Historic Compromise” and Terrorism, *Le Monde Diplomatique*, August 1998

happy suburban communities, where women lived a life brimming with hope, content, and certitude about the future; and above all without economic independence, away from the public sphere, corporate boardrooms and executive suites.

There was strong pressure to conform to the ideal of the heterosexual nuclear family to avoid problems, which were markers of a lack of patriotic virtue. Those were very strong messages at a time when anti-communism was attached to social dissent.⁹

Unsettling the very foundation of the normative structure, of which traditional family and societal values stood on, women were now aware of the fact that without economic equality they were as “trapped as they were without political equality.”¹⁰

The pursuit of economic equality became paramount with the struggle for sexual freedom and political relevance. The right to one’s own body, birth control and sexuality, and greater economic success of women in the marketplace, created disputes of the supposed 50’s and 60’s mystique of American life. Many believe that the second wave of feminism was, by and for the privileged middle class, where the goals of one group were assumed to be the goals of all groups. Although, the debate about the impact of second wave feminism is still open, it cannot be denied that laying the foundation of a more global discourse about the female dimension, inclusive of economic and sexual rights, has created the conditions for the movement to get to the heart of patriarchy, as well as the impact that this exerts on male-female relation, on the power structure of the society, and on International Relations.¹¹

Engendering the political discourse and introducing intersectionality of the multifaceted reality of human personality to politics, 3rd wave feminism, has demonstrated that patriarchy is not just a female problem, but it is a malaise that is bestowing unhappiness and discord across society. It indiscriminately impacts males and females, compromising all interactions across all levels of the human experience.

With current events such as the 2017 Women’s March, which occurred throughout cities across the United States, and the #MeToo movement that took social networks, work places, and schools by storm with accusations of sexual abuse, it is clear that feminism is still a pertinent topic. That rather than in decline, it is in flux, that the third wave feminism has not just “leaned in” but, instead, has divulged into forms of feminism, characterized by the pursuit of holistic practices, introspection, and empowerment pep-talks; inspired by harbinger of corporate culture such as Leanin.org, a female-advocacy group, promoted by Facebook’s COO Sheryl Sandberg.¹²

With the wars in Iraq, Afghanistan and international terrorism, feminism began to coalesce with the international struggle for democracy and equal rights. The concept of intersectional identity and gender, introduced by third wave feminists, outgrew the millennial, and akin Silicon Valley likes, and transformed itself into a transversal political praxis, globally uniting women and men in the fight for social, political, and economic equality, as well as equal rights under law:

9. Women and Work, Interview with Elaine Tyler May, Historian, University of Minnesota, “Tupperware”, PBS, Website: www.historylink.org/Content/education/downloads/C21curriculum_Unit5/C21curriculum_Unit5%20resources/Unit5_READINGS_WomenandWorkAfterWWII.pdf, Accessed 11/25/2017

10. Jonathon Whooley, Feminism, PPT, Class materials, IR380, San Francisco State University, Fall 2017.

11. Chiara Volpato, *Psicosociologia del Maschilismo*, GIUS La Terza & Figli S.P.A., Roma-Bari, Giungo 2013

12. Paolo Pontoniere, ‘Negli USA e’ Boom delle conferenze sull’empowerment femminile. Vironomics, *L’Espresso*, Jan/9, 2015

“War is harder for women, Iraqis, Afghans, Sudanese, Chechens and Latin Americans as these individuals are killed and wounded in greater numbers than men, because they are raped, humiliated, and deprived of the right to be. Their children are killed and tortured, they are deprived of their maternal dignity, and recently, as carriers of life, they have been transformed by the establishment – the military one – which is above all male, in the bearers of death. And we must not delude ourselves the war effort as it also worsens the living conditions of women living in the first world. With all the resources absorbed by the war effort and the need for security, the funds available for preventive medicine, for schooling, for the battle against breast and uterine cancer, against AIDS and to reduce child mortality, are becoming increasingly smaller.”

“We no longer invest in social services, health, and school, and it is primarily a form of discrimination against women, because they are the ones who fully suffer the weight of welfare cuts.”¹³ (Interview with Naomi Klein – google translation from the Italian)

Around 2008, the third wave contribution to the relationship between patriarchy and violence in the formation of masculine ethos, hit the mainstream and migrated into what is now defined as the fourth wave of feminism. This wave is characterized by a larger representation of marginalized groups and feminist perspective on theory and policy issues, from which the feminist voice has been historically excluded.

At this juncture, the engendering discourse of third wave millennial feminists, debates the societal ills caused by patriarchy. It is due to the work of fourth wave scholars, where an understanding of how patriarchy affects all genders is now understood. Furthermore, scholars like Laura Sjoberg,¹⁴ Jill Steans,¹⁵ Lene Hansen, J. Ann Tickner, Jacqui True and Cynthia Weber push the boundary of international relations to question the patriarchal underpinnings of its founding theories. Despite the fact that women suffer disproportionately from war—with their own lives and as mothers, sisters, and wives—and that about 90 percent of civilian casualties during a war are civilians, the field of International Relations remains mostly a male dominion, characterized by a bellicose attitude and frozen into a paradigm of confrontation.

This is where fourth wave Feminism converges with Critical Theory, for its ability to envision a different world, to step out of the box and imagine interpretative models and solutions that force the agents to a phenomena to enter the other’s dimension, to see the world from a different perspective that challenges the gender binary. For example, McKenzie provides a rational explanation to why women guerrilla decided to not disarm at the end of Sierra Leone’s civil war in 2002. On that occasion to compel guerrilla fighters to disband, and to turn in their weapons, UN negotiators had proposed to offer male fighters a piece of land to call their own in exchange for their weapons. No such offer was made to female fighters, even though during the conflict they had played the same, if not a bigger role, than their male companions. Clearly traditionally gendered, the negotiators’ proposal had produced the adverse effect of antagonizing the female guerrilla who decided to not lay down their weapons

13. Paolo Pontoniere, ‘Donne la Lotta Continua’, *L’Espresso*, Jan. 2, 2018

14. Laura Sjoberg, Introduction to Security Studies: Feminist Contributions, *Security Studies*, 18:2, 183-213, link to article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09636410902900129>

15. Jill Steans, *Gender and International Relations: An Introduction*. New Brunswick, NJ. *Rutgers University Press*, 1998,

thus contributing to extend the duration of the conflict. This experience proves the importance of recognizing a gender specific point of view of shared experiences—in this case the roles and experiences of female soldiers in Sierra Leone-- and that in its absence public policing, such as post-conflict reconstruction, is bound to be “gender blind at best, and restrictive, moralizing, and disciplining at worst.”

Conclusion

Reintroduced into the public debate issues that, until recently, were the exclusive domain of women’s movement, historians celebrate the resurgence of the feminist discourse worldwide. Women and gender identities are receiving anew widespread attention by media and politicians worldwide. Issues of sexual abuse, rape, violence against women, unequal pay, body-shaming, the pressure on women to conform to unique and unacceptably unrealistic beauty standards, as well as the awareness that the gains made on the front of women’s rights can be rolled back at any time, are attracting an extensive social and political attention.

Some of the new fourth-wavers may have issues with the whole concept of “feminism,” not just because of its old radical overtones, but because the concept seems to be handicapped by a binary vision of gender, and as such proponent of implied divisive values that would apply exclusively to female or males. For them feminism is no longer limited just to the feminine dimension; it is a battle-cry for gender equality.

It “speaks in terms of intersectionality whereby women’s suppression can only fully be understood in a context of the marginalization of other groups and genders—feminism is part of a larger consciousness of oppression along with racism, ageism, classism, ableism, and sexual orientation (no “ism” to go with that). Among the third wave’s bequests is the importance of inclusion, an acceptance of the sexualized human body as non-threatening, and the role the internet can play in gender-bending and leveling hierarchies. Part of the reason a fourth wave can emerge is because these millennials’ articulation of themselves as “feminists” is their own: not a hand-me-down from grandma. The beauty of the fourth wave is that there is a place in it for all—together. The academic and theoretical apparatus is extensive and well-honed in the academy, ready to support a new broad-based activism in the home, in the workplace, and in the streets.”

Given its infancy is still unclear where Fourth-Wave Feminism will go and if it will lead feminism to a new revolution. Fourth-wave feminism, due to its ability to conceive different solutions to the same problem, and above all, emphasize with various human conditions, is eerily similar to Critical Theory. In that it can define the goals of the movement, but not necessarily be so invested into a specific outcome or sense of direction about where the experience is going, as opposed to second-wavers and Marxists. Therefore, because of these qualities, it represents an evolution on the Second-wave feminism in a depth and magnitude comparable to the one that Critical Theory caused Marxism to experience. Only time will tell if this supposition is correct and should not, in any way, lessen the enthusiasm we perceive among women and their supporters about the historical relevance of the gains made by the movement in the last few years.

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Fear, Hyper-mobility, and the Securitization of the ‘Other’: A Case for Refugees in Greece

Eva Charidas

Abstract

The current institutional asylum framework has aided one of the largest displacement crises in modern history. Policies such as the 1951 Refugee Convention and Dublin Regulation fail to provide adequate protection, and instead allow forms of human rights violations to occur. The plight of refugees is becoming an issue of morality, which is revealed throughout the different variables of systemic corruption within Greece’s national government. Through observational fieldwork, this paper analyzes the ways in which corruption creates a hyper-mobility of refugees by highlighting living conditions of minority refugee populations at a squatting camp in Patras, Greece. The failure to crack down on local and national corruption has allowed for a market of smuggling and trafficking businesses, leaving women and children the most vulnerable to fall through the cracks.

Introduction

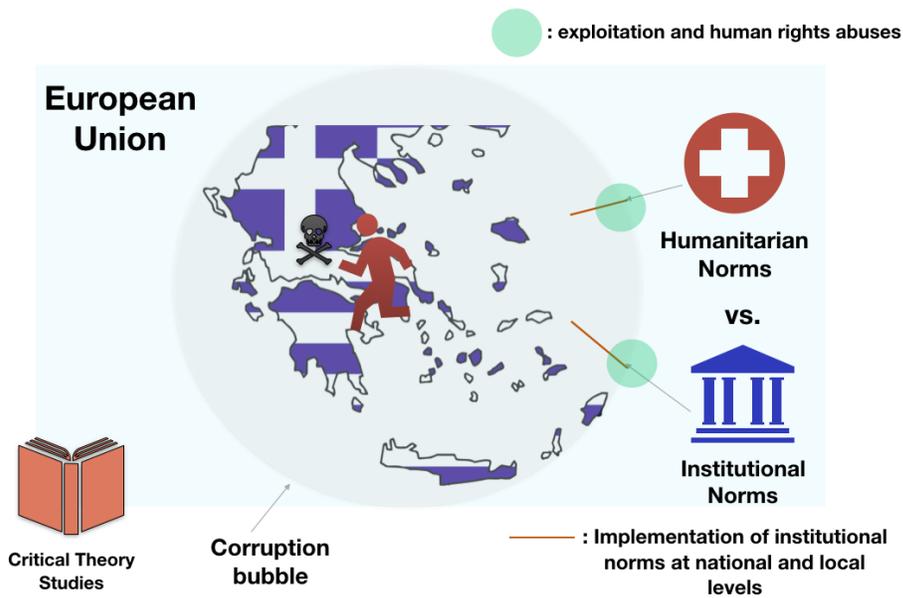
The makeshift camp stood bordering the city and its port, holding over 270 refugees, granting easy access for transit connections across the Aegean Sea to Italy via carrier ferry. The old abandoned machinery factory, masked with pop-up tents, overgrown greenery, and years of degradation, stands as a vessel where refugees embark on an illegal migration to safety in Patras, Greece.¹ This is not the first “makeshift camp” to arise in Europe since the beginning of the crisis back in July of 2015.² The capital of Italy possesses multiple “pop up” areas where refugees reside in transit with pending applications towards nations in the West that offer more resources for asylum protection.³ Refugees are forced into extreme conditions, due to the paradoxical structure the EU has created in efforts to provide aid and resettlement.

The European migration crisis creates a pushback of uncertainty within the European Union, challenges its security framework, and continues to weaken national sovereignty. The European institutional framework devalues the

1. Charidas, Eva. “Fieldwork From Refugee Camp In Patras, Greece”. Patras, Greece, 2017.

2. Europe’s Migration Crisis”, *Human Rights Watch*, 2017, <https://www.hrw.org/tag/europes-migration-crisis>.

3. Rosie Scammell, “Rome Feels Pressure Of Migration Buildup With Makeshift Refugee Camp”, *The Guardian*, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jun/14/rome-feels-pressure-of-migration-buildup-with-makeshift-refugee-camp>.



external plight of safety for the refugee, causing them to seek illegal forms of movement putting them into a paradoxical structure of mobility.

What factors have created this hyper-mobility of refugees in spite of a discourse of humanitarianism and institutionalism within the European Union? It is necessary to highlight three outstanding factors of how the EU has transitioned from fluidity to a fortress; rising nationalism, compliance and implementation with the Dublin Regulation, and informal policies and corruption. Figure one above visualizes the paper to highlight the juxtaposition of humanitarianism and institutionalism, and how it produces a no-man’s land of securitization of immigrants. It will argue how critical theory fails to capture the impact of systemic corruption which undermines the norms and practices of multilateral governance in immigration. Systemic corruption underlies institutional, legislative, and societal dynamics, and contributes to the transition of asylum seekers to illegal migrants. Exploitation and human rights abuses are the results of failed implementation of institutional and humanitarian norms at the local and national level.

In recent years, 2017 has been thought of to have received the highest displacement numbers in history, in spite of the platforms of institutional cooperation and globalization. With the 1951 Refugee Convention that solidifies the right of an individual to seek asylum based on political prosecution, and the international responsibility that developed countries abide by to take care of vulnerable persons, it is imperative to question how all factors have slowly aided the degradation of asylum protections in this region.

Since the inception of the migration crisis, Greece has been considered the epicenter of the event and as a result, continues to suffer greatly from the lack of fluid mobility for refugees into the EU. Since the beginning of the crisis in July of 2015, there have been over one million documented migrants that have been recorded on the Eastern Mediterranean route that funnels directly into Greece.⁴ Its geographic predisposition

4. “IOM Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) - Europe”, Migration.Iom.Int, 2017, <http://migration.iom.int/europe/>.

to the Middle East grants easy access to Europe through the Mediterranean Sea to the Greek islands.⁵ Being a transit country, Greece provides a unique case in understanding the overall debate of security dynamics in a multilateral discourse. The EU complies with the veritable identity that external borders are the only main source of security for this region.⁶ With this country sitting on one of the EU’s external border, Greece holds a greater responsibility in comparison to other member states in the Union. Due to Greece’s location, it is important to identify that despite this interconnection relative to the EU, the government continues to struggle with its influx of refugees and asylum seekers, and the socio-political ramifications of such struggles.⁷

This paper will address the debate of securitization versus mobilization to better understand the push and pull between two polarizing ideologies in a globalized discourse. The paper seeks to deconstruct the multilateral factors through which asylum seekers undergo a failing asylum regime. Following the introduction, the methodology will be compiled of a balance between traditional security theories and critical study theories to highlight the debate of material power versus identity politics in the eyes of securitization. It will address how the intersectionality of critical theory studies in application produces gaps of systemic corruption within multilateral governance. To sustain this argument, this paper will analyze the case for Greece and its implementation of the Dublin Regulation, informal policies, and the country’s social attitudes of rising nationalism. It will deconstruct the case for Greece through compiled observational data retrieved from an informal squatting camp located in Patras to strengthen platforms of corruption gaps between multidimensional asylum framework and its ground-level implementation. I will specifically target and highlight the negative influences Institutional, legislative, and societal factors contribute to the transition of asylum seekers to illegal migrants through illegal forms of exploitation and human rights abuses.

Redefining Security through Critical Theory Studies

In the absence of individual sovereignty, security becomes multifaceted. The concern of a constructed threat, the added institutional dimension to state actors, and a discourse of globalization all evoke the narrative of *how versus what*.⁸ Critical theory studies breaks down the questions of construction to provide in-depth analysis in rejecting a nation-state’s role to define and become the agent to security.⁹ Rather than understanding a threat to a nation, security must be measured by balancing it with insecurity, moving from an extrinsic model of power, into the intrinsic identity of the self vis-a-vis the external system.¹⁰ By doing this, critical theory scholars, in particular Booth, Waever, and Jones, all critique structuralist studies to widen the debate of

5. “Frontex | Eastern Mediterranean Route”. Frontex.Europa.Eu, 2017. <http://frontex.europa.eu/trends-and-routes/eastern-mediterranean-route/>.

6. Luisa Marin, “G The EU’s External Borders: A Challenge For The Rule Of Law And Fundamental Rights In The Area Of Freedom, Security And Justice? An Analysis Of Frontex Joint Operations At The Southern Maritime Border”, 2012, 470-487.

7. “The EU And The Refugee Crisis”, Publications.Europa.Eu, 2017, <http://publications.europa.eu/webpub/com/factsheets/refugee-crisis/en/>.

8. David Baldwin, “The Concept Of Security”, *Review Of International Studies* 23 (1993): 5-26.

9. Baylis, Smith and Owens, “IR Theory In Practice Case Study: The European Refugee Crisis”, *The Globalization Of World Politics* 7 (2017).

10. Ken Booth, “Security And Emancipation”, *Review Of International Studies* 17, no. 04 (1991): 313, doi:10.1017/s0260210500112033.

security.¹¹ A widening in this field is paramount in understanding how security, or insecurity infiltrates past materialism and into society.

The Copenhagen School of Security further breaks down security issues through language. Through language, or ‘speech acts,’ actors have accessibility into framing issues outside of the legitimate security framework, and instead use language theory as a vessel for security construction.¹² The additives of visual representations, as well as other vessels that speak to the public, widen the scope to understand how not only governments produce threats to security, but move to the individual level in providing leverage in gaining an emotional reaction to the contested issue. An example of such an instance is when a picture of a deceased baby, washed up onto the Mediterranean shore, where the public reaction then went viral and a platform was created for an emergency response.¹³ Although, these key securitizing actions are strategic, Buzan argues that the ‘designation of what justifies the use of extraordinary measures in the invocation of security, has been the key to legitimizing the use of force.’¹⁴ Waever critiques these issues by showing the correlation between the justification of emergency responses by strategic actors, the representation of visual images in this context are less likely to provoke response due to its ambiguity.¹⁵

The creation of ‘hate speech’ within the current refugee crisis exacerbates the securitizing of a threat due to the classification of the unfamiliar on a scope equating to war.¹⁶ Even though this ‘unfamiliar’ is not identified as an atrocity like war, its certainty within the social discourse gets established. Pugh argues that securitizing asylum seekers is apocalyptic; their safety is quickly fleeting, interactions with death are frequent and radical, and isolation from society pins them against the other (the self, in this case).¹⁷ Interactions with the other are not subjected to ‘extreme forms of politicization,’ but rather stand as vessels for transformation into abstract threats, allowing for hate speech to arise.¹⁸

Within a migration crisis, security is framed towards posing a threat against a referent object where these threats are grouped for negative forming purposes.¹⁹ Security within critical studies, highlights that framing security “issues” are not positive forms of protection for the state, but rather, presents a negative demeanor that an issue has not been defined in the realm of ‘normal politics.’²⁰ When security issues

11. “Towards A Critical Securitization Theory: The Copenhagen And Aberystwyth Schools Of Security Studies”, *E-International Relations*, 2017, http://www.e-ir.info/2013/02/01/towards-a-critical-securitization-theory-the-copenhagen-and-aberystwyth-schools-of-security-studies/#_ftn3.

12. Rita Taureck, “Securitization Theory And Securitization Studies”, *Palgrave Macmillian UK* (2006) Vol. 9 1:53, <https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.jird.1800072>

13. Ishaan There, “A Dead Baby Becomes The Most Tragic Symbol Yet Of The Mediterranean Refugee Crisis”, *Washington Post*, 2015, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/09/02/a-dead-baby-becomes-the-most-tragic-symbol-yet-of-the-mediterranean-refugee-crisis/>.

14. B Buzan, O Waever and J Wilde, *Security: A New Framework For Analysis* (London, 1998).

15. Holger Stritzel, “Towards A Theory Of Securitization: Copenhagen And Beyond”, *European Journal Of International Relations* 13, no. 3 (2007): 357-383, doi:10.1177/1354066107080128.

16. M. Pugh, “Drowning Not Waving: Boat People And Humanitarianism At Sea”, *Journal Of Refugee Studies* 17, no. 1 (2004): 50-69, doi:10.1093/jrs/17.1.50.

17. M. Pugh, “Drowning Not Waving: Boat People And Humanitarianism At Sea”, *Journal Of Refugee Studies* 17, no. 1 (2004): 50-69, doi:10.1093/jrs/17.1.50.

18. M. Pugh, “Drowning Not Waving: Boat People And Humanitarianism At Sea”, *Journal Of Refugee Studies* 17, no. 1 (2004): 50-69, doi:10.1093/jrs/17.1.50.

19. Ole Waever, “Politics, Security, And Theory”, *Journals.Sagepub.Com.Jpllnet.Sfsu.Edu*, 2011, <http://journals.sagepub.com/jpllnet.sfsu.edu/doi/pdf/10.1177/0967010611418718>.

20. Ole Waever, “Politics, Security, And Theory”, *Journals.Sagepub.Com.Jpllnet.Sfsu.Edu*, 2011, <http://journals.sagepub.com/jpllnet.sfsu.edu/doi/pdf/10.1177/0967010611418718>.

are taken out of the scope of normal politics and inserted into the framework of a ‘threat,’ it allows for governments to respond radically. This type of political control of constructing a threat begins at the insurgence of fear in the arena of societal discourse. In scenarios where a threat of uncertainty is present, fear is the strongest provoking variable for control. Waever argues that de-securitization, or physically removing a contested threat as fearful, provides an equitable response to a security dilemma. Structuralist scholars argue that securitization and de-securitization are a polarized balancing act, providing a push and pull between the two outcomes.²¹ Ultimately, these two concepts are unified in what divides them, but the de-securitization of security issues allows for a widened variety of possible responses, that lack a politicized motive, and instead, transitions the threat out of the framework of security and into the public realm of empathy.²²

Humanitarianism and Emancipation as Securitization

The securitization of an issue, privileges those in power, at the expense of the “other” which can provoke instability instead of safety.²³ When a system can de-securitize a security issue, it eliminates any potential present threat. Ken Booth furthers this notion by introducing the counter action: emancipation. The implications of emancipation frees the human from the self by allowing them to shed physical and psychological constraints of fear. The integration of emancipation in critical theory studies allows for the other to not be subjected to oppression. In instances where the self can relinquish fear from uncertainty, the issue of insecurity weakens, and creates a vessel for a narrative of peace to form.²⁴ Emancipation in a security dilemma shifts the agent of security from the state to the self, which furthers the theoretical debate of who security is for in the international system, and whether its actions protect materialism or the social construction of identity.

What happens when a human becomes the referent object of securitization?²⁵ The insurgence of humanitarianism into security studies, theoretically breaks down how vulnerable people are classified in this narrative by distinguishing itself on the concepts of human life and dignity. Human security dictates the ‘implementation of various emergency measures to alleviate existential threats to human life.’²⁶ In the case for asylum seekers, humanitarianism acts in cohesion with institutionalism in providing streamlined responses to securitization, although this may sometimes dehumanize an asylum seeker in the process.²⁷ Labeling asylum seekers as “waves” or “flows”

com.jpplnet.sfsu.edu/doi/pdf/10.1177/0967010611418718.

21. Ken Booth, “Security And Emancipation”, *Review Of International Studies* 17, no. 04 (1991): 313, doi:10.1017/s0260210500112033.

22. Ken Booth, “Security And Emancipation”, *Review Of International Studies* 17, no. 04 (1991): 313, doi:10.1017/s0260210500112033.

23. “Towards A Critical Securitization Theory: The Copenhagen And Aberystwyth Schools Of Security Studies”, *E-International Relations*, 2017, http://www.e-ir.info/2013/02/01/towards-a-critical-securitization-theory-the-copenhagen-and-aberystwyth-schools-of-security-studies/#_ftn3.

24. Ken Booth, “Security And Emancipation”, *Review Of International Studies* 17, no. 04 (1991): 313, doi:10.1017/s0260210500112033.

25. Scott Watson, “The ‘Human’ As Referent Object?”, *Security Dialogue* 42, no. 1 (2011): 3-20, doi:10.1177/0967010610393549.

26. M. Pugh, “Drowning Not Waving: Boat People And Humanitarianism At Sea”, *Journal Of Refugee Studies* 17, no. 1 (2004): 50-69, doi:10.1093/jrs/17.1.50.

27. Scott Watson, “The ‘Human’ As Referent Object?”, *Security Dialogue* 42, no. 1 (2011): 3-20, doi:10.1177/0967010610393549.

according to Pugh in the theoretical narrative of security constructs a generalization of impersonality.²⁸ Variables of fluidity frame society as destabilized, which allows for the self to reject ethical concerns of responsibility against the other.²⁹ When vulnerable persons are moved into the realm of securitization from this standpoint, institutionalized systems break down humanitarian identities by manipulating the distinction between refugees and migrants.³⁰

Greece: Rising Nationalism

Movements of polarization and nationalism began to gain traction during Greece’s economic crisis of 2008 and began to solidify as an identity in the last two years, as a reaction to incoming migration.³¹ Nationalism is now being used as a tactic to control the mobility of refugees in the public realm by further developing xenophobic identities and dehumanizing refugee populations by grouping them with desolate and apocalyptic living conditions upon arrival. In an era of modernity and globalization, it is important to identify the influence of rising tensions in the public sphere, for these grass-root groups leave the strongest and deadliest impact on minority populations.

Another issue with rising nationalist ideologies, which limits mobility, is the tactic of refashioning asylum seekers into impoverished, second-class individuals through the creation and implementation of refugee camps and local squatting sites. Attitudes of anti-refugee sentiment in systemic and public discourse systematically categorize asylum seekers as second-class citizens, limiting their access to mobility and basic survival needs. During waiting periods for asylum applications, refugees are grouped in various transitory camps and squats. These temporary living conditions, provided by local, state, and international actors, are meant for limited assistance, where refugees spend 2-3 days before traveling to Western Europe.³² The launch of the Turkey-EU deal, indefinitely halted migration for irregular migrants past Greece, curbing their movement onward.³³ The implementation of this policy has created an overcrowding of camps and squatting sites which deplete humanitarian resources. The Moria camp on the island of Lesbos is designed to host 1,500 people but during the month of February 2017, aid workers reported 4,000 inhabitants.³⁴ On the island of Samos, its main center carries an ideal capacity of 700-800 people, but received 1,400 people in December of 2016.³⁵ Along with both camps, Samos and Lesbos, another camp, Chios, are now believed to be ‘hotspots’ where the three are facing serious overpopulation with limited aid. Human Rights Watch reported in May of 2016 on all three islands that many refugees were sleeping in tents, had no access to sufficient dietary needs, and water

28. M. Pugh, “Drowning Not Waving: Boat People And Humanitarianism At Sea”, *Journal Of Refugee Studies* 17, no. 1 (2004): 50-69, doi:10.1093/jrs/17.1.50.

29. M. Pugh, “Drowning Not Waving: Boat People And Humanitarianism At Sea”, *Journal Of Refugee Studies* 17, no. 1 (2004): 50-69, doi:10.1093/jrs/17.1.50.

30. Scott Watson, “The ‘Human’ As Referent Object?”, *Security Dialogue* 42, no. 1 (2011): 3-20, doi:10.1177/0967010610393549.

31. “Greece’s Prosecution Of Golden Dawn”, *Humanrightsfirst.Org*, 2015, <http://www.humanrightsfirst.org/sites/default/files/HRF-Golden-Dawn.pdf>.

32. Ashley Gilbertson, “The Refugee King Of Greece”, *Nytimes.Com*, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/04/14/sunday-review/greece-refugee-king-gilbertson.html>.

33. “EU-Turkey Migrant Deal Comes Into Force”, *BBC News*, 2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35854413>.

34. Rachel Banning-Lover, “Greek Refugee Camps Remain Dangerous And Inadequate, Say Aid Workers”, *The Guardian*, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2017/feb/10/greek-refugee-camps-dangerous-inadequate-aid-workers>.

35. Rachel Banning-Lover, “Greek Refugee Camps Remain Dangerous And Inadequate, Say Aid Workers.”



was mainly contaminated.³⁶ Mainland camps and squats present corresponding data; lack of access to sanitary water, food, toiletries, and shelter.³⁷ Figure two below depicts the physical qualities of refugee camps consisting of recycled abandoned government facilities, desolated and forgotten public spaces, and situated in either rural areas or on the outskirts of cities, hidden from the public eye.³⁸ Petra Olympou, a camp located in Northern Greece, situated sixteen miles from the nearest town, is located at an abandoned psychiatric hospital.³⁹ Refugees live in tents, and have created makeshift showers by heating water over fire.

Off the coast of Patras, refugee minorities have inhabited two old abandoned machinery factories, where the reported living conditions involve refugees sleeping on floors and in tents, multiple rooms of accumulated rubbish, overgrown greenery, rain water, and one room, specifically dedicated to feces.⁴⁰ One available faucet produced uncontaminated running water which was used for showers and drinking.⁴¹ Two medical staff are provided on behalf of DocMobile to provide treatment for over 250 refugees as of July 2017.⁴² The average stay at this camp is at least six-months. It is important to note that the camp and squatting conditions vary on legitimacy, relative to the system. Squatting conditions of refugees in Greece are most desolate due to their contradictory insertion into urban public places, where when combined with the poor

36. “Greece: Refugee “Hotspots” Unsafe, Unsanitary”, *Human Rights Watch*, 2016, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/05/19/greece-refugee-hotspots-unsafe-unsanitary>.

37. Melissa Flemming, “Greece: UNHCR Concerned At Conditions In New Refugee Sites And Urges That Alternatives Be Found”, *UNHCR*, 2016, <http://www.unhcr.org/en-us/news/briefing/2016/5/57480cb89/greece-unhcr-concerned-conditions-new-refugee-sites-urges-alternatives.html>.

38. “A Tour Of 5 Refugee Camps”, *This American Life*, 2017, <https://www.thisamericanlife.org/greece/>.
Eva Charidas, “Fieldwork From Refugee Camp In Patras, Greece” (Patras, Greece, 2017).

39. “A Tour Of 5 Refugee Camps”, *This American Life*, 2017, <https://www.thisamericanlife.org/greece/#>.

40. Picture: Eva Charidas, “Fieldwork From Refugee Camp in Patras, Greece” (Patras, Greece, 2017)
Eva Charidas, “Fieldwork From Refugee Camp In Patras, Greece” (Patras, Greece, 2017).

41. Eva Charidas, “Fieldwork From Refugee Camp In Patras, Greece” (Patras, Greece, 2017).

42. Eva Charidas, “Fieldwork From Refugee Camp In Patras, Greece” (Patras, Greece, 2017).

conditions, trigger anti-refugee dispositions from nationals. Rising nationalism is a direct product stemming from homogeneous uncertainty and its influence on Greece’s political system will facilitate xenophobic national policies in efforts to curb pluralism.

Dublin Regulation

Dublin’s lack of implementation can be directly correlated to immobility in this region. The 2011 Greece vs. Belgium case, settled within the European Court of Human Rights, imposed a suspension of asylum transfers, due to its inability to uphold an adequate system.⁴³ As reported from the European Commission, Greece is thought of to have breached its Dublin implementation, through various encounters with refugees in one or more of the following ways; not processing asylum cases, not providing legal resources and assistance, and failing to provide added protection for unaccompanied minors.⁴⁴ In April of 2016, the Human Rights Watch reported that Greek police arrested all refugees coming to the islands of Chios and Lesbos, and failed to read the refugees any international rights of protection, of which they can contest under European Law.⁴⁵ A similar finding in July of 2017, reported that refugees seeking asylum in Greece were not aware or even provided information on the rights the UNHCR has mandated in the international system.⁴⁶ The waiting period for an asylum case is six months, excluding the amount of time it takes for the applicant to open and submit a case.⁴⁷ In May of 2016, the European Council on Refugees and Exiles estimated this wait time at one year in Greece, in comparison to other EU countries like Switzerland, Italy, and Hungary who have cut down processing to under six months.⁴⁸ In multiple cases unaccompanied minors had obtained identification papers presenting them as older than they actually were, which in some cases were due to immigration authorities labeling them as adults to avoid added legal processes of minors.⁴⁹ In August of 2017, fellow fieldworkers providing aid off the coast of Patras reported police brutality on an unaccompanied minor by local border patrol where they arrested, tortured, and then branded the child with heated metal. He was later returned to the camp where medics assisted him.⁵⁰

Figure three represents Dublin’s failure through discrepancies in which information gets transferred from institutions like the UNHCR, to the national government of Greece, and down to its local police forces and border patrol. Out of the million that passed through Greece in 2015, only 13,000 of those individuals applied for asylum. A similar finding presents itself in 2016, where 169,641 refugees entered Greece, only 51,091 of these people applied for asylum protection within the country, and 244 people received subsidiary protection, leaving the success rate of adequate

43. Violeta Moreno-Lax, “Dismantling The Dublin System: M.S.S. V. Belgium And Greece”, *European Journal Of Migration And Law* 14, no. 1 (2012): 1-31, doi:10.1163/157181612x627652.

44. Andreas Høglund, “The Implementation Of The Dublin Regulations In Greece, Italy And Spain”, Bora.Uib.No, 2017, <http://bora.uib.no/bitstream/handle/1956/16038/Masteroppgave.pdf?sequence=1>.

45. Greece: Asylum Seekers Locked Up”, Human Rights Watch, 2016, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/04/14/greece-asylum-seekers-locked>.

46. Eva Charidas, “Fieldwork From Refugee Camp In Patras, Greece” (Patras, Greece, 2017).

47. “The Length Of Asylum Procedures In Europe”, Ecre.Org, 2016, <https://www.ecre.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/AIDA-Brief-DurationProcedures.pdf>.

48. “The Length Of Asylum Procedures In Europe”, Ecre.Org, 2016, <https://www.ecre.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/AIDA-Brief-DurationProcedures.pdf>.

49. Eva Charidas, “Fieldwork From Refugee Camp In Patras, Greece” (Patras, Greece, 2017).

50. Eva Charidas, “Fieldwork From Refugee Camp In Patras, Greece” (Patras, Greece, 2017).



= discrepancies in implementation

implementation at 2.6% out of the entire refugee population.⁵¹ Asylum seekers are reluctant to file claims in Greece, due to;

*'lack of adequate staff and facilities; problems with registration of claims and examination of appeals; lack of permanent reception centers to address the increased number of potential asylum seekers entering via the maritime border; insufficient welfare, integration, counseling, legal, and interpretation services; discrimination; poor detention conditions.'*⁵²

The national statement of Greece, at the 67th Executive committee of the UNHCR, stressed the importance of accelerated relocation in Greece, along with added protection for refugee children, in an effort to provide over 18,000 asylum seekers children access to education in the current fiscal year.⁵³ As previously stated, national efforts to relocate refugees takes about a year for completion, one of the longest waiting periods out of the entire union, and on local levels children are being subjected to numerous forms of abuse, both systemic and arbitrary.

Corruption

Systemic corruption in Greece is longstanding, and continues to infiltrate past the government and into the socio-cultural democratic values of its population. The lack of an effective asylum bureaucracy has allowed for the creation of a multi-billion dollar smuggling and trafficking business through the misuse of food and shelter aid,

51. Phillip Connor, “Italy On Track To Surpass Greece In Refugee Arrivals For 2016”, Pew Research Center, 2017, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/11/02/italy-on-track-to-surpass-greece-in-refugee-arrivals-for-2016/>.

“Statistics - Greece | Asylum Information Database”, Asylumineurope.Org, 2017, <http://www.asylumineurope.org/reports/country/greece/statistics>.

52. Greece”, U.S. Department Of State, 2017, <https://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2016/eur/265426.htm>.

53. “National Statement of Greece at the 67th Executive Committee of the UNCHR”, Unhcr.Org, 2017, <http://www.unhcr.org/57f784867.pdf>.

sexual extortion, bribery, and criminal exploitation.⁵⁴ In June of 2017, Greek police managed to take down one of the first smuggling rings which included twelve foreign nationals having connection routes through the EU and Canada.⁵⁵ Corruption is the key facilitator to human smuggling, the OCED reported legitimate actors being bribed to allow smugglers to pass through border checkpoints. The listed actors involved in ground-level corruption include but are not subjected to; local Greek transit companies, visa distributing officials, the Hellenic Police and Coast Guard, and at least one reported NGO.⁵⁶

As a result of corruption gaps, human trafficking networks have piggybacked human smugglers in establishing illegal trafficking rings in more desolate ‘camp’ conditions. Harvard’s Center for Health and Human Rights is the first of which to publish data on this phenomenon in its development stages, but it continues to remain under-reported and represented in the public realm.⁵⁷ Due to the failure of state child protection systems in Greece, conditional factors of migration make children, especially unaccompanied, the most vulnerable population. In December of 2016, only 11% of the children population stranded in Greece were successfully relocated.⁵⁸

Unaccompanied minors in particular are subjected to harsher forms of systemic abuse, where many times they are thrown in detention centers and integrated with adult migrant populations exposing them to harsher protracted violence.⁵⁹ In some cases, sub-ethnic clashes between unaccompanied migrant populations creates a struggle which is combated with violence, subjecting other UM’s to sexual abuse by current trafficked victims. Emergency networks are not solely limited to mainland Greece, child migrants have reported to medical service providers on the Greek islands of engagement with facilitated child trafficking networks. Greece’s rising child trafficking network is difficult to fully construe and solidify due to its clandestine and preliminary nature, but will continue to unfold with the help of localized NGO’s and fieldworkers who advocate and report sexual abuse against minors.

Analysis

The implementation a multi-dimensional asylum framework creates systemic gaps of infrastructural violence when applied into a government that has a rooted history of governmental and societal corruption. Any forms of humanitarian or institutional norms that are inserted into the Greek government instantly undermine legislative, societal, and institutional dimensions of its asylum protection regime. The methodology framework failed to capture this because systemic corruption that is deeply rooted in

54. “Responses To The Refugee Crisis: Corruption And The Smuggling Of Refugees”, *Oecd.Org*, 2015, <http://www.oecd.org/corruption/Corruption-and-the-smuggling-of-refugees.pdf>.

55. “Police Dismantles Human Trafficking Ring Transferring Migrants To EU And Canada - Keep Talking Greece”, *Keep Talking Greece*, 2017, <http://www.keeptalkinggreece.com/2017/06/04/greek-police-europol-uk-migrants-human-trafficking/>.

56. “Responses To The Refugee Crisis: Corruption And The Smuggling Of Refugees”, *Oecd.Org*, 2015, <http://www.oecd.org/corruption/Corruption-and-the-smuggling-of-refugees.pdf>.

“The Refugee Crisis: Why We Need To Speak About Corruption”, *Wavv.Transparency.Org*, 2016, https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/the_refugee_crisis_why_we_need_to_speak_about_corruption.

“EU Suspends Funding To Refugee NGO Following Claims Of Sexual Abuse, Corruption | Kathimerini”, *Ekathimerini.Com*, 2017, <http://www.ekathimerini.com/218513/article/ekathimerini/news/eu-suspends-funding-to-refugee-ngo-following-claims-of-sexual-abuse-corruption>.

57 58 59. “Emergency Upon Emergency: The Growing Epidemic Of Sexual Exploitation And Abuse Of Migrant Children In Greece”, *Harvard Center For Health And Human Rights*, 2017.

Greece’s national government and protection forces is infrequent and unpredictable, and does not follow the status quo of predicted theoretical pretenses.

Dublin’s multilateral registration scheme produced the hyper mobilization of refugees to Greece, which namely has subjected them to inhumane conditions and forms of exploitation. The extended waiting periods in asylum seeking, refashion refugees into the ‘other’ through prolonged stays in desolate refugee camp conditions. Their contradictory labeling as second class individuals, represented through the failure to uphold basic human rights by the host country, trickles down to a society of impersonality that can turn away and reject ethical responsibility for this vulnerable population, and instead label them as a threat to national security. Securitization fails to capture and frame refugee populations as national threats because in practice, these migration flows reveal the discrepancies of trying to frame a population of heightened humanitarian urgency that is frequently succumbed to corrupted personal political gain by prominent actors in Greece’s Republic. The prolonging of a refugee’s ‘limbo’ due to Dublin’s insertion into a systemically corrupt government, transitions the asylum seeker into an illegal migrant, forcing them to turn to criminal exploitation in hopes for survival.

Human smuggling is an underlying factor that causes hyper-mobilization, where human trafficking is the primitive effect. The insertion of these rings into refugee camps can be linked to the socio-humanitarian ‘hierarchy’ that has been revealed in Greece’s asylum system. The legitimacy of refugee camps rely on its relativity to the system, as well as a refugee’s access to aid via their nationalism. The same can be applied to the amount of corruption one will come in contact with. Refugees that are labeled “less vulnerable” by Greece’s asylum system upon arrival are more likely to end up in squats, rather than in camps, which are correlated with higher amounts of smuggling and trafficking. The development of human trafficking networks stemming off irregular transit routes can be linked to a transition of a multi-national human trafficking network once migration deescalates. Historical observations have noted a similar case, where in an Eritrean displacement crisis, a smuggling business allowed for the uprising of a six year long human trafficking network. The continued reinforcement of systemically embedded smuggling, and recent reports of the growing trafficking issues that Greece is starting to face, can present a similar case linking illegal transit between the Middle East and European Union.

Conclusion

Greece saw over one million documented movements in 2015 due to their geographical disposition to the Middle East and to the Eastern Mediterranean Route. They have created a hyper-mobilization of refugees through the lack of implementation of the Dublin Regulation, their rising nationalism, and the overall systemic corruption that fills gaps in application. The factors analyzed relative to the discourse do not correlate, and put refugees into a paradox of uncertainty and isolation. The importance of ‘de-securitization’ when analyzing refugee flows will help develop the emancipation of presented constraints of ‘othering,’ and shed light on the individual strife of political prosecution that can aid a narrative of localized advocacy to provide the rights asylum seekers deserve.

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- “Frontex | Central Mediterranean Route”. *Frontex.Europa.Eu*, 2017. <http://frontex.europa.eu/trends-and-routes/central-mediterranean-route/>.
- “Greece 2015 Human Rights Report”. *State.Gov*, 2015. <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/253065.pdf>.
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