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Denuclearization: A Beautiful Dream That Must Never Be

By Griffin Baker

At roughly 8:15 AM on August 6th in the year 1945 the *Enola Gay*, a U.S. B-29 bomber, dropped a uranium gun-type bomb named Little Boy over the city of Hiroshima in Japan. Those closest to the bomb were instantly burned into ash, while others farther out were injured or killed by falling rubble from the bomb's blast wave. The heat and light of the blast was so intense that the patterns of people's clothing were burned into their skin and the shadows of people's bodies were burned into walls. More dangerously, the bomb set off multiple fires within the city, which soon merged into a single massive firestorm. Those who had been immobilized by falling debris were consumed in this subsequent fire. After the first few hours, roughly 70,000 people had been killed by the bomb's heat and blast. As the recovery began, the symptoms of radiation sickness began to manifest and more people died from the lingering effects of the bomb. These deaths peaked between four and eight weeks after the initial bombing and brought the total death toll to about 100,000 by the end of 1945. As the years passed cancer and other long term effects began to manifest themselves. At the close of 1950, as many as 200,000 people had died from the bomb (U.S. Department of Energy).

The first atomic bombs were the most destructive and dangerous weapons ever created by humanity at the time of their creation, but they pale in comparison to modern nuclear weapons. The yield of Little Boy was roughly 15 Kilotons, or 15,000 tons of TNT. In contrast, a modern W88 Thermonuclear Warhead, of which the U.S. possess 400, has an estimated yield of 475 Kilotons (The Nuclear Weapons Archive). Furthermore, the W88 is but one part of America's nuclear triad. Of course, it goes without saying that the other nuclear armed states of the world --

Great Britain, France, Russia, Israel, China, India, Pakistan, and North Korea -- all also have noteworthy weapon stockpiles.

Today's nuclear weapons would cause the apocalypse and plunge the world into a nuclear fire-induced ice age if they were used in their totality. Such an event would be comparable to the mass extinction event which killed the dinosaurs, and paved the way for our mammalian ancestors to conquer the Earth. Humanity's survival in such a situation is an open question (Starr).

Given all of these horrible truths, it is reasonable to dream of a world without nuclear weapons. No less important a politician than President Obama articulated this goal during a speech in Prague: "So today, I state clearly and with conviction America's commitment to seek the peace and security of a world without nuclear weapons. I'm not naive. This goal will not be reached quickly -- perhaps not in my lifetime. It will take patience and persistence. But now we, too, must ignore the voices who tell us that the world cannot change. We have to insist, "Yes, we can" (Obama). Bipartisanly, former presidential candidate and governor of Florida, Jeb Bush, also endorsed this dream: "I think there should be a goal of — an aspirational goal, a Reaganesque goal if you will — of elimination of all nuclear weapons in the world... I think that is not a naive aspiration" (Hudson).

The goal of a nuclear-free world thus has many important followers who acknowledge that denuclearization is a difficult but worthy goal. This is all based on the assumption that a world without nuclear weapons is safer and better than a world with them. This assumption is right insofar as the world was safer and better before nuclear weapons, but no state can turn back time. In this paper, I will argue that denuclearization is a mistake not because it is unachievable, but because it will make the world less safe. To be clear, I will not argue that nuclear weapons

prevent wars, though that may be true; instead, I will argue that complete denuclearization would actually increase the risk of an accidental nuclear weapon detonation, an accidental nuclear war, and/or an intentional nuclear war.

To reach this conclusion, we need to examine the state of nuclear technology and what implications this has for states. To put it simply, nuclear weapons are not cutting-edge technology. The first nuclear weapon was used in war over 71 years ago. Since then, states across the world have successfully constructed them. Furthermore, when compared to their immense power, nuclear weapons are rather cheap to build. If a state as small as Israel can make nuclear weapons, then size is not a serious barrier to nuclearization. If a state as poor and corrupt as Pakistan can develop them, then development is no barrier to nuclearization. If a state as internally unstable and internationally condemned as Apartheid South Africa could develop a nuclear bomb, then stability and diplomacy are also not barriers. To counter this one may point out that in the case of Iran, diplomacy did result in a deal to step down from nuclearization. Yet the example of Iran actually shows my point quite well: No one doubted that Iran was capable of making a bomb, as its very ability to do so is what motivated the sanctions. Finally, we have North Korea; it is poor, corrupt, small, ostracized, and potentially unstable. Yet North Korea has developed nuclear weapons.

Clearly, almost any state can develop nuclear weapons. Indeed, if poor states can do it, it follows that bigger and richer states may develop nuclear weapons with comparative ease. While much of the world's proliferation involves the sharing of expertise and technology, this is not necessary. The fundamental scientific principles of a nuclear weapon are so widespread as to be taught in high school, and even the basic design of a weapon can be found on Wikipedia. To be

clear, work would be required to make a weapon from scratch, but a dedicated team of scientists funded by a willing government could reliably do it, even if they had no outside help.

The important point of all of this is thus that nuclear weapons can be dismantled, but their specter cannot be banished from this world. Even if you get rid of every weapon and every scientist who can make them, the knowledge that they exist would remain. States would still know what such weapons are capable of and the basic idea of how to make one.

With this point in mind, now consider the situation of a newly denuclearized world. Every state has dismantled every nuclear weapon and every centrifuge which can make weapons grade uranium or plutonium. Furthermore, a robust inspection regime is in place everywhere in the world. Indeed, let's go a step further and say that every nuclear weapons scientist has had their knowledge removed somehow. In such a world, every state would still be painfully aware of two salient facts. One, the first state to create and deploy nuclear weapons would be unassailable and would enjoy a limited window of time to radically alter the status quo of the world. A nuclear-armed Ukraine could reunify itself and destroy, in the most literal sense, a denuclearized Russia. A nuclear-armed Mongolia could conquer a denuclearized China, as the Mongols and Qing did hundreds of years ago. The point is clear: Any state that wants to change the status quo at all has a massive incentive to redevelop such weapons. This in turn leads to the second salient fact. Any state which finds itself denuclearized against a nuclear adversary will be defeated before the war has even started. So any state that suspects its neighbors may seek to attack it will also have a massive incentive to rearm. These two facts mean that any state which wants to disrupt the status quo or believes that another state wants to impinge on its sovereignty will have a massive motivation to develop nuclear weapons. Since virtually every state wants to

disrupt the status quo in some way or worries that other states desire to attack it, every state will desperately want to nuclearize again.

No state will be able to immediately and openly start a nuclearization program, but many states will want to, and every state will fear being defenseless against a nuclear-armed state. As a result, virtually every state will develop a plan to rapidly nuclearize again. These plans may include developing a domestic civilian nuclear sector, educating many students in nuclear engineering, and stockpiling uranium. The states of the world would resemble sprinters waiting at the line, bodies tense and hearts pumping. Only the slightest sound would be needed to send the world running back to nuclear weapons. It could be a mistaken intelligence report, a diplomatic misunderstanding, or genuinely a rogue state actually beginning to nuclearize again. In this chaotic world, how long do you think peace would last before one of these things triggers would happen?

One state starting to nuclearize again would rapidly worry its neighbors into doing the same, who would in turn cause their neighbors to begin nuclearization again. Soon the whole world would be frantically undergoing nuclearization. Such a situation is a recipe for an accidental or intentional nuclear war. Perhaps, in the frenzied pace to get a bomb, a test or experiment goes wrong and a nuclear bomb goes off unintentionally. On its own that could be disastrous; even worse, other nations could interpret the accidental detonation as a first strike by another nation. In addition, what if a nation misjudged and thought it had nuclear superiority when its opponent was actually also armed? A state might blunder into a nuclear war on accident. Or a state might actually cross the finish line first, and seek to destroy any nation that was also close to a nuclear weapon. The best tool to destroy those states would doubtless be the newly-developed nuclear weapons themselves. Finally, even if none of those things happen, all

of the speed and secrecy would make developing interstate safety protocols impossible, and that same frenzied chaos would doubtless make it easier for non-state actors to acquire a nuclear weapon.

As bad as the world's current situation is, it is doubtless better than the one I have described. The best way to prevent nuclear war is for a few nations to have weapons and assume responsibility for protecting unarmed nations. These few nations could then establish diplomatic and military ties with each other to avoid an accidental apocalypse. This is basically what happened during the Cold War. To be sure, some disarmament may still warranted. Let us assume that there is some optimal number of nuclear weapons needed for mutually assured destruction. Any weapons above that level does not increase security, but does increase the risk of an accident, for the simple reason that managing 15,000 warheads is harder than managing 10,000. So some reductions in nuclear stockpiles could be beneficial, but any arms reductions that threaten mutually assured destruction must be avoided.

Ultimately, denuclearization is a bad idea as long as there are multiple states, and as long as some of those states either desire to disrupt the status quo or worry that other states wish to attack them. In short, denuclearization is a bad idea as long as conditions that have held for the entirety of recorded history continue to hold. President Obama's dream of a nuclear-free world is truly beautiful, but, like most dreams, it is deeply unrealistic and should never be made real.

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Mutual Assurance of Destruction: A New Not-So-Cold War?

By Adam Clark

Nuclear armaments, more so than any other type of weapon, have been built, tested, and stockpiled by nations that have had the capability to do so since the birth of nuclear weapons. The two objectively greatest nuclear superpowers in the world today are Russia and the United States, and it has been this way since the Cold War. A seemingly incessant need to have the most imposing arsenal is precisely what led to conflicts like the Cold War; every nation wants to know that they have the ability to destroy every other nation, especially when those nations have had longstanding prickly diplomacy. The quest for nuclear might between the United States and Russia has broken and formed bonds, forced treaties of disarmament, caused wars, and produced serious division within and amongst political parties in both countries. Even today, the militaries of these two nations, (as well as others), are pursuing new and more aggressive technology. Nuclear arms in the context of bilateral relations between the White House and the Kremlin are a serious threat looming beneath the surface, because despite all the talk of ridding the world of nuclear arsenals, nuclear competition is more prevalent than ever. Most frightening of all, however, is that the Cold War-era doctrine of mutually assured destruction, (MAD, the concept that if everyone has devastating nuclear technology then no one will attack first because it would guarantee a massive retaliation), might not be the deterrent of nuclear warfare that it once was, thanks to developments of smaller, smarter, and more precise warheads and missiles.

An analyst at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, James M. Acton, was quoted in the *New York Times* as saying, “We are witnessing the opening salvos of a nuclear

arms race.”¹ This is particularly accurate in regards to America and Russia, both of whom seem to be manifesting symptoms of an arms race. Despite agreements such as the nearly worldwide Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban treaty of 1996 or President Obama’s START II treaty between the US and Russia in 2010 (which sought to reduce the arsenals of both countries to a more defensive standing rather than an offensive one), nuclear testing and development continues at full tilt.² For instance, almost immediately following the signing of the START II treaty by former President of Russia Dmitri A. Medvedev and President Barack Obama, Russia, instead of reducing its active warheads, “began deploying a new generation of long-range missiles that bore four miniaturized warheads” and continues to do so today. In the wake of Russia’s absence of reciprocity, the Obama administration ramped up production of atomic materials in recent years, and in January of 2016, tested a mock version of a new high-tech B61 bomb; Russian authorities referred to this test as both “irresponsible” and “openly provocative.”³ The back and forth between these countries seems to be constant, and the international precedents which both governments have been abiding may soon be abandoned, thanks in no small part to changes in leadership.

It is no secret that the current president of Russia, Vladimir V. Putin, likes to be unpredictable. It is also no secret that he is not a particularly big fan of the Obama administration and wants the world to know that Russia plays by its own rules (for example, by rapidly and

¹ William J. Broad and David E. Sanger, “Race for Latest Class of Nuclear Arms Threatens to Revive Cold War,” *The New York Times*

² Official description by the U.S. Department of State, <http://www.state.gov/t/avc/newstart/index.htm>

³ William J. Broad and David E. Sanger, “As U.S. Modernizes Nuclear Weapons, ‘Smaller’ Leaves Some Uneasy,” *The New York Times*

unexpectedly pulling the Russian military out of the Middle East in early March 2016).⁴ The fact that President Putin has expanded nuclear development efforts to the absolute maximum—barely within the confines of The United States’ bi- and multilateral pacts—is one thing, but he has also made symbolic statements of disdain, such as on April 16th, 2016, when he “paraded” nuclear warheads around the Red Square in Moscow in a grand display of military prowess.⁵

Furthermore, experts like William J. Perry, Bill Clinton’s former defense secretary, seem to feel that Russia will soon withdraw from the 1996 Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and resume ballistic testing.⁶ And with the recent American 2016 presidential election, the president-elect seems to be unprepared and under-qualified to handle these conflicts, and may engage in President Putin’s reprovving standoff and further worsen ties between the two countries (assuming, of course, a Putin-Trump apprenticeship is avoided). For instance, on April 1st, 2016, President Obama seized the opportunity to criticize statements made by Donald J. Trump who has been calling for an increase in nuclear stockpiles not only in the U.S., but also in other countries such as Japan or South Korea. President Obama stated that, “the [P]resident of the United States needs to know what’s going on around the world,” and that “you don’t mess with” stability in regions of the world that one is allied with by increasing the quantity of massively destructive weapons in said regions.⁷ Nuclear weaponry has been a massively divisive issue in this election cycle and the president-elect will certainly face with difficult decisions, especially regarding to Russia’s own arsenal and how to maneuver with a president who is quickly losing

⁴ Neil MacFarquhar, “Putin’s Syria Tactics Keep Him at the Fore and Leave Everyone Else Guessing,” *The New York Times*

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Broad and Sanger, “Race for Latest Class of Nuclear Arms Threatens to Revive Cold War,” *The New York Times*

⁷ Mark Landler, “Obama Rebukes Donald Trump’s Comments on Nuclear Weapons,” *The New York Times*

whatever little respect he has for the American political atmosphere (despite his insistence he would never meddle in our elections)⁸.

It is also a common criticism that the U.S. may, in a way be instigating Russia's nuclear developments, or at the very least exacerbating them. Several articles in the *New York Times* pose the theory that American technological developments may cause Moscow to feel threatened, although it may just be the perfect excuse for the Kremlin to fund developments that they would have funded regardless.⁹ Thinly veiled excuse or not, it is nearly impossible to refute that the United States' imposing new technology and upgraded budget is daunting. With nuclear pursuits within the U.S. anticipated to consume approximately one trillion dollars over the next three decades¹⁰, and a set of newly revealed blueprints for hypersonic warheads and intelligent bombs¹¹, it is hardly unexpected that America's primary nuclear adversary, Russia, would seek to make improvements of their own. But the reality of new and more precise bombs raises questions of a threat greater than just the one facing these two nations: A stronger temptation to use the more advanced weaponry for offense instead of defense. The fact that the technology now exists that can pick and choose specific targets and better restrict collateral damage while packing the same devastating nuclear punch might very well be the death of the aforementioned mutual assurance of destruction. The temptation to obliterate the targets on your adversaries soil without the attendant extreme civilian casualties may likely prove to be a disastrous equation and actually promote the use of nuclear armaments and make talks of disarming far more

⁸ "Putin rejects accusations of meddling in U.S. election," *Reuters*, (2016), <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-election-idUSKCN12C27H>.

⁹ Neil MacFarquhar, "Putin's Syria Tactics Keep Him at the Fore and Leave Everyone Else Guessing," *The New York Times*

¹⁰ Broad and Sanger, "As U.S. Modernizes Nuclear Weapons, 'Smaller' Leaves Some Uneasy," *The New York Times*

¹¹ Hari Sreenivasan, "America's nuclear bomb gets a makeover," *PBS.org*

unproductive than they already are. Beyond that, some of the new warheads will be capable of speeds greater than one mile per second, which will render current antimissile defenses all but useless.¹² In turn, the U.S. and Russia will have to find ways to deter one another's weapons and so on and so forth until the world is witnessing a Cold War all over again -- one that will be much more liable to heat up into conflict.

Nation-states the all over the globe are building their arsenals to the brim, not just America and Russia, although they are arguably the two most prevalent. (For other examples, one may want to examine the cases of India and Pakistan, or, most obviously, North Korea). An amalgamation of factors such as technology, current political standings, and bi- as well as multilateral relations have led the world, and especially the United States and Russia, to a proverbial tipping point. Despite treaties and disarmament discussions and external intermediaries, the march towards more efficient nuclear destruction carries forward. Both sides blame the other and the outcome of the nonstop tit-for-tat nuclear manufacturing process between a former superpower and a current one will devolve into a full-blown arms race all over again if the current path is not altered. But no matter when or if this happens, one thing is for certain: the ambitious nuclear-free world President Obama has pined for since he took office will not be achieved anytime soon; considering the potential disappearance of the dogma and deterrent that is mutually assured destruction, things may actually be worse.¹³

The general election for the office of President of the United States of America is has recently occurred. In the context of a potential new nuclear arms race, the result is daunting. Technological innovations aside, America has elected a leader who has probably never been in

¹² Neil MacFarquhar, "Putin's Syria Tactics Keep Him at the Fore and Leave Everyone Else Guessing," *The New York Times*

¹³ Joe Cirincione, "Is That All There Is? Obama's Disappointing Nuclear Legacy," www.defenseone.com

the same area code as a nuclear facility, let alone has any concept of the gravity that control of a nuclear defense system carries. With North Korea now five nuclear tests deep just inside of a decade, (the last one being particularly massive), right now is one of the most precarious and volatile nuclear environments that the world has known.¹⁴ As frightening as this reality may seem, it is made all the more chilling when one pictures President Trump slamming his phone down after a not-so-diplomatic phone call and picking it right back up to look into nuclear options; but perhaps his pal Putin will calm him down in said hypothetical scenario. Or perhaps he will antagonize him.

As our world sits on the potential cusp of a new Cold War, the leadership of the United States truly could not be of any greater importance. President Trump will likely have to face North Korea, parlay with India, keep Russia relatively calm, and avoid any brash usage of nuclear armaments on U.S. soil. As nuclear technology rockets ahead, international pressure will build on all countries that are part of the nuclear community. If mutually assured destruction has any final breath of life left within it, it is likely to meet its demise in the next few decades—or years for that matter—and the world’s diplomats and leaders must be wary of this. As the nuclear climate intensifies, as the world edges ever closer to a new and improved nuclear standoff, and as uncertainty circulates with fervor, it is absolutely imperative that those countries dealing with nuclear arms bear this in mind: Much sooner than many may think, nuclear weapons might no longer deter nuclear weapons. The age of a “fire with fire” mentality and reliance upon mutually assured destruction is nearly bygone, and the world must adapt to these changes.

¹⁴ “North Korea: When is an earthquake a nuclear test?” *BBC News* (2016), <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-37582518>

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The Fateful Fifty-Two: How the American Media Sensationalized the Iran Hostage Crisis

Monica L. Coscia

“This is an ABC News Special: The Iran Crisis,” Ted Koppel intoned ominously on December 1, 1979, “America Held Hostage: Day 26.”¹⁵ Throughout the 444 days that fifty-two Americans were held hostage in Iran, Koppel announced on his ABC news program *Nightline* exactly how many days had passed since the seizure of the American embassy in Iran. For over a year, the American public fixated its eyes on the crisis in Tehran, and what was once a country that barely received a fleeting glance from the United States would become the eternal recipient of its chilling glare. During these months, the United States “existed on two calendars, with the number of days in captivity superimposed over the Gregorian dates.”¹⁶ When it comes to the Middle East, contemporary Americans tend to make the generalization that it is a region of conflict and controversy due to media coverage of select, isolated incidents, and view the component countries in a negative light. American public opinion has consistently and vehemently opposed Iran since 1980, with a disapproval rating that has unfailingly hovered between seventy-five and ninety percent for the last few decades.¹⁷ Although disdain for Iran is the result of a conglomeration of events, the Iran hostage crisis of 1979-1980 is the event that sparked this undeniable display of American contempt. The brutality and obstinacy of the hostage crisis had an irreversibly damaging impact on Iran’s reputation in the United States and the rest of the international community, both in the short-term and to the present day; this

¹⁵ “‘Nightline’ Archive: America Held Hostage,” *ABC News*, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://abcnews.go.com/Nightline/video/iran-crisis-america-held-hostage-9049607>.

¹⁶ Melani McAlister, *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media and U.S. Interests in the Middle East, 1945–2000* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

¹⁷ “Iran.” *Gallup*, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.gallup.com/poll/116236/iran.aspx>.

discourse will analyze the causes, content, and consequences of the media coverage that triggered this damage.

Before delving into the media coverage of the complex event, it is imperative to briefly provide a background of the events surrounding the Iran hostage crisis. A long-term cause of the hostage crisis was heightened anti-American sentiment in Iran, due to the United States' constant political, diplomatic, and economic intervention in Iranian affairs that Iran perceived as imperialistic and colonial in nature.¹⁸ Two specific instances of American interference that Iranians were most livid about were the 1953 coup, in which the United States overthrew the democratically elected Prime Minister Mossadeq in favor of the monarchical Reza Shah, and the acceptance of the same shah into the United States for medical treatment in 1979.¹⁹ The latter cause was the precise impetus for the seizure of the United States embassy, although there had been anti-American demonstrations around the embassy prior to its takeover.²⁰ President Carter allowed the overthrown shah to receive medical treatment for his leukemia in a New York hospital on October 22, 1979, and Iran took revenge on the United States just thirteen days later.²¹ On November 4, 1979, a group of Iranian students from various universities stormed the American embassy in Tehran, a location they perceived as "an enemy foothold behind the lines of the revolution," and took its occupants hostage. Although the hostage-takers released thirteen women and African Americans two weeks later, fifty-two Americans remained hostages for over a year.²² The United States attempted negotiations with Iran that proved futile, and the American

¹⁸ Mark Bowden, *Guests of the Ayatollah* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2006), 9.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ John Skow, "The Long Ordeal of the Hostages," *Time Magazine*, January 26, 1981, <http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,954605,00.html>.

²¹ The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Iran Hostage Crisis," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, June 6, 2014, <http://www.britannica.com/event/Iran-hostage-crisis>

²² Michael Axworthy, *Revolutionary Iran* (London: Penguin Books, 2013), 172-3.

military enacted a rescue mission that miserably failed.²³ On January 20, 1981, just minutes after President Ronald Reagan was inaugurated, the hostages were released and flown back to the United States.²⁴ Throughout the 444 days of captivity, journalists and reporters transmitted each development of the hostage crisis to televisions, radios, and newspapers across the United States and the rest of the world, thus transforming the embassy occupation into an international humanitarian crisis. As a result, the fifty-two individual hostages became what *Nightline* deemed an entire nation held hostage.²⁵

The first area of analysis in the media coverage of the Iran hostage crisis is the reason why the American press was so preoccupied with the crisis and how it became the driving force of marring Iran's reputation in the United States. Broadly speaking, the American media has a keen tendency to overgeneralize news stories, especially when dealing with emotional crises and/or situations in foreign countries; this is because generalizations make sense of complex, foreign situations that Americans could only understand by entirely immersing themselves in another culture.²⁶ Since the Iran hostage crisis was undoubtedly both a foreign and an emotional situation, the media generalized: it portrayed the entire country of Iran as violent based on the actions of the student hostage takers. Iran, through the eyes of the United States, was no longer a nation, but a breeding ground for radicalism, extremism, Islamism, and anti-Americanism.²⁷ Another reason why the media shaped the public opinion against Iran was that there was little to no coverage in the press about Iran prior to the hostage crisis. The hostage crisis was, essentially, the only event that Americans at the time associated with Iran, because it was the only

²³ Ibid., 176.

²⁴ Axworthy, 205.

²⁵ "'Nightline' Archive: America Held Hostage."

²⁶ William A. Dorman and Mansour Farhang, *The U.S. Press and Iran: Foreign Policy and the Journalism of Deference* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 196.

²⁷ Ibid., 156.

occurrence of the media extensively covering an Iranian event. Therefore, the media singlehandedly filled the public's void of ignorance about Iran with antagonism.²⁸

Perhaps the most influential reason that the American media was primed to defame Iran is because any media source is necessarily informed by the ideology of its home country, and the time-honored values of the United States are deeply rooted in its media coverage. Its press coverage is inherently ethnocentric and views events in other countries through the lens of its own liberal, democratic, and free ideals. American journalists "saw Iran through an ideological and cultural haze that distorted the motives of the Iranian people and legitimized the motives and behavior of the shah."²⁹ Due to the closely held American value of the separation of church and state, the fact that Americans were taken hostage as part of a radical, religious movement was harshly unpalatable to the American public. Because secularism drives American politics and the coverage thereof, American citizens were predisposed to have a visceral aversion to the leakage of religious motivation into political or military endeavors.³⁰ The American press exploited the dichotomy between the United States' deeply beloved secularism and Iran's theocracy to create an "us versus them" scheme to distance Iran from the United States and deem the latter superior logically and governmentally.³¹ Furthermore, Americans did and continue to place a significant amount of trust in their media, usually accepting news articles and television reports at face value.³² Overall, the American media's tendencies of generalizing, failing to cover any foreign events if they do not pose a threat to the United States, covering international events through an

²⁸ Ibid., 230.

²⁹ Ibid., 165

³⁰ Elizabeth Shakman Burd, *The Politics of Secularism in International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 102.

³¹ Ibid., 107.

³² David Patrick Houghton, *U.S. Foreign Policy and the Iran Hostage Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 201), 2.

ideologically biased lens, and status as a repository of its citizens' trust set the stage for an irrevocable disparagement of Iran in every outlet of communication.

Consistent with the press' tendency to generalize, the American media picked and chose the most emotionally provocative tidbits of the Iran hostage crisis to characterize the entire situation as an international humanitarian debacle. This coverage, in turn, spawned a generalized image of the entire Iranian populous that will later be discussed at length. Early on in the 444 days, the mass media turned an impersonal number, fifty-two, into fifty-two humanized individuals: the hostages became "innocents abroad, caught up in the violence of a chaotic revolution, simple victims of unscrupulous Islamic fanatics."³³ For example, in December of 1979, the *New York Daily News* and *Newsweek* published articles about each of the fifty-two hostages that featured pictures of each person and a humanizing biography about him or her.³⁴ Then, as soon as the reports from the Tehran embassy rolled in, media coverage took a turn for the gruesome. Newspapers and television shows reported the everyday routines of the hostage-takers and hostages to evoke sympathy, detailing how the hostages were blindfolded, beaten, handcuffed, interrogated, and isolated.³⁵ The first time that the news media displayed footage of a hostage was when several American television networks broadcast "film of hostage Jerry Miele...being led blindfolded to the front gate of the embassy, where the bloodthirsty crowd vented its rage from behind the tall iron gate."³⁶ Another example of a widely publicized hostage horror story was the mock execution of Al Golacinski, John Limbert, and Rick Kupke:

"[They]were awakened in the middle of the night, forced to strip to their underwear and marched to a room in the basement where their guards made it seem they were about to be executed by firing squad. The guards fired their weapons, but they were not loaded.

³³ David Farber, *Taken Hostage* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 153.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Axworthy, 171.

³⁶ Bowden, 189

Then the guards laughed. Why did they do it? Limbert said it was because ‘they thought it would be fun.’”³⁷

Moreover, the *Edmonton Journal* and CBS News ran another story of terror about how the hostage-takers played Russian roulette with two female hostages in an effort to extract more information from the hostages.³⁸ Some hostages also reported that they were handcuffed or tied to tables for hours at a time.³⁹ Michael Metrisko, a young embassy officer, spent most of the 444 days in solitary confinement, was beaten for insulting Khomeini, and was kept handcuffed for over three weeks--another horror story broadcast to the news media.⁴⁰ Stories like these countered the Iranian contention that the hostages were treated humanely and justly.⁴¹ Although newspapers and radios circulated endless coverage about the hostage crisis, television was the most effective method in communicating the brutality of the hostage-takers and rousing the American public, as it disseminated a “constant torrent of demeaning images and disturbing rhetoric from this obscure and exotic land,” to concoct a “story made for television.”⁴²

Americans responded to this coverage with a “fierce, even xenophobic nationalism and emotional bond to their fellow Americans held captive in Iran.”⁴³ They came to perceive Iranians as merciless, evil violators of human rights who were unjustly punishing innocent citizens. The United States could not separate this situation from its commitment to individual rights, and could not reconcile the inhumane treatment of the hostages with their belief that no one should

³⁷ Susan Chun, “Six things you didn’t know about the Iran hostage crisis,” *CNN*, July 16, 2015, <http://www.cnn.com/2014/10/27/world/ac-six-things-you-didnt-know-about-the-iran-hostage-crisis/>.

³⁸ “Russian roulette played with hostages,” *Edmonton Journal*, January 21, 1981, <https://news.google.com/newspapers?id=hfhkAAAIBAJ&pg=6225,19155>.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Axworthy, 171-2.

⁴¹ Chun.

⁴² Bowden, 196.

⁴³ Farber, 152.

receive cruel and unusual punishment nor punishment without a fair trial and due process. The media purposefully chose to focus on “soft news” or emotional accounts that would aggravate the American public, rather than more technical reports about the negotiations between the United States and Iran, as these traumatizing, pathos-laden stories made for more interesting news than ordinary politics ever would.

In addition to broadcasting the stories of the hostages themselves, American television networks further investigated the lives of the fateful fifty-two by interviewing their family members as another tactic to generate sympathy for the hostages and empathy for their loved ones. The media reports ignored the fact these hostages were professional embassy employees and agents of the United States government, instead emphasizing their role as “a fellow citizen, a regular American with fearful parents, an anxious spouse, and scared children.”⁴⁴ The kin of hostages became regulars on the nightly news, lamenting the struggles of not knowing what kind of torture their loved ones were experiencing and when they would ever come home: “Every word they uttered, every tear they shed, was suddenly news.”⁴⁵⁴⁶ As soon as the identities of the hostages were released, the national issue became localized, as hundreds of city television stations descended upon the sixty-six neighborhoods of the original group of hostages. The American public related to the hostages who had families, hometowns, and hobbies--just like they did!--and became emotionally invested in the crisis.⁴⁷ Wives and mothers watched new footage of the hostages in front of the news cameras, and often broke down and wept for the entire nation to see.⁴⁸ The *Washington Post* ignited a national movement when Penne Laingen,

⁴⁴ Ibid., 153

⁴⁵ Bowden, 191.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 244.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 190.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 191.

the wife of hostage Bruce Laingen, announced that she “tied a yellow ribbon round the old oak tree” in her yard in accordance with the 1973 hit song; once this story hit the mass media, yellow ribbons appeared all over the country as a symbol of solidarity with the hostages.⁴⁹ The media portrayal of the hostages as ordinary family members rather than government officials resulted in a “widespread public misunderstanding of American foreign policy,” as the media led the American public to believe that the hostage crisis was an attack on American families rather than backlash against our political system that oppressed that of Iran for decades.⁵⁰

Despite that the coverage of the hostages and their families was integral to provoking an emotional response from the American populous, the reportage of the Iranian people complemented this depiction by making the hostages look even more like helpless victims of extremism and terrorism. Countless television stations featured footage of Iranian protestors thrusting anti-American posters into the air, burning the American flag, and shouting “Death to America!”⁵¹ Networks frequently featured footage of mobs rallying outside the embassy both before and during the hostage crisis, and their anti-Americanism was palpable.⁵² Additionally, televisions, as well as newspapers and radio, used specific terminology to pigeonhole the captors as the enemy. Instead of referring to them as students, the media labeled them as militants, extremists, radicals, and Islamists--classifications that carry provocative and adverse connotations. It is also imperative to note what the United States press ignored in its preoccupation with the fanaticism and fundamentalism of the hostage crisis: the mass media made no clear effort to understand the true motivations of the student-captors, nor the broader

⁴⁹ Farber, 152-3.

⁵⁰ McAlister, 208.

⁵¹ Farber, 2.

⁵² Ibid., 12.

revolution.⁵³ As such, Americans failed to realize that the actual reason Iranian students took over the embassy was because they were overwhelmed by their frustration at the United States for supporting a leader they despised and for overthrowing a leader they supported a few decades earlier.⁵⁴ Because the Iranian Revolution that produced the crisis advocated for the dreaded mix of religion and politics, and because the media harbored rampant journalistic ethnocentrism, Americans would have refused to accept the part their own government played in the hostage crisis, placing every ounce of the blame for the tragedy on Islamic radicals.⁵⁵ In summation, the American media “[persuaded] Americans to see themselves as victims of ‘terrorists’ who irrationally hate ‘us,’ rather than to recognize that Iranians had attacked the U.S. embassy in response to American policy in Iran.”⁵⁶

Another important component of the content that the American media presented was thorough and frequent coverage of the Ayatollah Khomeini as a symbol and figurehead of the Islamic radicalism that the hostage crisis epitomized. After Khomeini announced that he supported the students and their takeover of the embassy, he became a prominent scapegoat for the hostage crisis and the recipient of American hatred and disgust.⁵⁷ A few days after the embassy takeover, Khomeini gave a speech encouraging ““all grade-school, university, and theological students to increase their attacks against America,”” and the United States was justifiably frightened and angered by this statement.⁵⁸ The American public perceived him as “a crazy fanatic living in a time warp” who irrationally hated the United States.”⁵⁹ His religious

⁵³ Dorman and Farhang, 174.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 156

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Farber, 154.

⁵⁷ Bowden, 555.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 14.

⁵⁹ Farber, 2.

dress and long beard, pictures of which were featured in American newspapers and television, epitomized the stereotype of a religious, Islamic extremist.⁶⁰ Khomeini seemed to stand for everything the United States opposed--anti-Americanism, theocracy, religious fanaticism, rejection of the international system and the concept of the nation-state, support of the hostage crisis, and his call for universal Islamism--and media sources capitalized on the contrast between his religious extremism and American ideals of freedom and democracy.⁶¹ As a result, the United States felt genuinely threatened by him, an “irrational and even insane figure,” and the power he exerted over a significant portion of his country.⁶² His statement that the hostage crisis was not a struggle between two nations, but rather “a struggle between Islam and blasphemy” particularly insulted and infuriated the United States.⁶³ The fact that the hostage crisis, at its forefront, featured a visible and striking leader who was easy to stereotype and despise played an important role in the media’s sensationalizing of the Iran hostage crisis.

Now that this discourse has established the causes and content of American media coverage of the hostage crisis, it can assess the consequences that this journalistic assault on Iran had on its reputation in and relationship with the United States. The United States media irreparably damaged Iran’s reputation through coverage of the hostage crisis in its failure to bridge the “cultural gap” between the two nations. The mass media let the situation’s capacity to become a tragic news story get the best of it, sacrificing concrete news for emotionalism.⁶⁴ In the defense of the media and the American public, however, the coverage that characterized the hostages as innocent and the captors as evil was not executed with purely malicious motives--the

⁶⁰ Ibid., 147

⁶¹ R. K. Ramazani, *Independence Without Freedom: Iran’s Foreign Policy* (Richmond: University of Virginia Press, 2013), 77.

⁶² Houghton, 66.

⁶³ Ramazani, 81.

⁶⁴ Farber, 7.

hostage crisis undoubtedly possessed emotional pull, and Americans were justified in their frustration at the Iranian students who captured their fellow citizens.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, the fact that the media portrayed all Iranians through the lens of an offensive stereotype--radical Islamic jihadists clad in long beards and chadors who irrationally hate the United States and burn our flag--is less justified.

The American press coverage of the hostage crisis suffered from a serious case of Western bias, falling victim to the “conventional Western equation of Islam with extremism.”⁶⁶ The press was unable to separate militarism and violence from Islamism, and oversimplified the Muslim faith into a proclivity to “mix faith with politics, and to express both through violence.”⁶⁷ In emphasizing the innocent humanity of the American hostages, the media unfairly denied the captors their of their own humanity--although taking people hostage is morally incorrect, it is unfair to dismiss the students and Iranians in general as irrational and blindly motivated for their religion when they were advocating for a cause in which they firmly believed.⁶⁸ These Iranian student-captors were fighting for their freedom from imperialism--something the United States supports, in theory--and the embassy was a symbol of everything the revolution wanted to eradicate.⁶⁹ The American media, both unable and unwilling to understand why Iran would reject such sacred institutions of secular, modern democracy, classified the revolution as “an irrational backlash against a generous fatherly attempt to spread modern ways of life and to defend the Iranians from communism.”⁷⁰ The press also failed to acknowledge that not all Iranians supported the seizure of the embassy--in fact, Iranian Prime

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Houghton, 53.

⁶⁷ Burd, 108.

⁶⁸ Houghton, 53.

⁶⁹ Bowden, 4.

⁷⁰ Burd, 109.

Minister Bazargan demanded the hostages' immediate release as it violated international law and "the civilized practices of diplomacy," but he was entirely ignored and subsequently resigned.⁷¹ It is clear that Iran violated the human rights of the American hostages, and their brutality and violence remain unjustified, but it is wholly unfair to dismiss their entire revolution as radical fanaticism.

There are several tangible ways in which the United States manifested its negative perception of Iran. One instance is the fact that the Iran hostage crisis was a major factor in President Jimmy Carter's downfall. Despite his tremendous diplomatic and military efforts to rescue the hostages, American discontent with Iran was so pernicious that citizens made a scapegoat of Carter and took out their frustration in domestic polls.⁷² Another instance occurred on May 17, 1979, when the United States Senate passed Jacob Javitz's resolution condemning Iran for its human rights violations, a blatant manifestation of the government's dissatisfaction with Iran's refusal to release the hostages.⁷³ Furthermore, after the failure of the rescue mission, the United States military set up a Counterterrorism Joint Task Force, demonstrating how it viewed Iran's seizure of the embassy as synonymous with terrorism.⁷⁴ The formal responses by the United States also conveyed Iran's damaged reputation. Most obviously, the economic sanctions, freezing of Iranian assets, banning the import of Iranian oil, and the break of diplomatic relations with Iran displayed governmental condemnation that, in turn, spawned civilian condemnation.⁷⁵⁷⁶ Overall, the hostage crisis "triggered the American containment

⁷¹ Axworthy, 169.

⁷² Axworthy, 178.

⁷³ Robert Wright, *Our Man in Tehran* (New York: Other Press, 2010), 96-97.

⁷⁴ Axworthy, 179.

⁷⁵ Axworthy, 176.

⁷⁶ Donald E. Nuchterlein, *A Cold War Odyssey* (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1997), 311.

policy toward the revolutionary regime economically, politically, and militarily.”⁷⁷ Also, the United States supported Iraq in its war against Iran but condemned Iraq for invading Kuwait just a decade later, then entered into a war in Iraq within the next--clear evidence of American desire to invoke revenge on Iran.⁷⁸ In 1982, distrust towards Iran resulted in the United States suspicion that Iran assisted in the Beirut suicide bombings.⁷⁹ The United States also put significant pressure on other nations to cease diplomacy with Iran.⁸⁰ It continues to harbor suspicious tensions towards Iran to the present day, the origins of which lie in the embassy seizure: “Memory of the hostage crisis and the failed rescue has poisoned US-Iran relations ever since.”⁸¹ For example, President George W. Bush’s inclusion of Iran in the Axis of Evil less than a decade ago evidences the deep distrust the United States harbors towards Iran.⁸² The hostage crisis also damaged Iran’s reputation internationally. In addition to general estrangement from the international community, transnational organizations issued formal disapprobation against Iran. The United Nations Security Council condemned Iran’s human rights violations in a December 1979 resolution, and the International Court of Justice issued a Provisional Order and Judgement that demanded Iran release the hostages immediately.⁸³ The damage to Iran’s reputation was thus

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Axworthy, 178.

⁸² Burd, 102.

⁸³ Ramazani, 77.

not limited to the United States. The Iran hostage crisis of 1979 to 1981 irreversibly impaired Iran's reputation in the eyes of the United States, as well as the rest of the world, both immediately and in the long term. The importance of the American media in marring Iran's image cannot be overstated. Its tendency to generalize and view foreign events through the lens of liberal, secular, Western democracy primed the press to disseminate defaming coverage about the hostage crisis. The media's decision to publish individualized horror stories of the hostages and the sob stories of their families was intended to evoke emotion and sympathy throughout the United States, and this tactic was effective in igniting the public's rage. The resulting image of Iran was a stereotype of the entire nation as anti-American, radical, and extremely religious, and this still lingers in the United States' relationship with Iran; this damaged image was evident in the American responses to the crisis. Seeing as how weighty friction and hostility persists between the United States and Iran today, studying the origins of this tension is undoubtedly a worthy endeavor.

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Peru's Liberalizing Electoral Outcome: Developing and Consolidating Democracy

By Paola Fiku

In 2001, Peru experienced a liberalizing electoral outcome which represented the rebirth of party politics. These elections set the current stage for the Peruvian party system by allowing the political class to cooperate and reach a consensus that would stabilize the political system. They were credited as the first truly democratic elections in the contemporary history of the country (Clemente 2009, 248). This was accomplished through the parties, which steered their position to the political center thus eluding the emergence of extremism from the past. In addition, they agreed on the importance of democratic governability and transparency, the advantages of social participation, and the need to eliminate corruption and authoritarian practices. Two critical laws were created under the provisional presidency that amended the electoral system in a positive way. Law 27369 made it possible for the parties with at least one legislator in 2000, or those that were able to collect 12,000 signatures to participate in the 2001 election. It also provided the parties with free time on the television and radio, and prohibited the government from intervening in the campaign. Law 27387 ordered the next legislative election to be by department under preferential voting and also imposed a quota for gender lists at 30 percent (Clemente 2009, 249-250). Previous elections in Peru showed signs of weakly embedded political parties in society and demoralizing behavior of irresponsible politicians (Clemente 2009, 253). The 2001 elections changed the perspective of politics in the eyes of the public. To understand how this occurred, it is important to examine the party system of Peru at that time.

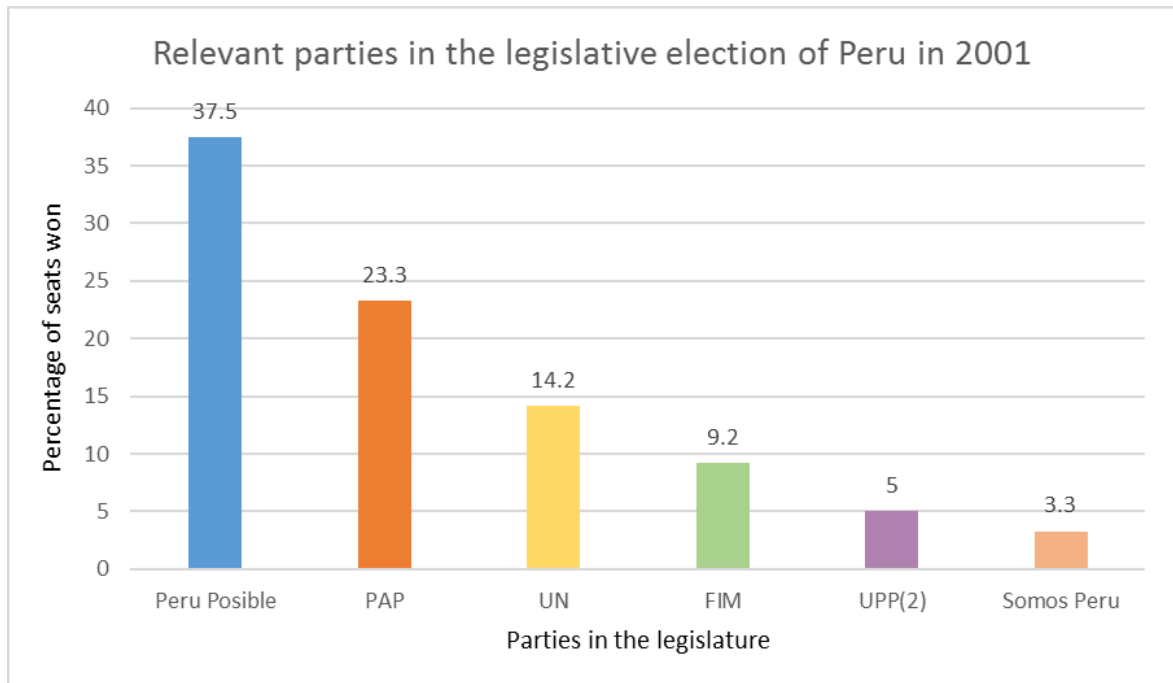
The parties are essential in a competitive authoritarian regime, since they link the voters with the government and represent the interests of their constituency. Most importantly,

democracy without parties, and an effective party system is extremely unlikely. The number of parties indicates the condition of the party system, whether it is too polarized in cases when few parties are present, or highly fragmented when there is a large number of parties evident. In addition, parties allow for people to have a voice in the political process and they structure the legislature. Legislative elections also matter considerably because they give parties an incentive to form without having an individual run for president. The parties can organize, compete, win and control the legislature which means they can pass laws, do things for their constituency and make the world a better place. Also, a strong legislature which results from stable and strong parties, offers a better opportunity for democratization. In sum, parties matter immensely in competitive authoritarian systems since they increase the chances of a liberalized electoral outcome, and potentially democracy. In Peru's case however, democracy without strong parties has become a reality. Even though this is a rare case, other factors have contributed to Peru's democracy which may face challenges in the future since it has survived largely by default.

The results of the legislative election held in 2001 showed that no party had obtained a congressional majority. Alejandro Toledo's centrist party, Peru Posible, won 26.3% of the vote and 45 seats. Alan Garcia's leftist Peruvian Aprista Party polled 19.7% of the votes and won 28 seats. The right-wing National Unity Party won 13.8% of the votes and received 17 seats in Congress (Nohlen 2005, 468). Alejandro Toledo won the presidency with 53% of the votes during the second round of the presidential election which took place on June 3, 2001 (Nohlen 2005, 475). Out of eleven parties that participated in the 2001 elections of Peru, only six were able to pass the 3% of seats threshold that qualifies them as relevant parties (Ware 1996, 158). Additionally, no party was able to obtain a congressional majority. This is a common feature of the multiparty systems, where large parties tend to lose their votes to smaller parties that

resemble their policies and overall image. In the Peruvian legislative election of 2001, only 78.6% of the votes cast were valid (Nohlen 2005, 464). Cambio 90/Nueva Mayoria (Change 90/New Majority) won 2.5% of the seats, Accion Popular (Popular Action) also won just 2.5% of the seats in the legislature, and finally Todos por la Victoria, Renacimiento Andino, and Solucion Popular were able to win only 0.8% of the seats in the legislature (Nohlen 2005, 468). These parties are considered to be irrelevant since they were unable to obtain at least 3% of the seats in the legislature (Ware 1996, 158). All of the following parties were able to acquire 3% or more of the seats in the legislature. Despite this, they were not all main contenders for power with the exception of the top three. The relevant, yet not dominant parties of the 2001 election in Peru include Somos Peru that won 3.3% of the seats, Union por el Peru (2) won 5% of the seats, and Frente Independiente Moralizador won 9.2% of the seats. The main parties competing in the Peruvian legislative election of 2001 were as follows: Peru Posible which was the party that won the highest percentage of seats after the election with 37.5% of the seats, PAP won 23.3 % of the seats, and lastly UN won 14.2% of the seats (Nohlen 2005, 468).

The number of parties is important because it serves as a starting point for examining the complex world of party systems. Furthermore, the limited number of parties being identified is linked with patterns of their behavior. This is especially true when parties are classified according to their relative size. This approach assumes that the size of the party is influenced by the size of the party's opponents, in relation to its own size (Ware 1996, 161). In sum, the number of parties is relevant because it provides a better understanding of the party systems themselves.



Source: (Nohlen 2005, 468)

Peru's regime can be classified as competitive authoritarian from 1990 until 2000 under the rule of Alberto Fujimori who manipulated the public opinion, as well as the country's political elite to create the image of a functioning democracy (Conaghan 2005, 794). He used bribery and intimidation as his main techniques in order to prolong the regime and deceive people into supporting it. Fujimori's actions of suspending the Constitution, removing Congress by using military force and then transforming the government into something suitable for his own agenda signify the importance of the first democratic elections in the modern history of Peru. However, much of the blame was placed on the failure of political elites who led the Peruvian public to entrust Fujimori with the leadership of the state (Conaghan 2005, 796). The proportional electoral system focused on the inclusion of all voices including the voice of the women in the legislature. New laws went into effect that imposed gender quotas for the parties as high as 30 percent (Clemente 2009, 250). After the collapse of Fujimori's regime in 2000,

compromise and bargaining were evident within the parliament and the policymaking process. The democratic elections of 2001 were extremely important to the majority of the citizens of Peru who preferred democracy over any other form of government (Clemente 2009, 252).

The outcome of the 2001 elections in Peru signifies the erasure of the competitive regime that dominated the country for a decade. At that time, multiple parties emerged representing the different interests of several social groups. This impacted the voting behavior of the citizens resulting in a high voter turnout of approximately 80%. Fujimori's disappearance and the emergence of multiple parties in the system offered people a chance to elect a leader through proportional representation. Political moderation, the inclusion of more parties in the legislature and the increasing cooperation between parties were all important factors that shaped the new electoral system of Peru. As a result, the elections of 2001 were noticeably more democratic thus contributing to better political representation for the Peruvian people.

The post-election assessment in Peru was regarded as an "extraordinary accomplishment in the process of returning the country to the world community of democracies"(National Democratic Institute for International Affairs 2001, 1).The National Democratic Institute along with the Carter Center commended these elections for being peaceful and well-administered with no signs of fraud or illegitimacy. In addition, they recognized the citizens of Peru, civic organizations and electoral authorities as key actors in the successful realization of these elections.

The National Democratic Institute assessed the electoral and political processes surrounding the 2001 elections in Peru, and commented on the conditions present which appeared to provide a good basis for achieving genuine elections. Furthermore, the strengthening of institutions was a necessary step after the liberalizing elections of Peru, in order to facilitate

the consolidation of democracy. The election fraud perpetrated by the Fujimori government in the year 2000 exposed the deep rooted corruption of the regime in Peru, and how challenging it was going to be for the country to become democratic again (National Democratic Institute for International Affairs 2001, 2). The state apparatus in general suffered from corruption including the courts, electoral authorities, the majority of the news media and the military. Due to the monitoring efforts of citizen groups, and minimal news coverage by the independent media it became possible for the corrupted Fujimori regime to be exposed (National Democratic Institute for International Affairs 2001, 2). The international community offered its assistance in laying the groundwork for favorable conditions to be established in order to promote a fair political process. Efforts of the Carter Center and the NDI also played a fundamental role in uncovering the corruption of the existing regime, and encouraged the public to have trust and confidence in the government and the electoral process once again (National Democratic Institute for International Affairs 2001, 2).

However, it was clear that the Fujimori regime weakened the institutions tremendously and the liberalizing elections were only the first critical step in the reform to democracy. Continued international support was a requirement for the advancements of democracy in Peru, as well as addressing several concerns regarding the military and its interaction with civilians, development of strong political parties, high rates of citizen participation and the establishment of an independent judiciary branch. The elections of 2001 in Peru resulted in a rapid democratic change for the country (National Democratic Institute for International Affairs 2001, 2). It is because of this extraordinary liberalized electoral outcome, that a strong foundation for democracy needed to follow.

In addition to the assessments by the National Democratic Institute and the Carter Center, other experts on the country agree that the election led to the liberalization of the ruling regime. A new government indeed had emerged, one that was significantly less authoritarian than Fujimori's government. Howard and Roessler (2006, 369) recognize that it is unlikely for the country to transform into a liberal democracy overnight, but a LEO does represent a chance for a new beginning. Long-term improvement is not a guarantee either, since the newly elected official may choose to participate in illegitimate practices just like their predecessor (Howard and Roessler 2006, 369). However, elections did provide a chance for significant liberalization to take place in countries with competitive authoritarian systems. Peru has been one of the countries that has experienced more free and fair elections than in the past which have led to a new government that is significantly less authoritarian than its predecessor (Howard and Roessler 2006, 366).

The outcome of the 2001 elections had important implications that support the prospects for democracy in Peru. For example, political developments in Peru after the election and the disappearance of Fujimori have been far less militarized. In addition, there has been a significant growth in support for human rights and respect for the rule of law (Taylor 2005, 591). Post-Fujimori, the military left the political realm and has had since diminished authority in the civilian life. The relationship between the civilians and the police has improved as well, and corruption has decreased in higher ranking officers (Taylor 2005, 592). During Toledo's administration, there has been a reduction in presidential power as a response to Fujimori's behavior. Fewer executive decrees have been issued by the president, and a balance has finally been established between the executive and legislative branch (Taylor 2005, 694). Since the 2001 elections, sociopolitical groups have emerged that promote popular participation and

awareness of human rights. Their goal has been to monitor the governmental activities at the national and local level, especially acts of corruption. Most importantly, these networks of groups which call themselves Citizen Watch have not been opposed by the Toledo government, but have instead been regarded as vital actors that empower the frail democracy within the country (Taylor 2005, 593). The manipulation of the media by the government has ceased, which has provided these groups, as well as the public, with an improved flow of information. Overall, the Toledo administration has been operating in accordance with the rule of law and a greater degree of transparency. This has resulted in more secure social and civic freedoms for the Peruvian people (Taylor 2005, 593). Both vertical and horizontal accountability have been enhanced as well. Vertical accountability was initially established during the 2001 elections when political competition became evident, and then reasonably free and fair, regular elections which followed after Toledo became president. While there still remains plenty of work to be done in order to improve horizontal accountability, state institutions have grown more capable in checking abuses between the branches of government and additional public agencies (Taylor 2005, 590).

Upon examining the likelihood of a LEO, several factors can be identified that contribute to elections becoming moments of liberalization in regimes that are otherwise known as competitive authoritarian. Primarily, scholars focus on the interactions between the opposition and incumbent (Howard and Roessler 2006, 370-371). They find the creation of a multiparty coalition from the opposition to be an important factor, as well as its mobilization, for example protests against the existing regime. In addition to the strategic behavior of the opposition, incumbent behavior also affects the likelihood of a LEO quite a bit. In case the incumbent retires,

resigns or dies the regime is more susceptible to change and the moment would be ideal for the opposition to unite and bring down the government (Howard and Roessler 2006, 370-371).

Other scholars argue that a weak legislature will hinder democratization. Countries that adopted strong legislatures did a better job at preventing the autocratic regime from emerging, as opposed to countries that opted for weaker legislatures and therefore did not undergo democratization. The latter reverted back either to closed autocratic regimes, or to electoral authoritarian regimes (Fish 2006, 181). An explanation for this generalization would be that a strong legislature means better checks on the executive power thus enhancing horizontal accountability, as well as the development of stronger political parties (Fish 2006, 181). The strength of parties and legislature vary positively with one another, as well as political openness. The more open a system is at the constitutional moment, the stronger the legislature will be. This in fact explains why some countries democratized faster when communism collapsed due to their greater degree of political openness (Fish 2006, 188). Fish's argument (2006, 196) however places a great deal of emphasis on political parties. Not only do they structure the legislature which is crucial to the development of democracy, but they serve as links between the people and elected officials thus promoting vertical accountability. Other factors that can diminish the chances of democracy being successful include economic factors and interethnic relations, but ultimately political parties are the main factor that affects the strength of the legislature, and consequently the advancement of democracy.

There is no doubt that the Peruvian democracy rebounded when the 2001 elections occurred (Levitsky and Maxwell 2009, 358). Political parties, however, failed to do the same. There were no national parties present, political outside influence remained strong and the electoral system was highly fragmented (Levitsky and Maxwell 2009, 358). Building democracy

in a post-Fujimori era presented a challenge to politicians who needed to form coalitions in order to govern. There were no signs of an established party system or legislative organization within the Peruvian political sphere. Parties are essential components of a well-functioning, modern democracy, yet in Latin America especially Peru, they appeared to be the less credible democratic institutions (Levitsky and Maxwell 2009, 358).

Since the early 1990s, the democratic regime of Peru along with its party system collapsed (Levitsky and Maxwell 2009, 342). This allowed Fujimori to gain power, and created incentives for politicians to run as independents thus abandoning their existing parties (Levitsky and Maxwell 2009, 342). Moreover, the collapse of parties affected the opposition's behavior including their mobilizations and capacity for collective action. The absence of strong parties made it extremely challenging for the selection of a single opposition candidate, negotiating with the regime or participating in a particular election (Levitsky and Maxwell 2009, 348). Whatever remained of Peru's political parties was mainly focused on narrow circles of elites which made mobilization very difficult. Democracy remained elusive since the parties were unable to establish national infrastructures and strong roots in society (Levitsky and Maxwell 2009, 348). Even after the 2001 elections, Peru's electoral politics remained fragmented (Levitsky and Maxwell 2009, 354). Electoral rules primarily the open-list proportional representation, the majority runoffrun-off system, and the threshold for election to Congress are identified as the cause for party weakness. As long as these rules continue to exist, Peru is unlikely to develop strong parties (Levitsky and Maxwell 2009, 354). Moreover, stable, strong parties usually emerge during times of political struggle such a revolution or a civil war. This approach views historical and sociological factors as another explanation for stronger parties. For example, the few Latin American countries that have strong parties such as Colombia and Uruguay

experienced societal divides. In the 1990s and even after Fujimori was no longer in power, Peru did not experience any political struggle that would give rise to strong political parties (Levitsky and Maxwell 2009, 354). Taking this analysis into consideration, it is unlikely that Peru will rebuild strong parties. They will most likely remain loosely structured with no strong linkages to society. Even though the 2001 elections led to a liberalized outcome, paradoxically the parties were weak and the elections were centered on the candidates (Levitsky and Maxwell 2009, 356).

Peru's unique case, where new parties are created before each election, raises questions about whether further democratization is possible and what circumstances led to a LEO in the first place. Incumbent turnover and international assistance are two factors that contributed to liberalized electoral outcome in Peru. The president of Peru, Alberto Fujimori was found guilty of human rights violations and sentenced to 25 years in prison. He decided to flee to Japan and attempted resignation via fax. However, the congress declared him unfit to be a president any longer and refused his resignation. Valentin Panigua was declared the interim president, until the 2001 elections took place (Burt 2009, 388). Incumbent turnover in this case weakened the authoritarian regime, and it gave the opposition hope that a victory was within reach. Fujimori's failure to establish authoritarian institutions, just like his failure to establish democratic ones, was quite beneficial to Peru's democratization process as well. Regular elections, for example, still remained in Peru's political process, even though they were neither free nor fair (Levitsky 1999, 84). Western influence also increased the likelihood of the LEO. The National Democratic Institute and the Carter Center continually monitored developments in Peru prior to elections (National Democratic Institute for International Affairs 2001, 1). Elections were also monitored to ensure their legitimacy (National Democratic Institute for International Affairs 2001, 2). Both

incumbent turnover and assistance from the international community offered Peru a chance for a new beginning.

A liberalizing electoral outcome does not guarantee long term-improvement in the direction of democracy (Howard and Roessler 2006, 366). Even though LEOs provide a chance for a new beginning with their improved electoral process that has become freer and fairer, the “fallacy of electoralism” states that not only elections matter for establishing a democracy (Howard and Roessler 2006, 366). In the case of Peru, the return to democracy has become a reality since the 2001 elections. However, the country still faces numerous challenges that devalue democracy. Valentin Paniagua, a capable interim president, and Alejandro Toledo, the first president following the Fujimori regime, oversaw a calm and stable political period for Peru that lasted from November 2000 until 2006 (Morales 2013, 1). Toledo improved foreign relations with the United States by negotiating a free trade agreement. In addition, he made reforms that significantly reduced expenditures and the budget deficit, while tax collection had increased (Morales 2013, 1).

The president that won the presidential race in 2006, Alan Garcia was labeled by many people as “the lesser of two evils” when he competed against Ollanta Humala, a nationalist with anti-globalist ideologies (Morales 2013, 1). The economy thrived under Garcia as well, as he continued to utilize macroeconomic policies. However, Peru’s poorest people suffered immensely under his failed social policies. Groups of protesters had emerged over the exploitation of natural resources that did in fact help the economy grow in the short-term. In 2011, Humala finally won the presidency. (Morales 2013, 1) After he lost to Garcia in 2006, he altered his extreme leftist approach and adopted a more center leftist approach in the 2011 political campaign. He shuffled his Cabinet multiple times throughout his presidency dismissing

his leftist advisors thus consolidating his centrist views. His promises to cut the poverty rate in half seemed realistic, and he was committed. He knew that the government had not done all it could to put an end to the social exclusion of the poor Peruvians, and the rate of poverty had indeed dropped to 26% from 30% after his first year in office (Morales 2013, 2). The economic boom continued as Humala maintained the same free market policies (Morales 2013, 2).

President Humala has also faced similar difficulties with the social conflicts that have hindered governmental work. His outspoken desire to help the poor has made it more difficult to promote investments by the business sector (Morales 2013, 3). Moreover, Humala's position in Congress grows progressively weaker as he keeps distancing himself from the leftist politicians that helped him win the presidency (Morales 2013, 4).

However, Peru's economy has been stronger than all other Latin American economies since 2001. Even during the 2008 global financial crisis, its economy experienced positive growth (Morales 2013, 6). Most of Peru's economic success can be attributed to the export of natural resources such as lumber, natural gas, petroleum, zinc, gold, and silver. In addition business friendly policies that focus on the free market have been a great help (Morales 2013, 6).

Peru's case remains quite uncommon, yet a success story. Its economy has grown immensely in the last decade, nearly doubling in size. Unemployment rate has diminished, incomes increased, and the poverty rate nearly halved, from 50% down to just 26% (Levitsky 2014). Despite the economic boom, Peruvians remain incredibly dissatisfied with the government and this is reflected in the presidential approval ratings. The economic status of a country tends to correlate with public opinion. Peru is an exception to this since presidential approval ratings have consistently plummeted even as the economic growth soared. All presidents following Alberto Fujimori, even Alejandra Toledo who came in power after an

authoritarian leader and presided over Peru's exceptional economic recovery, suffered from terrible ratings which plummeted into single digits toward the end of their presidencies. Currently, Peru is experiencing high levels of discontent with its democracy and has little trust in the democratic institutions (Levitsky 2014, 1).

Two factors account for the widespread dissatisfaction in Peru that prevails even during an economic boom. The first one has to do with the fact that the Peruvian state is among the weakest in Latin America (Levitsky 2014, 1). In the absence of effective state institutions, the government does not provide public goods. Thus the Peruvian people view all politicians as corrupt and indifferent towards representing the interests of the people. In addition, the bureaucratic functional capacity of Peru is almost nonexistent. Police is rarely present throughout the country, and the judicial authorities seem to neglect the legal problems of the people. State weakness and public distrust are not mitigated by the improved economy. For example, higher incomes do not equal improved bureaucracy or guarantee public services. In summary, the economy does not help state weakness which leads to inadequate governance that is perceived by people as such, and as a result the trust in democratic institutions fades (Levitsky 2014, 1).

The second factor responsible for the dissatisfaction among the public is the lack of investments in social policy (Levitsky 2014). There is very little investment present in anti-poverty programs, minimal spending on public education as well as healthcare. The Peruvian government is indeed one of the most frugal in the world. The unwillingness of the government to spend any money or use resources has worsened the long standing problems with democracy. Year after year, Peruvian people fail to see the connection between the people they elected and how the elected officials actually govern when in power (Levitsky 2014, 1).

After the liberalized electoral outcome, Peru has headed down a democratic path, one that has lasted for nearly 16 years which is longer than any other democracy in the history of the country. However, it should be acknowledged that this democracy has mainly survived by default (Levitsky 2014, 1). The liberalized electoral outcome of the 2001 elections of Peru offered the country a chance for democratization. International assistance and incumbent turnover increased the likelihood of the LEO. Despite the presence of weak political parties, democratization occurred in Peru. Strong economic growth has certainly helped the process, yet people remain discontent with their government. Once the economic boom comes to an end, which is bound to happen eventually, the democracy of Peru may once again risk the return to an authoritarian regime.

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The Future of Christianity's Influence on the Integration of Europe

By Danielle Flanagan

The concept of religion can best be defined as a paradox: It has catalyzed ideas of salvation and condemnation, innovation and stagnation, and peace and war. The effects of religion can, in a similar manner, be applied to the future of the European Union, for it can both spawn the integration or division of the states within and around the union. With the rise of secularization in Europe, Christianity has evolved from a theological to a cultural force, influencing political and moral attitudes to a lesser extent than it was able to previously, particularly concerning the question of European integration. Despite Europe's religious heritage, which indirectly inspired the foundation of the European Union, Christianity has experienced a decline in its influence, thus, compromising its inclusion in the future development of European integration. The scope of the relative power of religion in Europe can be delineated through the exploration of the inspiration of Christian principles on modern European culture, the influence of religion on the formation of the Treaty of Lisbon, and Christianity's unifying or divisive effect on the subject of European integration.

The European identity is inextricably bound to the Christian faith. The modern civilization on the continent was founded and has since continued to develop under the influence of the Catholic Church. 313 AD is the year that marks the emergence of Christianity in the European world: The Roman Emperor Constantine officially recognized the religion, endowing it with a sense of legitimacy (Conversion of Constantine). Subsequently, since late Roman times, its number of followers and power has only grown in size. Christianity took root as a religious, political, and cultural authority replacing the vestiges of the glory of Rome with a new Christian domain. The demise of the Roman Empire initiated the Church's newfound role as the "heiress

of culture,” beginning its patronage of the arts and cultural innovation (Foret and Riva). Given that it inspired the commission of some of the Renaissance’s most monumental works in the fifteenth century (as well as other masterpieces) it is evident that Christianity has significantly impacted aspects of history and culture in which Europeans, both past and present, invest their cultural pride and identity. Furthermore, the Church’s arm extended beyond the arts to other forms of intellectual life through its establishment of monasteries, universities, and various academic institutions that educated the continent in the Christian tradition. This tradition lives on in modern European values and cultural norms, as they first spread from generation to generation through the educated populace and continued to exist within the framework of the modern European educational system.

Despite the Church’s overarching authority, its power was repeatedly challenged throughout history. However, regardless of the onset of the Reformation in 1517, the fragmentation of Christianity into various denominations and sects, and the inevitable surge of conflict and wars of religion that finally came to an end in 1648 with the Treaty of Westphalia, the core Christian values remained embedded in religious doctrine as well as in the structure of society. The Church, however, received yet another blow from the diffusion of rational and secular thought during the age of Enlightenment, circulating the demand for the separation of church and state. Such notions that called for the sovereignty of the religious and political spheres weakened the influence of religion thought, but did not eradicate the Christian tenets of human value, equality, and the rights of the individual. Therefore, the social evolution of the church continued, as its religious authority waned yet its cultural influence remained. Christian values persevered amidst the Bolshevik revolution and its communist ideology’s incrimination of religion as the “opiate of the masses” in 1917, the ravaging of the continent by two world wars in

the twentieth century, and the rise of globalization in the contemporary era. Due to these turning points in history, the religiosity of the continent has consequently been on a steep decline both in observance and belief, with 48 percent of the population of Western Europe ceasing to attend church services and its near parallel of 44 percent of Eastern Europeans also following in a similar suit during the year of 2010 (Statistics Round Up: Religion in Decline around Europe and USA). As these statistics threaten the prevalence of religion on the continent, significant numbers of Europeans continue to regard themselves as Christian, and thus “signify an implicit, diffused, and submerged Christian cultural identity” (Foret and Riva). Hence, Christianity has not become obsolete due to its remaining cultural influence, seen in the European commonality of values, history, and culture, although its religious authority and relative power have been significantly weakened, especially in the political arena.

The shift of Christianity from serving as a theological to cultural force resulted in its shift from being an influential to a less influential contributor to the development of European integration. In its early history, the Church possessed enough power to help pioneer and develop the ideological framework for a greater union of Europe, exemplified in the sixteenth century with the Quakers putting forth the progressive idea of a larger European government, serving as a forerunner to the European Union and its supranational capabilities (Wally). Christianity was one tradition, among others, that first appealed to the call for a United Europe, as it envisioned the evangelization and creation of a Christian continent. Moreover, Christian philosophy has also laid claim to the prevalence of liberalism in Europe, and specifically that which developed the groundwork for the European Union, as its principles drew inspiration from “the values of the inviolable and inalienable rights of the human person, freedom, democracy, equality and the rule of law” (McCrea). Subsequently, before the corrosion of Christianity’s religious authority by the

wave of secularization in recent history, it once enjoyed a powerful hand in the manifestation of European integration and the formation of the EU.

With this conception that “Christian culture is the very foundation of the idea of a common Europe,” its moral teachings and values have nonetheless lost their political stamina when informing and shaping the decisions of the European Union. Such has been exhibited in the construction and implementation of the Treaty of Lisbon, commonly known as the amended European Constitution (McCrea). This constitution, initially drafted in 2003 under the direction of Giscard d’Estaing, aspired to shift public perception of the EU from a sheer economic coalition and peacetime alliance to a United States of Europe (Wally). During the process of ratification, its contents were highly contested, particularly the text of the Preamble when it unleashed a secular-religious debate regarding the inclusion of an explicit reference to Europe’s Christian heritage. Of its supporters, Poland, Italy, Ireland, Spain, and Portugal, staunchly rooted in the Catholic tradition, championed a "nominatio dei," or reference to God (Rusu and Petraru). German Chancellor Angela Merkel also contributed to these Christian sympathies with the following insistence: "I underlined my opinion that we need a European identity in the form of a constitutional treaty and I think it should be connected to Christianity and God, as Christianity has forged Europe in a decisive way" (Kubosova). In opposition to this acknowledgement of Christianity’s cultural influence, secularist member states, especially France with its tradition of laicism, or strict secularism, perceived the constitutional reference as a threat to the separation of church and state, as well as to the religious impartiality of Europe. Only five of the 27 member states specified the word “God” in their own national constitutional texts at the time. Consequently, this reality undermined the need to include such a reference in a broader European constitution (Most European Nations Keep God Out of Constitution). The prevailing secular

sentiment argued that “defining constitutional ethics in Christian terms may obstruct the integration of those with other or no religious beliefs who face other barriers to full membership of society” (Foret and Riva). Therefore, Christianity, as a cultural force, garnered neither the support nor legitimacy required to counter the secular demands of the continent, as the Preamble came to merely cite the “cultural, religious and humanist inheritance of Europe,” neglecting the explicit mention of Europe’s Christian roots (The European Constitution). It must also be recognized that the decision to “open up the contentious issue of [Europe’s] ethical commitments and recognizing an instrumental role for religion in the determination of their content, the Union does implicitly associate itself with certain religious traditions,” namely, those of Christianity (McCrea). However, the cultural authority of Christianity, having outgrown its previous position of theological power, was not strong enough to override secularist opinion to further integrate Europe and draw reference to the Christian faith in the Constitution.

Following the rejection of a Constitution for Europe during the referenda held in France and the Netherlands, with 54.67 percent and 61.54 percent against its ratification, respectively, Christianity’s decline in influence on the EU political pursuit of integration became evident (The European Constitution). As a near pseudonym to the Constitution with the same policy and institutional reforms, the Treaty of Lisbon was developed in 2007 as its alternative, amending the Founding Treaties rather than emulating the Constitution’s aim of repealing and replacing such documents with a single, symbolic text (Treaty of Lisbon: Introduction). The failure to accredit Christianity as a founder of European heritage in the Preamble of the Constitution was echoed in its additional failure to unite the continent under the Treaty of Lisbon’s Charter of Fundamental Rights. Religious ideals regarding dignity and equality were presented in Chapter I and III of the Charter, as it emphasized “human dignity, the right to life, the right to the integrity of the person,

rights of the child and elderly, and the prohibition of inhuman or degrading treatment” (Charter of Fundamental Human Rights). This declaration of rights never became realized in all 27 member states, as Protocol (No. 30) restricted the interpretation of the Charter by the Council of Justice and the national courts of Poland and the United Kingdom (Treaty of Lisbon: Introduction). The treaty, consequently, failed to unify all countries belonging to the EU with its Charter of Fundamental Rights that enshrined such Christian cultural values. Again, the unsuccessful efforts of Christianity to integrate Europe through the implementation of a religious-inspired EU policy recapitulated the weakness of its cultural influence on the continent.

The understanding of the evolution of Europe’s Christian cultural heritage begets the understanding of Christianity’s role in the history and future of European integration. The transition of the Church from a theological to cultural authority, catalyzed by the continent’s rise of secularization, subsequently weakened its political hold in European politics. The controversy over a Constitution for Europe and the Treaty of Lisbon only comprise a few of the many challenges confronting the future prospects of Christianity’s cultural influence on European integration, with its other difficulties entailing the large influx of non-Christian immigrants, the disputed decline of the Christian Democratic Party in the European Parliament, and the entrenched national policies of *laïcité* in various Member States. These challenges, specifically regarding the European Constitution and the Lisbon Treaty, identify an inverse relationship between secularization and Christianity’s relative power; as secularization increases, Christianity diminishes in theological relevance and political magnitude. Thus, although Christianity birthed and nurtured European integration in its early stages though in the modern era, the religion’s influence has and will continue to wane with the maturation of Europe into a greater Union.

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The Purposes and Limits of International Relations' Theory

By Kelsey Landau

International relations as an academic discipline began in earnest after the First World War rendered the problem of war more crucial than ever before. By demonstrating that wars' effects could ripple far beyond the domain of soldiers, World War I spawned the new social science of international politics, dedicated to understanding the causes and, depending on the scholar, proposing solutions to end interstate conflict. Each theory of international relations, including utopianism, an optimist view of the international system comprising a belief in morality and reason, and its power politics-focused critics of realism and neorealism, extends beyond the purely academic, touching, as their roots imply, on situations that affect us all. However, all theories are inherently limited and incomplete, and so their applicability depends not only on their adoption, but on their intellectual strengths. When the lenses of theory are focused on the problem of war, and adopted by political leaders, their resonance is amplified; however, they must also provide a possible ideological justification for action and accurately depict the current state of world affairs, or they lose their significance.

Thiele defines a theory as “a cognitive scheme or conceptual system that brings a part of the world into clearer focus and allows it to be better understood.” The first such conceptual lens to focus on the realm of international politics began with utopianism, which E.H. Carr disparages as the “elaboration of visionary projects for the attainment of the ends which they gave in view” -- those ends, of course, being the elimination of war. Realists, like Carr, criticize the utopians for choosing to view the world through the lens of their desired outcome, rather than how it actually is, and claim that power politics (ultimately derived from military strength) is the true cause of war. Kenneth Waltz, a neorealist also focused on power politics, argues that war is

made possible through the international system of anarchy, and that the lack of an international enforcement mechanism makes possible the situations under which war occurs. By deconstructing the optimistic vision of the world set forth in utopian thought, Carr and Waltz seek not only to set the conversation among international relations academics, but, as Waltz argues, change the “practices of politics,” which “are the product of a conjunction of temper, experience, reason, and event” and are “greatly influenced by the images the politicians entertain.”

Nowhere is the policy impact of the images and conceptions of leaders clearer than in the concept of the harmony of interests, which, according to the individual level of analysis, or first image, is the idea that “in pursuing his own interest, the individual pursues that of the community, and in promoting the interest of the community he promotes his own.” As applied to the international system, the harmony of interests maintains that individual states, each working for their own benefit, nonetheless propagate the interests of the international community as a whole. This assumption was popularized by the doctrine of *laissez-faire* economics, first proposed by Adam Smith. In this view of the world economy, individuals do not intend to promote the public interest, and yet, by following their own incentives, the “invisible hand” of the market ensures that both are maximizing their utilities. This postulate transfers to the international system through the promotion of universal free trade, which was “justified on the ground that the maximum economic interest of each nation was identified with the maximum economic interest of the whole world.” As Carr notes, the result of this policy was a completely level playing field, which benefited the most developed states the most, as they were already economically ahead. Because this theory was largely promulgated by Anglo-American thinkers, and adopted by their leaders, it is ultimately just another reflection of power politics -- in this

case, the great powers working to benefit themselves economically rather than militarily, and pushing their viewpoints on those too weak to resist.

The free trade doctrine, benefiting as it did those states with the power to force their wishes on the international system, thus served as ideological justification for a policy that was already in place. Carr argues that one of the tenets of realist thought is that “theory does not (as the utopians assume) create practice, but practice theory.” It was only when *laissez-faire* economics ceased to be a practical doctrine that benefited world powers that economic theorists began proposing alternative solutions; for example, the theory of socialism in one country, as opposed to a global system, was implemented in Soviet Russia in 1924 as a result of “the failure of Soviet régimes to establish themselves in other countries.” Thiele agrees with this assessment, arguing, “the political theorist generally does not seek to predict behavior...the political theorist *interprets* human thought and action in ways that are illuminating and promote understanding.” Utopians, according to Carr, have failed in this mandate of interpretation by incorporating a moral element of analysis and judging the world not as it is, but as it ought to be; their focus on an absolute ethical standard limits the capacity of their theories to evolve with the world.

The utopians’ focus on man’s fallibility as the cause of war comes under scrutiny in Waltz’s analysis of what he calls the three images of the international system. The first image, or individual level, concerns those who argue, as do the utopians, that the nature and behavior of humans are the true impetuses of war. First-image pessimists, as Waltz refers to those who both believe in this explanation and contend that humans will never free themselves of these conditions, fails one of Thiele’s fundamental theoretical virtues: significance. By claiming that humans “are neither perfectly rational nor truly loving, nor...will they ever become so,” first-

image pessimists both predict behavior (by arguing that it is immutable) and fail to provide an ideological justification for action, and, as a result, limit the applicability of their theory.

First-image optimists, who likewise situate the causes of war in the fallibility of humans, and yet believe that these behaviors can be improved through reason, as it tames the baser desire for power and obscuring force of passion. While first-image optimists set forth a path for action (individuals' embrace of reason over action), they fall into the same trap of inaccurately describing the world that for which Carr criticizes utopians more generally. As Waltz says, the lack of success of first-image optimists "is directly related to a view of man that is simple and pleasing, but wrong...human nature is so complex that it can justify every hypothesis we may entertain." Thiele defines a good theory as one that is parsimonious and "forgo[es] all necessary speculation." By incorporating the untestable, all-encompassing element of human nature into their theory, first-image optimists, too, prove their limitations: although they advocate the path of reason as the solution to war, they fail to recognize that states each have their own perspectives and behave reasonably according to those. Therefore, they can behave reasonably and even morally, from their own points of view, and still find themselves on the brink of conflict.

As by definition everything can be explained by human nature, second-image theorists look beyond the individual and place the causes of war within the internal structures of states. They claim that "defects in states cause wars among them," and that if these defects could be eliminated, peace would follow. Second-image theorists wildly differ about both the perceived defects and the perceived cures; Karl Marx, for example, argues that the implementation of communism will lead to the withering away of the state system itself, while democratic peace theorists say that, because democracies do not fight other democracies, the solution to war is found in the global spread of that system of government. However, no matter the specific

argument, each contains an element of prediction (changing x aspect of countries' internal governments will lead to peace), leading to the question, posed by Waltz, of whether one can "wait with calm confidence for the day when despotic states have been turned...into peace-loving democracies," or communist systems, and so forth. Second-image theorists maintain that bad states are those that go to war, but there can reach a point where non-military means are insufficient to turn these despotic states into democratic systems; thus, the tautological argument ensues wherein the only way to stop bad states from going to war may be, in turn, to become a bad state that goes to war. Thiele classifies tautology as one of the two threats to significance, because it "does not interpret, describe, explain, or predict," and, indeed, when taken to this logical conclusion, the second image loses some of its applicability. It is indeed true that wars tend to bolster patriotic feelings and morale on the domestic level, and so can promote internal unity, but the problem of creating a world where this is no longer the case without using force to change the political structure of all states persists under second image analyses.

Both Waltz and Carr, and realists more generally, argue that the true causes of war are found in the nature of the international system, or third image, because the condition of anarchy under which states exist does not prevent war from occurring. While individual states might wish to remain at peace, anarchy imposes a need for self-help, or else they could be destroyed by those more militarily capable, who would in turn face none, or few, consequences for their actions. Carr, in particular, traces political power directly to military force, claiming "every act of the state, in its power aspect, is directed to war, not as a desirable weapon, but as a weapon which it may require in the last resort to use." According to the realist school of thought, as long as the modern state system persists, so too will the possibility of conflict; it is only if the system of anarchy is eliminated that this prospect would follow.

Although realism remains the dominant viewpoint among international relations' theorists, Carr himself admits that the theory, standing alone, has limited applicability. He notes that "consistent realism excludes four things which appear to be essential ingredients of all effective political thinking: a finite goal, an emotional appeal, a right of moral judgment, and a ground for action." Notably, none of these qualities are necessary under Thiele's definition of a worthy theory (which consists of parsimony, accuracy, and significance), and yet, Carr is correct by acknowledging their importance in the implementation of policy. Most important is realism's failure, like that of the first- and second-image theorists, to provide a clear path of action. By maintaining that possibility of war endures as long as the current international system does, and that all interstate political engagements ultimately come down to political strength, realism does not lend itself to ameliorating action, but rather, as Carr notes, "passive contemplation." Therefore, political leaders cannot embrace only the harsh power political viewpoints of realism, but must also incorporate ideals so as to have something towards which to strive.

Ultimately, theories of international relations are at their most useful when, as Waltz says when describing the significance of his third image analysis, they help leaders adopt "a foreign policy... [that] embodies merely a reasoned response to the world around us." Some theories, like the utopian conception of the harmony of interests, have proven themselves to be fatally flawed, because historical events, such as the outbreak of World War I and the demise of the free trade doctrine's universality, have shown them to be inaccurate, just another reflection of power politics, or both. Others, such as those whom Waltz terms first-image optimists and pessimists, fall prey to the dangers of tautology and limited applicability, which, too, weakens both their intellectual and practical possibilities. Second-image theorists similarly fail to take account the logical endpoint of their reasoning by not providing a clear path of how to create "good" states

that do not go to war without, themselves, going to war. While the third image of international relations provides the most clear-eyed explanation for why wars still occur, and are unlikely to be eliminated entirely, its analysis, too, as Carr acknowledges, does not lead on a direct path to action or foster ideological clarity or a finite goal, which can likewise limit applicability. In the end, theories serve as valuable tools for policymakers to frame their worldviews, but are not, in and of themselves, sufficient as blueprints for policy.

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Sustainable Development in Tanzania: Bottom-Up Approaches

By Alexandra Mackey

Introduction

Tanzania faces serious problems as a result of the pollution, land degradation, and depletion of resources that is rapidly occurring throughout the country. The increased desertification threatens their productivity (United Nations 64) and reduces their capability to produce food, inducing frequent country-wide famines (United Nations 44). In order to combat these issues, Tanzania has committed itself to pursuing sustainable development. However, a “top-down” approach has often been undertaken, which empirical evidence suggests is ultimately ineffective. Literature has recommended that addressing these problems with a “bottom-up” approach would yield better results. This paper explores several areas in which Tanzania has used a “bottom-up” approach to combat land degradation and the depletion of resources including working with the population to improve agricultural practices, the introduction of advanced technology, and addressing resource usage.

Agriculture

The agricultural industry is an extremely important aspect of the economic sector in Tanzania. Approximately 50% of Tanzania’s Gross Domestic Product derives from the agricultural sector, and over 50% of the state’s exports are from agricultural products (Sokoni 2008, 158). Moreover, 80% of the population depends on agriculture as a source of income (Sokoni 2008, 158). Agriculture is a significant source of wealth in Tanzania, and affects the lives of the majority of its population.

The majority of agricultural production stems from the wetlands in Tanzania. Not only are the wetlands noted as one of the most biologically productive ecosystems on an international level, but they also provide a wide-range of agricultural support (Mwakaje 2009, 179). They assist with crop production by providing areas with rich and fertile soil that is constantly replenished by the nutrients in the water. Additionally, they are often used as grazing pastures for livestock as they provide the necessary nourishment for growth. They are also an important ecological resource as they aid in water storage, act as a filtration mechanism, provide flood control, and are the habitat to a range of plants and crops that make harvests more diverse.

Threats to the wetlands of Tanzania may have serious implications for the population. Over the past thirty years, they have experienced rapid degradation (Mwakaje 2009, 180), which threatens agricultural production, disturbs ecology, and promotes unsustainable development of the land. This is considered to be a major threat to livelihoods. In the village of Kilombero, the wetlands make up 98% of the food security of the households (Mwakaje 2009, 179). Furthermore, during the onset of food shortages, over 40% of the households stated that they rely on the wetlands as a coping mechanism to provide food (Mwakaje 2009, 180). The sustainability of the wetlands is mainly endangered from the intense agricultural farming practices from the people of Tanzania and the overuse of the land as a home for livestock. Sustainable development cannot be adequately put in place as long as these practices continue and the wetlands are further degraded.

Another aspect that presents a substantial barrier to the sustainable development of Tanzania's agricultural sector is the disparities in the access to agriculture. This issue is present throughout the developing world. Approximately 80% of the land that is available for agriculture in developing states is owned by a mere 3% of landowners (Haque 1999, 200). In Africa

specifically, 75% of the population is sharing less than 4% of land (Haque 1999, 200). These statistics show why the over-use of land is so prevalent, as there are too many people trying to make a living off of such a small percentage of the land. In turn, this inequality has led to desertification of much of Tanzania's farmland. This desertification has had adverse effects on the agricultural industry, leading to a 0.4% decrease in agriculture from 2004 to 2005 (Kulindwa 2002, 392). This decrease, though not extreme, can impact Tanzania strongly as agriculture is such a substantial facet of their economy. While the continuous degradation of land exists, creating a sustainable agricultural sector will be unlikely.

The commercialization of Tanzania's agricultural system has only further exacerbated the issues that the state faces in pursuing sustainable development. The commercialization of production consists of the transition from subsistence agricultural production to a more market-oriented approach (Sokoni 2008, 158). While seemingly beneficial toward the economy, this has mainly resulted in a switch to fast-growing crops and changes in crop composition (Sokoni 2008, 158). These methods degrade the soil and decrease the amount of time that crops can feasibly be cultivated (United Nations 2012, 10), thus decreasing the longevity and sustainability of the land. The government of Tanzania has tried to remedy this in the past by providing subsidies for fertilizers that will enrich the soil, but recent cuts to these programs due to economic barriers have led to a worsening situation with soil degradation (Haque 1999, 201).

Essentially, the issue at hand is that the population taking part in agriculture is not being provided the means to conduct sustainable methods. With only a small fraction of the land being accessible, it is necessary that they be provided information on the sustainable and safe cultivation and usage of land. The *National Report for the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development* for Tanzania has made feasible suggestions to remedy this issue, many

of which taking the “bottom-up” approach to sustainable development. One proposal is the promotion of irrigation agriculture. Studies in the Usangu Basin show that this method supports over 30,000 farming households in the village (Mwakaje 2009, 181). It is beneficial as it will help control the use of water and ensure that farming areas that are not in close proximity to the wetlands have an opportunity to flourish. In order for this to be effective, the irrigation technologies must be introduced to the agricultural population of Tanzania, as many areas do not currently have access (United Nations 2012, 11).

Another aspect that the report aims to address is the soil erosion and fertility problem that persists in Tanzania. It suggests that these be combatted by the diversification or agricultural production in addition to a strengthened agrochemical monitoring mechanism. The diversification will primarily come from inter-cropping, which will protect against droughts and pests while replenishing the soil (United Nations 2012, 11). This method is feasible and logical, but has not been practiced because of a lack of awareness. The agrochemical monitoring is necessary because of the unsafe fertilizers used in place of those that were previously subsidized by the government. They threaten the fertility of the soil and lead to major pollution issues (United Nations 2012, 10) which must be overcome to achieve sustainability. Through the promotion of environmentally-friendly fertilizers and restrictions on agrochemicals, this aspect of the problem can be remedied.

While examining the methods that the *National Report for the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development* suggested, it is clear that they are feasible when promoted to uninformed populations. Many of the poor practices that are done in Tanzania are a result of a lack of knowledge, and not from a lack of capability. These problems can be

addressed as long as they are endorsed to the public, and not simply to the government as has been done in the past.

Advanced Technology

Advanced technology has typically not been adequately introduced to Tanzania. Some literature has said that the incorporation of these new technologies can help provide access to better resources and promote the awareness of how to improve livelihoods and work toward a more sustainable future (Chilimo and Ngulube 2001, 146). As was seen with agriculture, much of the reason that the Tanzanian population has degraded their land was as a result of lack of information and resources (United Nations 2012, 14). By providing a means to learn and be more educated, the population can be informed of ways to move away from poverty and reverse the land degradation that is occurring.

The area of focus that will be discussed for access to advanced technology in Tanzania is telecentres. Telecentres are public facilities that provide people a chance to use computers, networks, scanners, telephones, and audio and video resources for information searching and training (Chilimo and Ngulube 2001, 146). The telecentres that have been implemented in Tanzania thus far have been funded by private donors and the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology (Chilimo and Ngulube 2001, 146). Telecentres are one of the forms of Information and Communication Technologies that have been deemed to be of “paramount importance” for poverty reduction and reducing vulnerability (Chilimo and Ngulube 2001, 148).

Telecentres are a major part of the sustainable livelihood approach that has been pursued in Tanzania. A livelihood is considered to be sustainable when it can cope with stressors and allows its resources to be available in the future without depleting the natural resource base

(Chilimo and Ngulube 2001, 146). Studies were conducted on the current telecentres in Tanzania to examine their impact on pursuing a sustainable livelihood. It was found that the information provided allowed people to reduce their vulnerability by outlining methods to deal with stressors like droughts, so that unsafe practices were not used as compensation (Chilimo and Ngulube 2001, 147). It was further found that women were more likely to practice diverse cultivation methods after being more well-informed of them, which also allowed farmers to diversify their crop productions (Chilimo and Ngulube 2001, 147). These telecentres were overwhelmingly found to improve livelihoods. The real barrier is the access to this new technology. The *National Report for the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development* also supported the introduction of technology and stated that the government of Tanzania should make it a priority to fund these projects. Empowering people through telecentres appears to be a feasible way to pursue sustainable development and livelihoods in Tanzania.

Resource Usage

In Tanzania, another challenge that is faced is the sustainable use of resources and energy. Sustainable energy provision is seen as a sizeable problem globally, and is more prevalent in Africa where a large amount of the rural population lacks access to basic energy (Klunne and Michael 2010, 147). A major concern in Tanzania is that the natural resources are being depleted too heavily, which will prevent further production of energy which can be detrimental to those who are already deprived. A large part of this concern stems from the commercialization of agriculture. Many have said that the new transition to commercialization has not actually increased the productivity and agricultural yields, but that it has instead led to an irresponsible and unsustainable use of resources (Sokoni 2008, 159).

One proposal that has shown success in the past is the use of hydropower as an alternative form of energy. Considering the abundant wetlands, Tanzania has a significant potential for developing small-scale hydropower systems (Klunne and Michael 2010, 147). Several hydro-schemes are already in existence, but there is a lack of proper documentation in order to adequately assess the status of these (Klunne and Michael 2010, 148). However, the Tanzania Electric Supply Company (TANESCO) has helped to implement several hydro-schemes with plentiful data to examine their effectiveness. One example of this is the hydro-scheme that was developed in the Matembwe village with the help of the Njombe Diocese Catholic Church Mission. The people in this area were able to use this hydro-scheme to gain electricity. Several facets of this particular plan enhanced its sustainability: the planning procedures for technical issues, strong institutional arrangements, economic considerations, and the multi-stakeholder involvement (Klunne and Michael 2010, 148). One facet that made this plan so effective was the training mechanism put in place that promoted local technical skills. It ensured that the hydro-scheme could be maintained without the help of TANESCO, and that the people using the electricity grid were able to solve issues that arose with it. The involvement of local groups helps in developing the bottom-up approach that is so key for promoting sustainable development. If the Tanzanian government allots funding toward groups like TANESCO to build hydro-schemes and train for their upkeep, this would be a sustainable solution to the depleted energy sources.

The conservation of biodiversity is strongly emphasized throughout Tanzania (United Nations 2012, 14). The *National Report for the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development* has reiterated that it is a main priority to conserve Tanzania's unique ecosystems, woodlands, grasslands, savannah, wetlands, rivers, lakes, and the ocean in order to continue to

provide ecological services. The over-usage of these resources has been very prevalent throughout Tanzania (Mwakaje 2009, 179) and this is a major threat to the overall biodiversity of the state.

In order to combat this problem of degradation and overuse, there are several aspects that should be taken into consideration. One proposal is the concept of compensation for these lost resources. The United Nations Development Programme estimated that industrial countries would have to pay as much as \$1 trillion a year to developing countries if the environment were correctly “priced” based on the resources they extract (Haque 1999, 203). While there is little that Tanzania can do independently about this, the idea of developed nations compensating for what they have taken is something that should be taken into consideration by the United Nations. Indigenous people ought to be involved in the decisions that affect the use of their lands (Ganning and Kessler 1989, 145), and this should be reflected in legislation that is developed on the matter.

However, it is also important that Tanzania develops plans that incorporate their own population and government. The aforementioned hydro-schemes would be beneficial for creating self-sustaining energy creations. It was also suggested by the *National Report for the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development* that awareness campaigns to promote energy efficiency and conservation with local populations. By providing alternative energy development methods like the hydro-schemes, this is actually feasible to enact. By involving the people who are using the energy, it makes it a more practical plan than if only legislators were part of the development.

Alternative Arguments

While this paper is in favor of a “bottom-up” approach to tackling sustainable development, others would argue that the greatest change will come from legislation. This stems from the idea that the rampant poverty in Tanzania prevents its population from being able to make choices that will sustainably use the land, particularly in times of crisis. The Vice President of Tanzania has focused much of his work on strategies like the Rio Multilateral Environmental Agreements which provide national obligations for Tanzania and developing government institutions that focus on the environment (United Nations 2012, 50). However, these types of plans lack the specificity that is necessary for individual countries. It provides no consideration of indigenous issues that are specific to Tanzania’s biodiversity or a mechanism for enforcement of the new laws (United Nations 2012, 51). Without the direct involvement of the population, these types of plans cannot work as it is the population itself that needs to behave sustainably. Additionally, others may say that a country-by-country approach is ineffective because there is no way to ensure that each country is properly pursuing sustainable development. In the case of Tanzania, though, it is evident that strides have been made that are unique to the state, which makes them overall more applicable to this specific population. While pursuing sustainable development from an international perspective is beneficial theoretically, it lacks the means to enact solutions that will be effective for states and their populations as they do not make the necessary considerations.

Conclusion

The achievement of sustainable development is a goal that has been incorporated into Tanzania’s policies. The degradation of land, pollution, and depletion of resources has made it more difficult for Tanzania to combat poverty and improve economically, making them a priority. Establishing methods to continue in a sustainable manner is becoming increasingly

important as the current practices are causing harm to other sectors, and the “bottom-up” approach appears to be the most logical way to do so. With agriculture being such an important part of many Tanzanian peoples’ livelihoods, the degradation has serious implications for Tanzania’s future. Tanzania’s government has developed plans to work toward sustainable development in the past, but they often involved policies that did not directly involve their population. Enacting reform that promotes awareness of the dangers of land degradation and teaches sustainable methods that are easily achieved by people has had the most success thus far. Improvements in the area of agriculture can be made with the introduction of irrigation agriculture and the promotion of diversification and monitoring of agrochemicals as a means to control soil erosion. The implementation of advanced technology, such as telecentres, is a method for informing the population on sustainable practices and ways to cope with stressors that do not further degrade the land. The overuse of resources can be combated by advertising the importance of energy conservation while constructing hydro-schemes that offer a renewable source of energy to villages. Sustainable development in Tanzania will come as a result of changes from the bottom level, but it is up to the leaders to put these plans into action and ensure that their population is informed.

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The Costs and Benefits of Sustainable Transportation in Middle- and High-Income States

By Sophia Semensky

Introduction

Cities are becoming increasingly important as economic hubs, incubators for innovative ideas, and breeding grounds for diverse movements. With more than half of the world's population in cities, urban areas face unique responsibilities in economic and environmental realms; what cities do affects all of us. The world is already starting to feel the positive and negative consequences. Urbanization has brought health benefits, economic uprisings, and social change; it has also contributed greatly to greenhouse gas emissions, air pollution, and environmental degradation. How can we as a civilization balance economic prosperity with clean and efficient technologies that thrive off the abundance of human capital, rather than degrade it?

To reach the daunting goal of sustainable cities, cities must start small and effectively; a key area is sustainable transportation. Indeed, the realm of buses and bikes seems outdated, but integrated with innovative Bus Rapid Transit and metros, it can reduce negative consequences. It makes more sense economically to develop infrastructure for public transport that move dozens of people rather than expensive highways to move individual cars. Active transport is cheaper and brings health and happiness benefits. Finally, a mixed active-public system signals a new age of constructing cities and roads for people to enjoy, rather than for cars.

Personally, I am passionate about environmental awareness and intrigued by solutions that solve environmental and social issues. After traveling to cities such as San Francisco and Washington, D.C., I began to get interested in the way people interact with their transport. When I got accepted to a cultural exchange program in Colombia, I researched some of the cities and learned that Bogotá is using Bus Rapid Transit and bicycling as a way to connect marginalized

citizens with jobs and to begin building a better city in lieu of past violence and current stigmas. I thought it would be interesting to compare Bogotá, a middle-income city using sustainable transportation as a tool for economic and social change, with Copenhagen, an economically prosperous and environmentally friendly city.

Based on current scientific evidence and research, we need to act now to mitigate climate change, air pollution, and environmental degradation. With this need in mind, the world must also continue to prosper with a focus on more equitable economic distribution and poverty reduction. To explore this issue, my essay will compare both the economic and environmental consequences of sustainable transportation in Copenhagen, Denmark and Bogotá, Colombia. Sustainable transportation brings both economic and environmental benefits to cities by utilizing unique city characteristics, leveraging available resources, and bringing options to citizens of all social strata. If we want to create a sustainable and prosperous world, innovating bright solutions for the planet, people, and economy is the only smart path.

Overview of Sustainable Transportation

Environmentally sustainable transportation should respect public and ecological health, avoid permanent global ramifications, and scrutinize the use of non-renewable resources. The key is to provide environmentally, economically, and socially responsible avenues for mobility.

Each city has unique parameters in which to develop its own system of sustainable transportation. To understand the differing contexts, I've chosen two very different cities with different backgrounds and needs. Understanding the culture and circumstances of Copenhagen, a rich and developed city, and Bogotá, a developing city, helps demonstrate how sustainable transportation works. Due to these differing contexts, different data was found; thus, slightly different situations were considered in the case studies in some aspects. On the whole, however,

the investigation provides a thorough glimpse of the multi-faceted consequences of sustainable transport.

Copenhagen

"We've looked at how climate change will affect Copenhagen in the long-term future."

- Lykke Leonardsen, City Planner working on a plan for climate change adaptation (Braw)

Denmark has a modern economy characterized by high tech industry, a high standard of living, and a GDP of \$249.5 billion (The World Factbook: Denmark). Within this context, Copenhagen is a powerful city, responsible for almost 40% of Denmark's output and stable, low-carbon growth (Floater et al. 8). An integral part of Copenhagen's success is its reputation and development as a green economy: according to the Siemens economist green city index, Copenhagen achieved the highest green ranking in Europe and was Europe's green capital in 2014. The city's overarching goal is to become carbon neutral by 2025, and transportation is one of the most difficult sectors to decarbonize (Floater et al. 9). However, Copenhagen's local, targeted measures in cycling, public transportation, and infrastructure have created positive implications in both the economic and environmental sphere; this local effort contributes to the global problem of climate change.

Cycling

Cycling is more than exercise or a symbolic stance in Copenhagen: it is a viable and well-used mode of transport. The very structure of its society is oriented towards cyclists: recycling bins are at the right height for cyclists to use, free copies of the Metro newspaper are rolled up and tossed, and snow is plowed from bike lanes before car roads (Grescoe 140). Bike lanes are physically separated from roads by barriers and a slightly raised platform, with unidirectional lanes (Grescoe 142). Further, bikes are part of a wider public transportation network, so cyclists

can seamlessly transfer from mode to mode (*Copenhagen: Solutions for Sustainable Cities*).

These efforts strive to capitalize on a city's characteristics, such as density, while also using the city's resources to make life easier for cyclists. These initiatives are crucial to glean all the benefits from the system: without smart networks the infrastructure wouldn't be used.

An expansive network of lanes allows people from all over Copenhagen can ride, expanding the economic benefit and lowering per-capita emissions. The city provides 58 km of scenic and secluded "Greenways" for bikers' convenience (*The Bicycle Account 2014*) and 38.5 km of superhighways available for users (*The Bicycle Account 2014 5*). Many of these roads are integrated into the PLUSnet, a well-maintained network with more lanes and spaces for bikers (*Good, Better, Best 11*). Copenhagen's blend of targeted measures and ample infrastructure provides options and thus leads to the overarching goal of well-used sustainable transportation.

Already, 45% of journeys to work in Copenhagen are traveled by bicycle, significantly higher than other European cities. The number is even more striking when only residents of Copenhagen are included: 63% of these citizens bike to work or school (*The Bicycle Account 2014 5*).

Public Transportation:

Smart public transportation is one of the most efficient and green methods to move people. Copenhagen has a multi-faceted network, incorporating a metro, buses, and the s-train. Again, its systems are well used: in 2011, the network carried 54.3 million passengers (*Copenhagen: European Green Capital 2014 34*). To better integrate the city, Copenhagen has implemented the "Five-finger Plan", entailing 5 transport corridors that minimize travelling distance between urban and green areas (*Case Study: Copenhagen, Denmark 1*). The metro, an ergonomically oriented system with no turnstiles, low floors, and 11 commuter trains into the suburbs, makes riding the metro more seamless and enjoyable (Grescoe 140). Though public

transport is ample, with some joking that the system already has too much public transport (Grescoe 140), Copenhagen is further expanding with Cityringen, a 15km underground railway with 17 new underground stations. When completed by 2018, travel time will be less than 24 minutes to travel anywhere in the city (*Case Study: Copenhagen, Denmark 2*). These options provide incentive for citizens to utilize lower carbon transportation to reduce their carbon footprint and avoid the costs of automobile use. As 90% of Copenhageners' journeys are walked, cycled, or by public transportation, the development is clearly well used (*The Bicycle Account 2014 4*).

Environmental Implications

Carbon Dioxide Emissions

Carbon dioxide is a potent greenhouse gas that contributes to global warming. Compared to other OECD countries, Copenhagen yields low per capita carbon emissions. In fact, carbon emissions actually were reduced between 2000 and 2010, reducing the previous trend (Floater et al). To achieve the city's goal CO₂ reduction of 10%, the city is advocating an increase in bike and public transport as well as hydrogen and electric cars (*Copenhagen: European Green Capital 2014 35*). Emissions declined from around 3.7 to 1.7 million tonnes between 1991 and 2012, a 53% decrease; simultaneously, the population of Copenhagen increased by 16%. This corresponds to a 59% fall from 7.9 to 3.2 tonnes CO₂ per capita (Floater et al. 69).

A recent study further found that 90,000 tonnes of CO₂ are reduced annually as a result of cycling alone (*Copenhagen: Solutions for Sustainable Cities*). Public transportation also plays a part: using the Metro instead of travelling alone by car drops a Copenhageners' carbon dioxide emissions drop by 83% (*Copenhagen: Solutions for Sustainable Cities 19*).

In the context of a growing and developing world, these numbers mean a lot. The population is increasing and so is per-capita wealth; a reduction of carbon emissions shows that a comfortable lifestyle is possible in a low-energy context. Though climate change caused by greenhouse gases will affect people on a global scale, local actions will both set a model for future ideals of development and create a sustainable microcosm for its citizens.

Economic Benefits

Unfortunately, in our current economic system, public transportation and other programs cannot be evaluated by environmental impact alone. The monetary benefit to cities and countries must be considered to further discover the benefits of public and active transport. This may seem like a lot of infrastructure, and the cost of the 500km planned routes of superhighway will be between 60 and 129 million US (The Concept). However, statistics demonstrate that every 6 miles biked saves 3 ½ tons of CO2 emissions and 9 cents in health care (McGrane). With an estimated 15,000 new people, this adds up to 60 million saved dollars in healthcare from the finished highway alone (Beardsly).

The benefits are numerous. Travel times and congestion are reduced, increasing economic productivity. Cycling offers a low-cost alternative to cars, thus available to more people and at a larger scale. Based on purchase price and maintenance, cycling costs the owner \$0.07 per km cycled while car driving costs the owner \$ 0.44 per km driven (Jensen). Further, healthier citizens who bike reduce overall health care costs by about 4.72 DKK per km cycled (The Bicycle Account 2010 18). Copenhagen chose to view external costs borne by the people and environment as tangible, and the city has reaped the benefits: It has avoided 43,025,607 US\$ of external costs between 1995 and 2010; the biggest contributor to these savings is less congestion (*Copenhagen: Solutions for Sustainable Cities* 15).

Overall, with under 1 billion DKK spent over a 50 year period on the bike highway, the city will receive a 19% rate of return (The Bicycle Account 2012 15). Not a bad investment!

Cost- Benefit analysis

The cost of infrastructure for public transportation can be a barrier for cities to adopt suitable systems. However, when economic and environmental externalities are quantified and included in assessments, the results show that such investments are economically sound in the long term. One recent, independent study published in Ecological Economics compares the cost of cars and bicycles to establish the true costs of automobiles when the health and environmental implications are considered. All things considered, a cost/km of cycling is .08 Euro and a cars .5 euro. If only social costs are considered, each bicycle kilometer travelled is actually a gain to society. A summary of the considered factors is provided below (Gössling and Choi 7).

Average cost per kilometer for cycling/car, summary for 2008 (Euro). Source: COWI and Københavns Kommune (2009).

	Cycling (16 km/h)			Car (50 km/h)			
	Private	Social	Total	Private	Social	Duties	Total
Time costs (travel time)	0.672	0	0.672	0.215	0	0	0.215
Vehicle operating costs	0.044	0	0.044	0.296	0	-0.159	0.137
Prolonged life	-0.358	0.008	0.348	0	0	0	0
Health	-0.149	-0.242	-0.391	0	0	0	0
Accidents	0.034	0.073	0.105	0	0.030	0	0.030
Branding/tourism	0	-0.003	-0.003	—	—	0	—

Air pollution	0	0	0	0	0.00 4	0	0.00 4
Climate change	0	0	0	0	0.00 5	0	0.00 5
Noise	0	0	0	0	0.04 8	0	0.04 8
Road deterioration	0	0	0	0	0.00 1	0	0.00 1
Congestion	0	0	0	0	0.06 2	0	0.06 2
Total	0.243	- 0.164	0.081	0.511	0.15 2	-0.159	0.50 3

Cars sustain a variety of costs, both direct and subsidiary. Car operating costs are considerably higher, due to fuel, repair, and maintenance. Environmental damage in terms of air pollution and climate change increase cars' costs. Cars also incur costs of congestion, measured in delays in driving, while bicycles do not. Finally, cars sustain infrastructure deterioration costs (Gössling and Choi 5).

Bicycles also implicate certain economic damages, like time travelled. On the whole, however, cyclists gain a slew of health benefits that car riders do not. The health benefits include fewer sick days, fewer medical expenses and treatments, and an increase in life expectancy of .025 years per year of cycling (Gössling and Choi 7). The total health benefit of Copenhageners cycling is around .8 dollars per kilometer, or \$380 million per year (Gerdes).

Further, Copenhagen's bicycle branding contributes to about 23% of its tourism (Wiking) calculated at 3.4 billion DKK or 506080480.00 US Dollars ("Wonderful Copenhagen-- Annual Report 2013"). Though the CBA was limited in that it did not include perceived safety, recreational value, or value of open urban spaces, it offers valuable insight into the true economics of bikes and cars (Gössling and Choi 7).

Other studies offered a diversity of views. One found that cycling benefits society with \$ 0.25 per km cycled while cars costs society .14 dollars per km (Jensen). Yet another maintains that Copenhagen saves 7.8 cents for every kilometer biked instead of driven by car, earning the city a little over \$34 million each year (Gerdes). A third found that the external, or society's, cost of bikes are -3.65 DKK (.54 USD) per km- a benefit to society. On the other hand, the external costs of cars are 3.38DKK (.5 USD) per km (Willumsen and Røhl 5). In all cases, cars are more expensive to the city than bikes.

When considering effects to the environment and society, bicycles are the more economical choice. Investments in bicycle infrastructure will improve cities in multiple ways while incurring less cost per kilometer than a car. Right now, the benefits of cycling to society in Copenhagen are numerous; additionally, rates of return may increase over time as costs of gas increase and air pollution and climate change become more problematic (Gössling and Choi 8).

Bogotá

"An advanced city is not a place where the poor move about in cars, rather it's where even the rich use public transportation."
-Mayor Peñalosa (qtd. In Folmar)

The city of Bogotá is quite different from the very rich, developed area of Copenhagen. The city has had its fair share of conflicts, such as La Violencia, the Coca boom, and the FARC paramilitary group (Leech). However, this city of over 10 million people is much different from what history or popular media tells us: Bogotá is now a quarter of Colombia's economy and the 5th most economically important city in Latin America (Alsema). Moreover, it is a place that people are proud to be from: proud of its urban parks, green initiatives, and fights against inequality (Grescoe 210-211). So, how does a city start and maintain a transition to a more

sustainable transport system in this budding context? Slowly, but smartly, with room for error and growth.

Transmilenio

Before the Bus Rapid Transit System of Transmilenio, the transport system in Bogotá was unorganized and inefficient. The overabundance of independent bus operators led to extreme congestion and heavy air pollution (Turner, Kooshian, and Winkelman 5). After a series of proposals, including an elevated highway, the mayor decided on the relatively cheap and highly productive Bus Rapid Transit (Peñalosa).

What is Bus Rapid Transit? It is basically a bus-metro hybrid, made up of a high-capacity fleet of coordinated buses on the road. There are specific Transmilenio corridors in which buses and cars are banned; in this way, there is no traffic in the special avenues, reducing travel time by 32% (Turner, Kooshian, and Winkelman 6). Congestion is also reduced due to a lower number of buses--already, the project has replaced 9,000 disparate buses with 1200 large, unified buses (Turner, Kooshian, and Winkelman 9). Further, the lower number of buses and improved efficiency reduced Bogotá's bus fuel use by 59% (*Reducing Traffic Congestion in Bogotá Through Bus Rapid Transit and Non-Motorized Transport* 5). Technological advances, such as GPS, a door opening system and raised platforms create a more user-friendly system, increasing usage (*Reducing Traffic Congestion in Bogotá Through Bus Rapid Transit and Non-Motorized Transport* 3).

To truly make the BRT system a network, pedestrian bridges, walkways, and bike lanes are provided (*Tool for Rapid Assessment of City Energy-- Bogotá, Colombia* 18), making Transmilenio into part of a larger system of options for users. Ultimately, average commute times in the city have been cut by 20 minutes and accidents decreased by 79% (*Reducing Traffic*

Congestion in Bogotá Through Bus Rapid Transit and Non-Motorized Transport 2). To connect citizens living in more outside or disparate parts of the city to the main corridors, feeder routes are also provided (Turner, Kooshian, and Winkelman 9). This extends benefits to poorer individuals.

During peak hours along the Caracas avenue corridor, the system has the capacity to transport 46,000 passengers per hour per direction (Turner, Kooshian, and Winkelman 8). Per day, this number is even more astonishing: there is a daily ridership of 1.6 million (Carrigan et al. 9). 1.6 million cars on the road would be devastating for the congestion, air pollution, and time loss in the city. Thus, the city has capitalized on its exploding human capital to lower its impact and extend benefits to more citizens.

The city is also testing some electric buses on feeder routes (*Tool for Rapid Assessment of City Energy-- Bogotá, Colombia* 19), and, recently on the trunk line. According to CCTV America, a new, fully electric TransMilenio bus was inaugurated in June 2015. Compared to a diesel bus, emissions are cut 100%!

Though many complain about congestion, the Transmilenio has quite a job: the system is responsible for 25% of transit trips in Bogota (Turner, Kooshian, and Winkelman 10). Nevertheless, I understand where citizens are coming from: on my trip, I saw buses crammed with people, and many of the teens I met dreaded riding the main buses. However, the system is being implemented in phases, so the network far from complete (Carrigan et al. 53). As the supply of buses catches up with demand, the Transmilenio will start to work better. Far from just solving the problem of safe and controlled public transport, Transmilenio has had large economic and environmental implications, and the system and the city isn't done yet. The project is a

model that has been adopted in many other cities in Colombia and offers a standard for cities in similar contexts in South America (Turner, Kooshian, and Winkelman 6)

Cycling

Though Transmilenio mobilizes millions of people, Bogotá is also creating a more fertile space for biking. An elaborate 344 km network of routes constructed for bikes is available (*Reducing Traffic Congestion in Bogotá Through Bus Rapid Transit and Non-Motorized Transport* 3). A major keystone in biking policy is Ciclovía, in which 118km of roads are closed down on Sundays to make room for bikers and pedestrians. Aerobics classes and food stands are integrated to create a fun place to exercise and spend time with others (“Streetfilms-Ciclovía”). The system is making much more than a local impact: cities such as New York City and London have adapted Bogotá’s model (Boselli et al. 38).

The modal share of biking has increased from .58% in 1998 to 5% in 2010 (Otto-Zimmermann). Though this is small compared to Copenhagen, this is no small feat for such a large city like Bogotá: there are 485,000 daily trips on the lanes (*Tool for Rapid Assessment of City Energy-- Bogotá, Colombia* 25) and more than one million participants on Sunday’s Ciclovía (Traves). In growing and prosperous cities like Bogotá, even a small change can have a big impact; thus, it is important to encourage sustainable growth to improve our worldwide air quality and foster mutual economic growth. To catch up with demand, the city plans to expand this network by 145 kilometers to better connect the cycle lanes to public transport (*Tool for Rapid Assessment of City Energy-- Bogotá, Colombia* 25).

Environmental Implications

Carbon Emissions

The transport system in Bogota is responsible for almost 40% of greenhouse gas emissions, according to 2008 numbers. Though annual CO₂ emissions, about 1.89 tons per capita, are high (though nowhere near as high as in the US), Bogotá aims to reduce its emissions by 16% (*Bogotá Climate Close-up*). Between 2013 and 2019, the United Nations UNFCC estimates that Transmilenio will reduce 4,052,426 tons of CO₂, a 50% reduction from baseline emissions. (Appendix A) (*Clean Development Mechanism Project Design Document Form 9*). Another study found that Transmilenio already reduces carbon emissions by 350,000 tons annually (Begue CCTV). The impact goes further than Transmilenio, however: coupled with new regulations, nearly 1 million tCO₂ is saved annually (qtd. in Carrigan et al. 14). Along with the efficient engines, which emit half the CO₂ of traditional buses (Rosenthal), the system as a whole is more streamlined and effective, removing unnecessary routes and buses. Bicycles have also been proven to have an effect on carbon emissions: between 2000 and 2007, CO₂ was reduced by 3,800 tons due to the increase in biking (*Tool for Rapid Assessment of City Energy-- Bogotá, Colombia* 25). Of course, these are all estimates, and many sources have different data. This is a flaw in calculating environmental impact: first, actually measuring the numbers, then, determining the cause of changes.

Economic Implications

The Transmilenio system is able to generate revenue through Certified Emission Reductions. With a medium price of 10 USD/ ton of CO₂, the system could generate 1,726,000 CERS, translated into 17,300,000 USD for the first crediting period alone. With expected expansions and renewals, the system will generate around 80-170 million USD (*Clean*

Development Mechanism Project Design Document Form 31). This is a big step for Bogotá and sustainable transport, because it demonstrates that the incentive systems we have in place are working and can bring sizeable economic benefits to cities that initiate change.

There have also been local economic implications. Transmilenio has increased property values along the main corridor by 15-20% (Turner, Kooshian, and Winkelman 6) and provided 1,500 new jobs (Crawford). One study showed that proximity (between 750 and 1500 meters away) to bus rapid transit stations in Bogotá led to a 13% increase in income in low and middle class income (Heres, Jack, and Salon 19-20). The system offers a lower fare than buses, making Transmilenio more affordable for all, especially low income groups (Echeverry et al. 152).

Biking also has an economic benefit. While the cost of one kilometer of cycle path built in Bogotá is \$600,000, the cost of one kilometer of a 30-meter wide road is \$6.5 million (Otto-Zimmermann). The innovative Ciclovía is profitable as well: though the program costs 6 dollars per capita, \$3.23--\$4.26 in direct medical costs were saved per dollar spent (Montes et al.). Overall, the cost benefit ratio of cycling is an astounding 1:7, with the benefits coming mostly from road safety, infrastructure, and time savings (Buis 5).

Cost Benefit Analysis

The first phase of Transmilenio in 2001 totaled to 213 million USD, while the second in 2006 added 245 million USD (Turner, Kooshian, and Winkelman 8). With recent developments and planned expansion, the cost is estimated to total at 2.4 billion. Is the cost justified?

The Cost Benefit Analysis performed by EMBARQ on the first two phases found that the benefits do outweigh the costs. The net present benefit was discovered to be 1,400 million USD, a Benefit-Cost ratio of 1.6 (Carrigan et al. 98). The biggest beneficiaries are newly mobilized lower strata groups (Carrigan et al. 49), and all citizen experienced lower travel times (Carrigan

et al. 98). Further, TransMilenio provides reliable transport and feeder buses to reach most parts of the city (Carrigan et al. 56).

Another CBA on phase 1 alone calculated net benefits at 3.7 million dollars for users (Echeverry et al. 179). The study emphasizes that users benefited from Transmilenio, though non-users earned ambiguous rewards, sometimes even negative spillovers (Echeverry et al. 169-171). The study goes on to highlight that once the system is fully constructed to more areas, any negative spillovers would be eliminated (Echeverry et al. 181).

Conclusion

As is evident, public transportation and bicycling have many more implications than merely mobility. The case studies of Bogotá and Copenhagen demonstrate that functional and profitable networks can be developed within environmental parameters.

Through examining publications and reports from both governmental and non-governmental sources, as well as raw data, mathematical analyses, traditional news sources, and literature, I believe I have widened my scope of sources to include varied data in my essay. I gave ample background and description of the public transport and bicycle infrastructure, as well as contextualized the cities. To fully discover the environmental impacts, I had to include statistics, raw data (when available), and projections, as well as studies and reports. The economic basis was mainly found through cost-benefit analyses; I included a few different reports to offer diversity and perspective. The CBA incorporated environmental impact, offering another view besides CO2 emissions. I wish I had more space and more resources to further develop more ideas; unfortunately, some aspects were limited due to a lack of data and the word count. In addition, I would love to investigate how a low-income state can kick off economic growth

through functional and efficient transportation systems. Nonetheless, through this investigation, I advanced my understanding of both the economic and environmental benefits; further, I saw how these consequences intermingled with social equality and time savings.

Now more than ever, sustainability issues are on the table and they are key for the success of our world. My investigation demonstrates that all cities can play a key in bettering the economical and environmental situation of their citizens. Bogotá, breaking through stereotypes to create one of the largest and most successful BRT systems to date, and Copenhagen, pushing harder than ever to create bicycle friendly infrastructure and an integrated network—these cities prove that sustainable transport is not only possible, but necessary. Is your city next?

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Appendix A

Projected Carbon Dioxide Emissions Bogotá

Year	Estimation of project activity emissions (tCO2)	Estimation of baseline emissions (tCO2)	Estimation of overall emission reductions (tCO2)
2013	626,598	1,117,514	490,916
2014	639,294	1,199,968	560,674
2015	652,746	1,206,919	554,173
2016	662,295	1,199,243	536,947
2017	660,117	1,302,210	642,093
2018	667,066	1,297,973	630,907
2019	693,333	1,330,049	636,716
Total (tCO2)	4,601,450	8,653,876	4,052,427

(Clean Development Mechanism Project Design Document Form 51)

Estimate of Income through the Sale of CERs (low, medium, high price scenario)

	USD 3/tCO2	USD 10/tCO2	USD 19/tCO2
Projected Total CERs first crediting period	1,726,000	1,726,000	1,726,000
Expected Income in USD first crediting period	5,200,000	17,300,000	32,800,000

(Clean Development Mechanism Project Design Document Form 31)

The Beneficial Effects of World War I on Today's World

By Paul Silva

The so called "Great War" greatly affected the world in which we live in today in numerous positive and negative manners. Imitating the idealist Woodrow Wilson who always sought to find good in any situation, I will focus on the positive effects that World War I had on the world in which we live in today. Through the introduction and establishment of international institutions to promote peace and foster cooperation between states, the Great War cemented many of the current beneficial international political norms that seek to create a more just world order based on democratic ideals.

Prior to World War I, stability on the European continent was achieved through a fragile balance of power, which was created by a tenuous series of secret alliances. Long considered a declining power in Europe, the Austro-Hungarian Empire still managed to govern over a series of distinct nations, some of which began to clamor for self-autonomy and self-determination in the early twentieth century. The assassination of Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand by Serbian nationalists initiated the war and began the chain reaction of allies rushing to aid either Austria-Hungary or Serbia. Russia, proclaiming its resolve to aid its Slavic Serbian cousins, rushed to declare war on the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which then was joined by Germany. After all of the pieces fell in place and the contents of the secret alliances were manifested, Russia, France, and Great Britain formed the Triple Entente while Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Italy formed the opposing Triple Alliance. In spite of the cult of the offensive and the prevailing belief that the War would end within months, "the nations were caught in a trap, a trap made during the first thirty days out of battles that failed to be decisive, a trap from which there was, and has been, no exit" (Tuchman, 524). The Great War ultimately lasted four years.

Recognizing the devastating effect that the secret alliances had on enlarging what could have been a Balkan War into a World War, Woodrow Wilson vehemently fought for the establishment of the League of Nations to promote the cause of peace through collective security. In the League of Nation's Covenant, the preamble declares "In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations to not resort to war..." ("The Avalon Project : The Versailles Treaty"). The aforementioned text is unprecedented and a watermark moment in world history and international relations. Being the most powerful actors on the international stage, states from around the world had never forfeited their option of initiating war through treaty obligation. The previous world order, rooted in the Concert of Europe in 1815, was founded around the principle of military interventionism to prevent a liberal revolution from overtaking another one of Europe's monarchies. With European capitals ravaged, casualties hovering around 38 million people ("WWI Casualty and Death Table") and millions more displaced, world leaders recognized not only the need for a new era of transparency on the international stage, but they also recognized and acted on the need for a new institution, whose sole purpose was to prevent the onset of another costly, casualty-filled, cataclysmic war.

However, even though the great powers of the world recognized, established, and were bound by treaty obligations to the League of Nations' Covenant, the League of Nations failed in its main goal and watched helplessly as a more devastating, gas filled clouds of World War II descended upon Europe and the rest of the world. Many critics of the League of Nations have since argued that it had too little power and had too ambitious goals of disarmament. It had such little power and had no army to support its mandates thus "the Council's task was merely to recommend what contributions member states should make to the armed forces to protect the

covenants of the League” (Cliometrica, “Why Did the League of Nations Fail?”). Because of that, the successor international institution, the United Nations, formed after World War II, immediately sought to remedy those faults in the League of Nation’s structure and make good on its predecessor’s legacy. With regards to its goals, the United Nations, recognizing that it would be vain to attempt to coerce states to reduce armaments, only sought to mandate that parties “shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice” In addition, the United Nations was much more successful in achieving near universal membership boasting 193 member states while the League of Nations could only boast 63 members.

The United Nations does not exist without flaws. Unfortunately for the cause of world peace, the United Nations, composed of autonomous member states, lacks any power to coerce member states to obey any recommendation that the United Nations issues. States still exist as the highest form of authority in the International Realm. In spite of these shortfalls, the United Nations, the successor institution of the revolutionary League of Nations, can exert pressure on belligerent member states, when all members of the Security Council are in accordance. For example, when Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein illegally invaded Iraq in the Persian Gulf War, the United Nations, wielding the military power of its five permanent Security Council members, authorized the U.S. led coalition to utilize “all necessary means” (Quigley, 3) to expel the Iraqi forces from Kuwait. The U.S. led coalition, backed by the authorization of the United Nations, succeeded in forcing Saddam Hussein to pull his military assets out of Kuwait and thus the war abated. This example displays not only the potential for great success in creating a more just world but also manifests the legacy of the League of Nations, which although it did not succeed

in its goals, laid the foundation for a more peaceful world. If it had not been for the creation of the League of Nations, there is definitely a chance that the United Nations in its current form would not exist. Thus, the League of Nations created a legacy of member states working to achieve a more just world order through collective security and the prevention of aggrandizement of power through illegal annexations or invasions of sovereign states. But the League of Nations did not only create a lasting legacy in the promotion of peace through collective security and international law but it also sought to promote the general welfare of the international citizenry.

Secondly, the legacy of the League of Nations has increased international cooperation not only for international security purposes but also for humanitarian purposes. With the catastrophic effects of the “Great War” leaving no one’s life in Europe unaffected, the League of Nations resolved to improve the social and economic conditions in the war ravaged states. Although this must have seemed extremely odd to the *realpolitik* mentality of the international community in the 1920’s the League’s motives for supporting humanitarian efforts can be summed up by Rachel Crowdy’s assessment, which states “You may disarm the world, you may reduce your troops or abolish your battleships, but unless you introduce better economic conditions, better social conditions and better health conditions into the world, you will not be able to maintain peace even if you obtain it” (153-154). She goes on to mention that the newly founded League of Nations not only coordinated the return of 400,000 Russian prisoners of war to their homes and the reduction of the typhus outbreak in Poland following the war but also initiated programs to combat human trafficking of women and children. Being that the League of Nations was funded by all of its member states and that it boasted employees from countries around the world, the League of Nations drew member states together for the cause of humanity

and for promoting the general welfare of the global populace. Even though humanitarian aid has its origins in the Enlightenment Era, the fact that member-states funded and provided employees with which the League of Nations could perform its humanitarian work, displays the increasing cooperation between states and manifests the increased emphasis between states on human rights issues.

Today, the United Nations carries on the legacy of fostering cooperation on humanitarian issues as well. Billions of people living in less developed countries have benefited from the humanitarian work that the United Nations performs. Embedded in the United Nations Charter, one of the main purposes of the United Nations is “to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character”(Chapter V, U.N.). Acting on the legacy of its predecessor, the United Nations first acted on the aforementioned principle through its humanitarian efforts to rebuild Europe’s economy and reunite Europe’s scattered families after World War II. Now the United Nations boasts four key humanitarian entities-the U.N. Development Program, U.N. Refugee Agency, U.N. Children’s Fund, and the World Food Program. All of these programs not only help make the lives of billions of people better but they also, representing all 193 member states of the United Nations, demonstrate the will and power of international cooperation in creating a fairer, more decent world for all of its citizens.

In conclusion, the devastating and tragic Great War led to the formation of the League of Nations. With the intention to create a more just world through the promotion of peace and the encouragement of cooperation, the League of Nations set the foundation for a more successful United Nations. Realizing its predecessors’ goals, the United Nations has contributed to the creation of a world in which peace loving coalitions quell belligerent states and human rights are

revered. Guided by the ideals of its predecessor, the United Nations represents an enduring legacy of the Woodrow Wilson's idealistic determination to construct a new world order from the rubble of the Great War.

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Germany and the Syrian Refugee Crisis:

The Economic Reinforcement Provided by Asylum Seekers

By Megan Weeren

Plagued by civil war, the conflict in Syria embodies one of the greatest humanitarian crises in world history. Since the outbreak of conflict in March 2011, more than 11.6 million people have become refugees as a result of the war (MercyCorps, 2016). Aiding the population of displaced people poses an unprecedented challenge for the global community. As one of the regions most porous borders, the Mediterranean Sea has served as a popular means of passage for many fleeing refugees seeking asylum in Europe. Countries such as Austria, Greece, Germany and Sweden are among the states that have agreed to accept migrants amidst the current crisis. The influx of refugees has so far had varying degrees of effect on the respective countries. The effect that this refugee crisis will have on European economies, specifically, remains an overarching concern throughout the European Union and its member states. Given that Germany remains the recipient of the largest number of asylum applications within the European Union, it is likely that the country will experience a number of economic impacts as a result of its increased migrant population (UNHCR, 2015). This paper seeks to examine the potential positive consequences that the migrant influx could impose on the overall economy of Germany over time. If integrated properly, the influx of Syrian refugees could have a positive impact on economic growth for the country in the long-term. Such long-term positive impacts could include an increased Gross Domestic Product (GDP) for the country in the long-term in addition to increased employment rates due to increased human capital.

EU Member States have responded to the refugee crisis in uneven fashion. Although various measures have been implemented to display institutional and financial solidarity in

regards to asylum policies and member states, not all states have accepted Syrian refugees amidst the crisis (Carrera et al. 2015, 12). Since the beginning of the conflict, the increase in Syrian asylum seekers has been concentrated in five of the EU member states: Germany, Sweden, and Belgium representing the top three countries (Fargues and Fandrich 2012, 6). For Germany, the massive influx of Syrian refugees began in early 2015 (Chu, 2015). During that year alone, 1.1 million people entered the country as a result of the open-door policy (Preisinger, 2016). As the number of entering refugees continues to rise, citizens are wary of the impacts such a growing population could have on the country. It is imperative to note however, that this is not Germany's first experience with a large migrant influx. In the 1960s and 1970s, migrant workers flocked to West Germany through the initiative of the Gastarbeiterprogramm. Here, Turkish citizens were the preponderant population of migrant workers, many of them coming from poverty-stricken rural areas in search of labor opportunities (Castles 1985, 530). Although the program emanated as a result of labor shortages following World War II, the effects of migrant influx then and now could share similar aspects economically speaking.

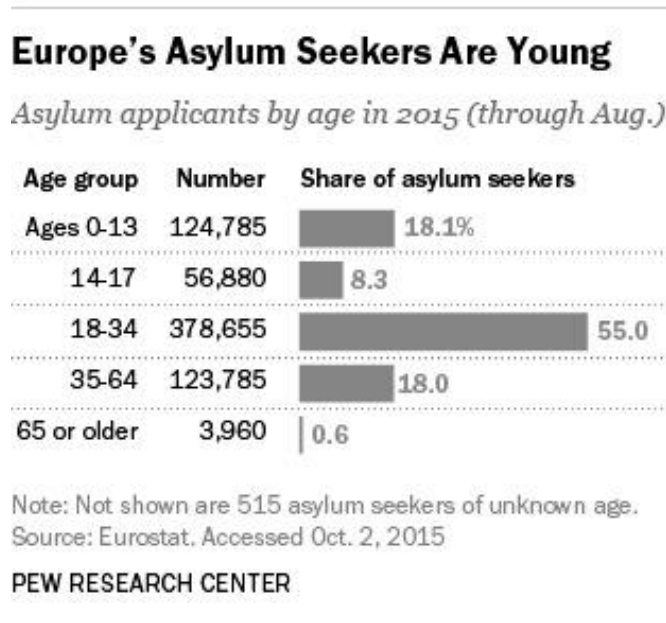
The current influx of refugees will allow for an expansion in labor supply and human capital as refugees are integrated into the workforce. The amount of expansion, however, will depend on the way in which the migrants are integrated, the degree to which they are integrated and also the speed at which they are integrated. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has proposed that in order to benefit most from the incoming refugee population, rapid labor market integration is crucial (IMF 2016, 4). Overall employment rates will likely rise for the country as refugees are transitioned into wage labor. This is especially probable for refugees possessing significant skill sets, including those who are proficient in German reading and writing (IMF 2016, 16). According to Deutsche Welle, as of January 2016 a total of 103,000 foreigners were

registered as unemployed within the country (2016). Despite this number, German unemployment rates remain at historic lows; the month of January 2016 boasts a rate of just 6.2 percent, the lowest level since German reunification in 1990 (Federal Labor Agency, 2016). As refugees continue to enter the German work force and join the labor supply, it is likely that unemployment rates will continue to remain low, maintaining a relatively stable situation for the economy as a whole. The impact from a larger labor force with favorable skill sets may also contribute to an increase in the level of GDP for Germany. The European Commission predicts this increase in GDP level to reach about 1.9% by the year 2017 (European Commission Economic Forecast 2015, 26).

The economy of Germany ranks as the largest national economy in Europe. The service sector of the economy contributes approximately 70% of the country's total GDP. Industry accounts for about 29.1% and agriculture 0.9% (Sinn 2011,2). Due to its predominance, it is likely that the service sector will, in the future, play a vital part in integrating incoming refugees into the labor market. According to the official statistics portal of Munich, working refugees will be especially useful in the country's understaffed lines of work, such as nursing and geriatric care (Muenchen.de, 2014). Although a downside for refugees, the IMF has urged EU member states that are accepting refugees to derogate minimum wage levels for working refugees. In this scenario, immigrants would earn 20% less than native workers with similar characteristics when they enter the country. While wages of these immigrants rise by a point each year, the increases slow over time, and wages never fully converge. This reflects what is considered "skill downgrading" (IMF 2016, 16). Such a cut on minimum wage will likely reduce German public spending on refugees.

In addition to enhancing the labor supply, the refugee surge may also alter the age distribution of the country, further strengthening fiscal sustainability. Fertility levels in Germany are low compared to other European countries, creating an aging population problem for the country (Kluge 2013, 38). Such low fertility rates are also coupled with a rising life expectancy at birth, which, for Germany, has resulted the highest old-age dependency ratio in all of Europe (Kluge 2013, 39). The Federal Statistical Office of Germany predicts that by 2060 only half of the country's population will be of working- age (20-64 years of age)(2015, 6). The migrant crisis may however propose a solution to this. According to recent data compiled by Eurostat, 55% of the refugees who had formally applied for asylum in EU countries in 2015 were ages 18 to 34 (see Figure 1) (Eurostat, 2015). This favorable age demographic of incoming refugees will likely increase the working- age population of the country, thus renewing the supply of wageworkers on whom the country's old age population depends.

Figure 1. Age Demographics of Asylum Seekers in the EU



In order to best enhance the working population size, least-restrictive policies could help open paths to labor markets for refugees. Allowing refugees to work throughout the asylum application phase in addition to providing wage subsidies for private employers may be effective methods of expediting the growth of the working population (IMF 2016, 5).

One of the most extensive positive consequences of the refugee crisis will be an increase in overall GDP for Germany. Indeed, this growth is in part the result of an increased labor supply and working-age population. However this growth is also the outcome of increased spending in support of asylum seekers. Additional spending for provisional goods such as housing, health, food and education will increase demand for goods and services within the economy. In Germany, asylum seekers receive provisions through initial welcome centers. During this time, while asylum applications are reviewed, refugees receive a stipend of €143 (approximately \$161) per month per adult. After the initial application review phase, a single applicant for asylum is given €359 (approximately \$405) by the state (Hasselbach, 2015). Through this admittance program, refugees receive a two-year temporary residence permit, which can be extended upon request (Ostrand 2015, 267). The increase in GDP for Germany will likely be small initially, given that refugees only account for a small percentage of the country's overall population. However, over time the level of GDP could potentially increase further, assuming that the integration of refugees into the labor market proceeds successfully (IMF 2016, 12). Another avenue through which overall GDP may be increased is through foreign trade exports. In a study conducted by Bahcekapili and Centin on the Syrian refugee movements and its economic effects on the Southeastern Anatolia region, foreign trade balance improved as a result of the commercial activities of Syrian refugees with other regional countries, thus increasing host countries' exports to these regions (2015,4). Certainly, a similar circumstance and outcome

cannot simply be assumed for countries such as Germany, but rather can be considered as an additional possible vehicle for future growth.

Despite the evidence supporting the theory the influx of Syrian refugees could have a positive impact on economic growth for the country in the long- term, opposing arguments of this proposition exist. Some opponents of this premise focus their assertions around the potential negative consequences of the refugee influx on the German economy. Much of these assertions derive from a short-term outlook on the effects of the refugees. A prevalent argument suggests that incoming refugees may pose a threat to local or native workers. Foged and Peri suggest that asylum seekers with less valuable skill sets and lower education levels displace native workers with similar skill sets. Foged and Peri found that immigrants pushed the less educated native workers to pursue other occupations (Foged and Peri 2015, 3). Such added competition in low-skill work fields may also place wages under pressure for workers. With a larger pool of employees, it is possible that the minimum wage will be decreased (Sinn 2015, 35).

In theory, immigration, similarly to free trade, creates surplus, which when redistributed, allows the domestic population to be better off. However, not all natives are generally sympathetic to immigrants (Bahcekapili and Cetin 2015, 1). Public perception of the increased number of refugees is another argument pointing to the potential negative consequences of the migration influx. Public perception of the crisis could negatively impact economic confidence in the economy. One avenue of decreased public confidence may stem from unemployment fears among the domestic population. Should the skepticism be felt widely, growth momentum of private consumption within the economy may be lowered (European Commission Economic Forecast 2015, 46).

Despite the arguments of the opposition, many of the proposed short-term issues associated with economic impacts of the refugee crisis will smooth over time. Although native workers in low-skill level jobs may be initially displaced, studies indicate that displacement may push native workers towards occupations with higher amounts of specialization, allowing for progress in workers' professional careers (Farré, 2015). Additionally, over time public confidence in the economy will likely increase amidst the migrant influx as GDP growth and aggregate demand increase, thus reassuring the native population of the economy's relative stability.

In addition to economic impact, the incoming asylum seekers have also had significant impact on many social aspects of Germany. Such social aspects will inevitably impact certain facets of the economy. As refugees continue to enter the country, diversity within Germany will continue to expand. With an increase in cultural diversity throughout the country, a wider variety of goods and services may be available to consumers (Basu 2016, 3). The migration influx may also have an impact on health care systems for the country. According to a study by Giuntella et al, collected data suggests that higher immigration in an area reduces waiting times in outpatient health care centers (Giuntella et al, 2015).

Future research should be conducted on public sentiment towards the contemporary refugee crisis in Germany. Both pro and anti-immigration sentiments have the potential for huge economic impacts on an economy such as Germany's. It would appear that current public sentiment in the country is rather diversified and regionalized and depends on migrant population size and empirical evidence of refugee assimilation within specific aspects of German society. Given the relative recentness of the crisis, such research may need to be collected over an extensive period of time. Similar to characteristics of the economy, public sentiment will likely

be dynamic over time, what may be initially perceived as a negative consequence of migration may manifest into something more positive in nature as integration continues in the future.

In conclusion, it is likely that the influx of Syrian refugees will have a positive impact on economic growth for Germany in the long- term. In order for the economy to benefit most, is imperative that integration occurs at an expeditious pace. As the population of asylum seekers continues to grow for the country, facets of the economy such as the labor supply, overall GDP and working- age population will likely expand. Despite short-term hurdles and interim adversities such as labor displacement, over the course of time such matters will assuage with assimilation. Additionally, other European Union member states must commit greater responsibility to the current refugee crisis. Although Germany is not the only country bearing the weight of the crisis, a handful of countries alone cannot solve the puzzle of placing over 11 million displaced people. Given Germany's success with refugee integration thus far, as well as the projected benefits to the country's economy, Germany may serve as a paragon to other countries questioning the potential economic advantages to welcoming refugees amidst crises.

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Negative Impacts of Tourism on a State's Economy

By Ariana Zarrella

Tourism destinations typically have an extensive amount of people in a distinct area. A concentration of customers in a relatively small region causes an increase in prices. Basic goods and services increase in demand and then cause “price hikes” (Economic Impact of Tourism, 2012). The principal dilemma with price hikes is that they affect residents in the local community negatively. The local residents’ income does not adjust to the price hike correspondingly. Residents not being able to afford goods and services in their own community can drive them away from the area, decreasing the population as well as the revenue generated.

An increase in prices resulting from tourism development may include an upsurge in real estate demand. Land values and building costs can be radically elevated (Economic Impact of Tourism, 2012). Many local residents will not be able to afford to buy or even to keep their homes or businesses once these changes transpire. Rising food prices as well as other pressures due to tourism in Tanzania have undermined efforts to decrease poverty (Nelson 5, 2012). Price increases are another aspect of tourism that would be capable of driving local residents away.

Seasonal Characteristic to Jobs

Jobs in the tourism industry are often seasonal. Local residents usually need permanent jobs they can rely on for a yearly income as opposed to just a seasonal one. Income insecurity causes panic and provides a good reason for migration to a place where finding a perpetual job is more likely. Developing countries need their residents to have consistent jobs in order to make meaningful profits from tourism. The unemployment of local residents for a large portion of the year may possibly be a contributing factor to rising poverty in developing countries (Unemployment and Poverty). Tourism may employ people, but the employment is short term.

Unfortunately, there is not much that can be done to fix the seasonal characteristic of jobs in tourism. Tourists will always be the most drawn to visiting a state in its prime weather as well as during its notable events (Corluka 26). The seasonality of tourism is probably never going to change.

There are several issues with seasonal employment besides the fact that it is not permanent. The housing and working conditions of seasonal jobs are commonly inadequate. Furthermore, medical and health benefits are normally not provided. These problems make seasonal jobs even more unappealing to workers. Despite the drawbacks, workers in developing countries are usually desperate enough to take these jobs. However, they will not last long enough to help decrease the workers' level of poverty.

Economic Dependence of the Local Community on Tourism

When tourism is the primary source of a state's income, pressure is put on the workers involved in the industry as well as the industry itself (Economic Impact of Tourism, 2012). A country that has essentially no other primary sources of income will rely on tourism too much. Natural disasters, political chaos, terrorism, or other hindrances outside the state's control will decrease tourism and cause the state to lose its primary source of income. A developing state that endures these interferences could be completely devastated. An economic recession can even ensue.

Counter Arguments and Rebuttal

It is expected that if a country promotes itself as a tourism destination that its economy will improve, especially in developing countries (Economic Impact of Tourism, 2012). The prospect of improving their economy makes promoting their country as a tourism destination very attractive to a developing country. If the state is happy to promote itself as a tourism

destination, then the residents of the state will likely be happy with tourism. In order for tourism to flourish in a state, it needs to be supported by the residents of the state (Ap and Crompton 1, 1998). Once the tourism industry is established in a state, its effect on that state's economy can be evaluated in some ways. Employment and changes in revenue are an easy way to evaluate the impact of tourism on a state's economy. The fact that employment and changes in revenue are easy to calculate means that economic impact studies that have been done on tourism usually focuses on these aspects (Ap and Crompton 5). The problem with this is that these effects tend to be positive, which means that the negative effects may go unnoticed or be neglected. It is a fact that the positive economic impacts of tourism have been considerably overestimated (Pleumarom 1, 1994). Even though developing countries have the most need for tourism and its revenue, they tend to benefit the least. Richer countries actually benefit the most from tourism because they can handle the costs and still manage to achieve a substantial income.

Conclusion

When the economic benefits of tourism compare with the costs, the case that its costs outweigh its benefits is strong. The benefits can be measured with ease and their effects seem immediate. The positive impacts generated by tourism appear to be compelling. Despite their representation, it is clear that tourism has more of a negative impact on a state's economy than a positive one. More research will undeniably need to be conducted into the long-term effects of tourism on a state's economy since there is little in current literature. When leakage, enclave tourism, infrastructure cost, increase in prices, seasonal characteristic to jobs, and economic dependence of the local community on tourism are combined, the problems they cause for the host country can be devastating.

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