

# AGORA

*Palo Alto High School's foreign affairs magazine*



## Uganda: *where we stand*

BY GREGORY DUNN page 26

**6** Nuclear Deterance

**8** Cyberwar: The Final Domain

**20** Asian Arms Race

***Protecting U.S.  
Interests from  
Brazil*** PAGE 4

# Editorial Note

The editors and presidents of Agora would like to issue an apology for content that appeared in the article "What the Mayans Knew," which was published in the 30 April issue of Agora. While Agora supports the advocacy of non-traditional viewpoints in foreign policy, we do not believe that describing a group of people as flawed without substantial evidence is appropriate.

We regret the oversight.

## What is *Agora*?

Members of Paly's Foreign Affairs Club saw a need for a publication to express opinions about foreign policy. We've created this magazine to create a new forum for Paly students to discuss foreign affairs. One of Paly's strengths is the incredible diversity of backgrounds and opinions of our students, and Agora provides a new way for students to talk about how they see the world. We could not have made this magazine without the incredible passion and outspokenness of the PALY community, as well as the generosity of ASB, and we thank you all sincerely. Enjoy!

Gregory Dunn and Nassim Fedel  
Presidents

## Submit to *Agora*

We want to hear your opinion! As part of our mission, we strive to publish student opinions on foreign affairs, from a variety of perspectives. We welcome anyone interested in foreign affairs.

*Agora* also welcomes student cartoons and drawings to supplement the licensed images in our magazine.

Contact [palajofa@gmail.com](mailto:palajofa@gmail.com) for more information.



---

*A battered Old Glory proudly waves over a Texan bridge damaged by Hurricane Ike, symbolizing the resilience of the American citizenry through hardship and strife.*

---

## Staff List

### Editors-in-Chief

Ben Hawthorne

Josh Arfin

### Presidents

Greg Dunn

Nassim Fedel

### Copy Editor

Yasna Haghdooost

### Design Editor

Anna McGarrigle

### Staff Writers

Alex Lenail

Matthew Bungarden

Jackson Miley

Will Hall

Sam Carilli

Maxwell Siegleman

### Cartoonist

Grace Fang

### Designer

Rachel Wilson

### Faculty Advisor

Adam Yonkers

# Science needed in foreign policymaking

The power of empirical science was the driving force behind the Industrial Revolution and all the progress that has come since. Any worthwhile high school science class emphasizes the importance of experimentation, teaching that hypotheses should be accepted because of experimental results rather than because of personal expectations or beliefs.

Unfortunately, the importance of science in the classroom does not always translate into many types of policy discussion. Policies that have no basis in fact are being advocated and implemented on a daily basis. Examples abound. Experimentation is not used to test the effectiveness of supply-side or Keynesian economics, yet politicians argue based on them.

The ramifications of these mistakes can be serious. For years the U.S. tried to eradicate poppy crops in Afghanistan, hoping to stop the drug trade. These efforts bore little fruit and in 2009 Richard Holbrooke, the U.S. envoy to Afghanistan, told the AP that "Eradication is a waste of money."<sup>1</sup> The U.S. has spent \$4.7 billion on eradication since 2000,<sup>2</sup> which only led to angry Afghans.

The *Agora* staff contends that significantly more effort and emphasis should be put on using science to guide policy. Science can help policy makers make decisions that are justified by something more powerful than personal conviction. Science should not be a panacea, but it can be a powerful tool in many situations.

The ideal way of using science to inform policy decisions is performing controlled, randomized experiments to determine what actions will work. For an experiment to be controlled and randomized, the subjects must be picked randomly from the population that is of interest, ensuring the biases of the experimenter do not affect the results. "Controlled" means only applying the policy action to half of the subjects. This lets the experimenter show that the changes observed in the sample were due to the policy action by comparing it to the group that did not have the policy action applied to it. Controlled, randomized experiments lead to rigorous statistical conclusions.

An example of the success of the controlled, randomized experiment is a program in Kenya and India devoted to increasing school attendance. This program was built around the results of a controlled, randomized experiment performed by the Jameel Poverty Action Lab, an organization sup-

ported by the MIT Department of Economics. JPAL was disturbed by the low school attendance in the developing world. One can easily imagine a large variety of reasons children do not attend school, and can recommend many potential policy solutions. It may seem sensible that the solution would be increasing teacher's pay in order to increase instruction quality. Instead of "going with their gut" when recommending a policy solution, JPAL performed a controlled, randomized experiment in order to determine which course of action would actually be most effective. Several solutions were tested on a number of randomly selected schools, and a control group was used to allow evaluation of the impact of the treatments.

The surprising result was that the best way to increase school attendance was inter-

*Only the irrefutable truth of scientific experimentation can provide effective grounding for policy.*

tinal worms, a type of parasite that affects 600 million school aged children worldwide.<sup>3</sup> Deworming drugs that cost between 4 and 18 cents per child per year increased attendance rates by a staggering 7.5 percent.<sup>4</sup> The effects of these drugs were even felt by those who did not receive the drugs themselves, as school-wide infections decreased. This research finding has formed the basis for a program that has provided deworming drugs to tens of millions of children, providing an effective policy solution to a serious obstacle to worldwide development thanks to scientific experimentation.

The use of controlled, randomized experiments can be very effective whenever experiments can actually be performed. As long as experimenter bias is protected against, controlled, randomized experiments are a reliable and potentially insightful way of guiding policy. If the U.S. had performed experiments to determine what the most effective method of combating the opium trade in Afghanistan was, a waste of \$4.7 billion could have been avoided and significant progress could have been made in ending the dependence of Afghan farmers on poppy farming. Whenever experiments can be used to help inform policy, they should be.

However, it is undeniable that the controlled, randomized experiment cannot efficiently guide all policy decisions. It would be extremely difficult to obtain accurate

samples in some cases. In other cases, experimentation would be unethical. However, this does not mean that policy decisions should be based only on personal conviction and history. One way to use evidence when experimentation is impossible is the construction of a model. Computer based simulations can be effective in shedding light on complex problems, even if they lack the same scientific rigor of randomized experiments.

There are dangers with trying to generalize models like the one discussed above to the real world. No matter how complex a computer model is, there is always a reasonable chance it will not reflect reality. It thus cannot be a substitute for experiments. Despite this, the promise of computer simulation will continue to grow with time. More complex computers and online communities

provide ample opportunity for studying human behavior, and lessons learned in the digital

world can be applicable to the real one. For example, there has been significant interest in the economy of the virtual reality game *Second Life*. This massively multiplayer online game is not a perfect representation of a real economy, but it still provides an excellent environment in which to experiment with economic activity. In the future, smart use of advanced computer technology could make simulation extremely powerful.

The desire to use technology in policy making may not be immediately comfortable for some. To many, experimentation belongs in the realm of physical sciences. Indeed, the social sciences are often perceived as being "mushy." Critical thinking is the more commonly accepted foundation for formulating policy. Experiments designed to yield evidence about policy are often deemed unviable. However, this is often due to a lack of effort and creativity rather than feasibility. Critical thinking, historical precedent, and group discourse look attractive at first glance, but there is much empirical evidence that these methods will fail as often as they succeed. Critical thinking is powerful but ultimately fallible. Aristotle is regarded as one of the best critical thinkers of all time, yet he drew false conclusions about science. An individual's thoughts can never be objective, and attempts to use history or critical thinking to build policy are not objective. Only the irrefutable truth of science can provide real grounding for policy, and the U.S. government should strive to use science in guiding policy as often as possible.

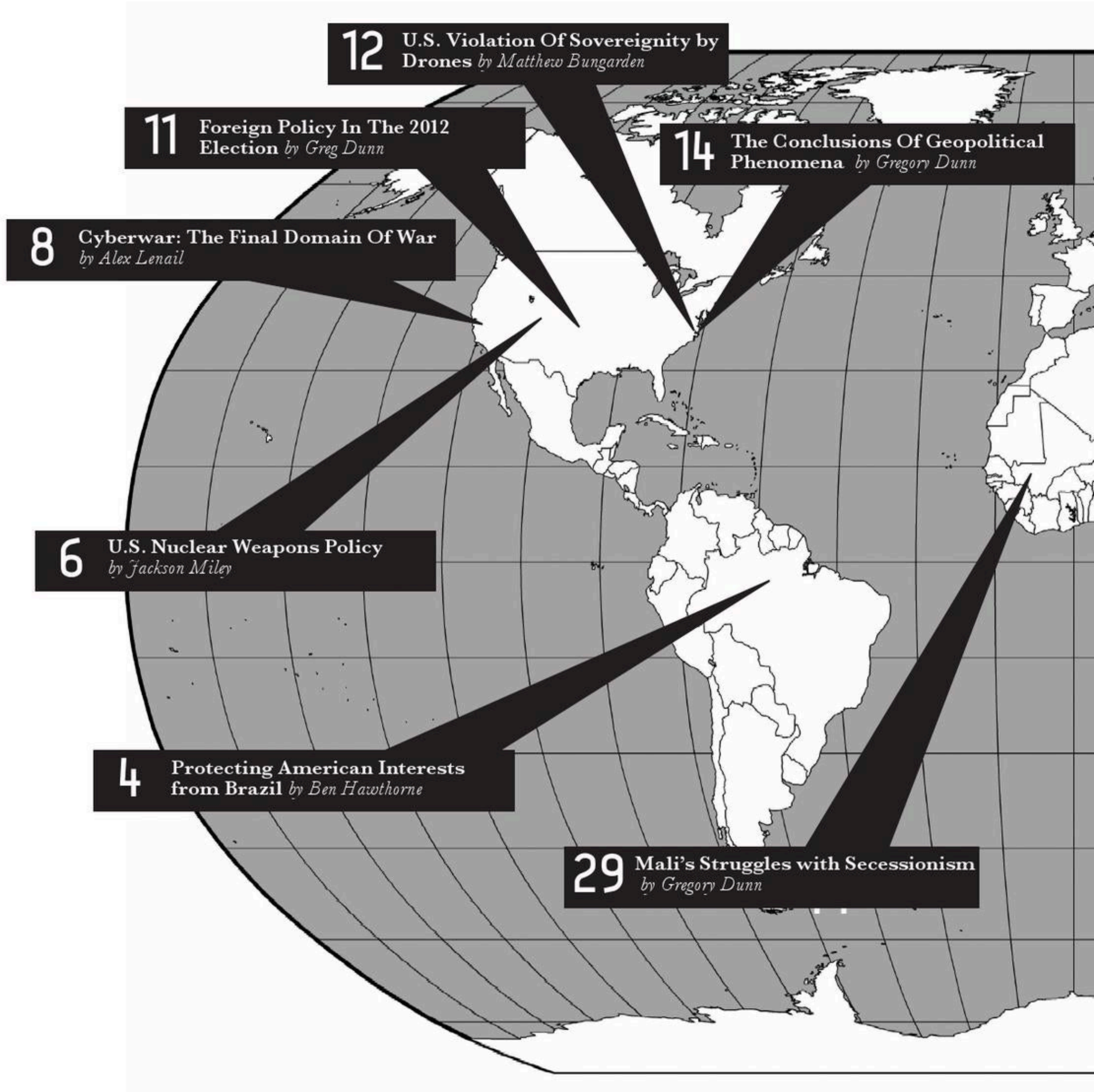
1. Associated Press. "U.S. Scrapping Opium Eradication Policy." MSNBC. 10 July 2009. Web. 31 May 2012.

2. Tarnoff, Curt. Afghanistan: US Foreign Assistance. Rep. Congressional Research Service

3. "The Abdul Latif Jameel Poverty Action Lab." JPAL. MIT, 21 May 2012. Web. 31

4. *ibid* 3

# -Table of Contents-



**16** The Benefits of Foreign Bases  
*by Sam Carilli*

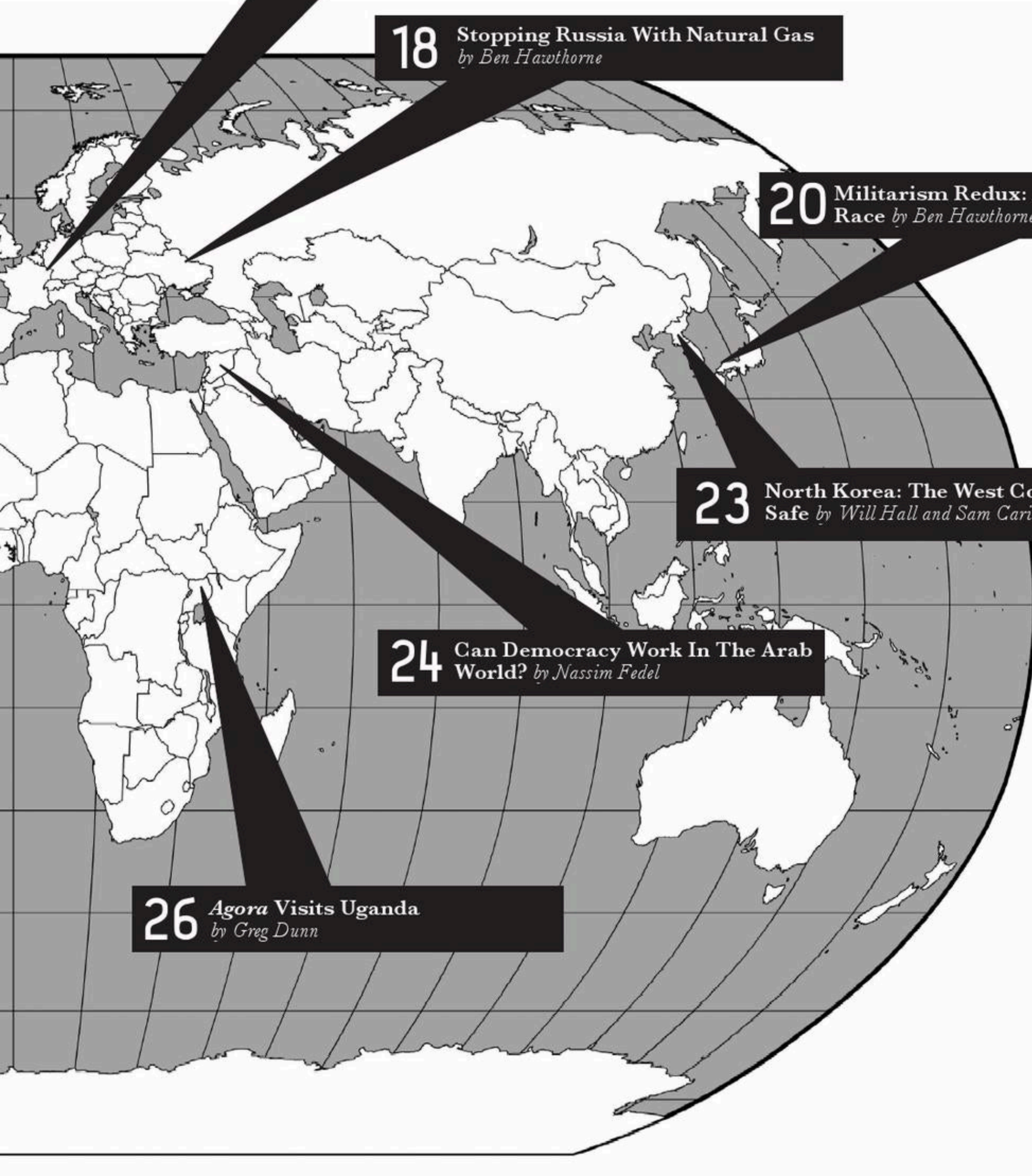
**18** Stopping Russia With Natural Gas  
*by Ben Hawthorne*

**20** Militarism Redux: Asia's Arms Race  
*by Ben Hawthorne*

**23** North Korea: The West Coast is Safe  
*by Will Hall and Sam Carilli*

**24** Can Democracy Work In The Arab World?  
*by Nassim Fedel*

**26** Agora Visits Uganda  
*by Greg Dunn*



# Protecting American Interests from Brazil

*The rising world superpower has grown exponentially with its competitive economy*

By Ben Hawthorne  
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

As American presidential candidates and pundits alike preach about the threat posed by a rising China, the rise of another potentially unfriendly superpower closer to home has been ignored. This nation is Brazil, both the nation with the third highest GDP growth rate<sup>1</sup> from 2000 to 2010 and the seventh richest country in the world<sup>2</sup>, one place ahead of Britain. Although Brazil is not nearly strong enough to challenge American hegemony, it is powerful enough to frustrate U.S. policies and actions. Therefore, the United States should not only take actions to convince Brazil to support the U.S., but it should also work to break up Brazil's power.

Brazil's rising power status is questioned by no-one. Brazil's rise is a true success story: it fought against both unforgiving geography and relentless inflation<sup>3</sup> that kept the country in endless poverty despite high growth. Brazil's rainforest geography and lack of easily accessible arable land (most of its arable land is hidden deep in the interior rainforest) have provided significant obstacles to growth. The natural barrier provided by the Amazon ensures that all trade and thus all major cities are confined to the Atlantic Ocean. This further frustrates growth because the Great Escapade, a high wall of mountains, runs along the coast except for in a few small pockets, confining Brazil's cities to these small pockets and thereby preventing transportation links between Brazilian cities and the development of economies of scale.<sup>5</sup> Brazil shot up to prominence once the forests were cleared and roads built, creating farmland and enabling the rise of a middle class of small farmers.<sup>4</sup>

Further, the implementation of the Real Plan (named for the Real, the new Brazilian currency created by the plan) in 1994 brought inflation down from 45 percent in 1994 to one percent in 1996 by tightening monetary policy, floating the currency and tying the Real to the dollar.<sup>5</sup> While this decrease in inflation hampered growth by

tightening credit and cutting deficit spending, the Real Plan vastly increased the purchasing power of most Brazilians, decreasing the poverty rate by ten percent in two years<sup>5</sup> and creating from scratch a consumer economy in Brazil.

It is the largest country in South America, both in terms of population and wealth. Despite having growth decreased by the Real Plan, Brazil's growth rate remains high (7.5 percent per year from 2007-2011)<sup>2</sup>. Further, this growth appears to be sustainable: Brazil's economy is largely based on agriculture and its products, particularly soybeans (needed for tofu, food additives and animal feed) and sugar cane (used as biofuel and food sweetener) are in high demand and will likely remain so in the future.<sup>6</sup> The Brazilian people's high purchasing power and the fact that the Brazilian poverty rate is plummeting ensures the long-term health of the domestic consumption economy as a main driver of growth.

Although growth fell to 2.8 percent in 2011 due to high inflation and a drop in industrial production, the main drivers of Brazilian growth, resources and energy, remain strong. The government has also tightened monetary policy (which has brought inflation from 6.5 percent in 2011 to 5.1 percent now) and lowered taxes, which should bring the economy back up to speed.<sup>7</sup>

Brazil has also discovered enormous oil fields: Brazil sits on 50 billion barrels of oil, enough to propel it into the top five oil producers by 2020,<sup>8</sup> and some estimate that 70-100 billion barrels more are offshore.<sup>9</sup>

This wealth has translated into regional dominance. The Brazilian state-owned firm Petrobras controls the Bolivian natural-gas industry, the largest sector in the Bolivian economy, and almost all Bolivian agricultural products are shipped to Brazil. Large

## **Brazil by the numbers:**

- 7th richest country in the world
- 3rd highest GDP growth rate
- 7.5% growth per year
- deployed 2,200 peacekeepers to Haiti
- tripled foreign aid budget since 2008
- 50 billion barrels of oil

numbers of Brazilians have emigrated to Paraguay, and Brazil is the largest investor in the Paraguayan economy, particularly in its energy sector. Brazilian cash drives Uruguay's financial industry, the main driver of Uruguay's economy, and Brazilians now own a majority of Uruguay's farmland.<sup>3</sup>

All told, Brazil is the largest direct investor in Latin American nations and the most powerful country in the region, giving it regional hegemony.

In the past, Brazil's power has been checked by that of its neighbors, particularly Argentina. Argentina benefits from many large navigable rivers (which facilitate trade) and the fact that most of its territory consists of large arable plains, which facilitate large-scale agriculture, economies of scale and the growth of giant cities.

Historically, these geographic advantages have played out in an expected way: Argentina was the dominant partner in the Argentina-Brazil relationship. Argentina dominated the Southern Cone region (Uruguay, Paraguay, Argentina and Southern Brazil) that formed the heartland of South America after Argentina's victory against Brazil in the 1825 Cisplatine War.

By controlling this crucial, resource rich region, Argentina rose to global prominence and was even able to challenge European powers, as seen in the Falklands War. Although modern Argentina is but a shadow of its former self, it remains the second most powerful country in South America and the only potential threat to Brazil.

Recognizing the threat posed by Argentina, Brazil has undertaken a number of successful measures to align itself with Argen

1. International Monetary Fund. World Economic Outlook Database, September 2011. N.p.: n.p., 2011. IMF.org. Web. 6 Apr. 2012.

2. "Brazil." CIA World Factbook. CIA, 2 Apr. 2012. Web. 6 Feb. 2012.

3. The Geopolitics of Brazil: An Emergent Power's Struggle with Geography. N.p.: STRATFOR, n.d. Print.

4. Clemons, Benedict. The Real Plan, Poverty, and Income Distribution in Brazil. N.p.: IMF, 1997. Finance and Development. Web. 6 Apr. 2012.

5. Pielow, Christian. "Brazil-A New Future." The Exec. Search Blog. Blue Steps, 9 Nov. 2010. Web. 6 Apr. 2012.

6. "Filling Up the Future." The Economist 5 Nov. 2011: n. pag. The Economist. Web. 6 Apr. 2012.

7. Whitefield, Mimi. "Brazil's Economy Slows." The Miami Herald. 16 Dec. 2011. Web. 29 May 2012. <http://www.miamiherald.com/2011/12/16/2548407/brazils-economy-slows.html>

8. "A Big Oil Discovery." The Economist 12 Feb. 2008: n. pag. The Economist. Web. 6 Apr. 2012.

9. Shifter, Michael. "Argentina-Brazil Relations." World Politics Review. Trend Lines, 22 Dec. 2010. Web. 6 Apr. 2012.

tina. The two countries consider each other to be in a “strategic alliance,” and their militaries collaborate extensively.<sup>1</sup> Brazil and Argentina have worked together on designing military aircraft, and their militaries frequently drill together. Most importantly, the two countries have shared details on their top-secret uranium enrichment plants with each other.

Further, Brazil supports Argentina in the latter’s claim over the Falklands Islands, which is Argentina’s biggest foreign policy issue.<sup>2</sup> However, Brazil has formed a cohesive power block in South America economically, through the Mercosur trade agreement that involves Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay (Brazil and the Southern Cone nations). Mercosur is a free-trade organization with a standardized external trade policy, similar to NAFTA or ASEAN. Mercosur has led to increased trade and migration between Brazil and Argentina, deepening ties. Mercosur is also the main means by which Brazil controls the Southern Cone; while individual deals brought local nations into Brazilian suzerainty, Brazil sets the foreign policy precedents through Mercosur.<sup>10</sup>

With its one major enemy converted into an ally, and its status as regional leader fully secured, Brazil stepped onto the world stage. Bra-

zil leads the UN mission in Haiti, has tripled its foreign aid budget since 2008<sup>3</sup> and has participated in 27 UN peacekeeping missions. However, Brazil’s stint in the international arena has been anything but beneficial to the U.S.

Historically, Brazil has been unfriendly to the U.S.; Brazil worked with the Chinese and the Soviets during the Cold War and refused to oppose Fidel Castro’s Cuba. Brazil refuses to cooperate with American demands, seen in Brazil’s unwillingness to pacify its neighbors or crack down on drug lords in neighboring countries.<sup>4</sup>

Another major source of friction between the two nations is an incident in which Brazil negotiated with Iran in 2010, despite explicit U.S. instructions not to interact with Iran. Economically, Brazil has been working to exclude the U.S. from South America

1. “Brazil reiterates support for Argentina, denies any blockade to Falklands.” MercoPress 1 Feb. 2012: pag. MercoPress South Atlantic News Agency. Web. 6 Apr. 2012.

2. Varas, Augusto. Brazil in South America: From Indifference to Hegemony. N.p.: FRIDE, 2008. FRIDE. Web. 7 Apr. 2012.

3. “Speak Softly and Carry a Blank Cheque.” The Economist 15 July 2010: The Economist. Web. 7 Apr. 2012.

4. Alberto Moniz Bandeira, Luiz. “Brazil as a Regional Power and Its Relations with the United States.” Latin American Perspectives 33.3 (2006): 12-27. JSTOR. Web. 7 Apr. 2012.



*Petrobras, Brazil’s leading oil company, has facilitated economic growth with new offshore oil discoveries.*

through economic integration unions such as Mercosur and was the main opponent of the Free Trade Area of the Americas. Brazil also raised tariffs on American agricultural goods. Further, Brazil has worked to actively oppose U.S. actions. Brazil has opposed American anti-drug lord operations in Colombia and has even insisted that any

based biofuels from Brazil, that U.S. hegemony benefits Brazil.

Second, the U.S. must try to peacefully frustrate Brazilian regional hegemony. This can be done in two ways: by assisting South American nations that are opposed to Brazil and by creating an alternative to Mercosur. Already, Brazil’s rise has hit opposition from several South American countries, particularly Venezuela, Colombia and Bolivia. The U.S. can reach out to Colombia by providing more assistance in attacking drug operations there and by increasing trade to Colombia, which would pull the country away from Brazil.

Likewise, U.S. investment in developing Bolivian resources, particularly in the emerging and strategic lithium industry, could make the U.S. Bolivia’s main trading partner and lower Brazilian influence there.

Although Colombia and Bolivia are the two pieces of low-hanging fruit, efforts to strengthen ties with South American nations to weaken Brazil’s grip on the region must be made with most South American countries. The centerpiece of this weakening of Brazilian hegemony should be the creation of an alternative to Mercosur. Mercosur is already faltering, as it is becoming obvious that the organization exists solely to further Brazilian power and not to promote free trade.<sup>5</sup>

If the U.S. were to create a free-trade organization in South America incorporating the Mercosur countries and other South American nations, this would tie South America to the U.S. instead of Brazil, especially if this free-trade organization was more of a free-trade organization than Mercosur is. Inevitable Brazilian opposition to such an organization can be circumvented by offering membership to the other Mercosur nations first, and then letting peer pressure kick in.

Brazil’s rise cannot be halted, nor should it be. However, Brazil’s economic strength need not imply regional dominance, a fact that can be ensured by increased U.S. involvement in South America.

***A true success story: a fight against unforgiving geography and relentless inflation that kept the country in endless poverty despite high growth.***

American military actions in South America be approved by Brazil first.

Brazil has also opposed most recent U.S. foreign policy, particularly the War on Terror, the invasion of Libya and the U.S. attempt to pass a UN Security Council resolution condemning Syria. Overall, Brazil’s attitude towards the U.S. is one of suspicion: Brazil regards the U.S. as an obstacle to its rise and thus is unfriendly towards the U.S.<sup>5</sup>

The United States should undertake a two-pronged approach to protecting its interests from Brazil. First, the U.S. needs to reach out to Brazil in order to show the Brazilian government that American interests and values are aligned with those of Brazil. Both countries are Western-style republics that value democracy and liberty. Brazil benefits from the security provided to it by U.S. global dominance and is made wealthy by the freedom of navigation the U.S. Navy provides.

The U.S. should try to convince the Brazilian leadership, through state visits and incentives such as subsidies for sugar-cane-

5. Hakim, Peter. “Why the US and Brazil Can’t Get Along – A Story of Turf, Ideology, and Interests.” Foreign Affairs Latinoamerica (Mar. 2011): n.pag. Inter-American Dialogue. Web. 7 Apr. 2012.

# The Evolution of U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy

By Jackson Miley  
STAFF WRITER

## The Warm-Up to a Cold War

As the Enola Gay soared high above the blinding nuclear flash at Hiroshima, it brought with it the onset of the atomic age. Over the next 50 years, the U.S. and the Soviet Union would square off in a struggle for global supremacy, one that would balance the survival of civilization on a knife's edge.

The years following WWII saw the emergence of the possibility of global thermonuclear war. Neither side of the Iron Curtain viewed this as a favorable outcome, and steps were taken by both parties to prevent the other from acquiring first strike capability. A nation attains first strike capability when it can launch a nuclear attack which cripples the target's retaliatory capacity to such an extent that the return strike will not devastate the attacker. At the same time, the two powers strove to ensure that they could both maintain second strike capability, the ability to have enough of its nuclear arsenal survive an attack in order to destroy the attacker.<sup>1</sup> Together, these two ideas wove the central thread of Cold War military policy.

## Massive Retaliation

Early U.S. policy was centered around massive retaliation (MR), or the use of disproportionately large nuclear force in response to an attack.<sup>2</sup> This strategy followed

1. McNamara, Robert. "Mutual Deterrence." Speech by Sec. of Defense Robert McNamara. San Francisco. 18 Sept. 1967. Speech.

2. John Foster Dulles, "The Evolution of Foreign Policy,"



A U.S. Minuteman III nuclear missile launches from Vandenberg Air Force Base in California.

logically from George F. Kennan's analysis of the Soviet Union, as explained in the famous Long Telegram. According to Kennan, "[the Soviet Union] is highly sensitive to logic of force. For this reason it can easily withdraw—and usually does when strong resistance is encountered at any point."

Thus, if the adversary has sufficient force and makes clear his readiness to use it, he rarely has to do so.<sup>3</sup> MR capitalized on this view, attempting to deter aggression in Europe through overwhelming nuclear retaliation capabilities and an unquestionable willingness to use them.<sup>4</sup> Eisenhower believed that nuclear weapons possessed a much greater deterrent value per dollar spent than did conventional forces, and was bent on ensuring that the U.S. did not fall into the trap of fielding "an unbearable security burden leading to economic disaster."<sup>5</sup> This approach was crystallized in Eisenhower's New Look policy, which increased expenditures on air power to nearly sixty percent of military spending in order to ensure a credible threat of nuclear annihilation to the U.S.S.R.<sup>6</sup>

## The Madness of MAD

MR was viable because of "the assumption of U.S. territorial invulnerability," meaning that the Soviet Union could not reach the mainland United States with a nuclear attack.<sup>7</sup>

This meant that the U.S. could initiate MR with relative impunity, and gave actual teeth to the threat.<sup>8</sup>

However, the arrangement was not to last. The Soviet Union tested its first intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) in 1957 and launched its first nuclear submarine in 1958,<sup>9</sup> bringing its nuclear weapons delivery technology to the same level as that of the U.S.

Before the Council of Foreign Relations, New York, N.Y., Department of State, Press Release No. 81 (January 12, 1954).

3. United States of America. Wikisource. By George F. Kennan. Wikimedia Foundation, 27 June 2011. Web. 15 May 2012.

4. *ibid* 4

5. Dwight D. Eisenhower: "Radio Address to the American People on the National Security and Its Costs," May 19, 1953. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project.

6. *ibid* 7

7. "Massive Retaliation." Nuclear Age Peace Foundation. Web. 16 May 2012.

8. *ibid* 9

9. Wade, Mark. "R-7." Encyclopedia Astronautica. Retrieved 18 May 2012.

The 48 contiguous states were no longer the safe place they used to be.

Out of this delicate balance sprung Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD). MAD was the culminating point of a decade of arms buildup, and the guarantee that a nuclear exchange between the United States and the U.S.S.R. would totally, unavoidably, and irreversibly obliterate both sides' economy and society.<sup>10</sup> Nuclear war had evolved to the point where there could be no victor.

## Flexible Response

MR was inflexible in its response to Soviet aggression. Under the Eisenhower administration, all-out nuclear war had been the only military option for the West if war broke out in Europe.<sup>11</sup> NATO forces deployed along the Iron Curtain were insufficient by far to halt an invasion, and served instead as a trigger for Strategic Air Command to send the Soviets back to the stone age.<sup>12</sup>

Those who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones, and by the end of the 1950s, the American position was as much a glass house as the Soviet one. The integration of strategic bombers, ICBMs and Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missiles into the nuclear triad gave rise to robust second strike capabilities for both the Americans and the Soviets,<sup>13</sup> and ensured that any nuclear war would end in catastrophe for both sides. Few people (with the notable exception of Mao Zedong)<sup>14</sup> saw nuclear holocaust as acceptable, and pressed for a defense strategy which would not allow for a nuclear war to occur.

There were several precursors to the theory of flexible response for many years before its official adoption in 1961,<sup>15</sup> but these did not gain traction with the Eisenhower administration. An early iteration of flexible response was NSC 5440, presented in December of 1954. It heavily emphasized the need for a tiered military response capability, and sketched the rough outline of flexible response: "The U.S. and its allies in the aggregate will have to have, for an indefinite period, military forces with sufficient strength, flexibility and mobility to enable them to deal swiftly and severely with Communist overt aggression."<sup>16</sup>

Seven years later, Kennedy took office

10. *ibid* 1

11. *ibid* 9

12. North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Web. 22 Apr. 2012.

13. Barry, John. "Bye-Bye Bomber?" Newsweek 11 Dec. 2009. The Newsweek/Daily Beast Company LLC. Web. 23 May 2012. "Russia Continues to Modernize Its Nuclear Triad." RIA Novosti. 18 Nov. 2009. Web. 23 May 2012. Slantchev, Branislav L. "National Security Strategy: Flexible Response, 1961-1968." Lecture. University of California-San Diego, San Diego, CA. 25 Dec. 2009. University of California-San Diego. Web. 24 May 2012.

14. Butterfield, Fox. "Mao Tse-Tung: Father of Chinese Revolution." New York Times 10 Sept. 1976. The New York Times. The New York Times. Web. 24 May 2012.

15. United States of America. National Security Council. NSC 5440. Office of the Historian. Web. 21 May 2012. "Flexible Response." Answers.com. Answers. Web. 21 Apr. 2012.

16. United States of America. National Security Council. NSC 5440. Office of the Historian. Web. 21 May 2012.





*Green Berets in Pleiku, South Vietnam in 1966. President Kennedy created the Green Beret and other special forces as an part of an alternative to the strategy of massive retaliation, which he called "flexible response."*

and appointed Robert Strange McNamara as Secretary of Defense. McNamara understood the irrational nature of a strategy that included total annihilation in its formulation: "Don't make the same mistake twice, learn from your mistakes. And we all do... [But] there'd be no learning period with nuclear weapons. You make one mistake and you're going to destroy nations."<sup>1</sup>

McNamara devised flexible response to provide military options commensurate with the threat at hand and to ensure that nuclear war would only be a last resort.

MR had sought to deter nuclear and conventional attacks with nuclear weapons,<sup>2</sup> but flexible response understood that nuclear weapons had evolved to the point where they were no longer a reasonable deterrent against conventional warfare.<sup>3</sup> As a substitute, flexible response increased the role of conventional forces in defense planning.

Where, before, the U.S. had been loath to participate in small-scale conflicts such as the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 or the First Indochina War, it now has the requisite troop levels to do so. Though Eisenhower had firmly maintained that the U.S. should not allow its defense budget to run away with it, McNamara and the Kennedy administration saw no way to approach the specter of nuclear war other than ramping up spending on non-nuclear deterrence.<sup>4</sup>

## Policy Today

The 2010 Nuclear Posture Review outlines the five goals of current U.S. nuclear

1. Kessler, Samuel J. "From 'Massive Retaliation' to 'Flexible Response': Robert McNamara at the Pentagon." New York University. Web. 24 May 2012.

2. *ibid* 9

3. 18 19 Submarine History 1945-2000: A Timeline of Development." [www.submarine-history.com](http://www.submarine-history.com). Web. 18 May 2012. US and USSR. "NRDC: Archive of Nuclear Data." NRDC. 25 Nov. 2002. Web. 31 May 2012.

4. *ibid* 16

weapons policy: "Preventing nuclear proliferation and nuclear terrorism, reducing the role of U.S. nuclear weapons in U.S. national security strategy, maintaining strategic deterrence and stability at reduced nuclear force levels, strengthening regional deterrence and reassuring U.S. allies and partners, and sustaining a safe, secure, and effective nuclear arsenal."<sup>5</sup>

Nuclear terrorism is the weakest point of current nuclear weapons policy. For a problem that Obama classifies as the foremost threat to national security,<sup>6</sup> the amount of planning is sparse. Policy neither provides a definitive strategy for stopping sales to terrorist organizations, nor does it offer a plan to secure the country against an attack.<sup>7</sup> Inaction on this issue will waste valuable time which could be invested in actual contingency plans.

Reducing the role of nuclear weapons in national security strategy is a smart move. During the Cold War, NATO's plan in the event of a Soviet invasion was to deliberately escalate the conflict with tactical nuclear weapons. Soviet forces outnumbered NATO forces by as much as three to one, and nuclear weapons were seen as the only way to defend against a Soviet attack.<sup>8</sup> However, the U.S. is now the preeminent conventional military force in the world, accounting for 41 percent of military spending in the entire world,<sup>9</sup> and thus no longer needs to include nuclear weapons into its conventional defense planning.

Maintaining strategic deterrence at re-

5. United States of America. Department of Defense. Defense.gov. Department of Defense. Web. 21 Apr. 2012.

6. "Nuclear Terrorism: Are You Prepared?" President and Fellows of Harvard College. Web. 24 Apr. 2012.

7. *ibid* 19

8. *ibid* 13

9. Wittner, Lawrence. "The Shame of Nations: A New Record Is Set on Spending for War." *The Huffington Post*. [TheHuffingtonPost.com](http://TheHuffingtonPost.com), 24 Apr. 2012. Web. 24 Apr. 2012.

duced levels is also a wise decision. In order for the U.S. to maintain its sovereignty, it requires a mechanism to deter other states from launching a nuclear strike against it, or from using the threat of a nuclear strike as a bargaining chip.<sup>10</sup> These conditions can only be met when "the perceived gains of attacking the United States or its allies and partners would be far outweighed by the unacceptable costs of the response." The threat of nuclear retaliation must, be credible in order to guarantee "unacceptable costs" for any would-be attacker.

To this end, it is imperative that we maintain a nuclear arsenal. During the Cold War, the threat of a massive Soviet nuclear strike necessitated a correspondingly massive second strike capability.<sup>11</sup> In the current environment, however, a smaller arsenal can provide second strike capability and still be an effective deterrent.<sup>12</sup>

Strengthening regional deterrence is a more risky course of action. The U.S.'s ability to sustainably spend money abroad is waning,<sup>13</sup> and the current budget situation is nearing a crisis point.<sup>14</sup> Cumulative U.S. defense spending is already massive, and is a major factor in the continued growth of the deficit.<sup>15</sup> Increasing military expenditures on peripheral U.S. assets is not necessary and could possibly weaken America in the long run.<sup>16</sup> Spending must scale with the ability of the government to fund it, and we cannot fall into the trap of spending beyond our means.

Maintaining the existing arsenal makes a great deal of sense. Current policy dictates that "the United States will not develop new nuclear warheads... and will not support new military missions or provide for new military capabilities." If the U.S. wishes to lead the world in preventing nuclear proliferation, it must lead by example, and this policy will give teeth to American efforts worldwide.<sup>17</sup>

This policy also ensures that our nuclear arsenal will not require additional warheads to be manufactured in order to meet deterrence requirements. In addition to saving valuable dollars, this will further advance the bargaining power of the U.S. in nuclear proliferation talks.

Our nuclear weapons are relics of a by-gone age, where their numbers were for the purposes of defense strategy. However, the specter of armageddon has gone, and with it should go the massive stockpiles of the Cold War.

10. *ibid* 1, 5, 23

11. *ibid* 1

12. *ibid* 19

13. Parent, Joseph M., and Paul K. MacDonald. "The Wisdom of Retrenchment." *Foreign Affairs* 90.6 (2011): 32-48. Print.

14. United States of America. National Commission on Fiscal Responsibility and Reform. National Commission on Fiscal Responsibility and Reform. Web. 24 Apr. 2012.

15. Rogers, Simon. "Obama's 2011 Budget: US Public Spending by Department since 1962." *The Guardian*. *Guardian News and Media*, 28 Nov. 0001. Web. 25 Apr. 2012.

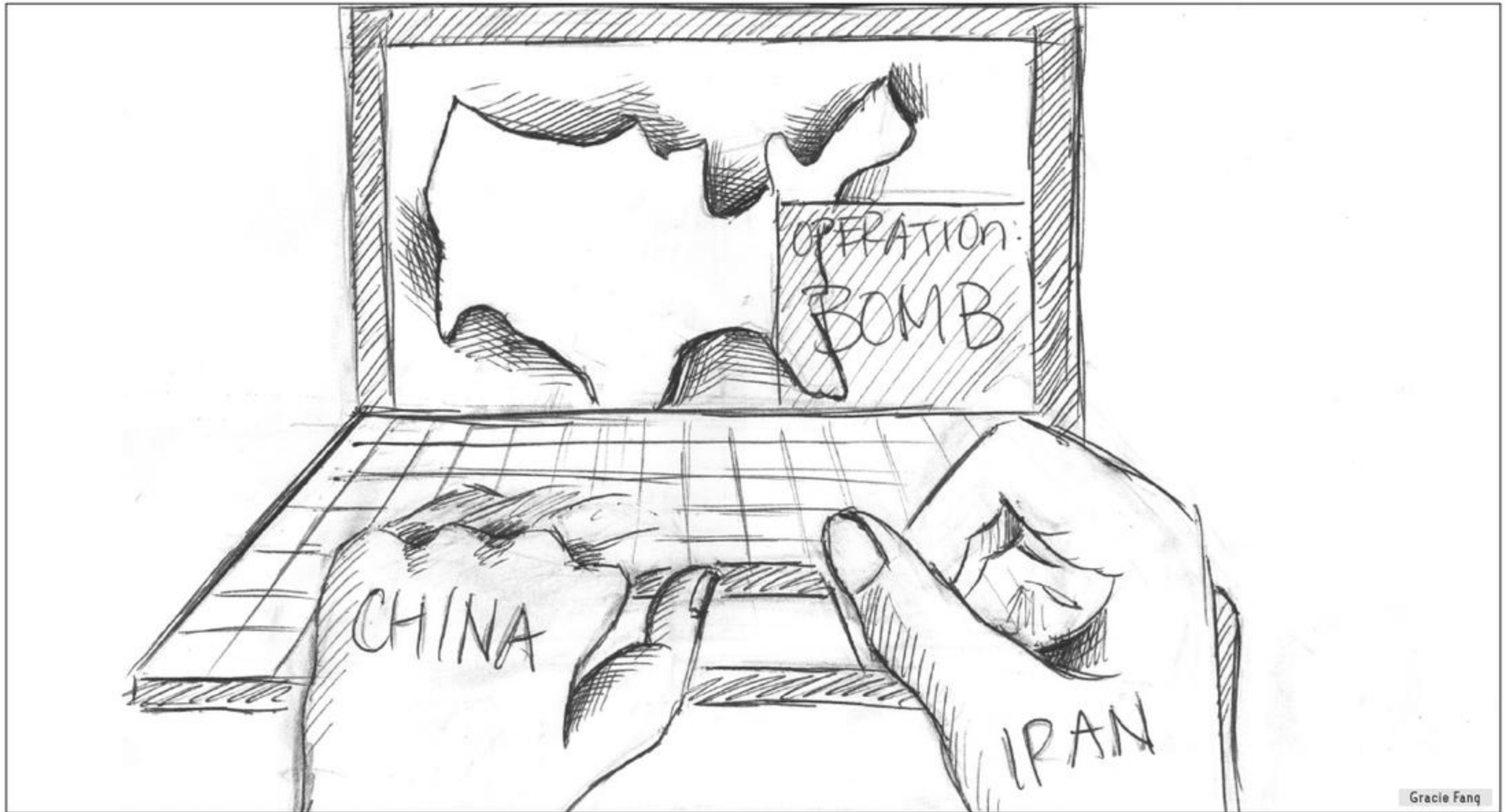
16. *ibid* 26

17. *ibid* 19

# The Final Domain

*Cyberwar has changed the geopolitics of war forever, and not for the better*

By Alex Lenail  
STAFF WRITER



Gracie Fang

## Abstract

The field of Cyberwar is a new one, and it is absolutely critical that we learn the rules by which it operates and find the means by which to dominate it as we have the four other principal domains of warfare: land, sea, air, and space.

The rules of cyberspace are different from any we have encountered before; traditional ideologies and methodologies will not succeed in this field and we must learn to adapt to the new face of warfare, or else we will lose our hegemony. We have a number of advantages, such as our broad intellectual and technically proficient base, but also a great many vulnerabilities which our enemies will seek to exploit. We must dominate this last domain of warfare, which will undoubtedly be the primary means of warfare in the coming century, or we will inevitably lose the next great conflict in the world.

## A New Kind of Warfare

In 2008, the Department of Defense networks were breached in a wholly unprecedented way. It all began when an insurgent

plugged an infected thumb drive into a soldier's laptop at a U.S. military base in the Middle East. From there the malware (malicious software) uploaded itself onto the mainframes of U.S. Central Command, rapidly spreading to both classified and unclassified military networks globally, from wherein information could potentially be transferred to unknown terrorist or foreign intelligence servers.<sup>1</sup>

According to William J. Lynn III, Deputy Secretary of Defense, it was a veritable cyber-nightmare: "a rogue program operating silently, poised to deliver operational plans into the hands of an unknown adversary." He published a keystone article in late 2010 which outlined a new set of guidelines for the emerging arena of Cyberwar.<sup>2</sup> He unveils an astounding set of directives that comprise a newfangled doctrine which reveals that the government is putting some serious thought into how to contain the cyber-threat. Here are the main points of the article:

Firstly, Cyberwarfare is asymmetric, which means that there is a fundamental

imbalance between cyber-attack and cyber-defense. Our enemies can wreak the same havoc as expensive weapons, such as aircraft carriers, can with just a dozen programmers and a vulnerability to exploit, of which there are many.

Indeed, viruses average at 175 lines of code, whereas defense systems are usually over a million lines each. Due to this fact, foreign intelligence agencies across the globe are developing offensive Cyberwarfare capabilities, some of which have already succeeded in reaching the capacity to significantly disrupt our infrastructure. The fact that the offense will always have the upper hand is the result of the way the Internet was built: with an emphasis on collaboration, low barriers for technological innovation and rapid expendability. Security was never a priority, which means that the U.S.'s efforts to protect itself will forever lag behind its enemies' ability to corrupt, and a fortress mentality is bound to fail.<sup>3</sup>

Secondly, traditional models of assured retaliation do not apply to cyberspace. A missile "comes with a return address,"

1. Zetter, Kim. "The Return of the Worm That Ate the Pentagon."

2. Lynn, William J. "Defending a New Domain."

3. *ibid* 2

# *Pandora's box has been opened: on the new battlefield the aggressors are anonymous. The shots are fired without starting wars and the foot soldiers can pull their triggers without leaving their desks.*

whereas a computer virus frequently does not. The forensics work necessary to identify the source of a Cyberattack may take months if the source can be identified at all, and if the source happens to be a non-state actor, such as a terrorist organization or an individual hacker, it may have no significant assets to retaliate against. To make matters more complicated, the deterrence model is increasingly muddled by the fact attacks often originate from co-opted proxy servers in neutral countries.<sup>1</sup>

Additionally, no one has established the Terms of Engagement for Cyberwarfare,<sup>2</sup> which translates into foreign and domestic hackers doing whatever they please to other nations' networks without fear of serious repercussion. Nevertheless, today's intrusions share a greater resemblance to acts of espionage than acts of war.<sup>3</sup>

Lynn's conclusion is that a new cyber-strategy must be based on the principle of denying benefits to attackers rather than imposing costs via retaliation, and given the asymmetric nature of the battlefield, the U.S. must raise what Lynn calls "active defenses", which are dynamic and flexible enough to protect us from a rapidly evolving foe.<sup>4</sup>

That was 2010.

It's amazing how fast the Internet changes. Since then we have seen the outgrowth of Anonymous and LulzSec,<sup>5</sup> which could be characterized as domestic cyber-terror networks. We have seen the escalation of unprecedented Cyberwarfare between the United States and China, with over 500,000 individual cyber-raids conducted by China on the U.S. in 2011 alone, and a (rumored) greater number running the other way.<sup>6</sup> But perhaps most frightening of all has been the emergence of the computer virus known as Stuxnet.<sup>7</sup>

In June 2011, a computer virus twenty times more complex than previous viruses was discovered lurking in the data banks of factories, traffic control systems, and power plants around the world. It had an array of capabilities, among which were the ability to turn up the pressure inside nuclear reactors and the ability to switch off oil pipelines, while informing system operators everything

was functioning regularly. Unlike most viruses, Stuxnet didn't carry a forged security clearance, like most viruses do, it utilized a real, stolen security clearance. It then proceeded to exploit security gaps that system creators are unaware of, often called zero days, of which it utilized an astounding 20. But once Stuxnet infiltrated a system, it did not always activate, and unless it recognized its target, the centrifuges that enrich fissile materials at Iran's nuclear facilities,<sup>8</sup> the program remained dormant.

The virus shut down over a thousand centrifuges at Natanz, Iran's primary enrichment facility at the time.<sup>9</sup> Stuxnet was a weapon, and most significantly, one of the first to be made entirely out of code. The U.S. and Israel are generally credited for Stuxnet, although the most important question regarding Stuxnet is not who designed it, but who will redesign it: Stuxnet has been downloaded and tinkered with such that nine months after its release, mutations of the source code were released freely online with the potential capability to crash power grids or destroy oil pipelines.

Stuxnet and its mutations comprise the first ever open-source weapon, one with massive destructive capabilities and nearly infinite possible targets and access points. And there is no way to know who will use it or what they might use it for. In the words of one documentary, Stuxnet (Hungry Beast), "Pandora's box has been opened; on the new battlefield the aggressors are anonymous, the shots are fired without starting wars and the foot soldiers can pull their triggers without leaving their desks."<sup>10</sup>

Cyberwarfare comprises something altogether new in terms of warfare because it turns a nation's infrastructure against itself, at near light speeds. Cyberweapons are the most dangerous and volatile types of weapons on Earth. As nations grow in dependence upon information technology, so grows their vulnerability.

The scope of the cyber-threat is near unimaginable: think of what an attack might look like. Enemies could hold hostage economic and financial systems, shut down transportation and communication networks, do irreparable harm to large segments of the power grid by overheating energy

centers, and in a seemingly apocalyptic finish, gain access to the entire U.S. arsenal of automated nuclear missiles and weaponized drones, and turn them against the nation's major cities, altogether comprising a nation-ending attack launched from a laptop.<sup>11</sup> The U.S. has the most advanced cyber-arsenal on the planet, but also the most to lose from an attack. And due to the sum of these actualities, we know now that Cyberwarfare will be the primary means of warfare in the 21st century.<sup>12</sup>

## Where We Are Now

In 2010, the Pentagon officially recognized cyberspace as the fifth domain for warfare, and established a new branch of the National Security Agency, the U.S. Cyber Command (USCYBERCOM) which is headed by four-star General Keith Alexander. Cyber Command is headquartered in Fort Meade, Md., and works closely with the Department of Defense and the Department of Homeland Security, as well as private industry to share information relating to cyber-threats and potential vulnerabilities.

They have established a doctrine of "Active Defense", which calls for not only a continual update of firewalls and scanning technology, but also a paradigm that those defenses will perpetually be only partly effective, and that we work under the assumption that systems have already been breached, requiring detection technology to hunt down malware that has already infected military networks.<sup>13</sup>

The U.S. Terms of Engagement for Cyberwar will be released by the Pentagon later this year, and are being discussed right now, as U.S. Cyber Command and other top officials decide what constitutes a proportional, necessary, appropriate, and justified response to each kind of cyberattack.<sup>14</sup> Cyber Command is also tackling the question of whether it ought to invest resources into guarding civilian networks the way it guards military and government networks.<sup>15</sup>

Cyber Command is working especially closely with our key allies to integrate and improve our defenses. It has also enlisted the aid of DARPA (The Defense Advanced

1. *ibid* 2

2. Munoz, Carlo. "Pentagon Revamps Rules of Engagement for Cyberwar."

3. Segal, Adam. "Chinese Computer Games."

4. Lynn, William J. "Defending a New Domain."

5. Benkler, Yochai. "Hacks of Valor."

6. *ibid* 6

7. Youtube. "Stuxnet (Hungry Beast)"

8. *ibid* 10

9. The Economist. "Cyberwar: It Is Time for Countries to Start Talking about Arms Control on the Internet."

10. *ibid* 10

11. Clarke, Richard A., and Robert K. Knake. *Cyber War*

12. *ibid* 2

13. *ibid* 2

14. Munoz, Carlo. "Pentagon Revamps Rules of Engagement for Cyberwar."

15. Lynn, William J. "The Pentagon's Cyberstrategy, One Year Later."

# *As the number of attacks continues to increase, the title "surveillance" is beginning to seem less applicable than "war."*

Research Projects Agency) to create new standards for the Internet, which it initially invented decades ago, that do not hamper freedom and innovation but blunt cyber-attackers' capabilities.

Among the current research are projects such as the innovation of new programming languages built with cyber-security in mind and an ambitious re-imagining of the architecture and of the Internet which might serve as a quarantine for viruses by re-inventing the ways in which computers and systems are linked. But all of that is still a long way off.<sup>1</sup>

The government is strengthening its human capital, and has programs to locate and recruit renegade hackers as well as security specialists; these programs have recruited a force that numbers in the tens of thousands. Indeed, some of the employees of Cyber Command were once members of Anonymous, but of course, the government pays better. These individuals are frequently asked to engage in "ethical hacking": they seek loopholes in government infrastructure, locate and report them, upon which these loopholes are patched up before anyone who intends to do real harm can find them. Anyone who does find them domestically is promptly recruited.<sup>2</sup>

The government has allocated US-CYBERCOM a massive budget, to "invest in the rapid development of additional cyber-defense capabilities" of almost \$4 billion for the fiscal year of 2012, and it is likely to increase. Critics have begun noting the emergence of a possible cyber-industrial complex, whereby computer security companies dependent on government contracts inflate threats and cause potential miscalculation. But for the moment Cyber command grows quickly, unnoticed, and largely unimpeded.<sup>3</sup>

The government's investment in cyber-defense is a function of the estimated cyber-threat, and the budget increases for 2012 are a response to the attacks originating from China on a number of civilian and government networks. For example, in March 2011, hackers gained access to security tokens dis-

tributed by RSA, an American computer security company that allows the employees of the majority of the nation's private defense contractors to access their files remotely, robbing companies such as Lockheed Martin of invaluable trade secrets and intellectual property. In August, McAfee reported that a group of Chinese hackers had broken into the networks of 71 governments and international organizations who used their software. A majority of officials are reluctant to point the finger at China, but many now acknowledge that there can hardly be any other culprit.<sup>4</sup>

However the culprit is unclear: In February 2011, Google publicly announced that hackers had failed in an attempt to access many of their source codes, an attack that was later traced to Shanghai's Jiao Tong University, which has known connections with the PLA (People's Liberation Army of China), although it is possible that someone who was not involved with the PLA hijacked those computers remotely. Hackers drift in and out of the government's influence, and attacks often come from criminals working independently of the state. Thus, labelling China as the culprit in a universe of non-state actors does not make sense.

On the whole, however, the hacking originating in China is all either government-sponsored<sup>5</sup> or government tolerated. Beijing has often expressed its position towards independent hacking as a release valve for frustrated citizens and a means to obtain a military and economic advantage over the United States. In 2001, Beijing called for "patriotic hackers" to vandalize American websites in response to the collision of a Chinese fighter jet with a U.S. surveillance plane over the South China Sea.

However, the government's position seemed to have changed in 2005 after a number of arrests that signaled that Beijing viewed hacking as unwanted interference in foreign affairs. However in 2010, the government permitted the defacing of the Nobel organization's website when Liu Xiaobo won the peace prize for his human rights activism.<sup>6</sup>

As the number of attacks continues to in-

crease, the title "surveillance" is beginning to seem less applicable than "war." General Alexander has recently said that military networks are currently "not defensible," and that "I don't think we're safe right now."<sup>7</sup> His is the only budget set to continue to increase in a time of large budget cuts, but he feels significantly less confident that the job can be done at all.<sup>8</sup>

Nonetheless hope certainly exists, in the unparalleled network of domestic hackers and security experts, in the bipartisan notion that a bill to protect civilian networks from foreign attacks must exist, and most of all, in the ingenuity of the Americans working at DARPA, Cyber Command, cyber-security companies, and public companies dedicated to a better Internet. The level-headed leadership of Cyber Command will ensure we address threats intelligently and retaliate as necessary. Perhaps General's Alexander's feelings are a godsend in disguise – perhaps the fact he acknowledges the enormity of the threat means he will do all in his power to protect us from it, and that we will not be caught off guard.

It seems apparent that given the budget of Cyber Command and number of staffers at Fort Meade, there is far more on this front than the public knows, and everything online hints that a war the sort the world has never seen is underway. I know not what our entire strategy consists of nor the nature of the operations run, but from everything I have read, I trust our government in their continued efforts to keep our nation safe from this threat.

Given the task of covering a quasi-covert war, I must admit I have failed to truly discover the nature of the operations run or the tactics employed, and as such, I have failed to discover the specifics of U.S. cyber-policy and cyber-strategy. I know nothing more than what is declassified, and so this paper will only deal with a fraction of the truth, that which has leaked into public awareness and fringe elements of the media.

Moreover, the classified nature of the ongoing cyber-skirmishes and cyber-raids means any policy recommendation deviating from the status quo will inexorably prove futile, so I have refrained from doing so. Although such a recommendation would follow in the footsteps of an honorable American political tradition of forming strategy without full intelligence on the matter at hand, I will do no such thing.

I support current efforts of threat-reduction and preemption undergone by the National Security Agency and USCYBERCOM, because even though I don't know quite what they're doing, from the research I have done, I have garnered faith in their continued capacity to shield us from the cyber-threat.

7. *ibid* 21

8. Barrett, Devlin. "U.S. Outgunned in Hacker War."

1. *ibid* 2

2. *ibid* 2

3. Shachtman, Noah. "Military Networks 'Not Defensible,' Says General Who Defends Them."

4. *ibid* 6

5. *ibid* 6

6. *ibid* 6

# Foreign Policy in the 2012 Election

*Voters have a choice of either war or diplomacy and human rights*

By Gregory Dunn  
PRESIDENT



*Presidential candidate Mitt Romney tours the aircraft carrier USS John F. Kennedy. Romney's foreign policy calls for a significantly strengthened military, with a focus on the power of the United States Navy.*

With Mitt Romney the presumptive Republican nominee, the focus of the 2012 presidential campaign has shifted from inter-Republican dueling to a debate between Romney and the incumbent President Barack Obama. Although Mitt Romney's campaign has largely focused on the economy thus far, his website gives a hint of what is to come – under the “Issues” tab eight of the first ten links are about foreign policy.<sup>1</sup> With foreign policy looking to play a major role in the election to come, it is worth trying to understand the substantive differences between the candidates' positions and the context from which they come.

Obama's position is simple. Thanks to a series of popular foreign policy actions like killing Bin Laden, withdrawing from Iraq, beginning to withdraw from Afghanistan, and preventing a successful terrorist attack on American soil, Obama is running on his record.<sup>2</sup> He promises more of what he describes as an America that focuses on diplomacy and intervenes militarily when necessary (notably, Obama has authorized

American involvement in Pakistan, Yemen, and Libya). Obama also views the Department of Defense as in need of substantial budget cuts, specifically curtailing military aircraft procurement. Romney has chosen to attack Obama's platform as risky. Al-

***Although Romney tries to distance himself from Bush, since Americans view Bush's policies as unsuccessful, his policies are more aligned with Bush's policies that he would care to admit.***

though it is working now, he contends, it is unsustainable. He points to the Navy having too few ships, cuts to the Air Force and, some examples of Pentagon bloat to portray Obama's foreign policy as a shift away from bombs to bureaucracy.<sup>3</sup> Romney wishes to cut military budgets, but he focuses on cutting back bureaucracy.

Offensively, Romney is in a tight spot. The subtitles on his campaign literature read “An American Century,” which bears an eerie resemblance to the Project for the

New American Century, a think tank that famously influenced George Bush's foreign policy.<sup>4</sup> Although Romney tries to distance himself from Bush, since Americans view Bush's policies as unsuccessful,<sup>5</sup> his policies are more aligned with Bush's policies that he would care to admit.

Romney believes in a strong, forceful foreign policy, marked by tough demands on North Korea, Iran and Russia, which Romney strangely calls America's number one foe. He would not back down in Afghanistan until he believed it proper to do so (he stresses that he would not do it as a political act, foreshadowing coming attacks on Obama as making a politically popular withdrawal before the time is right).

What Romney hopes to do is cast Obama as an opportunist who makes politically popular moves (withdrawals, defense cuts, an emphasis on diplomacy) when these strategies are not sustainable. This attack is part of a larger political strategy of portraying Obama as an opportunist, not a leader. Not a Romney views the world as a darker place than Obama does, and Romney therefore calls for a floor of four percent of GDP to be spent on our military.<sup>6</sup> Although a discussion of whether this view is justified is out of the scope of this non-partisan paper, the contrast between the candidates is clear in this regard. This contrast foreshadows upcoming debate over the candidates' vision for foreign policy.

Although Romney must balance Bush-era policy with his political popularity, his position has the advantage of experience. The United States

knows hard power in an insecure world works. By contrast, we have never seriously tried sustained demilitarization in an era when threats are rising (Romney would point to Iran and terror). Obama's motions for four more years of focusing on human rights and diplomacy contrast sharply with Romney's idea of focusing on creating a better world through American might. These different worldviews will no doubt determine who will answer the phone at 4 A.M. in 2013.

1. Romney, Willard M. “Issues.” Mitt Romney for President. Romney 2012. Web. 08 May 2012.

2. Cohen, Micheal. “Tarred and Feathered.” Foreign Policy. The Washington Post, 26 Apr. 2012. Web. 08 May 2012.

3. Romney, Willard M. “National Defense.” Mitt Romney for President. Romney 2012. Web. 08 May 2012.

4. *ibid* 1

5. *ibid* 2

6. *ibid* 3

# Drone Strikes Need Accountability

*While successful and justified, drone strikes must be used responsibly*

By Matthew Bungarden  
STAFF WRITER

One of the greatest criticisms leveled at the United States is of the unilateral authority the U.S. has wielded by targeting and killing its enemies all over the world. Over the past decade, the U.S. has increased its level of counter-terrorism operations, specifically through the use of unmanned aerial vehicles, commonly referred to as drones, which are flown remotely and are equipped with surveillance gear and Hellfire missiles; as well as special operations raids, such as the one that killed Osama bin-Laden in May 2011.

When Barack Obama took office in January 2009, he promised transparency and an end to secret wars. However, he has done the exact opposite. The U.S. government has increased drone strikes and special operations raids into foreign nations, without getting consent from those governments. These strikes have been effective in disrupting the Taliban, decimating the al-Qaeda leadership structure in the tribal regions of Pakistan, and have also put severe pressure on Islamist militant groups in Yemen, Somalia, and other Middle Eastern and African nations.

These strikes are often done without the consent or knowledge of the nations where they occur, and have brought up both legal and ethical questions from domestic and foreign critics alike.

## Background

The element of the Bush Doctrine relating to terrorism states that any nation harboring terrorists will be treated as an enemy of the U.S. The Bush administration acted unilaterally, and asserted the right to strike preemptively in order to ensure our security. However, the War on Terror was mostly limited to Iraq and Afghanistan.

Only towards the end of its term did the administration begin to conduct drone strikes in Pakistan. The Obama Doctrine, relating to terrorism, ended the War on Terror citing that terror is a tactic, and instead chose to focus the conflict on defeating al-Qaeda and its affiliates.<sup>1</sup>

The Obama administration entered office pledging to pull out of Iraq and focus on Afghanistan. It also decided to put more

1. Rhode, David. "Obama Doctrine." Foreign Policy. Washington Post, Mar.-Apr. 2012. Web. 30 May 2012.



*A U.S. Air Force Predator drone armed with Hellfire missiles flies over Afghanistan. President Obama has made the use of armed drones and other highly accurate strikes the cornerstone of his foreign policy.*

emphasis on the use of drones and special operations forces: smaller, cheaper, more agile, and higher precision methods of waging war against non-state actors seeking refuge in other countries.

At first, the Pakistani government sanctioned U.S. airstrikes on its soil, but kept its tacit approval a secret from the public. When locals found American markings on missile debris at bomb sites, they realized that the bombs destroying buildings and compounds in the tribal regions were U.S. air strikes targeting militants.<sup>2</sup>

On occasion, innocent civilians would also be killed in these strikes. The portrayal of U.S. strikes in the Pakistani media was that they were needlessly slaughtering Pakistani civilians, which turned the tide of public sentiment and subsequently, the policy of the Pakistani government, against U.S. forays into Pakistani territory.<sup>3</sup>

2. Zubair Shah, Pir. "My Drone War." Foreign Policy. Washington Post, Mar.-Apr. 2012. Web. 30 May 2012.

"The Year of the Drone." Counterterrorism Strategy Initiative. New America Foundation, 29 May 2012. Web. 30 May 2012.

3. Zenko, Micah. "We Can't Drone Our Way to Victory." Foreign Policy 27 Mar. 2012. Foreign Policy. Web. 30 May 2012.

## Current U.S. Policy

The drone airstrike program is one of the most secretive of government counter-terrorism operations. Obama's first public acknowledgement of drone strikes was in January 2011. By then, an estimated 800 militants had been killed in the Pakistani tribal region alone. The administration has continued to use airstrikes, not just in Pakistan, but also in Yemen, Somalia, and other countries in those regions.

The public is not fully aware of the extent of U.S. operations worldwide. Nor is the public in some of the countries that play host to the secret facilities from which drones and special ops raids are launched. In many of the strikes and raids that are conducted, even the foreign government is not notified of the action about to be taken. For instance, in the special operations raid deep into Pakistan which led to the death of Osama bin Laden, a drone was used to monitor the compound prior to U.S. helicopters entering Pakistani airspace. This occurred without knowledge of the Pakistani government, who was only informed of the raid's purpose and target after it was executed to avoid security leaks.

*Terrorists can operate anywhere in the world, and if their target is America, then we are within our rights as a sovereign nation to defend ourselves by seeking them out and neutralizing them before they arrive on our shores.*

## Analysis

The more information that is released to the public, the more controversial the policy of targeted killings has become. Opponents of this policy charge that these strikes are both illegal and immoral. The systematic killing of militants without giving them a trial, without apparent accountability in the decision making, and against the wishes of foreign governments upon whose soil the U.S. is operating, seems to many an overreach on the part of the military, intelligence services, and the executive branch.

There is also the accusation that drone strikes provoke excessive collateral damage and loss of innocent lives. The numbers are hard to measure due to the fact that bombs do not leave much evidence behind, but there are enough accounts of civilians being killed by drones to safely assume that civilians have been caught too near drone targets and have been killed or injured.<sup>1</sup>

There is also another factor that sparks debate. To date, three targets that have been killed were U.S. citizens, the most prominent of which was Anwar al-Awlaki. Al-Aw-

laki was born in America and he studied at Colorado State University. He later became a radical Islamic preacher and an agitator for al-Qaeda, giving online Jihadist lectures and aiding both the Fort Hood shooter and the Detroit Christmas day bomber.<sup>2</sup> He was killed in a drone strike in Yemen. Human rights activists have pointed out that as an American citizen, his rights were violated by not attempting to try him in court, while proponents of the hunter-killer programs say that he forfeited those rights once he became linked to al-Qaeda.

The legal argument for strikes and raids has its roots in the Authorization for the Use of Military Force, passed by Congress shortly after 9/11, which gave the President the power to use "all necessary and appropriate force" in pursuing those responsible for the attacks.<sup>3</sup>

This power was reaffirmed in the 2012 National Defense Authorization Act. Charles Johnson, General Counsel of the Department of Defense, explained that the

2. "U.S.-Born Radical Cleric Added to Terror Blacklist." Fox News. FOX News Network, 16 July 2010. Web. 30 May 2012.

3. Masters, Jonathan. "Targeted Killings." Council on Foreign Relations. 30 Apr. 2012.

administration has the power to target "belligerents who also happen to be U.S. citizens." And may do so "without a geographic limitation."<sup>4</sup> The rationale for this policy is that, in many places where terrorists hide, the governments are either unable or unwilling to deal with them, so the U.S. must intervene.<sup>5</sup>

## Opinion

I believe that this policy of finding and killing enemies of the U.S. wherever they hide is a good policy that should be continued. The world has changed. The greatest threat to the U.S. is posed by non-state actors, organizations that do not swear allegiance to any country, and that act on their own. These new organizations can operate anywhere in the world, and if their target is America, then we are within our rights as a sovereign nation to defend ourselves by seeking them out and neutralizing the threat before it arrives on our shores. Many terrorist groups have ties to their host governments, which makes it more unlikely that said governments will do anything about them, leaving the U.S. no choice but to act on its own and kill the terrorists with drones and other precision strikes.

I do however believe that those involved in initiating these actions, particularly concerning drone strikes, need to be held accountable to the general public. Drones make waging war cheaper, lower risk, and more convenient, which makes the decision to use force much easier to make when it comes up.

The fact that the Central Intelligence Agency can wage a war from a trailer in Nevada strikes me as very troubling. War is not something that is meant to be easy or convenient, and having a machine that makes it so risk-free wrecks the delicate balance between risk and lives lost and potential gains and outcomes that usually makes politicians wary of entering armed conflicts. I believe that there needs to be more oversight when drones are sent to kill terrorists, but the overall policy of targeting terrorists wherever they may hide is a fundamentally sound policy for policymakers to pursue on an ongoing basis.

4. *ibid* 6

5. Markey, Daniel. "Next Steps for Pakistan Strategy." Council on Foreign Relations. May 2011. Web. 30 May 2012.



*Pakistanis in Peshawar protest American drone strikes in Pakistan's tribal regions. Protests like this one are very frequent in Pakistan due to the unpopularity of drone killings throughout the history of Pakistan.*

# Pandora's Box

*A Comprehensive Analysis of Logical Conclusions of Various Geopolitical Phenomena*

By Gregory Dunn  
PRESIDENT

Almost a 100 million people died in just two of the wars that marked the 20th century. Although World War I was remembered as “the war to end all wars” and World War II was thought to have ushered in a new age of UN-brokered peace, the bodies of over a 100 million soldiers killed in the 20th century and the tens of thousands killed in just the first decade of the 21st serve to remind us that although dominant discourses describe the modern era as a peaceful one, calamities are certainly not gone forever.<sup>1</sup>

In fact, with the increasingly destabilizing nature of population growth, climate change, and the achievement of peak production of a significant amount of resources years ago, the chances of a catastrophe have never been higher. With history offering grim evidence that “ontological shifts” and “liberal peace coalitions” have failed repeatedly to avert catastrophes (the League of Nations is now a distant memory, and NATO and the UN brought forth a great era of security logic – the Cold War), a new epistemology of policy making is needed – one that recognizes the need to identify the myriad catastrophes that threaten humanity and appropriately respond to them. Therefore, it is important to understand some of the many threats that face humanity today, and realize the dire consequences of a lack of a comprehensive, immediate response.

## Leadership and Security

Although frequently ignored in status quo policy analysis, a loss of executive political capital in America could have devastating effects. Political capital is traditionally portrayed as only impacting the president’s ability to influence congressional legislation. However, political capital also plays a substantial role in civil-military relations. The president, as the commander in chief, is the key balancing element between military commanders and their civilian counterparts. If the president were to lose his or her political capital, history tells us that nuclear war is highly likely. In Korea, president Truman was unable to match the political capital of MacArthur, and was therefore forced to stand by as the Yalu river offense occurred.

This offensive triggered a massive Chinese retaliation, which resulted in MacArthur believing that nuclear weapons were his best way out. Although nuclear war was

1. Leitenberg, Milton. *Deaths in Wars and Conflicts in the 20th Century*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell, 2006. Print

avoided by Truman’s famous confrontation with MacArthur before he could utilize atomic weaponry against the Chinese, this close brush with nuclear war reminds us that the President’s prestige can be the one thing that separates day-to-day existence and being dragged into a nuclear inferno.

## Climate and Security

With the Department of Defense now identifying global warming as a security threat,<sup>2</sup> it is time for policy makers in general to view global warming on the same level as wars. Global warming will change the climate of many areas, forcing leaders to behave in ways previously thought unthinkable by policy analysts.

Conventionally, a strong deterrent to war has been the threat of the destruction of the homeland: if you come at us, the reprisal will outweigh anything that may have been gained by attacking. Global warming changes this calculation, because it realistically has the potential to deprive people of so many resources that their homeland is

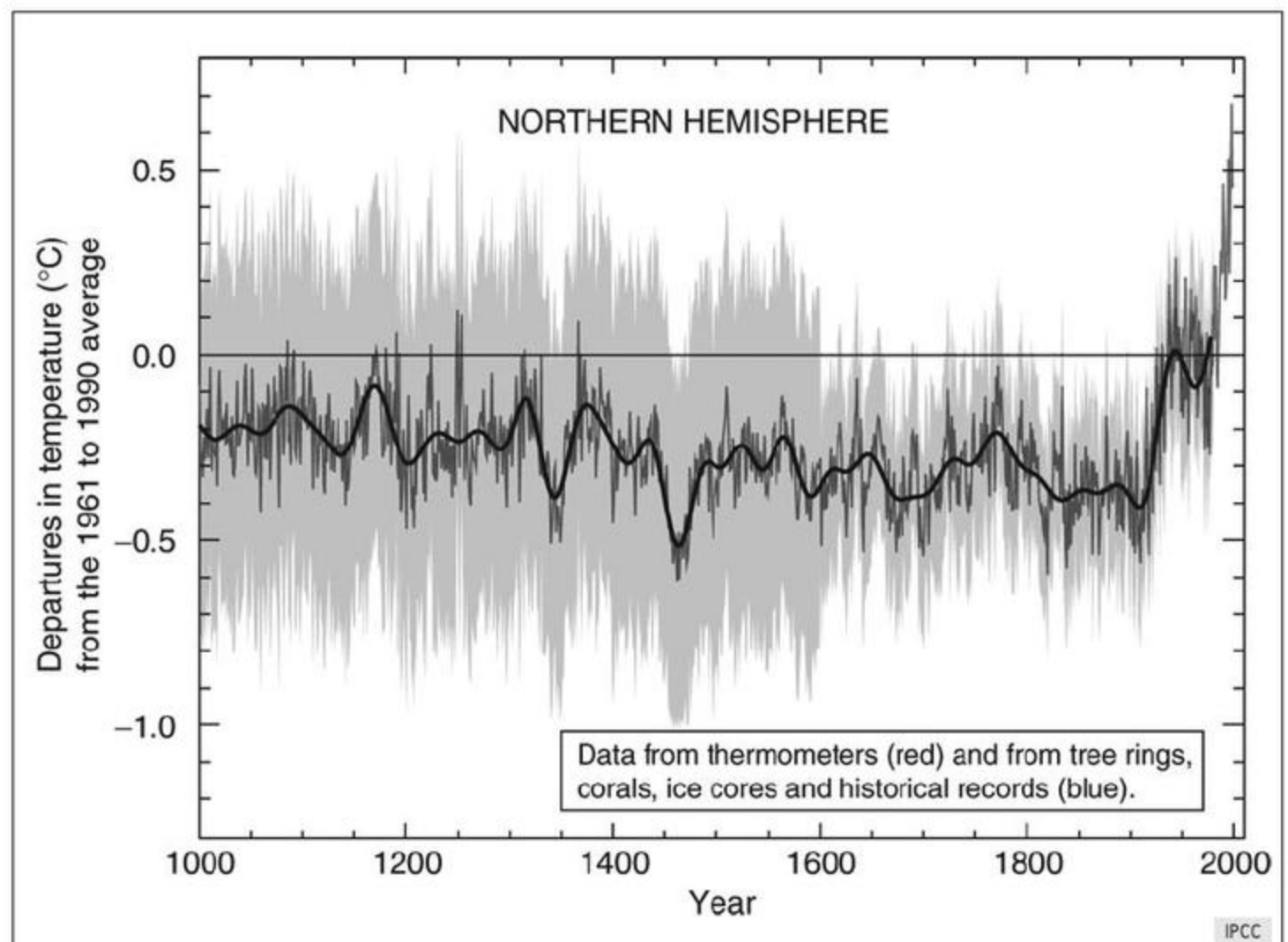
2. Broder, John M. “Climate Change Seen as Threat To Security and Drain on Military.” *The New York Times*. *The New York Times*, 09 Aug. 2009. Web. 29 May 2012.

meaningless.

Therefore, warfare becomes more appealing – the potential seizure of resources is very appealing when the only downside is the loss of barren land. The process of global warming will therefore make warfare a more appealing choice for some actors, destabilizing the global community in an unprecedented and devastating way. If a nation with limited resources and a nuclear weapon (North Korea comes to mind) were to be struck by a significant change in climate for the worse, nuclear warfare becomes a frightening possibility in a world where belligerency is the only hope for survival.

## China and Security

Although a significant confrontation with China is unlikely now, a significant breakdown in U.S.-China relations could have devastating consequences. A breakdown in the effectiveness of diplomacy could make China believe that gaining international power, a stated goal of China’s rulers, cannot be done cooperatively, and therefore it must be done in a way that trades off with other powers like the United States. China



Above: The Hockey Stick Graph illustrates the pressing nature of the global warming threat.





Terrorfalc. Creative Commons

*A Chinese DF-21D missile system, a modern system capable of causing significant damage to U.S. forces. Right: The First Marine Division pays respect to the fallen after the Battle of Chosin Reservoir.*

must grow to appease their restless population, and if growth cannot be done peacefully Chinese leaders must look to other options.

A 2009 report by the famous think tank RAND echos this, noting that “If China comes to believe that nonviolent tools have lost efficacy, it might be inclined to ratchet up military pressure in the event of a crisis... because of a perceived lack of effective alternatives.” The same report goes on to note that currently the United States would lose a war in the Taiwan Strait thanks to China’s recent focus on military build-up in the South China sea.<sup>1</sup>

***We need to recognize the need to identify the myriad catastrophes that threaten humanity and appropriately respond to them***

However, it is naive to believe that the people of the United States or China would be content to contain conflict to the Taiwan Strait if conflict were to arise. The divisive political climate in the United States and the political transition underway in China makes accepting a loss a disastrous move for commanders. The geopolitical ego of both nations is so large that their citizenry would only accept victory or devastating losses. The logical conclusion of this is a significant conflict between the world’s two strongest militaries. Unfortunately, if a leader in either nation were so hesitant to relinquish global hegemony that they were willing to risk nuclear armageddon, these nuclear powers

could easily bring about the nuclear holocaust.

**Dissidence and Security**

In the minds of many Americans, the threat of political deviance is assumed to be one of a bygone era. Many nations have now reached the “end of history”, meaning that governments across the world are choosing a liberal democracy. Thanks to the growing amount of nations who have adopted a liberal democracy, deviancy provides a unifying banner for anyone who seeks to oppose the interests of the United States.

By providing unity to a group of nations (among others, Cuba, North Korea and, Venezuela) that would otherwise be relatively disparate, it creates a synergistic threat that

threatens the United States in many ways. Although it is silly to pretend that the armies of these nations pose a substantial threat to the United States and her allies, the propaganda that these deviant nations support manages to capture the imaginations of a substantial proportion of the world’s population.

From domestic protestors to conspiratorial Arabs (according to surveys, a majority of Arabs do not believe Al Qaeda was responsible for 9/11), and many people have chosen not to buy in to the worldview promoted by the United States.<sup>2</sup> Since fewer and fewer people deviate from mainstream views, those who espouse deviant views are



USMC

increasingly alarmed – their falling numbers makes working within the system less and less practical, and makes violence a more appealing option. Since deviant views are rapidly becoming antiquated, their few adherents will become increasingly desperate and belligerent, and a greater threat to the United States.

Although these dissident forces are decreasing in size and power, they still possess powerful weaponry: improvised bombs, rifles, propaganda and possibly even nuclear weapons. As these deviants lose power, policy makers must be ready to deal with their dying efforts.

1. Shlapak, David A. A Question of Balance: Political Context and Military Aspects of the China-Taiwan Dispute. Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2009. Print.

2. Kull, Steve, Clay Ramsay, Stephen Weber, Evan Lewis, and Ebrahim Mohseni. Public Opinion in the Islamic World on Terrorism, Al Qaeda, and US Policies. Rep. College Park: University of Maryland, 2009. Print.

# Benefits of Foreign Military Bases

*American military presence abroad is necessary for peace and prosperity*

By Sam Carilli  
STAFF WRITER



U.S. Army

*A pilot waits for a general to board his UH-60 helicopter at Ramstein Air Force Base in Germany. Foreign military bases like Ramstein are vital to all aspects of U.S. power projection, especially conflict prevention.*

The budget crisis that has dominated domestic policy is now making its way into the Pentagon and threatening the continuity of U.S. foreign bases. American policy makers and citizens, tired of the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan, have called for the end of U.S. intervention abroad and for the troops to come home. At the center of this debate are the American foreign military bases that many, uneducated of their benefits, insist on dismantling. With hundreds of billions of dollars and a cornerstone of American defense strategy at stake, the U.S. cannot afford to make the wrong choice.

Before a plan can be formulated, it is important to see what foreign bases have done for the U.S. By the end of the Cold War, America stood as the sole superpower. The U.S. was also left with hundreds of military installations in Europe, the Middle East and East Asia. Those bases did not stand idle after the Cold War ended, but rather were put to use in defeating other challenges.

The bases in Bahrain proved to be beneficial in the Gulf War with Iraq in 1990. Airfields in Saudi Arabia were necessary for the U.S. to enforce a no-fly zone and launch attacks on Iraqi forces; moreover, they provided logistical support for invading American forces, as well as the U.S. Navy, which was protecting oil exports. In the conflicts that ensued throughout the '90s – in Kosovo,

in Bosnia, and in Iraq again – military bases were critical in logistical support for troops in hostile countries and providing them with air power to minimize American losses.

In 2001 and 2003, the U.S. invaded Afghanistan and Iraq, respectively, and attempted to eliminate a seemingly invisible hostile force. Central to these invasions were Forward Operating Bases (FOBs), which were used to support tactical operations against a number of targets. Major installations acted as command centers and supply depots, both of which were critical in supporting the FOBs and the troops. The U.S. could not maintain a presence in either country without a base to back its soldiers up.

As of 2011, there are over 730 U.S. military bases on foreign soil. That number has been decreasing due to the draw down in Iraq, and will decrease further when the same happens in Afghanistan in 2014, where many of those bases had been located. The Middle East has already seen a decrease in bases across the region for various reasons. In Iraq, the U.S. has already sold off its bases and equipment;<sup>1</sup> the result being that in December of 2011 the U.S. was left with 4,000 military personnel spread across two bases, a serious drop from the 170,000 troops and 505 bases from the height of the

1. Froomkin, Dan. "U.S. To Hand Over Iraq Bases, Equipment Worth Billions." The Huffington Post 28 Sept. 2011: n. pag. The Huffington Post. Web. 19 Nov. 2011.

war in 2007.<sup>2</sup> In Uzbekistan, the renewal of a lease on a U.S. base had been denied on the grounds that it did not want to anger Iran. In addition to these closures there has also been a refocus of strength in East Asia. For example, President Obama recently announced that marines would be stationed in Australia, albeit in Australian bases.<sup>3</sup>

What all this means is that the U.S. position on military bases is in flux, and where it ends up will define the U.S. in the future. Pressure to decrease the number of bases must be resisted; it is important to recognize the critical logistical support that bases provide to all branches of the U.S. military.

Control of the seas has been one of the country's most important duties since the days of Jefferson. Maritime supremacy has allowed the U.S. to protect its own waters as well as the international trade system that benefits the globe. It has also enabled one of the cornerstones of U.S. defense: the ability to project power anywhere around the globe and deny other countries the ability to do the same. However, maintaining a fleet is a logistical challenge, especially when it is half-way around the globe in the Persian Gulf or

2. Froomkin, Dan. "U.S. To Hand Over Iraq Bases, Equipment Worth Billions." The Huffington Post 28 Sept. 2011: n. pag. The Huffington Post. Web. 19 Nov. 2011.

3. David, Nakamura. "U.S. troops headed to Australia, irking China." The Washington Post 16 Nov. 2011: n. pag. The Washington Post. Web. 19 Nov. 2011.

# The U.S. cannot maintain a presence in any country without a base to back up soldiers.

Singapore.<sup>1</sup> Without naval bases worldwide, the U.S. could not sustain a presence in any area for any significant period of time, and the international trade system would fall apart due to piracy and regional naval disputes or embargoes.<sup>2</sup>

Bases are also a symbol of influence. By maintaining a presence in allied countries, the U.S. can not only provide them with military support, but also show them that the U.S. is stronger than other regional powers (e.g. China and South Korea). This can help to keep tensions calm in areas like the South China Sea, where the Philippines and Vietnam are fighting China for oil rights. The Philippines has recently initiated negotiations with the U.S. for reopening its naval base for the U.S. to use, and Vietnam has been contemplating a similar plan.

These two countries believe that the U.S. has the ability to act as a counterweight to Chinese expansion, a show of how influential the U.S. can be. The same can also be said for North and South Korea, where the presence of a large American force has kept the peace between two nations that are still technically at war. By maintaining a presence in East Asia, the U.S. is able to keep one of the most economically important regions in the world out of war.<sup>3</sup>

In Europe, many might think that an American presence is no longer necessary due to the fact that Russia is no longer a threat, but this view is just short sighted. Russia has always been an expansionary country; although the last twenty years since the end of the Cold War may have taken a toll on the country, it is currently making a comeback. The Siberian oil fields have been developed, which gives Russia two things: money, which it needs to rebuild its military; and influence, especially over Eastern European nations to which it is the sole supplier of fuel. Evidence of Russia's plan for expansion: it plans to pump \$770 billion into its military over the next decade to buy missiles, helicopters, and submarines.<sup>4</sup> Russia may threaten Europe once again, and if the U.S. did not have a foothold in Europe then it would be at a severe disadvantage if conflict erupted.<sup>5</sup>

A question that many in the U.S. are asking, and rightfully so, is why the U.S. is

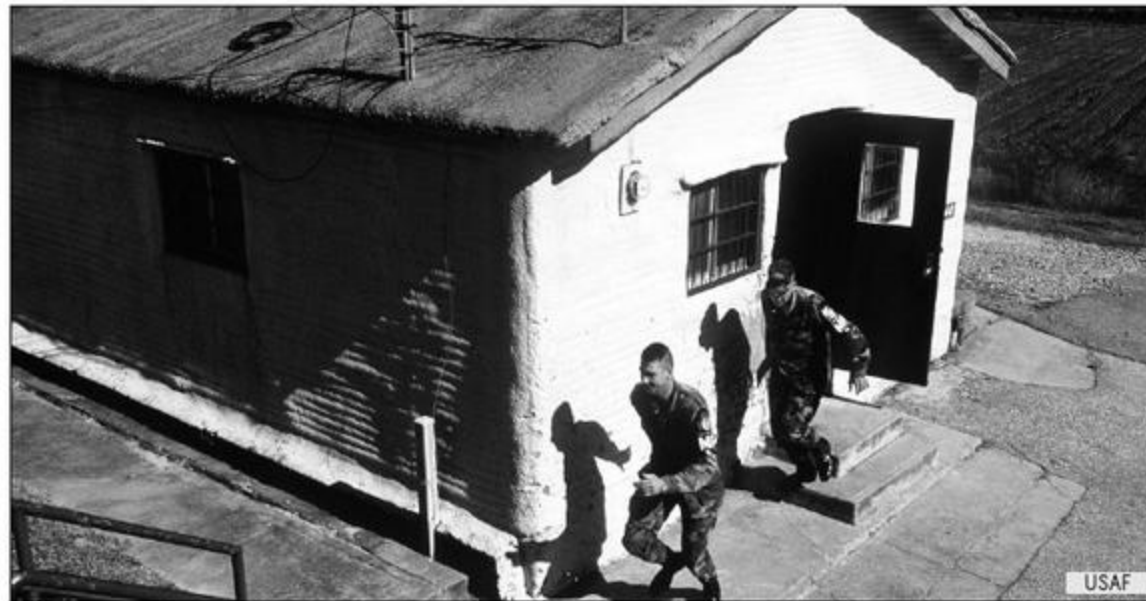
picking up the military tab for Europe if it is more than capable of supporting a military themselves. First, it is important to understand why the EU has agreed to being militarily subordinate to the U.S. Robert Kagan, a foreign policy commentator at the Brookings Institution, has stated that Europeans have an ambition "to exercise moral authority, to wield political and economic influence as an antidote to militarism, to be the keeper of the global conscience, and to be recognized and admired by others for playing this role." They prefer to stay on the high moral ground and let the U.S. do the military work, and the U.S. should accept this position.

The reason for this is to prevent military conflict. As stated before, Russia has always tried to expand; and in the absence of U.S. power the likelihood of armed conflict between Russia and a neighboring country would increase (just look at Georgia). Even among European nations disputes would be solved as they have in the past: sometimes with diplomacy, but mostly with war (remem-

Despite these criticisms, the U.S. should not only keep its current bases, but expand into new regions with a focus in the Pacific; especially when there are countries offering to house the bases, such as the Philippines and Vietnam. There are clear economic and geopolitical reasons for U.S. bases.

Money should not drive our foreign policy, as it does now. \$100 billion is no small sum, but it is important to remember that it provides the U.S. with the ability to facilitate trade and oil shipments, which far exceeds its expense of maintaining its fleets. It also provides the U.S. with the ability to defend key interests in various countries; economic ones (such as oil rigs) again are worth more to us than what it takes to secure them. The economic benefits of a naval fleet guarding the entrance to the Persian Gulf far exceed the cost of maintaining that fleet (to put that into perspective, the closure of the Strait of Hormuz in the Persian Gulf would increase oil prices by \$40 a barrel<sup>9</sup>).

There are also those who argue that the U.S. should not get caught up in every coun-



*U.S. soldiers stationed on the demilitarized zone that separates South and North Korea respond to an alert. The U.S. presence in Korea, which prevents conflict there, would be impossible without having American bases in Korea.*

ber that both world wars happened within thirty years of each other, and they started on the same continent).<sup>6</sup> To show both Europe and Russia that the U.S. is committed to Europe's defense, it needs to station a sizable force there; hence the reason for keeping 60,000 troops in the EU.

Of course, there are many trade-offs to being a player in every struggle. The U.S. automatically becomes a co-belligerent in every country's feuds. Resentment is said to be increased by American "occupation,"<sup>7</sup> and perhaps the most important point is the cost of maintaining a world-wide network of bases, which exceeds \$100 billion a year.<sup>8</sup>

6. *ibid* 5

7. Pfaff, William. "Manufacturing Insecurity." *Foreign Affairs*: n. pag. *Foreign Affairs*. Web. 16 Nov. 2011.

8. Pfaff, William. "Manufacturing Insecurity." *Foreign Affairs*: n. pag. *Foreign Affairs*. Web. 16 Nov. 2011.

try's disputes, but there is a point in doing so. By keeping a force in a region, the military can stabilize the area and prevent conflicts from breaking out. Should a problem occur, however, there are few countries where it would not eventually become the U.S.'s problem.<sup>10</sup> Even if the U.S. did withdraw its influence, it would not mean that other powers would do the same and the area would stabilize.

The world will only become more competitive as countries such as China start to exert their influence and become regional powers. If the U.S. is to stay relevant, then it must not back down; the U.S. must hold onto its bases to stay involved.

9. Darein, Ali Akbar, and Tarek El-Tablawy. "5th Fleet to Iran: Don't close off Hormuz." *Army Times*. Associated Press, 28 Dec. 2011. Web. 10 Feb. 2012.

10. *ibid* 11

1. Thompson, Loren B. *Military Supremacy and How We Keep It*. Hoover Institute. Stanford University, n.d. Web. 16 Nov. 2011.

2. Robert, Kagen. *End of Dreams, Return of History*. Hoover Institute. Stanford University, n.d. Web. 16 Nov. 2011.

3. Reuters. "Philippines seeks to strengthen US defence ties." *BBC News*. N.p., 27 Jan. 2012. Web. 23 Feb. 2012.

4. The Associated Press. "Putin: Russian military to get \$770B upgrade." *CBS News*. N.p., 20 Feb. 2012. Web. 23 Feb. 2012.

5. *ibid* 5

# Stopping Russia With Natural Gas

*How to give Russia a taste of its own medicine*

By Ben Hawthorne  
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF



*Okhta Center, a skyscraper being built by Russian oil and gas monopoly Gazprom, under construction in 2008. The ability to build huge projects like this one demonstrates Gazprom's immense wealth and power.*

On New Year's Day, 2009, a dispute between Russia and Ukraine over payment led to Russia cutting off all natural gas to Ukraine, which included 25 percent of the European Union's gas supply.<sup>1</sup> To make things worse, Europe was in the middle of an especially harsh winter. Although most countries had prepared for a shortage by stockpiling natural gas, their efforts were not enough, as few countries had more than a month's worth of reserves, and many lacked any reserves. The crisis hit Europe hard: Bulgaria had to shut off industrial production to save fuel for heating, thousands lost heating and electricity, and Slovakia even declared a national state of emergency.<sup>2</sup>

This is not an isolated event. Russia has halted Europe's gas supply in 1999, 2006, 2008, and 2012, each time in the dead of winter. The 2009 shortage cost €1 billion in Ireland alone,<sup>3</sup> and the 2012 shortage caused **650 deaths in Central and Eastern Europe.**<sup>4</sup>

1. "Factbox - 18 countries affected by Russia-Ukraine gas row." Reuters 7 Jan. 2009: n. pag. Web. 13 Apr. 2012. "Natural gas shortages slam many European nations." Tuscon Citizen 7 Jan. 2009: n. pag. Web. 13 Apr. 2012.

2. *ibid* 1

3. Leahy, Eimear & Devitt, Conor & Lyons, Seán & Tol, Richard S. J., 2011. "The Cost of Natural Gas Shortages in Ireland"

4. Murray, Alina. "Cold Weather Snap in Eastern Europe Kills More Than 650." MSNBC 2 Feb. 2012: n. pag. MSNBC. Web. 13 Apr. 2012.

Although the EU as a whole gets only 31 percent of its gas from Russia, many Eastern European countries get 90 to 100 percent of their gas through Ukraine, and Germany, the EU's de facto leader, gets 42 percent of its gas from Russia.<sup>5</sup> In addition to denying

***Americans have an opportunity to accelerate economic recovery by bolstering the natural gas industry and to weaken our old foe, Russia.***

thousands of people heat for their homes and offices and severely injuring economies, these gas crises have broader geopolitical implications. After Russia threatened to cut off Ukraine's gas supply, the Ukrainian government gave half the ownership of its gas pipeline, its biggest source of revenue, over to Gazprom, the Russian state-owned energy agency, after the 2009 crisis. Furthermore, Russia took over most Ukrainian mines and power stations, sent in many Gazprom security police to guard the pipeline (heavily armed soldiers and drones),<sup>6</sup> boosted coop-

5. "European Union. EU-Russian Gas Relations in Perspective: Challenges and Opportunities. N.p.: European Dialogue, 2012. European Dialogue. Web. 13 Apr. 2012.

6. Hurst, Cindy. "The Militarization of Gazprom." Military Review Sept.-Oct. 2010: 59-67. Google Docs. Web. 13

eration between Russian and Ukrainian defense ministries, secured a new Ukrainian government that is more favorable towards Russia, and a longer lease on its critical Black Sea base in Sevastopol, and, most ominously, has begun implementing political reforms in Ukraine to make Ukraine more like Russia. Russia has also exploited the total reliance of Eastern Europe on Gazprom's natural gas in mid-2009 when it set up a number of security and economic alliances in Eastern Europe that heavily favored Russia (think Warsaw Pact part II).<sup>7</sup> When Turkey lost 67 percent of its gas in 2009, it cozied up to Iran to get gas from them. Turkey helped Iran build a major pipeline through Turkey, a pipeline that until very recently continued to operate despite the international sanctions on Iran.

Further, Russia is not nearly as dependent on the EU as the EU is on Russia. Russia is building new pipelines to China and the Koreas, and has recently completed pipelines to China as well as to Turkey and the Caucasus region in 2010 and 2006, respectively.<sup>8</sup> Demand from Turkey and China nearly equals demand from Europe,<sup>9</sup> which means that Russia can make up lost gas revenues from Europe by simply increasing gas supply to other countries.

Europe's reliance on Russian gas stems largely from the fact that Europe has little gas of its own. However, it seems puzzling that European nations continue to rely on authoritarian and unpredictable Russia in light of recent events in the gas market. 2011 was a record year for U.S. natural gas production, which now outstrips domestic demand by 119 billion cubic meters.<sup>10</sup> This excess is far greater than European demand, which currently amounts to 65 billion cubic meters.<sup>11</sup> American shale gas is cheap, too: it is at the lowest price in a decade. This boom and the low gas price are largely attributable to recent advances in shale-gas mining

techniques that have opened up billions of cubic meters of gas up to drilling.<sup>12</sup> Exporting this excess gas to Eastern Europe would be beneficial

from an economic and geopolitical: gas companies would make greater profits and European civilians would benefit from

May 2012.

7. United States. U.S. Army. Russian Influence on Ukrainian Strategic Policy. By Defek G. Webb. Charleston, SC: U.S. Army, 2011. Print.

8. Stangarone, Troy. "Russia's North Korea Gas Deal." The Diplomat 15 Nov. 2011: n. pag. New Leader Forum. Web. 13 Apr. 2012. Reuters. "New Russian pipeline replaces oil by rail." Global Times 10 Dec. 2010: n. pag. Global Times: Discover China Discover the World. Web. 13 Apr. 2012.

9. *ibid* 7

10. United States. Energy Information Administration. Natural Gas Overview. N.p.: Energy Information Administration, 2012. Department of Energy. Web. 13 Apr. 2012.

11. *ibid* 1

12. Osborne, Andrew. "Why natural gas is cheap and gasoline isn't." New York Times 30 Mar. 2012: n. pag. NYT. Web.

# Once Russian influence is minimized in Europe, true integration of Eastern Europe into the EU can begin, which will make the EU an effective counter-weight to Russia.

lower gas prices while the U.S. would keep Eastern Europe out of Russia's sphere of influence. Further, Europeans would benefit from U.S. gas: American natural gas costs \$30 per 1,000 cubic meters,<sup>1</sup> while Russian gas shipped to Western Europe costs \$500 per 1,000 cubic meters and gas shipped through Ukraine costs \$250 per 1,000 cubic meters.<sup>2</sup> If natural gas prices were lowered this dramatically, Europe's economic recovery would speed up rapidly.

As usual, the only thing that stops the U.S. from exporting more gas to Europe is money. Natural gas must undergo an expensive liquefaction process before sea transport, while it can be left in its natural gaseous state for pipeline transport. Further, after a sea journey, natural gas must be regassified, which can only be done at expensive terminals that cost more than \$1 billion to build.<sup>3</sup>

In the long run, it is worthwhile to make investments in building regasification terminals in Eastern Europe because the expected monetary payoff to gas companies and European citizens and the political payoff to the U.S. government is so great. In the short term, however, stop-gap measures must be taken. The U.S. can assist European nations in acquiring machines called floating regasification and storage units (FSRUs), natural gas tankers converted to serve as regasification terminals. FSRUs can be leased for an average of \$70 million per year, an inexpensive price considering that a single FSRU can regassify 3.4 billion cubic meters of natural gas, or 125 percent of Lithuania's natural gas consumption. FSRUs can also be built in much less time than regasification terminals. Already, Lithuania, one of the first European countries to lease an FSRU, has seen its negotiating power with the Russian leadership increase after it leased its first FSRU earlier this year, according to Lithuanian and Latvian diplomats.<sup>4</sup>

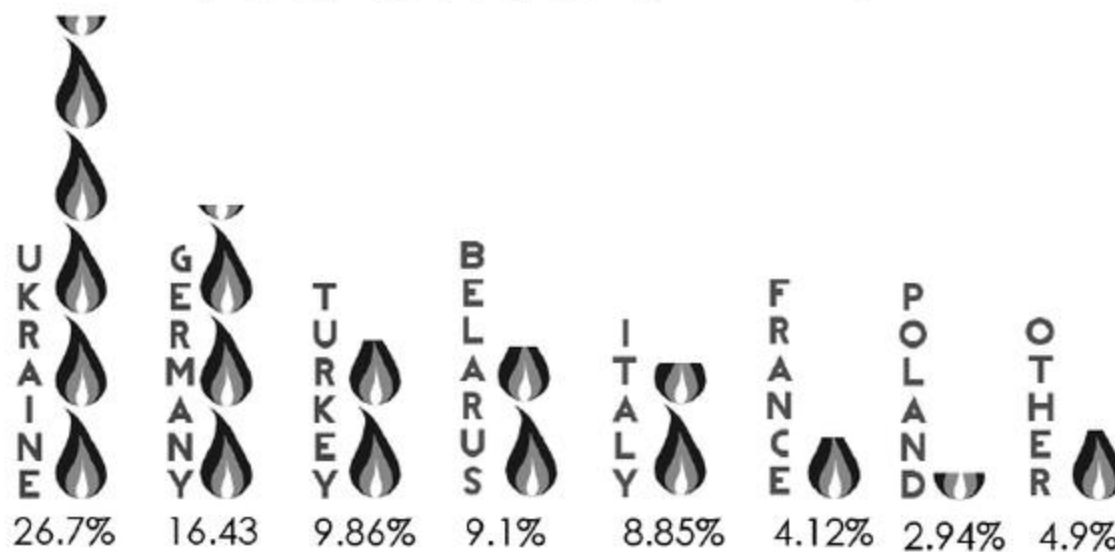
To do its part, Europe can start developing its own shale gas reserves and diversifying its gas sources. This has not yet been done because of the EU's ban on fracking, the technique used for extracting shale gas. The EU justifies this ban on environmental grounds, saying that it pollutes groundwa-

ter and causes earthquakes, though a recent University of Wyoming study of 4,000 fracking incidents shows that all but 25 incidents caused no discernible damage to groundwater or the environment.<sup>5</sup> The EU sits on 2.168 trillion cubic meters of accessible natural gas. If the EU were to loosen its environmental restrictions on gas extraction and build facilities for extracting this gas, it could hypothetically eliminate the need for foreign supplies of gas. Further, the EU could turn to other sources of gas, such as Qatar or Mozambique, both of which have made enormous natural gas discoveries recently.<sup>6</sup>

has created 600,000 jobs and boosted U.S. GDP by \$76 billion.<sup>7</sup>

Obviously, this will be seen as confrontational by Russia and may even weaken relations, as the now harsh relations between Lithuania and Russia show. However, the failure of Obama's conciliatory "reset" policies – a critical missile defense system based in Poland was cancelled and America made deep cuts in its nuclear arsenal while Russia continued to bully its neighbors – shows that playing nice with Russia does not work. Russia still treats the West as a foe, so it is foolish for Europe and America not to do the same.

## MAJOR RECIPIENTS OF RUSSIAN NATURAL GAS EXPORTS (2007)



Developing its natural gas resources would give Europe another benefit: wealth. Exploiting its gas would bring riches to Europe in two ways. First, civilians and businesses would benefit from lower gas prices. Lower energy costs would give consumers more money to spend and businesses more money to invest in creating jobs. In the U.S., lower gas prices resulting from shale gas are estimated to have increased industrial production by 2.9 percent and household income by \$929 in 2010 alone. Second, the natural gas industry will bring jobs and investment to Europe, as it did in America. Shale gas

The process of transitioning Europe away from reliance on Russian gas may be dirty and expensive. But the end result, a steep drop in Russian influence in Europe, particularly Eastern Europe, will be enormously valuable from a geopolitical standpoint. Once Russian influence is minimized in Europe, true integration of Eastern Europe into the EU and the Schengen free-trade Area can begin, which will bolster the EU and thereby make the EU an effective counterweight to Russia. This would be particularly beneficial for the U.S., which has a prime opportunity to accelerate its economic recovery by bolstering the natural gas industry and to weaken its old foe, Russia. America would be a fool not to take it.

1. United States Energy Information Administration. Quantity and Average Price of Natural Gas Production in the United States, 1930-2000. N.p.: Energy Information Administration, 2000. Department of Energy. Web. 13 Apr. 2012.

2. Osborne, Andrew. "Russia Firm Cuts Gas to Ukraine, But EU Hit Is Cushioned." Wall Street Journal 2 Jan. 2009: n. pag. WSJ. Web. 13 Apr. 2012.

3. "Lithuania leveraging a new LNG technology." STRATFOR 8 Mar. 2012: n. pag. Web. 13 Apr. 2012.

4. ibid 14

5. Entine, Jon. "Fracking Safety Improves Dramatically, Says Independent Study." Forbes. Forbes Magazine, 15 May 2012. Web. 29 May 2012.

6. "European Union." CIA World Factbook. CIA, 2 Apr. 2012. Web. 3 Apr. 2012. LeVine, Steve. "For Alaska (and Qatar and Mozambique and Russia) China is the hub of hope." Foreign Policy 12 Apr. 2012: n. pag. Foreign Policy. Web. 13 Apr. 2012.

7. Bonakdarpour, Mohsen, et al. The Economic and Employment Contributions of Shale Gas in the United States. Washington D.C.: IHS Global Insight, 2011. Print.

# Militarism 2.0: South China Sea

*In Asia, a naval arms race and rising nationalism threaten war*

By Ben Hawthorne  
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF



*Chinese destroyer Qingdao enters Pearl Harbor in 2006. The fact that she was able to make such a long journey on her own demonstrates the increased high endurance capability of Chinese warships.*

A specter is haunting Asia – the specter of war. Across the continent, from India to Japan, formerly peaceful countries are pursuing aggressive and occasionally expansionist policies. While expansionism is not new in the region, this time is different. Previous conflicts in Asia tended to feature one modern and well-armed nation conquering smaller and weaker ones, as in the rise of Tang China in the 7th century or Imperial Japan in the 20th century. This time, however, there are several different sides involved in a potential run-up to war. Aggressive statements from political leaders are just the public face of the looming crisis. The region is haunted by nationalism, energy disputes, and, most ominously, an arms race.

## Arms Race

Since the Pacific and Indian Ocean regions are defined by the sea, this arms race is primarily naval. Although military spending in Asia grew at a slower rate than usual because of the poor state of the economy, Asian military budgets grew by an average of 2.3 percent in 2011.<sup>1</sup> While this may not sound like a very large increase, it is signifi-

cant because military spending in the rest of the world has hit a plateau, which makes Asia the region with the second biggest increase in military spending, after the Middle East.<sup>2</sup> Asia's military buildup is more visible over the long term, as spending has risen 69 percent since 2000, compared to a global increase of 49 percent.<sup>3</sup> This is especially concerning because the U.S. and most of its Western European allies are cutting their defense budgets to rein in rising deficits.<sup>4</sup>

The two countries largely responsible for this jump in spending are also the world's largest: India and China. By 2030, India plans to spend \$45 billion on its navy and add 103 ships to its fleet; China plans to spend \$20 billion and add 135 ships. India is the world's largest arms importer, accounting for nine percent of all global arms trade.<sup>5</sup>

More important than just the numbers of ships India and China plan to acquire, however, is the types of ships they will build and weapons they are buying. Both countries have explicitly stated a desire to own "blue-water" navies," (fleets that can fight and project power more than 200 miles from

2. *ibid* 1

3. "Global Fund for Women." *Militarism Facts*. Global Fund for Women, 2010. Web. 17 May 2012.

4. *ibid* 1

5. Keating, Joshua E. "Foreign Policy." *Foreign Policy*. Dec. 2011. Web. 17 May 2012.

their home countries) and are thus investing in power projection weapons, particularly aircraft carriers. India is currently building two new 40,000 ton carriers, is planning to launch a 65,000 ton carrier by 2017, and has purchased \$700 million worth of Mig-29ks (Russian carrier-based fighters).<sup>6</sup> China, meanwhile, has just launched its first carrier, a refitted 33,000 ton Gorbachev-era ex-Soviet vessel and plans to build four more.<sup>7</sup>

Carriers are useful for projecting influence and fighting conflicts a long distance away from their bases, which makes them exceptionally well suited to power projection and controlling regions. It is worrying that China and India are expressing increased interest in these vessels, since it shows that they likely intend to establish firm spheres of influence in the region using threats of force.

India and China are interested in another power projection tool recently: amphibious warfare ships, which can transport Marines and launch D-Day style assaults on beaches. India bought its first amphibious warfare ship, an outdated U.S. Navy vessel, last year and plans to acquire four newer ships,<sup>8</sup> and China owns two modern (circa 2006) and domestically built amphibious warfare ships and plans to build eight more.<sup>9</sup>

Both nations are also investing in the crucial yet inconspicuous aspects of power projection: support vessels (underway replenishment ships, oilers, tankers, etc) and foreign bases. The Indian Navy has just acquired two new tankers and two underway replenishment and ammunition ships, and it has reportedly conducted underway replenishment operations.<sup>10</sup> China has owned an extensive fleet of tankers and support ships since the '90s and has been stepping up the rate of exercises involving them after 2005.<sup>11</sup> Much has been made of China's "string of pearls," a string of new naval bases and deepwater ports from Pakistan and Sri Lanka to Myanmar and Cambodia.<sup>12</sup> While the Indian Navy does not yet have as many bases as China, it has built a new base in Madagascar, has berthing rights in Oman and Vietnam, and is negotiating with the Maldives to build a base there.<sup>13</sup>

Although most emphasis is placed on construction of power projection weapons, offensive weaponry is also being stockpiled by both nations.

6. Scott, David. "India's Drive for a 'Blue Water' Navy." *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 10.2 (2008): n. pag. Print.

7. Thomas, Rich. "China Plans World's Second-Largest Carrier Fleet." *Yahoo! News*. Yahoo!, 25 July 2011. Web. 17 May 2012.

8. "India Looking for Amphibious Ships." *Defense Industry Daily*. 27 Nov. 2011. Web. 17 May 2012.

9. Lague, David. "Analysis: New China Landing Vessels Point to Pacific Rivalry." *Reuters*. Thomson Reuters, 14 Feb. 2012. Web. 17 May 2012.

10. *ibid* 6

11. United States. Congressional Research Service. *China Naval Modernization: Implications for U.S. Navy Capabilities – Background and Issues for Congress*. By Ronald O'Rourke. 2012. Google Docs. Web. 18 May 2012.

12. *ibid* 11

13. *ibid* 6

1. "Military Spending 2011 Regional Infographic, Top 10 Military Spenders & More." *Army Technology*. 16 Apr. 2012. Web. 17 May 2012.



*American and Indian aircraft fly over the Indian aircraft carrier INS Viraat. Indian warships have been conducting longer range patrols than before, often visiting ports as far off as Japan.*

India and China are building fleets of modern, stealth frigates and destroyers. These new surface ships are heavily armed and carry some of the most advanced electronics, including Active Electronically Scanned Array radars, which are nearly impossible to jam and can track far more targets than regular radars.<sup>1</sup> The most important aspect of these new ships, however, is that they are high endurance: China's Type 052 destroyers have a range of 4,000 nautical miles<sup>2</sup> and India's Delhi class have a range of 5,000 nautical miles.<sup>3</sup>

Acquisition of silent diesel-electric submarines and better armed nuclear submarines, both of which are purely offensive weapons, is also a priority for both countries. India is currently buying the latest submarines from Germany and Russia and is planning to launch 30 new boats by 2030,<sup>4</sup> and China has added 42 boats of increasing stealthiness to its fleet since 1995, and expects to add a total of 75 boats by 2020.<sup>5</sup>

Finally, both countries are upgrading their missile inventories: India has equipped all destroyers and frigates with the stealthy, supersonic, mid-range (290 km), and powerful (armed with a 300 kg warhead) BrahMos missile. It is also deploying the short-range Dhanush ballistic missile, which is armed with either a 500 kg armor piercing warhead that can be used against ships or a 10 kiloton nuclear weapon, onboard its submarines and patrol craft.<sup>6</sup> China has built the famed DF-

21D, the world's first ballistic anti-ship missile, which has a staggering 1,500 km range and is considered a serious threat to U.S. carriers.<sup>7</sup> China has also acquired hundreds of regular anti-ship cruise missiles, including the Russian SS-N-27N Sizzler which an American admiral has said the U.S. Navy has no known defense against, as well as several satellites to guide long range missiles and air operations.<sup>8</sup>

Almost all Asian countries have found themselves forced to respond to this arms race. The three making the most significant investments in their fleets, other than India and China, are South Korea, Japan, and Russia. South Korea is planning to build 128 ships

by 2030, although some of those are just replacing outdated vessels.<sup>9</sup> Despite its constitutional ban on war, Japan has the strongest navy in the Pacific region, and it is investing heavily in new fighters, expensive anti-ballistic missiles (ABMs), networking technology, and additional "helicopter destroyers" (a euphemism for aircraft carriers). In 2010, Japan announced that it would build its first foreign base since WWII, a navy base in Djibouti, on the Indian Ocean.<sup>10</sup> Russia is in the process of modernizing its navy to include two new amphibious assault ships, a new class of ballistic missile submarines (the largest ever built), and over 20 stealthy anti-aircraft frigates and corvettes. The Russian Navy's latest strategic guidance document

7. *ibid* 11

8. *ibid* 11

9. *ibid* 5

10. Werthiem, Eric. "World Navies in Review." *Proceedings* Mar. 2012: 36-41. Print.

makes it clear that the focus of this buildup is the Pacific region, and most of the new ships will be deployed to the Pacific.<sup>11</sup>

The arms buildup is affecting all countries both in the heart of the region and far away from it; a few examples of this are listed below. The Royal Australian Navy, in the words of Australian Vice Admiral Ray Griggs, plans to "[Evolve] into a much more capable amphibious force, [bring] new air-warfare destroyers into the fleet, and [double] the size of the current submarine force," in addition to plans to acquire the advanced and stealthy F-35 fighter and to potentially buy American Virginia-class nuclear submarines.<sup>12</sup> Pakistan, understandably unnerved by the naval buildup conducted by its long time enemy India, is investing in new basing infrastructure, more ships, and space and cyber weapons.<sup>13</sup> Indonesia is rapidly increasing its military spending and is adding several new vessels to its fleet, including Chinese-built missile boats and ultramodern German diesel-electric submarines.<sup>14</sup> Vietnam has begun stockpiling Russian anti-shiping missiles and Canadian maritime patrol aircraft, in addition to buying six very quiet submarines, two frigates, and a large troop transport.<sup>15</sup> Even tiny Singapore is modernizing its fleet with the purchase of two Swedish submarines and upgrades to the rest of its submarine fleet.<sup>16</sup>

## Rising tensions

This arms buildup is made worse by the rise in tensions in the region. Most of these tensions center around the South China Sea. Half of the world's merchant ships, carrying about \$2.5 trillion worth of oil and \$2.5 tril-

***Formerly peaceful Asian countries are pursuing aggressive, expansionist policies. Several sides are involved in an arms race and potential run-up to war.***

lion worth in other goods, pass through the South China sea,<sup>17</sup> meaning that any nation with control over the South China Sea controls world trade and East Asia's supply of oil. Throw in the fact that the South China Sea is estimated to contain about 15 billion tons of oil and natural gas plus vibrant fishing and sea salt industries, and the South China Sea becomes even more of a prize.<sup>18</sup> Naturally, this has led to several nations, namely China, Vietnam, and the Philippines

11. Fedyszyn, Thomas. "Renaissance of the Russian Navy?" *Proceedings* Mar. 2012: 30-35. Print.

12. Griggs, Ray. "The Commanders Respond." *Proceedings* Mar. 2012: 16-17. Print.

13. *ibid* 25

14. *ibid* 22

15. *ibid* 22

16. *ibid* 22

17. United States. Center for Naval Analysis. Institute for National Strategic Studies. *South China Sea Oil Shipping Lanes*. Print.

18. "Rich Resources in the South China Sea." China Oceanic Information Network. People's Republic of China. Web. 18 May 2012.

1. AESA Radar: Revolutionary Capabilities for Multiple Missions. N.p.: Lockheed Martin, n.d. Print.

2. "Type 052 (Luhu Class) Missile Destroyer - SinoDefence.com." *SinoDefence*. 1 Mar. 2009. Web. 17 May 2012.

3. India. Indian Navy. *Ships in Service of the Indian Navy*. 2012. Web.

4. *ibid* 6

5. *ibid* 11

6. *ibid* 6

claiming overlapping portions of the South China Sea.<sup>1</sup> In terms of claiming territory in the South China Sea, China is the worst offender: it claims the entire sea, as well as what it calls the “first island chain”: Taiwan, the Spratly Islands, and the Ryukyu Islands, which are part of Japan.<sup>2</sup> Attempts to solve the boundary dispute diplomatically in the regional ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) forum have failed,<sup>3</sup> which has raised tension by making Chinese officials believe that force is the only way to resolve the crisis.<sup>4</sup>

These tensions have occasionally led to crises and violence. In the most recent crisis, which is still ongoing, Chinese and Filipino warships have been in a standoff for over a month because the Philippines detained Chinese fishermen it claimed were fishing in its territorial waters. China is warning its citizens of a potential war, and has deployed five warships to the location of the dispute, including an amphibious transport dock.<sup>5</sup> Previous disputes in the region of note include a 2010 incident in which a Chinese trawler rammed a Japanese Coast Guard ship and a 2009 incident where Chinese gunboats stalked an unarmed American surveillance vessel in the South China Sea and nearly collided with it. Notable violent clashes include a 2005 incident in which two Chinese warships fired on Vietnamese fishing boats China claimed entered their territorial waters, killing nine,<sup>6</sup> and the 1974 Battle for the Paracel Islands between China and South Vietnam that resulted in South Vietnam losing a corvette and 53 sailors.<sup>7</sup>

Both the naval arms build up and the tensions in the South China Sea are attributable to two factors: rising nationalism and desire for national prestige in some countries, and the response to this nationalism by other nations. The best example of rising nationalism is China. The state-sponsored media regularly portrays the actions of other countries in a negative light, and occasionally calls for military action against foreigners, especially the U.S. and Japan. It tends to glorify China, and makes regular calls for reclaim-

1. Bayron, Heda. “ASEAN Meeting to Examine South China Sea Dispute.” Voice of America. U.S.A., 11 July 2011. Web. 18 May 2012.

2. Sato, Koichi. China’s territorial Claims at Sea: The East China and South China Sea. N.p.: n.p., n.d. Google docs. Web. 25 May 2012.

3. Weissmann, Mikael. “The South China Sea Conflict and Sino-Asean Relations: A Study in Conflict Prevention and Peace Building.” Asian Perspective 34.3 (2010): 25-69. Print.

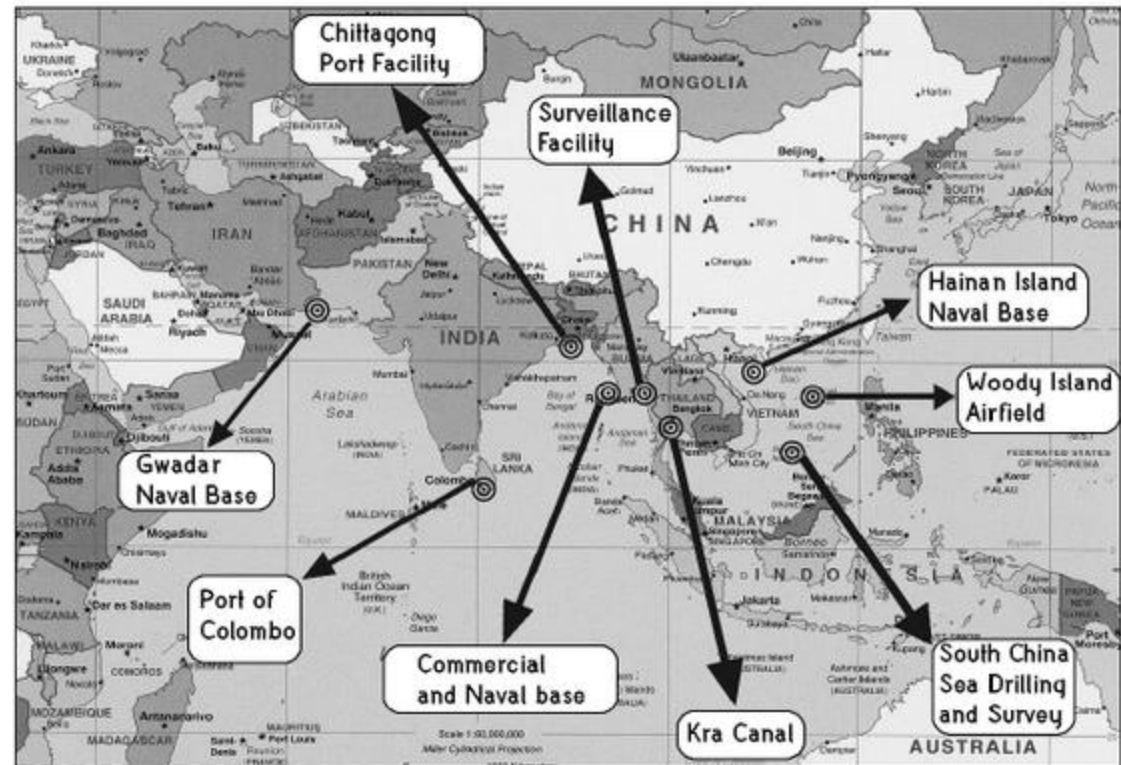
4. Thearith, Leng. Is ASEAN Still Relevant? Phnom Penh: n.p., 2009. Print.

5. McElroy, Damien. “Chinese Media Warns of War with Philippines.” The Telegraph. 10 May 2012. Web. 18 May 2012.

6. “Vietnam Protests Chinese Firing at Fishing Boats.” Intellasia East Asia News. 15 Jan. 2005. Web. 18 May 2012.

7. Ha, Van Ngnac. “Battle For Paracel Islands.” Battle For Paracel Islands. VNAF MA, 2005. Web. 18 May 2012.

## China's "String of Pearls" Naval Bases



ing China’s “heritage” – hegemony in East Asia – from the West. Postings by Chinese civilians on social media, where nationalistic posts vastly outnumber dissident posts, even on social media not controlled by the government, show that the public buys into this sentiment.<sup>8</sup> Japan is also experiencing a wave of nationalism,<sup>9</sup> as very right wing candidates are gaining in power. Finally, Indian

ence tilting the balance of power in the region against them. It is thus in America’s best interest to act as a neutral arbiter in the region, deploying to any crisis zone to convince both parties to back down. Being a neutral arbiter of disputes would necessitate both strong offensive and defensive capabilities: offensive capabilities to crush the aggressors if a battle breaks out, and defensive capabilities to shield merchant vessels and allied warships from attack.

This also means that the U.S. will need to change the structure of the force it has in East Asia. Retaliation solely against enemy naval assets makes the most sense since it can quickly end a conflict without escalating it, so weapons that are primarily land-attack, namely Marines, amphibious warfare ships, and strategic bombers, should be moved out of harms way. This is why the Marine Corp’s new base in Darwin, Australia is so crucial: it is out of a potential combat zone, so troops and ships are completely safe there, yet it is close enough to the South China Sea, the heart of East Asia and the most likely location of a future conflict, that ships based there can deploy to a crisis zone quickly. If this base was expanded to include amphibious warfare ships, it could realize its full potential as a new, safe staging area for the United States in the Western Pacific.

The best policy is to not provoke war. The U.S. should pay attention to its actions in the region and be sure that they could not be seen as aggressive. However, these tensions demand a constant, strong show of force by the U.S. to prevent any armed conflicts from breaking out. However, the U.S. Navy alone has the power to police the waters of the South China Sea, cause tensions to cool down before they boil over and become wars, and protect our allies and defeat aggressors in the event of a conflict, so doing anything other than increasing American military presence in Asia is not an option.

## *It is in America's best interest to act as a neutral arbiter in Asia.*

nationalism, particularly Hindu nationalism, is rising in the form of more Hindu terrorism and Mahanian calls for putting the “Indian” back in the Indian Ocean issued by members of Parliament and bureaucrats.<sup>10</sup> Nationalism has led to a desire to assert the power of one’s country on the world stage, which partly explains the rise of aggressive, internationalist foreign policies in China and India. Most Asian nations have become alarmed by these aggressive policies and started arming, which has created the current situation.

### Analysis

The United States needs to approach this situation with extreme caution. If the U.S. increased cooperation between its navy and one of its allies’ navies, or increased arms sales to an ally, it would just fuel more arms buildup from countries wary of U.S. influ-

8. Grammaticas, Damian. “China’s Rising Nationalism Troubles West.” BBC News. BBC, 17 Nov. 2009. Web. 18 May 2012.

9. Kumagai, Hiroshi. “H. Kumagai: Rising Nationalism in Northeast Asia.” Universal Peace Federation. 17 Sept. 2009. Web. 18 May 2012.

10. Kaplan, Robert D. Monsoon: The Indian Ocean and the Future of American Power. New York: Random House, 2010. Print.



# The West Coast is Safe

*North Korea's failed rocket launch will accelerate the collapse of the regime.*

By Will Hall and Sam Carilli  
STAFF WRITERS

On 12 April, to mark the 100th anniversary of the birth of Kim Il-Sung, North Korea's founder, the North Korean military launched a ninety-ton, three stage rocket over the Yellow Sea. While the ostensible purpose of the launch was to test technology that could eventually put a satellite into orbit, it failed to do so, exploding eighty-one seconds into its flight.<sup>1</sup>

The rocket's launch brought immediate condemnation from the international community, including the halting of desperately needed food aid from the United States and a pause on the six-nation talks, the goal of which is to end North-Korea's uranium enrichment. The failure of the rocket launch also confirmed the Western intelligence community's belief that North Korea is making very little headway towards creating a successful ballistic missile.<sup>2</sup>

Despite the positive sign that North Korea won't be hitting the West Coast with an Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) anytime soon, both the launch itself and the failure of the rocket are deeply concerning. North Korea is an internally fragile state, even more so than usual. Its leader, Kim Jong Un, is inexperienced in his new position and therefore vulnerable to power struggles.

This can be seen in the somewhat odd reversal of North Korea's current diplomatic approach. Prior to the launch, North Korea had agreed to the suspension of work on its nuclear weapons and the return of International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) inspectors in exchange for food aid. Yet before any of that could actually occur, the com-

***After the launch, North Korea suffered a loss of face and, will be only too eager to demonstrate its martial capabilities. It is likely that Kim will order an attack or nuclear test to prove he is not weak.***

memorative missile was launched and the entire deal fell apart. This is not the first time North Korea has reneged on a deal with the international community and will certainly not be the last.

1. Sang-Hun, Chloe, and Rick Gladston. "North Korean Rocket Fails Moments After Liftoff." *Nytimes.com*. New York Times, 12 Apr. 2012. Web. 12 May 2012.

2. Park, Ju-min. "North Korea's Rocket Launch Ends in Failure: South Korea." *Reuters*. Thomson Reuters, 12 Apr. 2012. Web. 12 May 2012.



*The failure of this rocket launch may prompt North Korea to attack South Korea as they have done after previous failed launches.*

However, the curious aspect of this particular circumstance is that North Korea did not wait for the food aid to actually arrive, which is North Korea's usual ploy. What this likely shows is a tremendous amount of pressure being placed on Kim behind the scenes to demonstrate that he is a hard-liner. This is concerning. If Kim Jong Un is facing challenges to his authority or is a puppet to the military or ruling elites, control over the country's nuclear arsenal and conventional forces are no longer in one man's hands.

The failure of the launch only exacerbates this situation. North Korea has suffered a loss of face in the world and given its track record, will be only too eager to demonstrate its martial capabilities. The North Korean government has recently is-

sued the ominously specific threat that it "reduce Seoul to ashes in four minutes" and kill everyone in the South Korean government and media.<sup>3</sup> North Korea also appears to be preparing to test an atomic bomb based on satellite imagery.<sup>4</sup> It is thus highly likely that Kim Jong Un will order some sort of attack or nuclear test in order to prove he is not a weak leader.

The question now is how the world should respond. Steps have been taken to prepare for a nuclear test or conventional attack like the shelling of the island. The U.S., E.U., South Korea, and Japan have also requested sanctions be placed on more than 40 North Korean companies, up from the current eight, and that the list of goods North Korea is forbidden be expanded. This punishment is inadequate for a number of reasons. First, China has already rejected the bulk of the proposed sanctions, and it is unlikely that they will support more than a slap on the wrist for the regime, given their special relationship with the rogue state.

Without China's support the only sanctions that will get passed by the international community will be heavily watered down. The U.S. and its allies will be able to impose their sanctions independently, but again, without China's support their effectiveness will be limited. This is confirmed by a recent UN probe into the failure of the last round of sanctions on North Korea, which shows that China broke the sanctions by selling crucial missile technology to North Korea.<sup>5</sup>

Thus it seems that the situation is back to square one, however there is more that can be done to put pressure on the regime. The United States should pursue more aggressive talks with the Chinese to bring enough pressure on North Korea and thus cause real change. If North Korea loses Chinese support, it will be unable to support itself and hopefully will either collapse or pursue a diplomatic reconciliation with the world. It should not be hard to convince China that the friendship of the last surviving superpower is more important than the friendship of North Korea.

The United States should continue to withhold food aid until actual reforms take place or the government starts helping its people. As our military refocuses on the Pacific and Asia, the U.S. and its allies should bolster missile defenses in the region and develop a contingency plan to either eliminate the current regime by force or step in when it eventually collapses. After all, there is only so much that borrowed food and propaganda can do to placate a hungry people.

3. "N. Korea to S. Korea: We Will Level You 'to Ashes' in 4 Minutes." *New York Daily News*. 23 Apr. 2012. Web. 29 May 2012.

4. Sang-hun, Choe. "Images Show More Work at North Korean Nuclear Site." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 23 May 2012. Web. 29 May 2012.

5. "UN Probes Claim China Broke North Korea Sanctions." *Agence France-Presse*. AFP, 19 Apr. 2012. Web. 29 May 2012.

# Democracy in the Arab World

*U.S. should promote Arab democracy through covert action*

By Nassim Fedel

PRESIDENT

The Middle East is undergoing an important period of transition. Long gone is the age in which authoritarian regimes can dictate the futures of the region's countries without fearing the anger of a well-organized popular uprising. The 2011 Arab Revolutions have guaranteed a precedent of a relaxation of restraints on civil liberties in the region's countries which have not yet undergone a substantive revolution. They have also made possible a fundamentally different political, and consequently economic, future for the main affected countries, namely Tunisia, Libya, Yemen, Egypt, and Syria. Yet how did the Middle East, with the lowest average democracy index, as measured by the Economist Intelligence Unit,<sup>1</sup> become the region with the highest rate of democratization in the world? Why did it take so long for its people to wake up, and what can the United States do to ensure its interests and those of its fundamental principles during such turbulent times?

The inaction of the past was to be expected. There are many historical factors that had prevented the Arab awakening. One reason is that Arab countries are generally the most oil-rich nations of the world. As counter-intuitive as it seems, this is actually a disadvantage when it comes to the creation

***The argument that Arabs are fundamentally averse to democracy is why the Arab Spring is likely to succeed. The social, economic and political conditions have gotten so bad that many Arabs rose up.***

of a strong civil society, as well as general employment and the equitable distribution of wealth. Extensive oil drilling leads to exceptionally high profits in the oil sector of the economy, crowding out private and public investment in other industries, which concentrates both wealth and future prospects for profit in a single sector of the economy in which profit does not trickle down as easily as the good around which it is based. This leads to a concentration of economic power in the hands of ruling autocrats, who, when under the influence of both positive and negative pressure from outside powers (such as the United States' military might, or spikes in international oil prices), have steep incentives to remain in power and continue

to reap the benefits of oil production, all to the detriment of a great majority of the citizenry. Furthermore, Arab countries have a history of being ruled by oppressively strong states. Look no further than the Ottoman Empire. While the generations of Arabs that preceded those which toppled governments in 2011 do not necessarily directly remember 1919 and its antecedents, the period of Ottoman rule is important to consider because it deeply ingrained for over 400 years – a period during which most Western countries were learning about democratic institutions and fighting the necessary battles in order to ensure their implementation and survival – a civil societal culture surrounding a repressively strong, monarchical government, with very few civil liberties, such as freedom of expression or freedom of the press (censorship, for example, was so strong during the Ottoman times, that despite the fact that Arabs had known of the printing press for over 200 years, the caliphate only allowed its use in the 18th century). This acceptance of low freedom levels was propagated through traditional media – despite globalization's increasing reach and the spread of the news of the various successes of democratic tools in the West – into a late 20th century cultural understanding that government should

have a very disproportionate amount of power and that those in government make decisions that are far-removed and unchecked

by the will of the people. Additionally, the history of colonial rule and United States and Soviet Union interventionism compounds this issue, as now even foreign governments, representing sources of power even further removed from the will and conscience of the people, wield economic and military power so great that resistance is futile and cooperation is highly beneficial. Lastly, religious anti-secularism, the most common notion referred to in public debates, is indeed an important factor in the inertia of Middle Eastern democratization. Most major religions, and all of the Judeo-Christian ones, rely on the notion that religion and spirituality should be the central, guiding, and pervasive aspect of an individual's life. These religions believe that individuals should do everything they can with their power to ensure the

survival of the principles and institutions of their respective religion. For Jews, religious governance is most directly manifest in the state of Israel. Fortunately for Christians, America was founded on the principle of religious freedom because its initial Pilgrim settlers fled religious persecution in anti-secular, late Renaissance England. Islam has no such conflict, no such entity against which to form a secular identity for the sake of opposition. Therefore government, especially considering the enormous power accorded to it, has been seen as the righteous and logical mechanism through which religious doctrine was to be enforced, through policy and laws. This hurts prospects for democracy for several reasons. First, when the division between mosque and state is minimal, so is opposition to the state, for it is tied to the psychologically and socially unimpeachable idea of religion, almost akin to the notion of the divine right to absolute power in a medieval European monarchy. Second, forcing all aspects of a religion upon a widespread populace, as is the case in the mostly relatively large Arab countries, suppresses religious plurality. Last, this creates the incentive for opposition to outside ideas, as they pose a threat to the state which now has an ideological (religious) basis; this is manifest in many ways, such as the Ottoman opposition to the printing press. The Arab world had a long way to go from 1919 to 2011, and in some ways the aforementioned factors needed to get worse in order for Arabs to realize deep within their consciousness that things needed to and could get better.

So what was it that overcame these structural obstacles to democracy in the Arab world? As it turns out, there were many factors, and while some point to the self-immolation of Mohamed Bouazizi as the driver of the various movements, it was, in chemical terms, merely a catalyst which pushed the required activation energy to just low enough in order to allow the reaction to reach its peak energy, and thus transition toward completing the reaction; there were, however, several social, political, and economic factors whose combined energy fulfilled that required energy. In less scientific terms, these long-term, structural, and complex factors created the conditions whereby Bouazizi could be the spark of the extraordinary changes witnessed in the Middle East. While the revolutions would not have occurred without either inputs, the former factors are much more interesting to analyze, and are much more germane and essential to causing the revolution, as they created conditions so ripe for change that really, any street vendor would have done the trick.

The time period immediately preceding the Arab Spring saw some of the worst conditions ever experienced in Arab economic and political life. Widespread human rights violations pervaded many of the majorly affected Arab states on scales seen only before

1. "Democracy Index 2011." The Economist Intelligence Unit. The Economist, 2011. Web. 31 May 2012.



Raphael Thelen, Creative Commons

*Libyans in Eastern Libya riot in opposition of Muammar Gaddafi as police fire tear gas rounds at them. While most Arab Spring protests were initially peaceful, many protestors turned to violence after their demands of democracy and human rights were not met. However, this violence has led to more popular anger.*

in the times of the Soviet gulag. Governments lacked transparency, as was evident in the numerous and influential documents leaked in the various Wikileaks cables, and were accumulating wealth at a rate and quantity highly disproportionate when compared to the prosperity of their general populations. Wealth was seeing a record-low propensity to be redistributed and opportunities for social mobility were extraordinarily low. Extreme poverty pervaded the streets of most countries due to the previously mentioned factors as well as the recent global food price inflation, and the demographic reality of a relatively large youth population. The Arab people began to witness economic and political failure with growing dissatisfaction, with a record-high education and literacy rate (as measured by the Human Development Index<sup>1</sup>) giving them the knowledge to understand that their respective countries could be doing better and the skills to know, at least rudimentarily (for revolution is fundamentally a complex task to implement), how to go about changing their situation and that of those around them. Lastly, the technologies of social media, including Facebook and Twitter, were just gaining widespread international popularity, and proved to be incredibly useful tools for the prospective young revolutionaries (as shown by the fact that the protests of the Egyptian revolution were functionally organized on Facebook).

Given these complex currents of change, the United States should have a clear-cut, situation-specific strategy in response to the Arab Spring's various problem areas. A guiding principle is that an overabundance

of U.S. action would hurt both the United States and Arab democracy, as the United States simply does not have the economic and military resources to commit to a protracted intervention in the Middle Eastern revolutions (nor does it have the political will to do so even if it could). Furthermore, history has proven that too much foreign, Western intervention solidifies Arab identity in opposition to Western forces (with even stronger coalescing force than that which opposes their own rulers) in concert with anti-West forces such as Islamists and their domestic militaries. In countries where the government has been toppled, such as Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, and Yemen, the United States should concentrate its efforts on the creation of institutions which had been lacking before and contributed to the weak and ineffectual civil society that had plagued the Arab world. However, this assistance should be in the form of quasi-covert democracy aid, such as constitution writing advisors, monetary and fiscal policy advisors, and the encouragement of private investment by U.S. corporations in these countries, which would boost economic activity and create much-needed jobs. By refraining from engaging in substantial financial aid to the governments themselves, the U.S. both saves itself much needed treasure and prevents the all-too-recent reality -- as seen in countries like Egypt and much of sub-Saharan Africa -- of U.S. aid dictating the outcome of elections such that it is not democracy, but the most U.S.-friendly candidate, who prevails. While securing our interests entails preventing extremist governments from coming into power, the only sustainable way to ensure this is to create the economic and political conditions by which the people will them-

selves reject extremism in favor of the positive benefits of being a functioning member of the liberal democratic world order. Lastly, a policy toward Syria of restrained military intervention is needed before these policies can take effect. Although it would require substantially more political will and hard power, the U.S. should stand by its principles of preserving human rights where it can, for the sake of the freedom and prosperity of all. Additionally, a U.S.-backed international force providing support to rebel forces would engender a more positive view of the West, rather than allow the rebels to win by themselves and create an illusion that the rest of the world cannot help create prosperity. Democracies need to stick together for the full democratization of the world to occur.

While there seem to be more pessimists than optimists with regard to analysis of the Arab Spring and its potential for positive outcomes, it is clear that there is hope. What many point to as the reason for pessimism, crudely essentialized as the argument that Arabs are fundamentally averse to democracy for a variety of reasons, is actually why the Arab Spring is likely to succeed, because the social, economic, and political conditions have gotten so bad that Arabs were necessarily awakened, and factors such as technology and globalization fortunately coincided with this awakening to make action possible. As with all democratic transitions, the process requires much turmoil, but just as the United States spent much of its history learning to be a responsible democracy (requiring almost a century to give up slavery, for example), so will the newly formed Arab states. But this is for the better, and the United States should act as a responsible mentor in guiding the process toward healthy democracy.

1. Reports (1990-2011)." Human Development Reports. United Nations Development Programme, 2011. Web. 31 May 2012.

# An American in Uganda

## *Foreign Policy in a Developing Nation*

By Gregory Dunn  
PRESIDENT

Uganda is an East African nation in a difficult neighborhood of superlatives. To its east lies Somalia, the best known failed state in the world. To its west lies the Democratic Republic of the Congo, home of Africa's longest war.<sup>1</sup> To their north lies South Sudan, the world's newest country. To their south lies Rwanda, whose genocide is permanently imprinted in the minds of Americans. It has a relatively powerful army (both militarily and politically), which is currently engaged in both domestic security and humanitarian aid in Somalia.

It was once plagued by the now-famous Joseph Kony, a wanted war criminal. It is a member of the East African Community, an organization that could be thought of as a local UN. Uganda has also recently discovered oil, which, with its status as a developing nation and its location in a turbulent area of the world, guarantees it many foreign policy challenges in the future.

Although I went to Uganda to teach debate in rural schools, I was able to learn a lot about the country's foreign policy during my stay there in summer 2011. Foreign policy tends to be reactive because most policy makers are influenced by changes in the world. Uganda, as a country that is very likely to undergo dramatic changes, will undoubtedly be an important nation for foreign policy analysts to study. As the passage of a comet is to astronomers, the future of Uganda is to foreign affairs analysts. But beyond that, the story of Uganda is fascinating — Uganda is a different world compared to United States, but the difference is shrinking fast.

## Aid and Uganda

Many people think of foreign policy discussions as analyses about the potential actions of generals. However, U.S. humanitarian aid is a significant aspect of how we interface with the world, and is also the main face of the United States in much of the world, especially in Uganda. Uganda receives substantial humanitarian aid from the United States. In 2010, the USAID gave Uganda about \$457 million worth of aid.<sup>2</sup> This figure

1. Burnett, Maria. "Africa's Longest War Still Taking Lives." HRW Online. Human Rights Watch, 19 June 2009. Web. 19 May 2012.

2. USAID. "USAID Africa: Uganda." USAID Sub-Sahara-

does not include the value of private charity missions like sending high school students to teach debate. Although this aid undoubtedly does great things for the people of Uganda like disease prevention and famine relief, we could be doing a lot better.

## *Uganda by the numbers:*

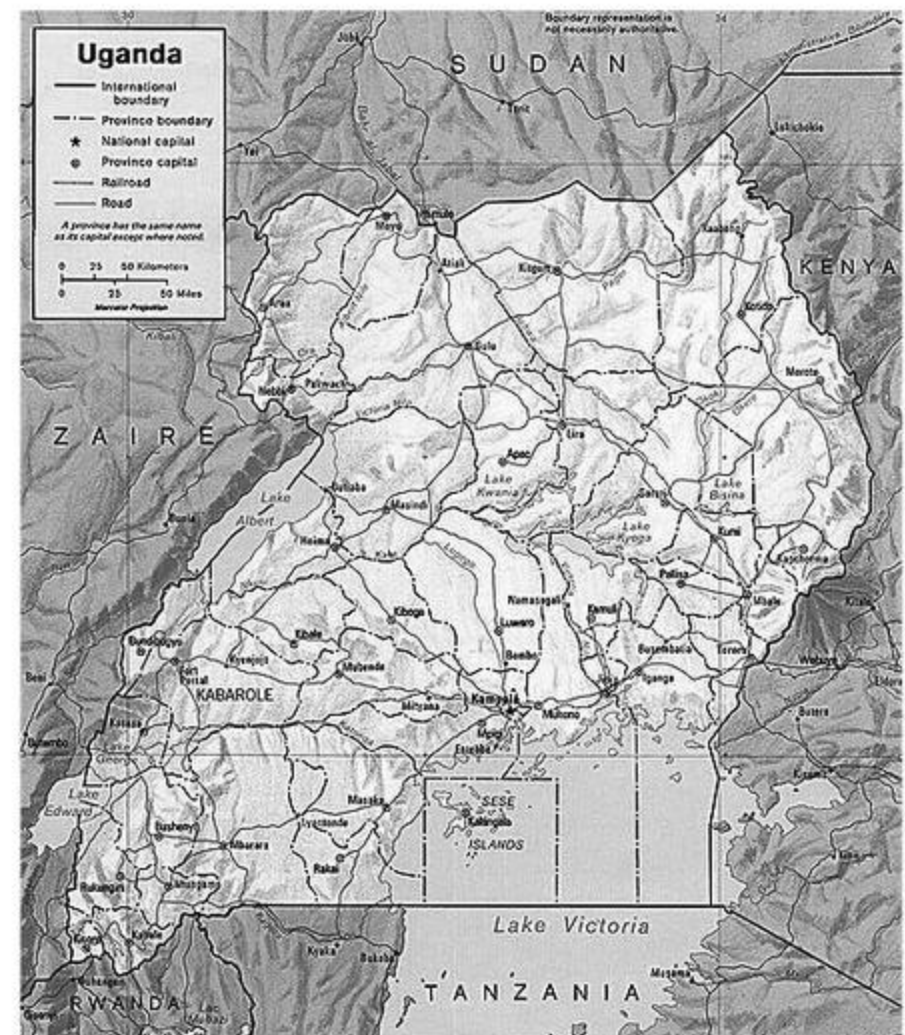
- 35.8 million people
- 13 million cell phones
- 2nd highest birthrate in the world
- 6% industrial production growth rate
- 6.5% of adults test positive for HIV/AIDS

It is worth noting that the main way that Westerners interact with Uganda is as a place to do charity. The only other Westerner I met in Uganda was at a lounge in the nation's capital. He was a cynical British man named Nick who worked to train Ugandans to improve their water supplies. He had been in the country for many months, and he already had a substantial list of challenges. His biggest concern was that nobody in Uganda speaks the same language. During his morning run, he started in a place where his interpreter could communicate. A couple of miles later, neither he nor his interpreter had any clue what people were saying. Although English is the official language of Uganda, no one can hope to work throughout Uganda and come out with anything more than a headache.

Nick also commented that Americans don't necessarily need to help Uganda through aid. Although the traditional modus operandi has been to donate funds to do-gooders who distribute aid in Uganda, other methods are worth a shot as well. He noted that for the price of a year's

tuition at college, an American could start a substantial business in Uganda, thanks to the low price of labor and materials, and provide many Ugandans with a permanent source of employment.

But Nick's biggest concern was "white elephants" — aid that well-meaning people deliver to Ugandans then abandon, leaving the perplexed Ugandans with no idea what to do with the thing the muzungus (white people) built. A powerful symbol of this was an overgrown building foundation on the grounds of the school where I taught. It reminded me of ruins I had visited, so I inquired about its archaeological significance. It turns out these were remains of a building that an aid group had built thirty years ago. Although everyone was grateful they had built it, nobody remembered what the building was for. This problem is endemic throughout our interactions with all of Africa — much of what we do is well-intentioned, but because it



United States Government

*Uganda's cities are located mostly near Lake Victoria and have prospered with a recent influx of capital. Rural areas, located inland, continue to rely on a substantial amount of subsistence farming.*



*Ugandan students at the Kukanga School in Northwestern rural Uganda play with frisbees introduced to the region by Gregory Dunn. The students enjoyed playing frisbee because frisbees, as opposed to soccer balls, are extremely durable in the prickly terrain surrounding the area, lending themselves to lunchtime fun.*

is not local, it is not sustainable. This theme of involving Africa echoes through not only aid, but all of what I learned about United States aid in Uganda.

## A Better Tomorrow, Tomorrow: Development in Uganda

As I left Uganda, I decided that the biggest theme that can be drawn from my stay there was development. Uganda as a whole seems to be under construction. Although many sectors in Uganda are experiencing substantial growth, I noticed it most in the areas of information technology, transportation, and education. The view that analysts like Fareed Zakaria have taken seems right: Ugandans have given democracy a try, and they will soon be able to reap the benefits.<sup>1</sup>

The most visible aspect of development in Uganda is the development of cellular communications. Cellular networks allow for the spread of internet, voice and text-based services to the countryside without needing to build expensive landline networks. This makes cell service possible for Ugandans who lack electricity because a diesel powered cell tower can be placed anywhere and provide cell phone service to a great expanse of countryside. The cellular industry has delivered substantial improvements to the quality of life for Ugandans over the past ten years that few other areas have.

The rise of cell towers is especially visually prominent in urban areas: cell towers are not subject to zoning regulations, so the skyline is primarily marked by the cell towers that link Uganda, not the towers that traditionally unite American workers, skyscrapers. Houses are covered in advertisements for cellular companies, speaking to the size of the cellular industry in Uganda.

1. Zakaria, Fareed. "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy." *Foreign Affairs* 76.6 (1997): 22-43. Print.

The cellular industry in Uganda is notable because it really has no American equivalent. In America, cellular communications has replaced land lines, and competes for electromagnetic spectrum with many other industries. In Uganda, cellular networks are the first form of communication the country has experienced, blasting out onto airwaves that were previously free of any form of communications technology besides radios.

New construction in Uganda is occurring at a breakneck pace. Both the government and individual Ugandans are making substantial capital investments thanks to the low price of construction materials in Uganda. Although roads in Uganda are about what is expected for a lesser developed country, they are constantly being improved; notably, the European Union has financed the construction of several highways near the capital, an aid project that worked.

Although the standard home where I worked was a mud house, more people are moving towards modern houses made of cement and metal. Foreign companies, many of them from Asia, are providing a substantial amount of the materials required to allow for this construction boom. Workers are transported to these jobs on Asian cars — the only American car I saw was a governmental Hummer.

But the development area that has everybody talking is oil. Uganda licensed 800 million dollars of oil projects in the first three months of 2012 alone. 88 percent of these projects are owned by Ugandans.<sup>2</sup> Some projections put the expected income from Ugandan oil to be over two billion dollars a year.<sup>3</sup> There is no doubt that there is a lot of

2. Ojambo, Fred. "Uganda Approves More Investment Projects Amid Oil Interest." Bloomberg. Bloomberg L.P., 16 May 2012. Web. 19 May 2012.

3. Kron, Josh. "Uganda's Oil Could Be Gift That Becomes a Curse." *The New York Times*, 26 Nov. 2011. Web.

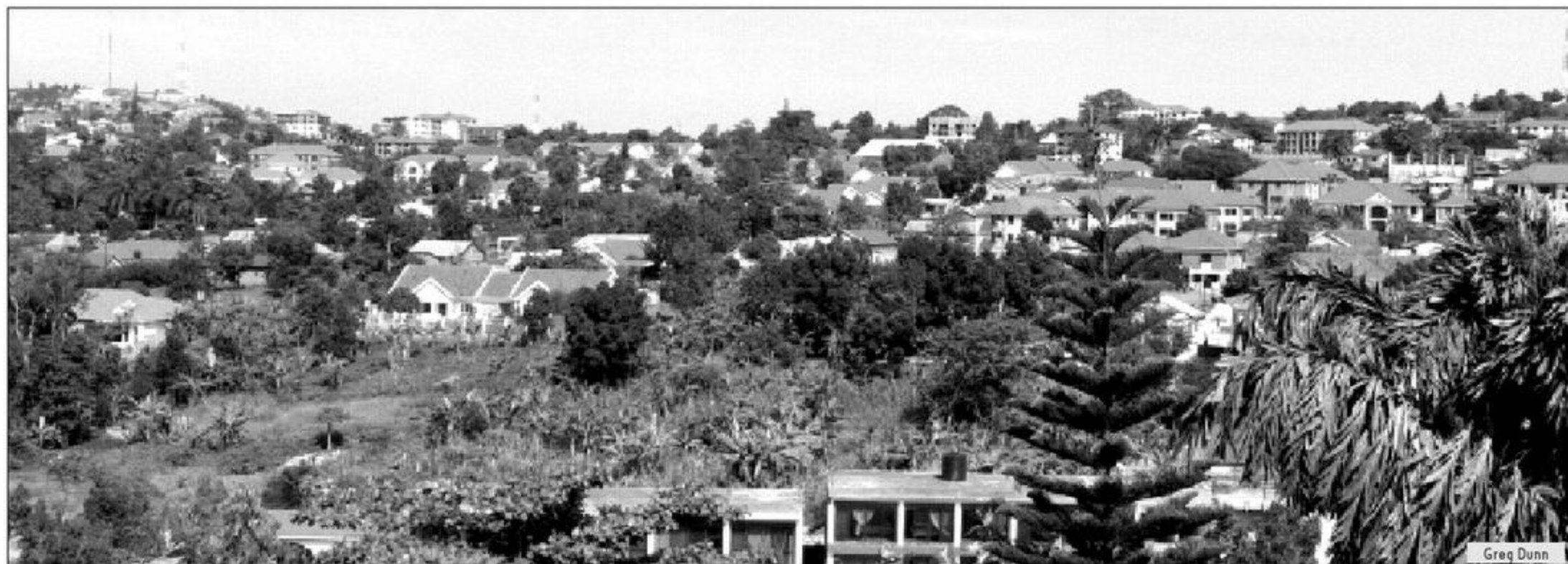
wealth to come from this oil. The question on the minds of Ugandans is how to make sure this money does the most good possible. Africa is full of foreboding for Uganda. Foreign oil companies have developed many African oil fields resulting in little Ugandan profit besides corporate revenues. An Exxon-led consortium takes 150,000 oil barrels from Chad a day, and has been doing this for more than fifteen years.<sup>4</sup>

However, Chad is still a miserable place to live. This is because the tax revenue that this oil production draws results in Exxon having far more say in the affairs in Chad than any other organization.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, Exxon has largely been able to maintain control over oil production, meaning that as much as the profits as possible from oil production leave Chad for the coffers of the world's largest company. Ugandans I spoke with are clear that they do not want this.

To understand how Uganda might achieve successful oil development, I spoke with Hussein Tadesse, a political official and presidential hopeful in Uganda who also helped the organization I was working with. He, like all Ugandans, blames corruption. Unfortunately, history does not bode well: African history is filled with anti-corruption crusaders, few of whom have achieved meaningful results. Tadesse also proposes the construction of a refinery in Uganda. He points to Kenya as an example of a country that could be getting a lot more out of oil production, but oil in Kenya goes out the ground, through the pipes, and into ships waiting in Kenyan ports to sail away. Tadesse believes if Africans controlled more of the petroleum refining process, the benefits of keeping busi

4. Esso Exploration and Production Chad. "Project Update." Chad-Cameroon Development Project. Esso Exploration and Production Chad Inc., 2010. Web. 19 May 2012.

5. Coll, Steve. *Private Empire: ExxonMobil and American Power*. New York: Penguin, 2012. Print.



Greg Dunn

ness in-country would overcome the difficulty inherent in the maintenance of high-tech equipment in Africa. Nick, the seasoned aid worker, was predictably pessimistic here: Kenya tried building a refinery, and it has a great deal of difficulty making a profit.<sup>1</sup> However, Tadesse rightly rebuts this concern by saying that the plant is foreign-owned.<sup>2</sup> Tadesse believes that oil refineries, much like aid projects, work best when run by locals.

## God, Guns, and Geopolitics

When it comes to war, Uganda is relatively well off. The country faces no immediate disputes over land or resources, unlike many of its neighbors. The challenges that Uganda faces are steeped in race and religion. Race is no stranger to East African wars — the conflict between Hutus and Tutsis sparked genocide, and Uganda's dictator from 1971 to 1979, Idi Amin, ran a program of expelling muzungus from Uganda in during his reign in the 1980s. Racial tensions still exist, and are compounded by the multitudes of ethnic language spoken by Ugandans.

However, the major concern in Uganda is religion. Radical Islam has taken hold in nearby Somalia and Sudan, and threatens Uganda today. During the World Cup, Al-Shabaab, a terrorist organization that Uganda and the UN are fighting in Somalia, detonated a bomb in a theater, killing 74. This event is still ingrained in the minds of many Ugandans, and my hosts were sure to point out the site of the attacks, near a shopping center. The bomb's legacy is easy to identify — security forces are everywhere, armed with a dazzling array of Vietnam-era automatic rifles and shotguns. In traffic circles, where Americans might expect a statue or tree, sits a MRAP (Mine Resistant Ambush Protected) vehicle. Tadesse told me that the political culture of Uganda is also highly

1. Reuters. "Kenya Moves to Improve Sole Refinery's Efficiency." Yahoo! News. Yahoo!, 17 Apr. 2012. Web. 19 May 2012.

2. "Essar Buys 50% Stake in Kenyan Refinery." The Economic Times. Bennett, Coleman & Co. Ltd., 1 Aug. 2009. Web. 19 May 2012.

militaristic — he hopes to further his political career by serving in the military, even though he is the least warlike person I know.

Furthering these concerns is the fear that the addition of oil could fuel the flames of radical Islam. In the West African country of Nigeria, the inequities and damage caused by the exploitation of oil resources have aided the rise of the militant group referred to as Boko Haram.<sup>3</sup> Boko Haram roughly translates to "Western education is forbidden," giving a sense of the difficulty of dealing with these terrorists.<sup>4</sup>

The fear is that oil exploitation could leave Uganda with environmental degradation and deny Ugandans their share of the profits. This alienation could inspire a radical movement inside Uganda that could damage the current peaceful coexistence between religions.

The solution that many of the Africans I spoke to believed in was an "African Solution". They believe that the question of whether foreign intervention is useful or not is irrelevant — when others intervene, it takes away an opportunity for African nations to test and prove their new power. Under the auspices of organizations such as the United Nations and the African Union, Uganda has become involved in several multilateral peacekeeping operations. Uganda is currently flexing its muscles in Somalia, but many believe that Uganda (and its African allies, notably Kenya) could do more.

When I was in Africa the NATO incursion into Libya was at the top of the news, and many (including Tadesse) believed that the action should have been performed by, or at least coordinated with, African Union forces. Their argument is that the inherent trade off in military power is balanced out by destroying the narrative of the "foreign invaders." When muzungus come, muzungus

3. Adebowale, Yemi, and Ahamefula Ogbu. "Boko Haram Is Upset about the 13% N/Delta Receives from Oil Revenue - CBN Gov Sanusi." African Herald Express. H.E. Media Ltd, 28 Jan. 2012. Web. 19 May 2012.

4. Chothia, Farouk. "Who Are Nigeria's Boko Haram Islamists?" BBC News. BBC, 01 Nov. 2012. Web. 19 May 2012.

invade. When African Union forces come, they have a better chance of winning hearts and minds just by the nature of their home countries. However, nobody seemed to be able to think of a particular instance of when U.S. forces arrived and were not welcome, but they explained this by saying that this speaks more to the capability of U.S. forces than their appropriateness.

## Avoiding Kony 2012: A Better Way Forward

The biggest request I got from Ugandans was to "help us help ourselves." A lot of aid is wasted, and many atrocities continue in Eastern Africa. The way forward is not to move unilaterally and try to fix everything on our own. Taking up the white man's burden in this way delegitimizes African states and prevents Africans from gaining experience that they might later use themselves.

However, abandoning Uganda is not the solution either: Uganda is a nascent state that needs our support. There are many opportunities for business, humanitarian aid, infrastructure development and even targeted killing in Uganda.

However, our aid must be aimed at treating the cause of Uganda's maladies, not the symptoms. International relations with Uganda has humanitarian, economic, diplomatic, and military aspects. We can improve Uganda's standing in all of these (and thus benefit the Ugandan people) if we help Uganda develop what they need themselves. If we do this right, Uganda could become a peaceful and prosperous success story.

We could use the example of American involvement in Uganda to persuade others to let us help them as well. Failure, whether via malnutrition, disease, environmental degradation, state-sponsored violence, or terrorism, is the terrifyingly possible flip side of the coin. How we go about implementing policies to maximize the chance of a success in countries like Uganda is the crux of the study of foreign affairs.

# A Separate War

## *Mali's Struggles with Secessionism*

By Ben Hawthorne  
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

On March 22, a Malian army captain took control of Mali. Mali, a sprawling West African state, had been destabilized by an Islamic rebellion in the North. Concerns about this rebellion prompted the military to stage a coup d'état. The move was internationally condemned, for it seemed Mali was taking a step back from a relatively stable government to anarchy<sup>1</sup>. Meanwhile, the rebels continued their march from the northern Sahara Desert southwards, eventually taking the famous city of Timbuktu on 1 April. A week later, the army captain, Amadou Sanogo, announced that he would be handing over power to the former Speaker of Parliament "soon", but he did not specify a date<sup>2</sup>.

This crisis is important for several reasons: first, the deal took place as a cease fire settled over Mali. This effectively caused the international community to pause at the

1. Lewis, David, and Tiemoko Diallo. "Mali Soldiers Say Seize Power after Palace Attack." Reuters. 22 Mar. 2012. Web. 19 Apr. 2012.

2. Mali Junta Says Power Transfer 'within Days' Al-Jazeera. Al-Jazeera Online, 7 Apr. 2012. Web. 19 Apr. 2012.

current state, where Mali is cut in two at the narrowest part of the country. The rebels are in the North, in the state they have named Azawad, while Mali remains in the South. In effect, the current deal occurs presuming the rebellion has been successful; Azawad is included in negotiations and nobody is thinking of destroying it unless the rebels cease to obey the cease fire and continue their southward push<sup>3</sup>.

Secondly, it is notable for the all-too-familiar story that is being played out. A U.S. backed nation (Mali) fails to appease Islamic rebels who wish to impose Sharia law, as well as other rebel factions, so the rebels attack, destabilizing the nation and spreading an ideology that is less aligned with U.S. interests. We have seen Pakistan, Afghanistan,

3. Okeke, Christian. "ECOWAS Security Council Okays Force against Mali's Tuareg Rebels." Sunday Tribune. 15 Apr. 2012. Web. 19 Apr. 2012.

*Although these organizations do their work at the expense of U.S. leadership and regional hegemony, they have gotten results. More importantly, they have gotten results that are generally aligned with the interests of the U.S.*

what many American citizens would identify as a pessimistic environmental movement — ECOWAS. ECOWAS, or the Economic Community of West African States, brokered the deal that brought in cease fire and a succession plan. This action represents a trend of increasingly powerful multilateralism within Africa. The African Union coordinates aid on its own, and many African countries (including Kenya and Uganda) have peacekeepers in Somalia. East African paperwork is increasingly streamlined thanks to the East African Community, which also has begun to improve broadband availability in East Africa.

A criticism of the U.S. involvement in Libya was that U.S. forces did not allocate enough responsibility to a powerful actor that U.S. policy makers failed to recognize — the African Union. Although these organizations do their work at the expense of U.S. leadership and regional hegemony, they have gotten results. More importantly, they have gotten results that are generally aligned with the interests of the U.S.. Maybe democracy promotion has not been entirely futile after all.

Mali is now a nation divided, and even if the government is restored, the precedent of military takeover and successful secessionism will undoubtedly haunt Mali.

Islamic fundamentalism has taken a distinctly political flavor, and as a result it is spreading, devouring democracies and Western notions of rights to fuel itself.

But the rise of peaceful, U.S.-aligned coalitions should give policy makers hope—as long as we cooperate with these new powerhouses, their spread can continue to be a powerful force for the spread of democracy, prosperity, and stability in both Mali and Africa.



*Two Tuaregs pose for a photo. The nomadic Tuaregs have declared independence following a 2012 coup d'état.*

# Palo Alto Speech and Debate Camp

---

## WHY SPEECH AND DEBATE?

- Become a confident public speaker
- Develop solid leadership skills
- Learn how to argue persuasively
- Engage an audience effectively

## WHY OUR CAMP?

- Taught by the 2009 **California State Champion** Debate Team
- Individualized attention with a **4:1 student-to-teacher ratio**
- Labs carefully divided by grade and skill level
- Presentations from prominent guest speakers

## LOGISTICS

**Who:** Incoming 6<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> grade students all over the Bay Area

**Dates:** June 18-22; July 20-August 3

**Times:** Public Speaking: 9am to 12pm  
Debate: 1pm to 4pm



**Location:** Palo Alto High School  
50 Embarcadero Road  
Palo Alto, CA 94301

**Cost:** \$295 for one session  
\$495 for both sessions  
\$890 for both weeks

## TO REGISTER,

Complete the form on the back of this flyer and follow the subsequent instructions.

## QUESTIONS?

Email Co-Director **Julia Lee** at [palyspeechanddebate@gmail.com](mailto:palyspeechanddebate@gmail.com) or call Co-Director **Esha Datta** at (650) 868-3491.