

Week 2

- Technology, ideology/neoliberalism (Washington consensus), and globalization trends
- Doesn't say anything about what should be done

National ineq trends

- Countries with equal. Societies, inequality is rising (Sweden, Denmark)
- Top 1% pulling away everywhere in world; these are plutocrats
 - 1% pulling away at expense of middle class
 - its bottom 20-40% losing relative share; doesn't mean that they're very poor
- Couple of exceptions (e.g. Latin America is the anomaly)
- Controversial: Kuznets curve—society becomes richer, becomes unequal but over time, becomes more equal
 - In last few years, this curve hasn't proven right bc we see inequality rising in a way that the curve couldn't predict
- We're seeing inverted kuznet curve line
- Why is this going on—to understand this, must know who the plutocrats are (not the same people as 100 yrs ago)
 - Used to be people owning land (the elites) who inherited wealth (through marriage, status)
 - These are called robber barons—made a lot of money during industrial revn
 - E.g. Rockefellers (who earned wealth, not inherited)
- The top 1% are different group of ppl than before; they're the working rich (not through inheritance)
 - E.g. J.K. Rowling
 - Top 1% are three groups: they're in finance, high technology centres, and are CEOs—these are the dominant groups (e.g. Bill Gates, Warren Buffett—finance, Carlos—telecommunications)
 - But in last 10 yrs, inherited wealth is getting restored (according to Picketty)
 - Kids of Gates and Buffett are inheriting these fortunes
- Explanation of global plutocrats
 - Technological change
 - Neoliberalism
 - Economic globalization
 - Each 3 also explain the trends of the bottom
 - All 3 are interconnected
- What's the importance of these 3 things
- More technology than politics?
 - Shaping society in many ways
- New industrial revn: information technology, biotech and nanotechnology, and robotics and automation
 - These things are taking off in a fast way

- E.g. 3-D printing, huge amounts of data
- Creating plutocrats w/a 2nd gilded age?
- Big gains at the top bc...
 - 1. First mover windfalls: the 19th c experience and the new 'superstars'
 - E.g. railroads, steam ships or recently today, internet (FB)
 - 2. **Martin effect**: demand for 'knowledge workers' and importance of skill/educ
 - govts around world are spending money on skills and training
 - 3. **Rosen effect**: more clients (larger mass mkt)
 - Globalization allowing larger mkts to emerge
 - E.g. Harry Potter becoming a global phenomenon
 - 4. **Marshall effect**: richer clients (larger mkt for elite services)
 - if you sell things to super rich, you also get rich bc they continue to buy from you
 - e.g. Elton John sings live for parties for 1 million (he's an e.g. of marshall effects and dentist who flies around world to fix plutocrats teeth)
- She doesn't talk about technology impacted bottom 40%
- Impact on the poor: explaining slow income growth since 1980 at bottom?
 - E.g. living through automation retail—or using drones to export books or other services which cuts jobs and makes people poor
- More displacement of jobs to come?
 - Jobs that are being displaced are jobs being held by people who are have low employment
 - Inequality gets work as techn. Is used more
 - Sometimes, need better education (called the rat race)
 - Will this lead to techno-feudalism? Those who control this will be like the feudal lords in 19th c
 - Who's controlling computers?

Sum up

- Technological change matters
 - But how much? Why are trends uneven across countries? Does techn. Explain all plutocrat's gains? Is politics irrelevant?
- Politics reduced inequality after 1st gilded age
 - 1. Progressive taxation: new taxation systems were brought in (before 1913, income tax didn't exist and more robber barons got wealthy, more unrest at the bottom and wanted the 1% taxed)
 - By 1940, had 91% tax rate on one percent in US—this was a political movement trying to contain power
 - Inequality reduced bc of rich being taxed
 - 2. Regulated business: some of these businesses by rich were regulated by the gov't who thought they became too powerful (e.g. Rockefeller)

- Teddy Roosevelt; a republican who thought making mkt economy work was to break this up and this lead to inequality being reduced
 - Went after wealthy and blamed plutocrats for stock mkt crash and regulated things (banks, big business hated him)
 - 3. Role of unions: giving rights to individuals to prevent strikes
 - Private sector was unionized
 - 4. Social security and public services
 - e.g. Pensions, education, health systems which strengthened people at bottom of sector
 - Franklin Roosevelt did this (a democrat)
- Has politics changed?

2. Neoliberal movement

- More politics than technology?
- Neoliberal ideas: support for free mkts and limited economic role for the state
 - Began in 1980s
 - Want state to have smaller role in economy
- Economic case: Adam Smith (wealth of nations) 1776, same year as American revn
 - Book explains why mkt base society might be more efficient
 - If you allow mkt to allocate resources, people will work in more efficient way and larger pie for everyone
- In 20th c, had neoliberal movement lead by Hayak (colleague of Milton Freedman)
 - Thinks we need mkt based society bc more govt was doing this, the more it was undermining peoples personal liberties (about FDR and T.R)
 - Govt involvement undermining individual freedom
 - Takes a while for Hayak's ideas to become influential—wouldn't really be until 1980s
- Leads to a global movement
 - UK and US: Thatcher (A Hayak believer) and Reagan
 - Some thought it was during Thatcher's election into office that Hayaks mkt ideas flourished
 - Reagan also inspired by Hayak
 - Both try to promote these ideas globally
- Yeltsin: Russia's new leader during these years (after cold war)—moved from central planning to mkt liberal
 - Shock therapy: rapid and radical intro of market type economy with limited gov't supervision of economy
 - One priority of shock therapy was **macro economic stabilization and privatization**
- India: Singh 1991, new govt comes to power—believed in more liberalization

- Mexico: Salinas--brought MEX into NAFTA, thinking that Mexico needed more free market economy
- China: Deng Xiaoping wanted more markets in Chinese economy, domestically and internationally
- Neolib: concerned with market economy and neoconservatives concerned with cultural aspects of this but both are almost one in the same
 - More on the right side, than left

Benefitting the rich?

- 1. Tax cuts: most neoliberal governments introduced tax cuts; e.g. in US (no income tax until both Roosevelt's elected until Reagan elected)
 - He cut top income taxes, along with Thatcher
 - Wanted to decrease levels of taxes
 - Direct impact: less redistribution
 - Indirect impact: changing CEO incentives?
 - If you were a CEO, pay set up by board but also CEO was also chair of board—CEOs set own salaries
 - Piketty says in 50s, CEOs had opportunities to increase salaries but didn't because thought it was socially irresponsible and says and when tax cuts came in, CEOs began to demand more pay
 - Freeland: introduction of pay for performance system
 - New "pay-for-performance" systems (CEO being rewarded)-giving more money towards salaries and other rewards
 - This occurred in new millennium; CEOs making more money because of this
 - She thinks it's due to changing culture
- 2. Deregulation and privatization
 - In rich countries, argument about financial sector—financial deregulation
 - Deregulating financial markets in last few years—those who've done well here have done extremely well
 - In poor countries, more about privatization
 - Privatizing state-owned firms—this process brought financial gains
 - E.g. Yeltsin or Carlos Slim in Mexico—privatization led few being really wealthy
 - When Yeltsin came in to power, economy was small
 - Had S.O.E (economy dominated by state owned enterprises)
 - Had to increase size of private sector if you wanted market economy
 - If you privatized company's, firms, and industries, they would attract foreign investment and operate more efficiently unlike when they were under state control in Soviet period

- If you wanted privatization (in mkt econ) you need to look at how priv. is carried out...sometimes priv. can be a messy process under mkt ec.
- In post soviet circumstances, its harder to have priv. that would benefit popn
 - Was a messy process in Russia
- 3. China as a special case: elite who get rich through links in govt
 - increase in # of millionaires bc these ppl are closely linked to ruling party

Undermining poor?

- Neolib hasn't only generated gains at 1% but also explains bottom 40% remaining in their current poor situation
- Challenging unions—Thatcher and Regan did this
- Cutbacks to social security and public services
- Latin America exception
 - Resisting neoliberal ideas and not agreeing with Thatcher and Reagan
 - Want to help and support poor
 - Give direct payments to poor if they're kids went to school or got vaccinated
 - Not that rich have been contained but rather helping poor
 - Using transfer payments
 - Brazil has become more equal society

Sum up

- Technological change and neoliberalism due to rising 1%
- Another factor is economic globalization

3. Importance of economic globalization

- 1. International trade: this has expanded dramatically since 1980
- 2. Transnational production: growing number of TNC and MNCs (clothes or products you have are made in different countries)
- 3. Global finance: billions of dollars circulating around the world
- Why since 1980s, has economic life globalized? Why has it happened?
 - Due to **1.** Technological change, **2.** Neoliberalism, and **3.** Strengthened int'l rules and institutions (e.g. WTO)
 - WTO: created in mid-90s; powerful org that governs world trade in Geneva
 - Also WB and IMF in US (Washington consensus) who are neoliberal.
- Top 1% pulling away linked to financial globalization
 - New opportunities for the rich (can invest anywhere, not restricted to one area)
 - Higher returns for asset holders
 - Tax avoidance and capital flight
- The world of offshore finance: wealthy take advantage of this

- E.g. Swiss investment or Cayman Islands; to reduce plutocrats from paying taxes so they store their money in offshore banks
 - They cater to the plutocrats
- Impact on everyone else is that rest of popn wont benefit from taxes bc govts don't have enough taxes to distribute
- Globalization trade and production impacts several areas:
 - 1. Impact on labour mkt—a demand for high skilled labour but also globalization puts pressure on lower skilled labour
 - 2. Impact on gov't policy
 - Tax avoidance by global firms (Apple evading taxes, go to Ireland to pay less taxes)
 - Intl rules constrain govts and favour the rich; e..g WTO enforces intellectual property rights (e..g JK Rowling a billionaire bc she has a global patent which allows her to globally receive all the money from her books)
- Glob makes gov't focus on global competitiveness (making corps more efficient) rather than social justice issues
- Freeland says glob is the twin gilded age (1st gilded age was during industrial revn that created robber barons)
 - Says were going thru two (China and India going thru first one and second one are rich countries going thru this new gilded age)
 - Global is making issues worse
- 1st gilded age in poor countries: bc of glob, consequences more extreme therefore more rapid industrialization (in India) and local plutocrats joining the global elite
- 2nd gilded age in rich countries: glob makes consequences more extreme; poor people in Canada or rich countries also undermined by 1st gilded age in poor countries bc of glob, poor people in India taking jobs
 - plutocrats can reap benefits of being 19th c robber barons and 21st c technology tycoons

sum

- rising national inequality has many causes
- 1.. technological change
- 2. Neolib
- 3. Globalization

Week 3

Political consequences of new global plutocrats: Freeland

- Has four main arguments

Argument 1: Growing political influence worldwide?

- Least prominent/interesting point

Plutocracy: society governed by the wealthy

5 possible ways wealth converts to political influence

- 1. Swaying elections through campaign contributions
 - E.g. Romney and Obama: up to 1 billion dollars used to re-elect/campaign Obama and 1.2 for Republicans
 - US politics notorious for this
 - Another E.g. India: recently elected PM—business class in favour of Modi and won elections
- 2. Lobby: amount of money spent using to elect peoples and money used to lobby is almost the same, if not more
 - 3.4 billion used in lobbying in US: lobby for tax cuts, financial deregulation, etc.
 - E.g. China (non-democratic) has a lot of lobbying, as there's no campaign contributions
 - PM currently cracking down on corruption
- 3. Elite networks: top 1% gets their way bc they operate network circles that work their way through gov'ts
 - (National) Domestic regulatory 'capture' → e.g Banks are close to people who regulate it (kids go to same schools, clubs) and this becomes a capture, in such a way that they don't get regulated as much
 - Capture becomes cognitive and they all begin to think the same way
 - (International) Global networks: the world economic forum

- Have secret or sometimes public meetings where state delegates and officials meet to make business transactions
- 4. Shaping broader ideas and society: are top 1% becoming more influential bc they can shape broader ideas and society?
 - Media: owned by top 1%
 - Role of think tanks, foundations, philanthropy—more that we're getting 1%, they increasingly set up philanthropic operations that are involved in advocacy work
 - E.g. Gates and Buffen involved in “giving pledge” where they advocate top 1% give 50% of wealth to causes (political or social causes)
 - A lot of these donations are shifting societal norms—have more of a say in society than gov'ts
 - David Kosh: supports right wing political causes in US; George Soros support democratic parties in US; Bill & Melinda Gates have more money than UN—UN working with Gates foundations and forced to respond to their priorities
- 5. Indirect influence: the threat of ‘capital flight’
 - Withdraw money when govt goes in political direction that top 1% aren't too keen on
 - E.g. Greek elections Sunday: if left wing wins, may have large exodus of capital flight

Argument 2: Using influence to lock in privileges?

- More controversial than first one
- Freeland's concern: ‘rent-seeking’ behaviour among 1 and 0.01% (instead of value-creating)
- Adam Smith's warning: temptation for business ppl especially to rent seek to make more money

- People of same trade and business do this—get together to fix prices and make more money than actual value of creation (Smith)
- Freeland says 1% is successful in rent-seeking
- Examples at national level:
 - Telecommunications (e.g. Carlos Slim); monopoly
- Latest debates from the 2008 financial crisis
 - Were the bailouts necessary or just rent seeking?
 - Banks bailed out for their mistakes by tax payers' money—this seems like rent-seeking
 - Banks didn't suffer—they kept earning money (bc if banks go down, so does the economy and this didn't entirely happen)
 - Goldman Sachs and Bush not suffering from this; perhaps an inside job
- Example of rent seeking at the global level:
 - 1. Intellectual property rights in trade agreements?
 - A lot of activists think that intellectual property rights around the world seem sketchy; patents being held for long time
 - Controversy is how long should patent last? Bc if it lasts for long time, looks like rent seeking
 - E.g. drug industry accused of this; patents not allowing for low cost drugs to be used to solve AIDS rather these expensive patents on AIDS are being used—often people don't have enough money to get their hands on this
 - 2. International investment agreements?
 - E.g. NAFTA; controversial bc of clause in ch.11 that says any foreign company can sue one of the other govts if they feel like their profits have been expropriated

- Defn of expropriation has become very broad
 - E.g. American firm banned (felt like their profits have been taken away so they sued Canadian gov't)—bc of ch.11 of NAFTA, allowed to sue and govt paid 13mill→ seen as rent seeking
- Freeland's worry: the danger of the "rise of an intl rent seeking global oligarchy"
- Broader pus to lock in privileges?
 - Protecting low taxes and offshore world
 - Always a push back in top earners for govts doing this
 - Buffen an advocate of higher taxes for top earners
- An emerging 'rentier elite'
 - Living off low taxes and inheritant wealth
- Consequences for everyone else
 - Cutbacks and declining social mobility?
 - Freeland concerned with mobility—elite not being taxed while everyone else is; cant move up or down on this issue
 - Highly unequal societies have low social mobility; e.g. Peru
 - By 1% locking in privileges, this keeps unequal societies stuck in one place

Argument 3: Indifference to the rest?

- Locking in privileges bc don't care about rest of popn
 - This is how plutocrats think
- Top 1% increasingly indifferent

Due to

- 1. Culture of the plutocrats
 - Living in a bubble and a lavish lifestyle
 - Freeland gives e.g. of giant yacht owned by one of Microsoft founder

- 27 story-high house built in Mumbai among the poor for Indian plutocrat
- They have different values; they think differently and act it
- 2. Indifference reinforced by globalization
 - Global elite culture: they are becoming a transglobal community of peers
 - Have similar experiences and have more in common with each other than with people in their own countries
 - E.g. Eaton College: globalized high school that has children of Russian oligarchs and Chinese elite children
 - E.g. elite attend events around world; Cannes film festivals, Davos, Switzerland, Wimbledon
 - Economic interests are global
 - They don't think about they are tied to a country, rather they are global citizens
 - Global assets rather than landed elite: less tied to territory/local community
 - In rich countries: elite less reliant on middle class home mkt bc they sell to a global mkt
 - In poor countries: elite can use rich country services (E.g. China or Russia sending kids to Eaton College)
- 3. Indifference because of neoliberal ideology (what neolib think):
 - a) Defending inequality, as mkt rewards risks → these people who take risks should be receiving these rewards
 - b) Criticism of the rest
 - E.g. Romney; private fundraising meeting among plutocrats and bashing poor

- C) Libertarianism: shouldn't have any obligations to rest of popn; shouldn't be taxed
 - Plutocrats want own libertarian island offshore with no taxes and free from poor and obligations to them

Argument 4: Undermining their own interest?

- Freeland says that plutocrats long term interests are undermining their own interests if they continue to do this
- Locking in privilege at what long-term cost?
 - Risk of venetian precedent: La Serrata (after locking in privileges, it collapsed)
- Says the cost of what they're doing is economic and political
 - **1.** Towards economic stagnation
 - Elites turn to rent seeking and extraction
 - Those countries that encourage rent seeking behaviour will be societies own doing (e.g. North Korea)
 - Blocked social mobility inhibits dynamism
- New research: economic cost of rising national inequality
 - Costs of 'discarded potential'
 - Means that people who are poor cant get education or health (potential wasted)
 - Financial instability: cause of 2008 crisis
 - Costs of health and social problems
 - Health and social problems are worse in more unequal countries
- But will distribution hurt incentives?
 - **2.** Political side of this argument: growing inequality leads to political backlash
 - Have political upheavals
 - Frustration with blocked social mobility

- Anger at influence of wealthy elites; e.g. Occupy 99%
- Political polarization and risk of societal breakdown

What Future?

- Hope that plutocrats back reform (a book for plutocrats)
- Breaking rent seeking and monopolies
- Are there some signs of them listening? Perhaps. Social inequality is becoming a concern among elite
- Other possible responses by plutocrats? Piketty more pessimistic than Freeland about this—says top 1% will spend money on propaganda and use of coercion—says we're heading towards a hunger games scenario

Week 4 Lecture

Rising international inequality since the 19th century: Why and what political consequences?

1. From national to international inequality
2. Geographical dimensions of inequality
3. The Great Divergence
4. Explaining the Great Divergence
5. National citizenship as reward or penalty
6. Inter-state power relations transformed
7. Economic growth as national political imperative
8. The latest key case: the growth of China
9. Reversing the Great Divergence?
10. What have we learned this week?

From National to international inequality

Different kinds of trends:

- Longer-term trend of rising international inequality since 19th century
- Recent decline in international inequality (while national inequality is rising!)

Different kinds of explanations

- Why are countries rich or poor? (Instead of why are individual's rich or poor?)

Different kinds of political consequences

- Inter-country relations (instead of focus on plutocrats)

Tutorial question for next week:

- Do international inequality trends have more important political consequences than national ones?
- Preparing for final exam question: Of the three kinds of economic inequality identified in the first lecture (national, international, and global), which kind do you think has the most important political consequences?

Geographic Dimensions of Inequality

- How to measure intl inequality?
 - Compare avg income in each country (calculated by gross domestic product per capita)
- E.g. electricity use: at night time
 - NA, EU, JP are very bright compared to lower income countries who don't have much electricity

The great divergence: 19th century as a turning point

- The world wasn't always unequal geographically
- Had rough equality in geographical sense

- For first two thousand years (map on learn), have eastern and western EU, asia, Africa, ussr, etc., the avg income bw each region was the same until 1913
- Divergence is clear; western EU, US, CAN, AUS, NZ really pull away from rest of the world in 1913
- Avg income in richest country in world vs. avg income of poorest country in the world
 - Richest was UK and poorest was Sri Lanka in 1850
 - In 1913, this is 10x different
 - Richest was US and poorest was CH (historically, a wealthy civilization, but had low per capita income)
 - In 2010, have massive income differences
 - Richest is Qatar and poorest DRC
- GDP per capita by region (% of world avg)
 - In 19th c, Asia and AF below avg and EU and US above avg
 - This is called the great divergence

How to explain the great divergence

- Industrial revolution in western EU
 - BR as the pioneer since late 1700s
 - They pioneered mechanical textiles (cotton ginny)
 - Also pioneered glass furnaces, then iron and steel
 - Railroad also built during this time
 - All of this is driven by steam power
 - Spread to other W EU countries
 - Most of western EU industrializing in 1800s
- The industrial revn beyond W EU in 19th
 - US also experiences the industrial revn
 - E.g. Pittsburg produced steel (and still does today)
 - The core east was experiencing the revn particularly in the US
 - JP has own industrial revn
 - CH and IND dominated the economy in 1500 until the great divergence when the other nations caught up and passed them

Trends in 20th c:

- Dominance of the “West” (US)—had automobiles, telephone communications, chemicals, etc.
 - Some others starting to catch up: industrialization everywhere
 - In 20th c, industrializing spreading
 - E.g. USSR begins to industrialize; Eastern EU and Latin America catching up but not as same scale as US
 - Continued divergence for others
 - Some parts of the world are industrializing but not at same pace, so they’re falling behind (eg. L.AM, and AF)

Other ways for countries to get rich (aside from industrialization)

- Catering to the plutocrats

- E.g. Switzerland who caters to plutocrats (did industrialize, but not much; Luxemburg in EU has high incomes; Monaco has gambling, casinos, etc.—not an industrial centre)
- Also can get rich through resource exports
 - E.g. Qatar, Kuwait got rich through resource exports
 - Another e.g. is Oslo, Norway—has huge amounts of oil wealth
- ...But there's also the risk of a “resource curse”
 - Can cause corruption, exploitation, reliance on one export
 - E.g. Nigeria (oil), Sierra Leone (diamonds)

3 Political consequences of Intl inequality:

1. National citizenship as reward or penalty

- The growing importance of intl inequality:
- “Class” (within country) vs. “location” (bw countries) in determining place in global income inequality
 - In 19th c, geographically, it matters where you are
- In 1870, class was the central thing (rich or poor in world determined if you're rich or poor where you live) but by 2000, it depends on location
 - E.g. if you're poor in India, you're poor in the world and if you're rich in CAN, you're rich in the world
- As world diverged, location becomes important

Some implications

- Intl solidarity: is Marx outdated?
 - Communist Manifesto: Marx: all workers of world unite in some way (bc all workers across the world are exploited by K'ist elite) –says class matters
 - Malonovich doesn't agree: says worker in US and worker in India is different bc of location
- Inter-country movement of people became central
 - Before divergence, no point of moving from one part of world to another bc incomes the same
 - When divergence occurred, people wanted to move to higher income countries
 - Impact of migration and how it became a political topic
- Concern about relative position of one's own country
 - If its true where you are as a citizen, then you care more about how your country is doing
 - Fate determined by that country in global distribution of things

2. Inter-state power relations transformed

- National wealth influences national power:
- E.g. JP, realized if they don't industrialize, they will be invaded
 - BR's industrial revn and global power
 - This tiny island state conquers India (India's popn far larger than BRs)

- E.g. Opium wars in CH v BR (BR defeating CH bc of industrialization—steam trains)
 - HK under BR rule until late 90s
- The age of imperialism after 1870
 - BR demonstrates power of industrialization and other countries follow and start conquering the world
 - Have a scramble for colonies
 - Colonial powers: US, Portugal, BR, RUS (with USSR), Italy, the Dutch, etc.
 - Every industrialized country goes on this power campaign
- Reinforces intl inequality, not just power:
 - Enriching the imperial power
 - All of the countries that are colonizing are getting rich due to resources, dependence reln with exporting colonized resources, cheap labour (slaves), exploitation (extracting wealth and goes back to colonial country)
 - Under developing the colonies
 - E.g. India: de-industrialization where BR wouldn't allow IND to develop textiles—had to purchase textiles from Manchester

Neo-imperialism after colonialism

- Ongoing direct intervention
 - De-facto colonialism
 - Old colonizing power continues to intervene in poor nations (e.g. remove gov'ts they didn't like)
 - 1973, Chile: CIA sponsored coup to remove an anti-US govts
 - Iran another e.g. n 1950s
- Control via intl institutions
 - IMF: US de-facto controls many IMF decisions
 - When IMF lends money to country, its serving US interests
 - E.g. Loan to Korea—conditionality's listed by IMF were not directly related to economic crisis, but rather related to what US wanted Korea to do (e.g. de-regulate their car industry)
- Control via globalization
 - 1. Transnational firms
 - Giant firms such as TNCs, MNCs
 - 2. Free trade imperialism
 - E.g. Opium wars: BR blasted open CH to bring in drugs—they controlled them through this
 - 3. Capital flight
 - Wealthy people in poor countries hold assets abroad
 - Western banks actively pursue these deposits
 - This is bad for countries who lose massive amounts of savings
 - Those afflicted by K flight include: Russia (capital going into London banks)
 - Looks like a neo-imperial relationship

- Helps explain why ongoing divergence for many poor countries
 - Some countries catching up, but also many aren't and they blame these things above

3. Economic growth as national political imperative

- Growth as a means for both national wealth and power:
 - Relative intl standing is key
 - Every country is trying to grow, but at some point, they need to stop bc of world resource are limited
- What generates catch-up devt? Controversial subject
 - Nanyar's case: nee active role of govt
 - Initial conditions: political stability, education, infrastructure
 - Gov't needs to foster these conditions
 - Enabling institutions: constrain extractive behaviour by elites
 - Freeland is big on this idea
 - Countries that didn't do well have extractive elites
 - Industrial policy
 - Govt needs to support this (provide protection, etc)

Contrasting experiences in the 19th century

- Meiji Japan
 - JP experience in late 19th c, gov't in 1868 wants power in world and way to withstand BR and US pressure is by industrializing
 - Govt sets out deliberate strategy, that to this day stands and other countries copy
 - Built roads, education policy, certain institutions to prevent extractive elite
 - Meiji does better than EGP bc of strong military and slightly isolated from western powers
- Ali's Egypt
 - Ruler comes to power in 1800s with same goals as JP
 - Says that BR is industrializing and gaining strength in Mediterranean
 - Industrializes through steel
 - In 1940s, things go wrong bc they're invaded by BR with Ottoman emperor who thought Ali was too powerful
 - Whole thing disappears
 - BR makes Egypt into cotton-exporting country (bc BR doesn't want industrialization from Egypt—so they de-industrialize it)

Contrasting experiences after 1945

- S. Korea
- N. Korea
 - Started from similar position as JP

The latest key case: the growth of China

Post-1978 economic reforms

- Chairman Mao dies and Deng Xiaoping emerges and wants CH to catch up to industrialization
 - Motivation: catch-up growth as national political imperative
 - State-owned companies
 - Have exports to other nations
- Gradual liberalization
- Import foreign technology and investment
- Export to the world
- State-led growth and industrial policy
 - No one has done this before (this catch up industrialization that was successful on a large scale)
- Striking results: most rapid catch up seen in history
 - CH economy has surpassed US' economy as of 2014
 - Collapse of asia in 19th c has reversed bc of Deng's reforms

Reversing the great divergence

- Beginning to see convergence rather than a divergence bc intl inequality decreasing
- China is key, but others too, esp. India and other Asian countries in Nayyar's "next 14"
 - 14 countries that have been rapidly industrializing in past several decades; they include:
 - Indonesia, Malaysia, South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, Turkey, etc.
- Milanovic's international gini: intl gini was getting higher in last 50yrs but falling in past 10 yrs
 - International inequality is decreasing bc of great convergence**
- Continued divergence or flat trend for others, as convergence is driven by India and China**
 - Convergence not happening for all countries, such as:
 - Africa: some parts are industrializing bc not majority isn't and is falling behind
 - Latin America

Projecting forward: what consequences for global politics?

- Declining American hegemony?
 - Experiencing a shift and US hegemony being challenged
 - China rising as a global economic leader
- Nayyar's 3 key cautions about this trend of reverse divergence:
 - The continued rise of Next 14 (and others) depends on whether developing countries can transform themselves into inclusive societies where economic growth, human dev't, and social progress move in tandem
 - 3rd country needs to crack down on extractive behaviour (corruption) and this behaviour gets extreme, then economy will go bad

- Uneven trends across poorer countries
- Most of the gains of growth are going to the super-rich so far
 - All of these numbers rely on avg income, but super wealth in CH, India, etc. are getting most of gains of these new economic gains

Week 5 Lecture

Recent trends in the international inequality: What does the economic rise of China and other “emerging economies” mean for global politics?

1. Recall the recent trends in international inequality
2. Political consequences of China’s growing wealth
3. How much of a power shift is underway?
4. Implications of declining US economic hegemony?
5. Ikenberry’s counterarguments
6. Some remaining questions...
7. Will an open liberal world economic order survive?
8. What have we learned this week?
9. Shifting focus: global inequality

Recall the recent trends in international inequality...

1. Reversing the Great Divergence:

- The growth of Nanyang’s “Next 14” (and especially China)

2. Political consequences of China’s growing wealth?

Lesson from last week: Rising national wealth brings growing state power

- The British experience
- The American experience

Key question: How much power is China acquiring in the world economy?

3. How much of a power shift is underway?

a. Size of GDP: Market power?

b. World’s leading trader

c. Dominant firms?

d. International lending?

- a. State controlled-why so much lending to the US?
 - You may get some leverage over US, but not a lot (you’d have more leverage over Argentina if you lend them money)
 - US in 3.5 trillion dollars of debt due to this lending
 - CH has lend so much on US, that they’ve become dependent on US paying them back
 - CH could pull that money out of US but cant bc of this dependency
 - Why would CH lend money to US?
 - CH invests in US debt—most liquid and safe investment in the world
 - Due to a mix of politics and economics
 - CH has become the biggest lender
- b. Global currency?
 - When BR was on top of the world, their currency dominated, now its US
 - CH is rising

- Are people beginning to use CH currency, like the dollar? NO.
 - Very little use of CH currency (yuan)
 - Dominate currency is still US dollar
 - Almost every govt in world still holds assets in US dollars
 - RMB (yuan) not being used globally bc currency is being manipulated by the CH govt
 - CH currency not trusted by those who have large amounts of money
 - Should CH govt be liberalizing these controls?
 - They don't like being dependent on US dollars
 - When they lend to US, they in US dollars (technically, they shouldn't be lending money in American dollars, but rather in its own yuan currency)
 - Some argue that bc of this, you cant argue that CH is dominant world power
 - But CH has become very powerful bc they control their own financial system
- e. Other limitations of Chinese economic power:** average income levels, technology, ideas?
- CH may have biggest economy in world but avg income is still low
 - It's not a wealthy country
 - CH not at leading edge of technological innovation—still in 'catch-up' mode
 - CH still has some American ideals—CH is ideologically influenced

Conclusion:

- China is not yet a new “hegemonic” power
 - Not powerful as BR was and how US is currently
- But power is diffusing: the decline of US economic hegemony in the context of the rise of China (and other emerging powers)
 - But everyone agrees that power is diffusing
- *“The present conjuncture represents an interregnum because the resurgence of Asia, particularly China, is not large enough in the context of the world economy, at least so far, to shift the hegemonic balance. But the beginnings of change with some erosion of hegemony are discernible. This is complex rather than simple as a phenomenon and will be played out over a long period of time.”* (Nayyar, p.38-9)

4. Implications of declining US economic hegemony?

The British precedent:

- Unable to play leadership role
 - When hegemonic power declines, we see a lot of instability
 - Couldn't perform certain functions as a hegemonic power (couldn't lend)
- Rising powers challenge the liberal order
 - Rising power challenged BR; for example: US, FR, GER, and JP were all challenging BR influence

- Didn't like way BR set up system and decided to set it up their own way
- Lead to a collapse—lead to Great Depression bc of this transition of leadership*

Result: collapse of liberal world economic order in interwar period

- Trade wars and rival spheres of influence
 - Had GER troops marching into C.EU
 - E.Asia prosperity sphere lead by JP—BR excluded from this
- International financial instability
 - Stock mkt crash in US
 - No power to handle this crash that was effective

US postwar leadership

- The Bretton Woods system: rebuilding an open liberal world economic order
 - After War, US is dominant power
 - Want to rebuild an open liberal world economy that BC created when it was in charge
 - Roosevelt in charge at this point and promises no depression—and wants to open economic relations
 - Lead to the BW systems in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire
 - 44 countries involved and designed to make a new economic system
 - At the centre of the BW system were institutions such as IMF, WB

The unraveling of the Bretton Woods system?

- US unable to lead and/or accept reform?
- Does this mean the BW system will collapse as BR did? Debatable question
- Some say US can no longer lead intl system (e.g. fail of economy in 2008 with economic recession)
- Some argue that US will not want to give power to rising state of CH
 - “There is an important lesson that emerges from history. Dominant powers are reluctant to cede economic or political space to newcomers.” (Nayyar, p.38)
 - Nayyar implying the negotiations now on how to give CH more economic power (bc they have low voting share)
 - Obama administration has a new plan—but US congress wont pass plan even though every country has supported and endorsed this new plan to give some voting power share to CH
- Rising powers challenging old order?
 - E.g. BRICS creation of an alliance
 - Says if you don't reform BW institutions, then they'll create their own
 - Have already established a new IMF, WB and so on
 - Shows that system may break down soon
 - Perhaps in next decade, we will see an increasing collapse of an open world economy

Future: collapse of the open liberal world economic order?

- Trade wars and rival spheres of influence

- International financial instability
 - BRICS

5. Ikenberry's Counterarguments

Why China (and other emerging powers) will support an open liberal world economic order:

- Thinks peoples are being too pessimistic and that CH wont come through as global leader bc they have too much at stake to lose

4 arguments as to why CH will support an open liberal world ec.order:

- Dependent on trade, investment and technology—so why would CH destroy this sytsem due to dependence?
- RMB internationalization requires liberal policies
- Internationally-oriented elites
- Need to reassure neighbours
 - Thinks CH, when it stands up intl forums and challenge economic power, their neighbours get nervous and run to US for help (e.g. SK, JP)
 - CH needs to support current system to prevent this from happening

The importance of multilateral institutions by Ikenberry:

- Key difference from interwar period
 - Roosevelt would lead through institutionalizing why in which world was rising
 - Means there wont be trade wars bc these countries are apart of IMF (institution that doesn't allow trade wars)
 - These institutions prevent another great depression
- Reforming to accommodate China's rise
 - Member of IMF, WB, WTO
 - Deng Xiaoping went to Carter in US and said he wanted to join IMF and WB—CH becomes member of BW system and now member of WTO
 - And this accommodated the Chinese rise
 - FromG8 to G20
 - Biggest signs of reform is that world used to run by G8 (UW, W.EU, JP, CAN)
 - In 2008, G20 was created
 - Symbolic bc CH, BR, IND, were brought to the table
 - They are the biggest powers of the world
 - Bush organized the G20

6. Some Remaining Questions

Importance of Chinese domestic politics

- Internationalist's vs nationalists?
 - Think about domestic politics and the two big powers
 - Will is be dominated by internationalists (tends to be bad for whole system) or nationalists? (Tends to be more cooperative and beneficial for all)

How will the US respond?

- Internationalists vs nationalists
- Congressional debates about CH getting more votes
- Who's going to win presidency?
 - Rand Paul is more isolationist

7. Will an open liberal world economic order survive? (Political Consequences)

It depends:

- Will economic power continue to diffuse?
 - Will CH's power continue to rise?
- What will the goals of rising and declining powers be?
- How important will international institutions be?
 - Will they succeed in keeping system together?

“The coming divide in world politics will not be between the United States (and the West) and the non-Western rising states. Rather, the struggle will be between those who want to renew and expand today's system of multilateral governance arrangements and those who want to move to a less cooperative order built on spheres of influence.” (Ikenberry)

- Doesn't think its bw US and BRICS
- Core of his vision is intl v natl
 - Think internationalists will win

8. What have we learned this week?

Lesson #1: Inter-state power relations are being transformed by changed international inequality trends

- Saw this in early 1th c with divergence and inter state powers change
- Now we're seeing opposite
- The decline of US economic hegemony

Lesson #2: Transitions in economic leadership may have systemic consequences:

- The survival of an open liberal world economic order?
 - When you have transition of leadership, can be bad for whole system
 - Needs to politically and properly managed

9. Shifting focus: Global inequality

From “inter-country” comparisons to “citizens of the world”

- From bw countries to thinking about every individual as a citizen of the world
- Most extreme form of inequality, but less attention historically (compared to national and international inequality)
 - Most unequal country in world is BR—world is more unequal than ever before
 - There's no single world gov't
- Now gaining more political attention in an age of globalization?
 - Is this idea f global inequality getting more political attention over time?
Yes.

Documentary: global citizenship as show business?

- Mid 1980s, Bono and Bob Geldof got interested in issues about global poverty (Ethiopian famine triggered their interests)
- Held a rock concert called LIVE AID
 - Purpose is to also lobby politicians in the world, as well as to raise money and awareness
 - Highlights the political of global poverty
- Some argue that they're doing the wrong thing, as it is destructive
 - Politics of this is controversial
- Campaign had to be clear and simple in order to raise money
 - Moral imperative to act upon this, but controversial bc images used (of dying African children) becomes the main image of all of Africa
 - Becomes a campaign of pity and a campaign of white people hopping on horses to rescue Africans
- First time that ordinary people woke up to realities of hunger
 - This also awoke politicians; ppl wanted their govts to do something about it
 - \$1 billion donated to Ethiopia
 - This aid saved millions of lives
 - But food given doesn't solve anything in the long run
- Poverty runs deeper than unfortunate circumstances and little food
 - Some of these issues continue as a result of rich countries
 - Repayments from 3rd world to 1st world
 - Rich nations refused to lessen repayments and take responsibility
- Now, the rockers were trying to solve the problems
 - Bono used at British Music Awards to bring forth this issue of inherent poverty and debt cancellation
 - It was successful, but they also needed global coverage (gets the Pope to wear sunglasses and shed light on poverty)
 - Big promises on debt reduction in many countries—US agreed but needed Congress' approval
- Congressmen didn't care to hear about reducing foreign aid—only later, decided to decrease only half the debt—this also lead to other 1st world countries to follow suit
 - Still didn't solve the problem: AF still had huge amounts of debt to pay off—they didn't have the money to repay the US back
 - This decision wasn't beneficial to Africa—it only looked good on paper
- Bono decides to set self up as a lobbyists in US, called DATA originally but changed to ONE (received millions from Gates, Soros, and various other billionaires/millionaires)
 - Have a profession lobby; but rich white pop stars don't represent African views—some state this undermines African leaderships and views
 - Bono speaking to intl leaders, but not to Africans—seen as problematic

- During the Bush transition, rise of AIDS in Africa—conservative govt and lobbyists against men engaging in sexual acts with other men (stating that it leads to aids)
 - Didn't have antiretroviral drugs
- Bono meets with Bush—discusses religion and this struck a cord with Bush and help in AF
 - New initiative to fight against AIDS: Bush promises \$15 million to help 30 million Africans inflicted with the disease
- At the same time, US invades Iraq and priorities change
- Live 8 happens few days before the G8 meeting—purpose to raise awareness, not money
 - Reduced amount of aid, but left trade untouched
- Change will happen when economic structure changes completely
- Claim that millions of individuals have survived bc of the campaign
 - It hasn't made poverty history, but has made peoples lives a bit better

Week 6: Politics of global inequality between citizens of the world: growing political importance in an age of globalization?

1. Global inequality: citizens of the world
2. Why relatively neglected?
3. Growing interest in 20th century
4. MDGs and global citizenship?
5. Push for global redistribution?
6. Push to reform global economic structures?
7. Freer movement of people?
8. Is global inequality rising or falling?
9. Beyond Gini: Global reshuffling since 1980s
10. Political consequences of global reshuffling?
11. What have we learned so far?

Quick Review: Key controversies to explore

#1: Within countries: Why is national inequality rising worldwide and with what political consequences?

#2: Between countries: Why has international inequality grown so dramatically since the 19th century and with what political consequences? Is the trend now being reversed?

#3: Between citizens of the world: What are the trends and political implications of global inequality?

#4. Of the three kinds of inequality, which has the most important political consequences?

1. Global Inequality: Citizens of the World

- The most extreme forms of inequality, but relatively neglected
- Instead of looking at income, focus on wealth—compare it to bottom (in Oxfam study)
- In global terms, bottom 20% living on \$1.25/day
 - Where are these individuals living? Africa, Latin America, Asia (particularly India—esp. Bangladesh)
 - 455 million people in India living on \$1.25/day
 - Assumption that extreme poor live in extremely poor countries
- Those living on 1.25/day move up to 2/day—these people normally move out of the 1.25 and into the 2/day
 - These people are really vulnerable
- Global poverty has been neglected
 - Inequality in countries or in between countries has garnered more attention

2. Why relatively neglected?

A) Citizenship conceptualized as national not global (politics is based on citizenship and there's no such things as a global citizen)

- 1. Rights and responsibilities: sovereign state
 - All our resp. comes from the nation states

- E.g. right to vote, healthcare, paying taxes to nation states, obey the national laws, passports (If you have a passport, you have these rights/resp.)
- 2. Sense of solidarity: nations as “imagined communities”
 - Some say, ideologically, they’re citizens of the world
 - Most powerful ideology is nationalism-can go to any party of world, and see nationalism is a central conception
- Encourages focus on national and International inequality...but not global inequality
 - This sense of national identity/citizenship forces you to focus on national inequality
 - Also make inter-country comparisons (e.g. comparing US/CAN inequality), but global inequality is largely ignored
- Neglect is reinforced by the absence of a world government
 - Bc there’s no global governance
 - In absence of world govt, not clear how to redistribute income on a global scale
 - Easier to redistribute income on national scale
 - Since end of WWII, have UN (a semi-world govt)

3. Growing interest in 20th c

...Although global inequality has been neglected, there has been growing interest

Widening gap and increasing visibility of extremes

- Rising global GINI since early 19th c
 - One reason why global ineq. interests have risen, people realize there's extreme inequality—this has been increased due to a communications revn
- Communications revn: emerging ‘global village’
 - Human consciousness about thinking about world as a whole
 - Certain events such as missile crisis (nuclear war/weapons) have raised this awareness of inequality

Extremes generate interest in global ethics and global citizenship

- Global rights and responsibilities
 - Rise of movement surrounding global ethics
 - Although we all live in nation states, there should be some sense of rights/resp that should extend to humanity as a whole
- Emerging conceptions of global solidarity
 - People concerned about nuclear war or environmental problems, usually care about other issues such as inequality

Interests: growing concern about global poverty as threat to world peace and prosperity

- ...Some say that rich should care about global inequality
- Rich should care bc it effects illegal immigration, disease, political instability

Franklin Roosevelt’s ‘freedom from want’ for everyone 1933-45

- Ethics: internationalizing New Deal goals
 - Tries to constrain power of rich and give to poor
 - Freedom from want: many people who are poor—shouldn’t be poor
 - We should be concerned with freedom from want for everyone

- Ethics and self-interest drives Roosevelt—wants to help poor everywhere and attempting to internationalize his ideas everywhere
- Interests: foundation for global prosperity
 - Said if there's extreme poverty, we can't have global peace and prosperity
 - Links fascism to freedom from want (Mussolini and Hitler)

New sense of global citizenship: UNDHR 1948

- Part of Roosevelt's vision is setting up a UN and UNDHR
 - As part of building UN, have to cultivate a global citizenship
 - Eleanor Roosevelt pushed for UNDHR
 - S.Africa, Saudi Arabia, and SU abstained from this freedom from want
- Article 25
 - Gives us a sense of global citizenship

Then the Cold War happens—becomes a problem

- Undermining of global solidarity
 - Stalin and Truman and conception of global solidarity is not a priority anymore
- Strategic goals and 'dev't'
 - US aiding L.A. and SU aiding AF bc of strategic reason
 - Not really adhering to UNDHR anymore, but for own selfish gains
- Lower profile for idea of universal human rights

But rise of 'global citizens'? NGOs and transitional social activism

- NGOs see selves transitional social activism
- Many NGOs being established to uphold UNDHR objectives
 - E.g. Oxfam, Amnesty International, MSF
 - These people, in the NGOs, conceptualize selves as global citizens

4. MDGs and global citizenship?

Reinvigorating the UN vision after the Cold War: Millennium Development Goals of 2000 for 2015→Kofi Anan wanted targets for UN to be committed to reducing poverty

- Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
- Achieve universal primary education
- Promote gender equality and empower women
- Reduce child mortality
- Improve maternal health
- Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases
- Ensure environmental sustainability
 - These goals followed by a target—had sub-targets within these targets; very detailed

Global rights, but what about global responsibilities?

- Who is accountable to meet goals in the absence of a world government?
- MDG goal #8: "Develop a global partnership for development"

Partnership with whom?

- The role of rich country gov'ts: from 'sovereign' to 'cosmopolitanizing' states
 - Nations shifting from seeing selves as sovereign to cosmopolitan

- Having responsibilities for the world
- The role of rich individuals: cultivating a global sense of solidarity?
 - Anan keen on this; goes to Davos and says to world business leaders that he needs their support for MDGs
 - Got them to sign the “global compact”
- *Making poverty history campaign aimed to ‘transform natl citizens into global citizens by creating obligations towards people suffering outside the nation’*
 - Tries to make national citizens to global ones
 - Invoke many prominent people; such as Nelson Mandela

We see core limitations of global citizenship...

- Has a lot of global political consequences
- Non-binding rights and responsibilities
 - Can say they’ll eradicate poverty but no enforcing mechanism
 - Nothings binding the govts to commit to it
- Unequal power relations among those global citizens
- Resistance and indifference

Solutions for MDGs

#5 Push for global redistribution (1)

Increase official dev’t aid to poorer countries?

- Resistance and indifference
 - Switzerland gives 1% of total income to poor—most generous
- Critiques: does it help the world’s poor?
 - Resistance among rich countries giving to poor ones

New ideas for intl taxation?

- Redistribute from global rich to global poor
- Make sure money goes to people in extreme poverty
 - Get a direct transfer some way
- E.g. initiative to tax plane flights, since rich always travel with planes

The role of non-official sector” global citizens?

- NGOs—transferring money to other parts of world
- Global business
- Global plutocrats: e.g. Gates
 - But these are small amounts of \$ involved

#6 Push to reform global economic structures (2)

MDGs call not just for more aid, but also global economic reform:

- Debt relief for least developed countries bc poor cant pay back money
- Trade reform
 - Better mkt access for products from least dev’d countries—allow poor countries’ product to be sold more easily
 - Level of playing field: reduce rich country subsidies
- Role of business
 - MDGs says business community should say something about this^

- Make sure that there's low cost drugs for people in 3rd world

NGO initiatives

- Fair trade movement, not helping thru money

Resistance and indifference

#7 freer movement of people (3)

Milanovic's 3rd soln: enable more migration to rich countries

- The domestic precedent: intra-natl migration
 - Have redistribution of income (e.g. NFLND people moving to ON) in 2 ways:
 - Direct and indirect economic impact
 - Indirect way: temporary migration—this generates a lot of remittances (sending money back home)

Resistance: rich countries are increasingly gated communities

- The rich world is fencing itself in, or fencing others out
 - Milanovic's conclusion
- Limitations of global citizenship

#8 is global inequality rising or declining

- Rising national v. falling intl ineq: which trend dominates?
 - IND and CH
- A turning point?
 - Seeing slight decline in global gini
 - Slight improvement in global inequality
 - CH and INDs growth is rapid, but fewer than there was a decade ago

#9 Beyond gini: global reshuffling since 1980s

- Milanovic on 1988-2008
 - Global reshuffling of people's ec. positions
- Biggest winners:
 - Top 1%
 - 35th-70th (esp the middle to upper-middle class of BR, CH, IND and other emerging economies)
- biggest losers:
 - bottom 5%
 - haven't lost income, but haven't gained it either
 - 80th-90th lower and lower-middle class in rich countries

#10 political consequences of global reshuffling

- Krugman's warning about 'twin peaks planet'
 - (quote)
- Political backlash from those in the 'valley'
 - Growing nationalist populism in rich countries—left and right countries (this is the backlash)—generally anti-globalization

- Targeting globalization bc of global distributional reshuffling (began in 1980s)
 - Suggests that global ineq matters bc of this reshuffling process that's been going on in last 20yrs
- Challenge for supporters of global citizenship
 - Some people gaining expense of other people

#11 what have we learned so far

PSCI 150 HANDOUT WEEK 7: WHAT DO WE MEAN BY POWER?

BY THE END OF THIS WEEK, YOU SHOULD BE ABLE TO:

- Name several types of actors in world politics, and consider what kinds of power they might have
- Explain why the simple definition of power as the ability to get another actor to do something they do not want to do may be insufficient
- Use the definitions of power to help you to understand a case study

- Can Nuclear weapons end war? Can a tweet change the world? Does international law matter?
 - How does domestic violence change global violence?

KEY QUESTIONS:

- What is power? The ability to get someone to do something they don't want to do
 - The capacity to enact change
- Who are the actors? Who's got the power? What kind of power do they have?
 - Obama: President of US which is a powerful world nation, **charismatic power**, intellectual/softer masculinity
 - Putin: **Charismatic power**, more traditional masculinity, most people trust in him, not as limited by congress
 - Oil companies (cartels): ability to **change domestic policy** – builds economic power
 - United Nations: **ability to persuade** countries to watch sanctions. **Power of member states**, moral force of the world, **power to scold** – doesn't matter because sovereignty of states
 - Legislative and executive branches of government: control over **military**, **populations**, impact domestic and foreign **policy**
 - The Pope/Faith groups: **power of faith** and over population, **moral power**
 - Hollywood: **power of ideas** infiltrates minds of people, which change governments
 - Journalists: **power of words and criticisms**, control disseminate info, beacon free speech, accountability to government
 - Criminal/terrorist organizations: **power of fear** over people and governments, power of **the story** that enables policies ,
 - NATO, G8: **economic power**, power of cooperation
 - Power of the story: make you want the same thing that they want
 - NGO's: **advocacy power** to tell story that is not being told, **emotional** appeal

- What are the implications?

1. BRAINSTORM: WHO ARE THE ACTORS IN GLOBAL POLITICS? WHICH OF THEM HAVE POWER? WHICH DON'T? HOW DO THEY EXERCISE THEIR POWER?

- F
-

2. DEFINITION OF POWER:

- From PACS 202:
 - Power to...
 - Neutralizes power as something that just is.
 - Power to do something, to affect change, run an organization, govern
 - Power over...
 - Coercive power
 - Can be useful in limited quantities
 - make somebody do something they don't want to do, harm themselves
 - Power with...
 - Also sometimes called empowerment. To walk alongside. (Horse analogy...)
 - we walk together to accomplish something together. Horses won't move if you stand in front of them and pull the reins, they will move if you stand beside them
-

3. POWER...COMPLICATING THE DEFINITION

A. CONTEXT MATTERS

- What actors might have power in one context might not have power in another context.
 - E.g. prof talking in front of class, vs. prof having dinner with somebody else
 - E.g. clerk at a store has different power than person buying
- The original definition given is too limiting – it assumes a context
- The power to “set the agenda” – choosing the context
- TED Talk – William Ury
 - Idea of a common Abrahamic Identity in the Middle East
 - One of the ways to bring individuals together is to bridge them back to the common ground
 - Start thinking of yourselves as all being on the same sides
 - Stand side-by-side rather than face-to-face – less confrontational
 - Common economy based on tourism

- Change the game to change the frame – reset the agenda
- Walking wields power in changing the context of negotiation
 - Physically, emotionally,
- *Mini-case: Greenpeace & Black Ice*
 - Greenpeace trailer wields power by encouraging us to view this conflict in a very particular way (it's not the only way)
 - Actors are oil companies, Russian government and the collective “We”

B. POWER RESOURCES VS. ACTUAL POWER

- Power resources → Capacity to wield power → Actual power
 - Fungibility is how changing one thing is into other things
 - But there is always turnover time
 - How to transform resource of wheat into resource of tanks?
 - Trade treaty with neighbouring countries?
 - There are various things between power resources and actual resources
- *Mini-case: Angela Merkel*
 - Chancellor of Germany – most powerful political leader
 - Germany wields economic power
 - Germany has spent a lot of time paying off debts and transforming their image on the international scale
 - Founding member of EU – gives them power and mediates their power within the whole
 - Economic power is less threatening than military power
 - Germany is interdependent on other European countries
 - If the Euro can't remain in working power for a decade, the euro project might not have been a good idea
 - She has been trying to broker peace in the Ukraine
 - Bringing in Russia into the negotiating table, may also validate Russia's intervention in the first place
 - She wields moral/charismatic authority
 - She has credibility as a diplomat and stateswoman – increased domestically and globally
 - Relationship with Russia and US – speaks as an equal
 - She has power to deploy troops
 - Russia is not in the EU, which gives them more power economically
 - EU has direct and indirect power to change the policies – countries act a certain way to look desirable to EU

C. THE POWER TO SHAPE PREFERENCES

- “Co-optive power”
- Becoming convinced or persuaded to believe something

- The feeling of being compelled
- How does Joseph Nigh define soft power?
 - Power of attraction
- How does US deploy soft power?
 - Power to influence international organizations
 - Power of Hollywood
 - Influencing the IMF and other financial institutions
 - Conditionality (e.g. persuading authoritarian gov't to become democratic based on resources like money)

○

D. THE POWER IN INSTITUTIONS & RELATIONSHIPS

4. BROAD CATEGORIES OF POWER

- *Hard power*: material and economic
 - E.g. military force – physical power, technological power
- *Soft power*: non-material or symbolic
- *Structural Power*: inherent in social institutions
 - Gender, race, class
 - Difficult to say that a single individual has control over a particular structural inequality
 - Patriarchy – system that values male traits over female traits
 - E.g. women paid less
 - E.g. still very difficult for men and women to take parental leave
 - White privilege allows white people to navigate through society more easily than people of colour

Assignment

- Part I – worksheet; choose two articles from 2014, 2015; think about how they use power
 - Bibliographic citations
- Part II – Comparison between the two

PSCI 150 HANDOUT WEEK 8: CAN NUCLEAR WEAPONS PREVENT A WAR? / DOES DIPLOMACY WORK?

BY THE END OF THIS WEEK, YOU SHOULD BE ABLE TO:

- Explain why nuclear weapons are so powerful
 - Explain why John Mearsheimer thinks that bipolarity is stable
 - Explain deterrence as a mode of power
- Decide whether the Osirak Redux case is for or against the idea that nuclear weapons can prevent a war
- Explain the concept of bargaining space, and apply it to a case study
- Discuss the possibilities and limits of diplomacy and negotiation
- Explain why secret negotiations might be preferable
- Dazzle your friends and family with your superior knowledge of the background on nuclear diplomacy with Iran

CASE STUDY #1: THE COLD WAR

WHO ARE THE ACTORS? WHO'S GOT THE POWER?

1942 – 1946: USA developed nuclear weapons – Nagasaki and Hiroshima

1949: Soviet Union tested first nuclear weapon

PILLARS OF THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY (NPT), 1970:

- There needs to be a stop to horizontal proliferation (not vertical proliferation)
- Non-Proliferation: prevents vertical and horizontal
- Disarmament:
- Peaceful use of nuclear technology

NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES, UNDER THE NPT:

- Britain, USA, Russia, China, France (original nuclear weapons holders)
- India (1974), Pakistan (1998). Israel (not tested), North Korea (2006)

STATES NOT PARTY TO NPT WHO HAVE NUCLEAR WEAPONS:

- Who else has had successful nuclear programs? Belarus, Ukraine, etc. → Given to Russia
- Which states have tried and failed? Brazil, Libya, Iraq, Syria, South Korea, Yugoslavia, etc.

Our combined amount of warheads globally are (find this stat?)

WHAT KIND OF POWER DO NUCLEAR WEAPONS GIVE?

PHYSICS:

Nuclear explosions are so much more powerful than conventional weapons

Global Anarchy (no overarching authority) where nuclear weapons are an equalizer

SECOND STRIKE CAPABILITY:

The capacity to survive a first nuclear strike and deliver a return strike; Creates the condition of **mutually assured destruction (MAD)**.

John Mirchimer is saying this is what is keeping the peace.....

- Watch War Games: the only winning move is not to play

DETERRENCE: ability to prevent them from doing what they want to do

CAPABILITY:

CREDIBILITY: other state must believe that what you say you will do, will actually happen

Massive retaliation: what are states willing to sacrifice to save other states from nuclear weapons

Flexible Response (JFK): allows more room for others and you to make decisions

THE NUCLEAR TABOO: into the realm of soft power – there is a norm in world power that keeps the world from destructing

Post hoc, ergo propter hoc fallacy: idea that peace was kept because norms rather than MAD is a fallacy

COMMUNICATION: If I don't know how you will react if I do things, you will not deter me

BIPOLARITY: Kept the peace because two big alliances were in charge and all other states align with either of those two states

Can nuclear weapons prevent a war? What is preventing major outbreak

CASE STUDY #2: NUCLEAR DIPLOMACY WITH IRAN

WHO ARE THE ACTORS?

- P5+1: Russia, China, UK, USA, France, Germany
 - Germany is added because it is the key destination for exports from Iran, it holds close ties with both Russia and the West
- Iran
 - Why are relations to poor b/w Iran and the West?
 - The Iranian revolution in the 70's, Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi
- Overthrown in 1979 – Islamic revolution that combines Marxism and Shiism
- Ayotallah Khomeini (implementation of Sharia)
- Israel

HISTORY OF IRAN'S POOR RELATIONS WITH USA:

- Iranian revolution
- Support for Mujahadeen
 - To expel the secular and atheist USSR
 - US supports Iraq with foreign aid
- Hostage crisis
 - US given money to set hostages free

WHY MIGHT IRAN WANT NUCLEAR WEAPONS?

- Developed association b/w nuclear weapons and power
- Support economic growth – security in country
- Given more bargaining power – renegotiate sanctions?
- Iran's military is devastated by Iraq and so Nuke jumps you from being low-tear military to high-tear
- Prevent intervention by great powers like US
- Protection against any other nuclear threats
- Claim that it's a peaceful program

WHY IS ISRAEL SUCH AN IMPORTANT PLAYER?

- The only nuclear weapons holder in the middle east

WHO'S GOT THE POWER?

NEGOTIATING TRACKS:

- 2004 Iran agreed to
- 2005 Russia agrees to enrich uranium on Iran's behalf. Negotiations with EU3 halt

P5+1

United Nation

- Begin to sanction Iran economically to change its behaviour – isolate it diplomatically

Negotiations continue

2010 – Expansion of sanctions

2013 – Rouhani elected

Secret diplomacy with USA

- Secret to not infuriate other states (like Israel)
- Secret because Iran was part of the access of evil – telling people to not negotiate with them, while they are?

Oman acts as the honest broker between Iran and the US

INTERIM AGREEMENT REACHED BETWEEN IRAN AND P5+1 – NOVEMBER 2013

- Iran agreed to suspend some nuclear activities
- Saving face – win-win for Iran and the US

WHAT KIND OF POWER?

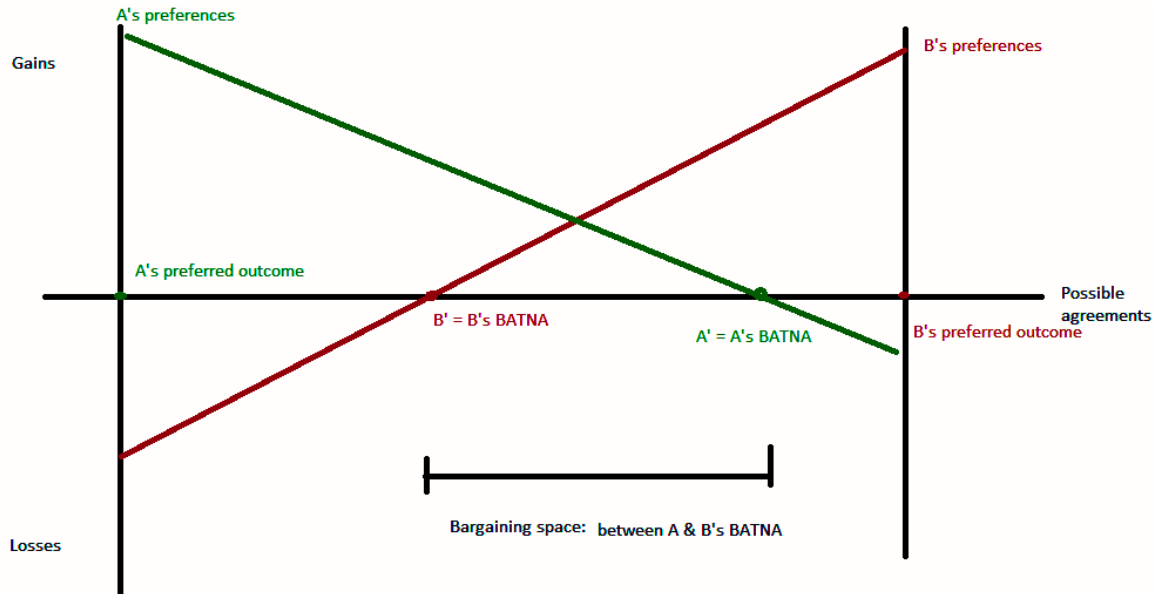
DIPLOMACY:

A set of practices and institutions, usually enacted by states, for representation and communication

SOVEREIGNTY: capacity to keep control over territory (through military) and is diplomatically recognized by other states

- State is supreme political

WHAT ARE THE IMPLICATIONS?



BATNA:

Best Alternative to a Negotiated Agreement

BARGAINING SPACE:

- In order to figure out what to negotiate, we need to know what bargaining space is
-

BARGAINING POSITIONS IN MARCH 2015:

USA / P5 + 1:

IRAN:

SPOILERS:

US CONGRESS: Obama is a democrat and many in congress are republican – Congress controls sanctions which are making negotiation even a thing for Iran.

ISRAEL: Netanyahu lobbies in the US and holds power at the US governmental level. He is also using his involvement in the Iran proliferation issue to gain voters back in Israel

PSCI 150 HANDOUT WEEK 9: CAN A TWEET CHANGE THE WORLD?

BY THE END OF THIS WEEK, YOU SHOULD BE ABLE TO:

- Discuss how images can be powerful
- Discuss how citizens and mass movements can affect politics
- Discuss the roles of states, firms, and outside actors in revolutions
- Debate the different kinds of power inherent in violent and non-violent protest
- Discuss the causes of revolution

IMAGES

WHAT MAKES AN IMAGE POWERFUL?

What do we actually see?

What has the image come to represent? Why are these images so powerful?



- Image 1: Apollo 1 photo of earth
 - We see the earth, the moon, and darkness
 - It symbolizes unity
- Image 2: Cambodian? Japanese **look up man during
 -
 - Symbolizes the power of the individual, the oppressive power of military
- Image 3: Vietnam after Napalm strike (sticky fire – harsh chemical weapon)
 - We see: Children, Fear, pain, children are horrified and soldiers aren't phased



- Image 4: Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq taken by US soldier
 - Image never taken for public consumption
 - Humiliating prisoner, torture (wire, nakedness, standing on box)
 - It could be anybody

- Evokes crucifixion of Jesus
- Hood reminds viewer of KKK – except person photographed is not the torturer
- It has come to be associated with enhanced interrogation – and torture of prisoners by US government/military
- Understand context before you can decipher any opinion on the image
- Image 5: Rosie the riveter during WWII
 - Strength of women
 - Wearing a blue-collar shirt, hiding femininity by tying up hair
 - Encouraging women to get involved in the work force and war effort
- Image 6: 9/11 terrorist attack
 - Attack on US power and “the end of an era of innocence”
 - Image is evoked even when it’s not evoked (the absence of the towers)
- Sometimes the context and discourse around and image evokes the image
- When we think about image we have to think about collective interpretation and individual interpretation
- The way we read image is different as individuals and as societies

TYPES OF POWER:

AGENDA SETTING POWER: the capacity to determine which issues are up for discussion, or suitable for policy intervention.

CNN EFFECT: idea that by focusing on certain issues or conflicts instead of others forces politicians to respond to certain issues and not others

MINI-CASE: BAND-AID 30 [HTTPS://WWW.YOUTUBE.COM/WATCH?V=I1JEIC-JESI](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I1JEIC-JESI)

- Image of starving bodies
- “Do they know it’s Christmas?” song created from these images
- Do journalists cause people and politicians to pay attention?
- Media can put issues on agenda that they otherwise wouldn’t have before
- CNN effect doesn’t necessarily work
- 1994 Rwandan genocide covered in media for a very long time before Western governments decided to act

What was the controversy of the Christmas music video?

- How is that making a difference?
- Overgeneralizing all of Africa – painting general picture
- “The clanging chimes of doom” – scientifically wrong, not how Ebola is spread
- Changed the title

WHO ARE THE ACTORS?

- Deep breathing health care workers taking dead bodies away – they are faceless and it’s dark
- Victims of Ebola
- (British) Musicians and celebrities – high recognizable faces getting out of limos
- This seems to be about the saviours not the Ebola victims

WHO’S GOT THE POWER?

WHAT KIND OF POWER?

- Bono has cache – people want to be involved in projects that he

WHAT ARE THE IMPLICATIONS OF DISTRIBUTION OF POWER

- Geldof said it's not fundraising, it's awareness
- Audience seems to be targeted and not for everyone
- Fear is used to provoke (used by media to scare the masses) VS. We can make a difference, mobilize

“Do they know it's Halloween” spoof of these Christmas videos ** Look it up

FRAMING: the use of images or text to shape a story in particular ways; by including or emphasizing some aspects while leaving out or excluding others.

- Images have power because they tell us one image and not tell us the other
- Biggest terrorist attack in Canada:
 - Air India flight 182 in 1985?
 - Bomb exploded the plane in the air over Atlantic by Sikh Nationalist
 - Not seen as an terrorist attack on Canadians or Canadian soil
 - Reference as a hateful deed by Canadians yet Indian PM said it was a terrorist attack
 - Because we live in a racist country, Indian Canadians killed did not fit image of what a real Canadian was
 - The attack was not on “us”, it was on “them”

MINI-CASE: INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN TO BAN LANDMINES

- Global campaign that was successful because of the reframing of the debate from being not a legitimate weapon of war to being a scourge against humanity
- 1997 Nobel Peace Prize
- US was and is still the largest user of landmines

WHO ARE THE ACTORS?

- ICBL
- CCW

WHO'S GOT THE POWER?

- US used power to derail conversation
- Canada had power to step outside UN system to debate
- ICBL has the power to reframe the issue

WHAT KIND OF POWER?

- Canada cannot ask to reopen debate because they are not directly involved
- Canada did not ban the export of landmines, but put on a list of countries supporting peace
- Department of foreign affairs puts CAD under pressure to comply
- New Minister of FA decides to lead the way in banning landmines
- US totally against:
 - Wants exception landmines used to “protect South Korea from North Korea”
 - Technical change in definition that will allow it to use on the ground landmine carriers
 - Verification regime
 - National interest clause to allow US to withdraw from treaty when they want

OUTCOMES?

- US tries making side-deals with states in support of the ban
- Invites and convinces smaller states to agree with them

- US was unable to stop treaty from going ahead because the power of reframing was so strong

REVOLUTION:

WHY DO PEOPLE REBEL?

- Perception of economic or social injustice
 - Not enough food, jobs
 - Lack of human rights in education or culture
 - Need to have some basic level of resources before you're seen as rebelling (if you don't have enough resources you won't have the capacity to rebel)
 - Relative deprivation: what you don't have relative to what your neighbour has
 - E.g. social media: most people only show good things on their timelines
- Government ineptness or illegitimacy
 - Government can't solve problems that need to be solved, not paying attention to things they need to
 - During times of revolution, governments lose support from middle-class and high-class because they feel that gov't isn't catering to them anymore
 - Mobilization: attract everyone who does not usually get involved
 - Aren't successful unless you can achieve wide-spread political mobilization
 - Self-determination: each individual or group has a sense that everyone has a right to say in how they are governed
 - Particularly since the end of WWII, sense that everyone has a say
 - Governments began holding more elections to give illusion of choice

KEY IDEAS:

- Revolution / Rebellion
- Political mobilization
- Self-determination

CASE STUDY: ARAB SPRING

WHO ARE THE ACTORS?

- In Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, Libya all in 2011 where everyone was optimistic
- Revolutions in History
 - US in 1776
 - French revolution in 1789, but in 1791 constitutional monarchy and war
- People
 - Mid-Dec 2010, Tunisian begins protesting because of fruit
 - President forced to flee 27th feb he is
 - Governments begin making concessions
 - Yemeni president makes agreements to step down
 - Egypt largest protests
 - Ineptness of government
 - January 25th protests called all across Cairo so police didn't know how to stop
 - Wael Ghonaim created online places for people to place information
 - by the 1st of Feb, able to draw 1 million people to streets
 - initially successful b/c coalitions built
 - Mohamed El-Baradai (expat and Nobel Peace Prize winner) began speaking out against government

- When media begins being echoed by family and friends, more likely to form and hold opinions – echo chamber
- States
 - Authoritarian leader must maintain legitimacy and show they are not inept
 - “If states become aware of people’s want for change, they either suppress or support change or explain why media is wrong.”
 - States can use social media against protestors as well
 - Syria, there was a crackdown on users – shut down the internet
 - People found a way: Technological solutions (e.g. Bluetooth)
 - People felt forced to go into the streets (take away access to internet and people will become more politically engaged)
 - Cute cat theory: if you can’t use internet to share cute cat pictures you get mad
 - Shutting down internet is different than slowing down
- Armed forces
 - If army is not on your side, they will not allow things to happen
 - How much you pay soldiers may influence how willing they are to support you
 - Soldiers are citizens as well and may be in support of grievances
 - In Egypt, army leaders watched protesters
 - Army was seen as an institution of stability to help transition between Mubarak and next gov’t in power
 - Revolutions do not always end in democracy
- Firms
 - Vodafone in Egypt shut down and was complicit with “bad guys”
 - Learned later that they should not have sided with Mubarak regime
 - Lose customers vs. being kicked out of country
 - Twitter, Google, Blackberry have been working against citizens of other countries
 - Twitter and Google offer information of people
 - Governments have power to refuse firms access to their citizens
- Outside Actors

Grievances:

- Low income, high prices
- 60% of Arab population under age of 30
- Repressed youth
- Rising expectations
- Governments inept and economic/social grievances

WHO’S GOT THE POWER? / WHAT KIND OF POWER?

- Outcomes were not always successful

USE OF SOCIAL MEDIA:

- By firms / governments
- By individuals
- By states

ROLE OF ARMED FORCES

NON-VIOLENT PROTEST

- What does non-violent protest look like?
 - Peaceful protest
 - Go-slows
 - Stay-aways
 - Mass-mobilization
 - Massive non-cooperation
- Does non-violent protest work?
 - Non-violent protest can still be disruptive: We should meet abuse by forbearance
Human nature is so constituted that if we take absolutely no notice of anger or abuse, the person indulging in it will soon grow weary of it and stop.
 - Examples:
 - Non-violent protests in India led by Ghandhi
 - Ukraine Orange revolution
 - End of S. African Apartheid
 - When the regime/government cannot sustain itself, non-violent protests can work
- Tactics for re-pressing non-violent / lawful protest
 - Police forces have many tactics at supporting or repressing protests
 - Many countries where you require a permit
 - Overt surveillance used (Canada, BC protests at Olympics): police saying you're being watched

Take-Home Questions

What makes Social Media work, Power of Images

PSCI 150 HANDOUT WEEK 11 -- WHY IS SOME VIOLENCE INVISIBLE?

BY THE END OF THIS WEEK, YOU SHOULD BE ABLE TO:

- Discuss how oppression is a power relationship
- Explain and provide examples of structural power and structural violence

KEY CONCEPTS & DEFINITIONS:

Violence: see Galtung reading for definition.

Structural Violence: see Galtung reading for definition.

Why is structural violence often invisible?

It is not quite as clear as to who is influencing behaviour.

It's not A impacted B; A is not clear (some aspects of A may be known, but not clear)

Galtung: "Violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realization is below their potential realizations."

Direct violence vs. Structural violence

$A \rightarrow B \rightarrow b$; can be seen as direct violence or indirect violence

Structural violence: The violence that is built into the structures and ends up as unequal power and unequal life choices.

How do we envision the "???"

Structural violence is forgotten by the status quo

Gramscian hegemony: the set of ideas that everyone takes to be common sense. Reflects the dominant structures of power and knowledge at any given time; alternative views are marginalized.

In any given time and place there are a set of ideas taken to be common sense – but how did they become common sense? Groups with power are most successful in presenting their view of the world as common sense. This becomes the only way of seeing the world and anyone who sees differently becomes marginalized which allows those who are in power to become more successful (legitimizes their power).

CASE STUDY: FORCED LABOUR AND HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Bonded labour: Labour demanded as part of repayment of a loan.

- People in situations of bonded labour are forced to work at very low pay and they cannot pay off their debts (e.g. indentured service – modern slavery)
- Can be passed from generation to generation – debts passed on from parent to child
- This is an example of direct violence (boss to employer) AND structural violence (parent to child, no direct harm)

Trafficking: Removal of people from their communities and forcing them to work in other locations. Trafficking requires the action of moving someone using forceful or coercive means for the purpose of exploitation or forced labour.

UNODC DEFINITION OF TRAFFICKING:

What is forced labour / trafficking not?

- Action of removal
- Means of removal is coercive
- Purpose of removal is forced labour/exploitation
- Trafficking does not equal smuggling
 - Smuggling is always transnational and consensual (at least at first)
- All sex work does not equal trafficking
 - Sexual nature may not be defining characteristic to their experience, it may be economic exploitation

WHO ARE THE ACTORS?

- State-imposed forced labour: 2,200,000
- Force labour for sexual exploitation: 4,500,000
- Forced labour for labour exploitation: 14,200,000
- More women are victims of forced labour

ANALYSIS OF VIDEO CLIP: “GO WORK ABROAD” PSA:

[HTTPS://WWW.YOUTUBE.COM/WATCH?V=9HWMR6PSHN8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9HWMR6PSHN8)

- From UN Office on Drugs and Crime
- Victims: Mostly young white women and only one exoticized Asian woman
- Perpetrators: largely unseen, leather jacket, big, abusive men
- Presents trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation even though we know there are many other reasons why people are trafficked and people who do engage in sex work are not always exploited by trafficking
 - Structural power shown in video

ANALYSIS OF SHORT FILM: “SUMA’S STORY”, GIRL RISING:

[HTTP://SCREENINGS.DROPMARK.COM/140680](http://screenings.dropmark.com/140680)

HOW DO RACE, GENDER, AND CLASS SHAPE THE LIKELIHOOD OF BEING TRAFFICKED OR ENDING UP IN BONDED LABOUR?

Intersectionality: the synergistic effects resulting from two or more axes of oppression

Who/what are the actors?

- Poverty:
 - Very poorest are maybe less vulnerable because they don't have resources to become involved in
 - may be what forces parents to sell a child into a bonded labour situation
- Social Identity:
 - If your parents/family are already a part of these systems of oppression it is more likely that you will be too
 - She had to become aware of the fact that her experience could be different for her to actually do something about her situation

- Indigenous Canadians are more likely to become involved in trafficking
 - It is not random
- Religion may allow it
- Race:
 - Race may also be related to social identity
 - Exoticization of sex workers
- Gender: 96 boys to 1 girl in primary school, 95 boys to 1 girl in secondary school
- Geographical location may inhibit access to social services (urban vs. rural)
- At some point these structures are created, but over time they become taken for granted

Who's got the power?

- Big ideas are determined not just by us individually but by society

What kind of power do they have?

What are the implications?

CASE STUDY [THURSDAY]: WOMEN TAXI DRIVERS IN AFGHANISTAN

Note: Thursday's class will have a job candidate visiting to provide a case study on gender oppression in Afghanistan, based on the following news clip: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-31786822>

Both classes are responsible for watching this short clip. Thursday's class is responsible for the case analysis. Both classes are responsible for understanding concepts of gender and oppression in global context.

WHO ARE THE ACTORS?

WHO'S GOT THE POWER?

WHAT KIND OF POWER DO THEY HAVE?

WHAT ARE THE IMPLICATIONS?

CASE STUDY: THE CANADIAN AIRBORNE REGIMENT (mid/late 90's)

- Black Hawk Down – Movie about Somalia Mogudishu
- UNITAF
 - Peacemaking and peacekeeping activities
 - Have authority by any means necessary to deliver aid
- Dumping ground for bad leaders and badly trained soldiers
- In the investigation, clear that the CAD airborne regiment involved in hazing to initiate people into the group
 - There were no policies against racist activities
 - Racist terminology (like N*****) were used and Neo-Nazis and white supremacist were present in the Canadian regiment
- Militarization: technique, tactics that are created by military and implemented in society
 - Soldiering is the only job where your country can ask you to die and you have to do it

- In order to prepare people for this, they need to be broken down and then built up again into that of masculine, sexualized
- Megan ____ reading: Ferguson and Iraq are part of the militarization of society
- Military surpluses from the Iraq and Afghan wars went into police forces

Tuesday's class is responsible for the case analysis. Both classes are responsible for understanding concepts of race and militarization (course readings).

WHO ARE THE ACTORS?

Canadian Airborne Regiment:

Canada in Somalia:

WHAT KIND OF POWER?

RACE / RACIST HAZING RITUALS

Militarization: the process by which society organizes itself for military conflict; the extension of military tactics, techniques, equipment and mindset throughout society.

- Race becomes a hazing tool and tool of violence – force people into humiliating experiences (writing KKK, homosexual, etc.) before building them up
 - Highly sexualized and racialized
- Periodically, young Somalis (who try stealing weapons) are made into prisoners of war (regardless of their soldier/civilian status)
- General/commanders states that next Somali should be made an example of; “Should be abused if necessary”
- Shudane Arone, a 16 year old Somali boy, was detained and water boarded and tortured and murdered
- There was an attempt to say this was not a case of systemic racism and absence of leadership, all higher-ups tried to blame those below them
- Somalia Inquiry by Chretien
- CBC archives of the case
- Racism not addressed except in cases of discipline

IMPLICATIONS OF POWER

TORTURE & DEATH OF SHIDANE ARONE:

COVER UP:

Negative peace vs. positive peace:

Even though there can be direct violence we should place it into the broader context of structural violence

5 define and explain, example questions from pre-given concepts

Power of the state (increasing, decreasing, staying the same) with reference to one factor and one power

PSCI 150 HANDOUT 6 – HOW DO YOU WIN AN ASYMMETRIC WAR?

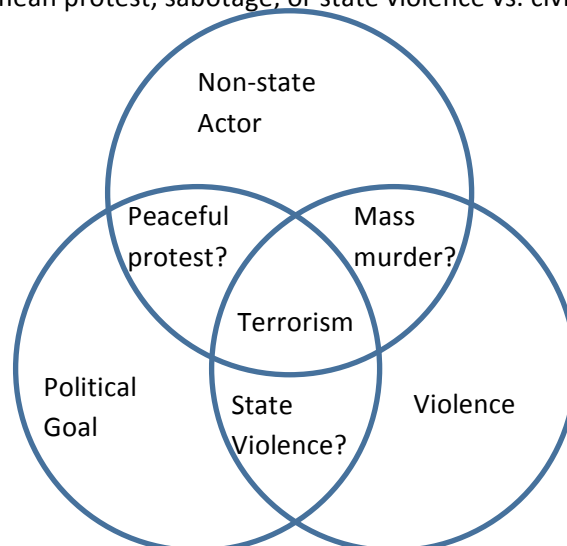
AT THE END OF THIS WEEK YOU SHOULD BE ABLE TO:

- Discuss the definition of terrorism
- Discuss the reasons that terrorist groups may use the tactic of terrorism, and why individuals may join terrorist groups (commit lone wolf attacks)
- Analyse the case studies of 9/11 and Anders Breivik

TERRORISM

DEFINITION:

- Violence – violence causing injury or death (not structural)
- Non-state actor -
- Political goal – to pursue a particular agenda
- Targeting civilians
- Terrorism does not mean protest, sabotage, or state violence vs. civilians



- Who decides when something is terrorism? Media, court of law, politicians?
- Requirement that they need a political goal may put a limit as to what we see terrorism as
- The entire definition of terrorism is political – there is not international or global arbiter to decide what it means, which is a fault of the definition
 - E.g. Ecole polytechnique not spoken about as a terrorist attack, though it involved all three circles
- The definition requires us to know intent
- Focus on international and transnational terrorism in comparison to domestic violence
 - E.g. FLQ was domestic terrorism
 - Largely a phenomenon that is post 1990's
 - Will discuss homegrown terrorism
 - Responses

Why do Groups Choose Terrorism?

- Oklahoma city bombing was an event that should have woken USA up on terrorism, but it didn't have as much of an effect

MOTIVATIONS OF TERRORIST GROUPS

- Three key factors:
 - Idea of legitimate grievance:
 - We shouldn't discount idea that there are legitimate grievances against the people/systems who are oppressing them
 -
 - Have few political options/access
 - Looking for ways to make voices be heard outside political system
 - Triggering/approximate cause
 - An event that causes groups to use terrorism as best
- It is a strategy – a group looks at all of the kinds of political actions they may take and choose terrorism among them

MOTIVATIONS OF INDIVIDUALS WHO JOIN TERRORIST GROUPS

- We often think of terrorism as an irrational choice, but really it's just difficult to understand
 - The concept of rationality is inter-subjective (from society to society)
- Individuals who join terrorist groups are quite normal – not sociopaths or psychopaths
- Reasons:
 - Economics: indiv is social disadvantaged, they can make money
 - But poverty is not a reliable indicator for most individuals joining groups
 - (at least on its own)
 - Skills: you're needed to do a specific job and so the group becomes your employer
 - Accounting, fundraising, cooks, etc.
 - Charismatic leader: leader can motivate people to be better and do what they want
 - If they can tell a really great story, it's very convincing and inspirational
 - "bunch of guys" hypothesis: much like military mentality of dying for your brother
 - Very few people are radicalized in a vacuum, instead it becomes part of your social network
 - The process of radicalization does not happen over night
 - Radicalization is not inherently problematic (violence is)
 - Much of this is to do with kinship or friendship
 - Ideology/grievance: individuals can have the sense that they are personally affected by the same grievances that these groups are
 - Those who face trauma are more likely to commit violence (study based on Somali Americans and Canadians)
 - This could also include grudges, resentment, etc. against people/systems
 - Role of religion (fourth wave of terrorism)
 - Not particularly tied up with any specific religion
 - Terrorism is not a religious phenomenon
 - May have less to do with religious content and more to do with friends or charismatic leader
 - Very often individuals who join terrorist groups in foreign lands have deep senses of moral justice (right and wrong)
 - Foreign fighters: people who travel from foreign countries to join groups
 - What makes them do it?
 - A sense of belonging, alienated from society (peers and parents)
 - People want to break from their parents
 - Have a strong concern for right and wrong and try to rectify grievances

- Have a desire to make a difference
- Have a sense of risk and adventure
-

CASE STUDY: 9/11

WHO ARE THE ACTORS? / WHO'S GOT THE POWER?

- OSAMA BIN LADEN & AL QAEDA (the base)
 - Taliban sponsor Al Qaeda (state-sponsored)
- Grievance: West is infringing on the growth of the Umma and the West is invading Muslim lands
- Approximate cause: American alliance with and bases in Saudi Arabia
- What he wants:
 - Over throw Saudi Arabia
 - Liberate Muslim holy sites in Palestine
- Before 9/11
 - Ramzi Yousef in 1993 bombed the WTC, his uncle was Khaled Sheikh Mohamed (mastermind of 9/11)
 - In 1998 – US embassy is bombed in Kenya and Tanzania – OBL
 - Operation infinite reach – first time US has targeted missiles at non-state groups
 - 2000 – USS Cole bombed in Yemen – Al Qaeda
- TIMELINE OF 9/11
 - Khaled Sheikh Mohamed and Mohamed Atta
 - 19 actors, all legally in US with visas in their names, and trained pilots
 - They boarded the plane with exacto-knives
 - On the morning of 9/11, 4 planes crashed
 - Look up Jon Stewart first show after 9/11
 - After the event it became taboo to criticize American policy and the American flag
 - The onion “U.S. Urges Bin Laden to Form Nation it can Attack”

STATE RESPONSES TO 9/11 (IMPLICATIONS OF POWER)

- HARD POWER: MILITARY ATTACKS ON AFGHANISTAN
 - Beginning in October
 - United Nations ISAF provides arms to counter local effects of terrorism
 - Drones as a tool in asymmetric conflict
 - Appeal is that it allows you to target individuals in precision strikes without occupying territory
 - As a strategy has escalated since 2009 under Obama
 - Anwar Al Awlaki eloquently calls young people to take action
 - Omar Farruk Abdul Muttalib – underwear bomber is connected to Anwar Al Awlaki
 - May 2013 Obama says that killing American citizens using drones is now allowed
- POWER OF RULES: LEGAL & INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE
 -

UNITED STATES DRONE POLICY

CASE STUDY: ANDERS BREIVIK & LONE ACTOR TERRORISM

- He had begun planning a terrorist attack since 2002 in Norway
- He went to a summer camp dressed in police uniform

WHO ARE THE ACTORS?

- He's white, male, healthy – no apparent oppression
- He felt his society was under attack – Muslim invasion and multiculturalism

- He had many clear influencing factors (he read a lot)
- He became socially isolated, got involved in gaming and same sex relationships as a cover for what he had planned
- Saw himself as a hero of Europe
- Sent his manifesto to about 1000 different people
- This kind of terrorist is the most difficult to counteract because until he's committed a crime, he hasn't committed a crime

WHAT KIND OF POWER?

IMPLICATIONS : STATE RESPONSES TO LONE ACTOR TERRORISM

- States believe that increased surveillance will give them more access to venues to stop terrorism
- Terrorism is a small but persistent problem, but it's something we will have to live with it