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THE TUFTS UNIVERSITY UNDERGRADUATE JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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Editors' Note

In the past, this journal has featured both macro and micro-level analyses of international relations. From topics such as marginalized populations, the changing nature of war, international crime, and new regimes and governments, *Hemispheres* has explored international relations with both a past a current perspective. The question remains—who will pick up the torch next in the world? Who, or what, will define the power dynamics in the international system this century? For our 39th edition of *Hemispheres*, we explore who are these Emerging Actors. International power is often discussed in terms of states. States, after all, are often the highest level of legitimate power in the international system. However, there are many other important actors that wield significant influence in the international arena. In this age, divisions between the North and South, East and West, and rich and poor can manifest in new types of international actors that go beyond the traditional notions of nation-states. Moreover, multinational corporations, and unlawful groups can transcend national boundaries and become legitimate international actors themselves. In order to better understand this diverse group of emerging actors, this edition of *Hemispheres* explores topics such as the strategic implications of 3D printing, the evolving use of suicide terrorism, and the nature of Vladimir Putin's leadership. Articles also cover topics such as the changing role of international organizations and non-governmental organizations, India's nuclear power, and Asian economic regionalism through the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank.

Additionally, the photography section, entitled "China Emerges," features a number of images of China and Taiwan. These photographs take the reader on a journey through two countries that both carry significant relevance economically and politically in our world today. An interview with Mindy S. Lubber of Ceres explores the theme of climate change and the relevancy of green investment in international development, another contentious issue that policy officials struggle with currently. Finally, in the editorial section, *Hemispheres* staff have written articles on topics ranging from Iran's global integration, the increasing prevalence of radical right wing political parties in Europe, and the possible socio-political implications of an independent Kurdistan.

We would also like to thank the people who made the production of this journal possible. We would like to thank our staff for all their hard work in the solicitation, reviewing, selecting and editing process. In addition to the publication of this journal, our staff has worked tirelessly in putting together events for the Tufts community and writing current event posts for our online blog. This has been quite the journey, and we are glad to finish the year with a high quality product featuring articles that discuss an important theme that will define international relations discourse this century.

Adrienne Larson and Jean-Charles Zurawicki

Articles

Examining Power Relations:
The Role of International Aid on NGO Accountability

Megan Taylor, *University of Michigan*

Abstract

The recent emergence and rapid growth of non-governmental organizations in this age of globalization has fundamentally shifted the nature of how foreign aid is provided, implemented, and regulated. A vast majority of NGOs are increasingly dependent on international donors and the governmental provision of foreign aid. Consequently, the influence of this international aid has reached far beyond the mere financial domain of these organizations, often drastically altering the original mission and accountability of the organization. This international dependence places NGOs in a vulnerable position in which the organization must navigate multiple, and at times, competing layers of accountability. This has resultantly created harmful effects, oftentimes compromising the original mission, values, and local legitimacy of the organization. This research seeks to reveal how a language of partnership acts to obscure the contradictory nature of international aid and the strategic motives of donors. The existing language of "partnerships" serves to disguise the reality that donors often possess strategic motives behind their provision of international aid. The ulterior, contradictory nature of foreign aid complicates processes of accountability and compromises the effectiveness of NGOs. In light of this reality, it is essential that scholars seek to understand processes of accountability and seek out mechanisms to mitigate excessive upward accountability that results from these asymmetrical relationships. Strengthening mechanisms of downward accountability is an essential step toward restoring the local legitimacy of NGOs and allowing these organizations the freedom to pursue their original missions without excessive international pressure.

Examining Power Relations: The Role of International Aid on NGO Accountability

In this age of globalization, there has been rapid growth in the number of non-governmental organizations. This growth has occurred against a backdrop of retreating state governments, as states have scrambled to meet the neoliberal demands created by globalization. The value-driven nature of

NGOs has provided a sense of legitimacy to their work and positioned NGOs as influential in shifting the nature of political organizing.[1] As the influence of NGOs continues to expand, scholars have begun to critically examine the effects of NGOs, often arguing that in reality, NGOs are not a "magic solution" but rather, are fraught with tension and contradictions due to complicated power relations.[2] A large majority of NGOs are dependent on international donors, and this funding is often persuasive in guiding the accountability of the NGO.[3, 4] As a result, NGOs are located in a vulnerable position in which they must navigate competing demands and layers of accountability, for both their donors and their intended beneficiaries. It is thus essential to examine the power dynamics that may come attached to international aid. This research seeks to reveal how a language of partnership acts to obscure the contradictory nature of international aid and the strategic motives of donors. I argue that this language of partnership and the strategic motives of donors complicate the processes of mitigating excessive upward accountability and encouraging downward accountability. The implications of this complication allow hierarchal structures imbued with power relations to continue and renders NGOs ineffective in achieving greater structural and societal change.

Throughout this essay, I will explain how the existing language of partnership, in which donors and receiving organizations are presumed to be equal partners, complicates processes of accountability. First, I will provide a theoretical foundation to frame my argument by applying the works of various scholars, in which I will first describe the influence that international funds have on NGO accountability and examine the paradoxical nature of NGO dependency on international aid. Secondly, I will demonstrate how the existing language that relies on notions of partnerships mystifies the contradictory purpose of international aid. After establishing this theoretical framework, I will utilize the work of Jonathan Makuwira to examine the specific case study of the Leitana Nehan Women's Development Agency (LNWDA), a feminist non-governmental organization in Bougainville, as an explicit example of my argued claims.[5] In concluding, I will discuss the implications of competing accountabilities, and present recommendations for mechanisms that can strengthen downward accountability to mitigate excessive upward accountability to international donors.

The Competing Demands on NGO Accountability

First, it is essential to note the contradictory position NGOs are located within; they strive to attain funding, while attempting to maintain their original vision and remain accountable to their beneficiaries. Thomas Parks acknowledges this vulnerable position, explaining, "NGOs are accused of representing the ideals and interests of donors in order to ensure the continuation of donor funding and hence, their own survival."[6] When NGO agendas are guided by international and foreign interests, the local context is often neglected, compromising the effectiveness of the NGO in the local community. This vulnerable position is a result of the varying and multiple actors to whom NGOs are accountable.

Accordingly, it is important to develop a deeper understanding of accountability. Edward and Hulme define accountability to be "the means by which individuals and organizations report to a recognized authority, and are held responsible for their actions."[7] Building on this definition, Alnoor Ebrahim provides insightful research that analyzes the multi-faceted accountability that NGOs must navigate. Ebrahim identifies three primary dimensions of accountability; upward versus downward accountability, external versus internal accountability, and finally functional versus strategic accountability.[8] Ebrahim explains that, "NGOs are accountable to multiple actors: to patrons, to clients, and to themselves."[9] NGO-patron accountability is defined as "upward" accountability, which refers to relationships between NGOs and donors or foundations. NGO-client accountability then refers to the accountability that NGOs have to their intended clients or beneficiaries, to whom the NGO provides services. This relationship is known as "downward accountability."[10] Ebrahim concludes that mechanisms of downward accountability "remain comparatively underdeveloped."[11] This conclusion is significant, given the concerns of the typically asymmetric relationship between donors of aid and NGOs. The implications of this asymmetric relationship will be discussed further below.

The dimensions of accountability are then further divided along external and internal dimensions. External accountability is characterized as "an obligation to meet prescribed standards of behavior."[12, 13] Frequently, these standards are defined by the donor organization, with an attached threat of "loss of nonprofit status or the revocation of funds" if the NGO fails to achieve the defined standards.[14] On the contrary, internal accountability is characterized as the NGO's own sense of responsibility, which aligns with the NGO's original mission and vision. In contrast to external accountability, beneficiaries and communities are not capable of holding NGOs accountable by eliciting threats to withdraw funding.[15] The capability of external accountability to sanction such threats highlights the asymmetric power relations that NGOs must navigate when faced with competing accountability demands, in which upward accountability ultimately prevails over downward accountability to the NGO's constituency.

The final dimension of accountability Ebrahim describes is functional versus strategic accountability, in which she draws on the work of Avina.[16] Functional accountability is generally understood to be projects that are focused on "short-term organizational change," whereas, strategic accountability is typically understood as projects that focus on "long-term structural change."[17] Najam, as cited in Ebrahim, concludes that presently, there tends to be a lack of strategic accountability, indicating that "relations among NGOs, patrons, and clients are focused on short-term activities rather than on long-term change."[18, 19] This emphasis on short-term projects harms the effectiveness of the NGO and often limits the scope of the NGO's agenda. The implications of this emphasis on short-term projects will be discussed further below. With this developed understanding of accountability in mind, it is easy to

conceptualize the vulnerable position that NGOs are placed in as they attempt to navigate the various, and at times competing, dimensions of accountability.

The Contradictory Nature of International Aid

This dependency on international aid is highly problematic, as the provision of aid often requires NGOs to shift their accountability to uphold the interests of donors. Parks notes this dilemma, arguing that the majority of NGOs are forced to alter their programs and objectives to comply with donor priorities in order to attract funding.[20] This asymmetric upward accountability generates donor-driven agendas that ultimately harm the effectiveness and autonomy of NGOs. NGOs who must conform to serving donor interests consequently damage their credibility and compromise their original mission.[21]

As NGOs seek to align themselves with international and foreign interests, local interests and concerns are often neglected. Makuwira observes, "no power is ultimately given to the local NGO to do as it sees fit, based on its own understanding of the local situation."[22] This neglect for the local situation then harms the credibility of the NGO, often resulting in domestic criticism of its legitimacy.[23]

Moreover, the frequent shifts in donor priorities contribute to this diminished credibility. Parks explains that donor priorities often shift with world events, with shifts in political power or election cycles, and with the emergence of new international threats or opportunities.[24] Donors shifting priorities and short attention spans frequently lead to unstable funding, which often leaves NGOs in a desperate situation, in which they must choose to adapt to the new priorities or search for alternate methods of funding.[25, 26] The shifting of funds consequently signals a lack of sustainability within the NGO, which again harms the credibility and legitimacy of the NGO.

Finally, this diminished credibility is often amplified by a shift from political movements to projects crafted to satisfy donor-driven agendas.[27] Neoliberal demands often pressure donors into directing their efforts at measurable and short-term projects that can produce immediate, measurable results.[28] Parks expands on this, noting that conflict often emerges between NGOs and funders "over whether they should be assessing processes such as 'participation' and 'empowerment' or whether they should measure more tangible products."[29] This dispute between processes and products, in which the donors tend to favor products for the ability to deliver measurable results, reveals the constraint on NGOs to effectively address complex, structural hierarchies. This emphasis on short-term projects fosters a results-orientated relationship between the parties and renders the NGO ineffective at fighting larger, structural or societal changes.

Collectively, the neglect of local context, shifting donor priorities, and an emphasis on short-term, quantifiable projects serve to damage the credibility and effectiveness of NGOs. Furthermore, NGOs often are forced to sacrifice their organizational autonomy in an attempt to ensure the continuation of

donor funding. Thus, international aid is extremely contradictory as, to a degree, international aid ensures the survival of the organization by legitimizing the campaign and garnering support while simultaneously requiring that organizations frame their agendas in a manner that is consistent with the donors own strategic framework. This constraint often de-radicalizes political movements and harms both the effectiveness and the autonomy of NGOs.[30, 31] This reality consequently begs the question, "Whose agenda does this aid serve?"[32]

The Language of "Partnerships"

Now, having presented the numerous actors and competing demands of accountability on NGOs, and having established the contradictory nature of international aid, I will demonstrate how an existing language that centers on the notion of "partnership" serves to obscure this complicated and contradictory reality. The term partnership presumes NGOs and donor organizations to be equal partners in the relationship. Parks develops this thought, stating, "Donors often refer to their grantees as "partners," implying a relationship of relative equals."[33] Makuwira echoes this, noting "NGOs have been drawn to the concept of partnership as an expression of solidarity that goes beyond financial aid."[34] Makuwira continues, summarizing the function of a partnership as "a means of sharing information and resources, and to produce results that one partner working alone could not achieve."[35] Brehm, as cited in Makuwira, expands on this discussion enumerating that,

> "The basic theoretical principles governing any sustainable partnership stipulate that authentic partnership implies a join commitment to a long-term intervention, shared responsibility for achievement, reciprocal obligation, equality, mutuality, and balance of power."[36, 37]

This description of an authentic partnership seems strikingly different from the asymmetric relations described above which favor promoting donor-driven agendas, rather than addressing the local situation, and often focus on short-term, quantifiable solutions.

In reality, due to asymmetric relations that positions the donor as the primary authority over funding decisions, the donor defines the terms of the "partnership."[38] Furthering this, Makuwira concludes, "while partnership implies collegial equality, donor agencies will always call the shots."[39] These so-called "partnerships" are thus imbued with power relations, which reflect the contradictory nature of international aid described above. As a result, tension is often created by disagreements over the understanding of a "partnership." Ultimately, this tension arises because of the strategic motives of donors behind the aid, as the provision of international aid often serves to promote national interests. Trumball and Wall, as cited in Makuwira, identify "geo-strategic value to the donor" as an extremely influential feature that affects and guides foreign funding to specific countries.[41, 42]

Due to donors' perceptions of international aid as a way to project national interests and donors, "partnerships" are often "marked through processes of bargaining, negotiation and coercion that often translate into processes of convergence," Parks explains.[43] This convergence toward donor priorities and strategies occurs because of the reality that donors often have the ultimate authority over funding decisions. This convergence produces severe consequences for the credibility and effectiveness of the NGO. Hulme and Edwards, as cited in Parks, conclude that this process of convergence "results in increasing upward accountability at the expense of the relationship of the NGO to their constituency."[44, 45]

Hence, another contradiction is revealed. Effective and sustainable partnerships are founded on equality and mutuality. Likewise, effective international aid promotes autonomy and agency of the beneficiary.[46] In contrast, from a donor perspective, the purpose of international aid is to project and advance national interests. Asymmetric relations between NGOs and donor organizations positions donors as the authoritative party in these alleged "partnerships," which consequently leads to a process of convergence, in which NGOs must sacrifice organizational autonomy and original vision in order to comply with the strategic framework of donors. The language of "partnership," which presents relationships between donors and NGOs as having a shared vision with an equal balance of power, fails to accurately depict these realities. In reality these relationships are embedded with tension, contradictive purposes and power relations that far from satisfy the characteristics of an authentic and effective partnership. The concept of partnerships obscures this reality and ultimately complicates the process of mitigating upward accountability and encouraging the development of downward mechanisms for accountability.[47, 48, 49]

Having now established this theoretical foundation of the competing demands on NGO accountability, the contradictory nature of foreign aid and the problematic emphasis on "partnerships," I will now present a case-study that exemplifies these conclusions. The case study relies on Jonathon Makuwira's work, "Aid Partnership in the Bougainville Conflict: The Case of a Local Women's NGO and its Donors."[50] This work presents qualitative and ethnographic research on the partnership between AusAid, the Australian Agency for International Development, and the Leitana Nehan Women's Development Agency (LNWDA), a feminist NGO. Additionally, I will draw on my own analysis of the primary websites of AusAid, the LNWDA and the International Women Development Agency (IWDA).

The Leitana Nehan Women's Development Agency

The Leitana Nehan Women's Development Agency is a feminist non-governmental organization that was established in 1992 by Helena Hakena, at the height of the Bougainville conflict. This conflict emerged as Bougainville sought to achieve self-determination and independence from Papua New Guinea. The conflict generated an immense amount of suffering, much of

which targeted women and children. Women were often subject to torture, sexual harassment, and abuse by armed forces.[51] The LNWDA was established to "meaningfully contribute to the restoration of peace by promoting non-violence and women's rights, and the empowerment of women as agents of change to improve their social status."[152] The LNWDA sought to promote gender equality and build peace by supporting survivors and providing awareness and advocacy programming. The four primary areas of focus of the NGO are: raising awareness, training and education, advocacy and counseling with a goal "to strengthen the ability of women to effectively participate in social and economic development in Bougainville."[53]

Moreover, the organization values empowering local women as actors for change. In fact, the name "Leitana Nehan," the original name of the island, was chosen to represent the "community-based nature of the organization and its ownership by the local women of Bougainville."[54] When asked of the organization's agenda, Hakena, the founder of the organization, explains that:

> "The LNWDA agenda is set in the community workshops that we hold, a "bottom-up" approach. A "shopping list" of requests and suggestions come from these events and the board works to cluster these to set program priorities."[55]

Thus, the local-orientated nature and radical vision of structural change envisioned by LNWDA are extremely apparent when analyzing the website of the LNWDA. However, once international partnerships such as that with AusAid enters the picture, this original vision is complicated, and often compromised.

The language of "partnerships" is again present in the characterization of the relationship between AusAid and the LNWDA. LNWDA is a 'partner' of, and receives funds from, AusAid. AusAid is the Australian Agency for International Development, and partners with the International Women's Development Agency (IWDA) to facilitate the disbursement of funds to partners throughout the region. Thus, the relationship between the LNWDA is an indirect one, mediated through the IWDA.[56] This language of "partnership" was present in each of AusAid, IWDA and the LNWDA's websites, for example, with sections titled, "Our Partners." The IWDA asserts on its website,

> "We work with local partner organizations across Asia Pacific, because we know that local knowledge drives long-term solutions. We understand that partnership is based on mutual trust, respect and accountability. Our program partners determine and pursue their own priorities."[57]

Likewise, IWDA asserts multiple times on its website that they actively resist reducing their partners to "passive receptors of charity."[58] Although this may be true in theory, there is a significant disparity in the concepts and language that is found on the AusAid and IWDA websites compared with reality and the accounts of LNWDA staff members, as reported by Makuwira.

Makuwira notes that, "The partnership between LNWDA and AusAid is founded on a shared vision," in which both organizations shared a vision of "improving the well-being of women with an emphasis on poverty alleviation."[59] Yet, contrary to what this language of partnership would suggest, there is an evident asymmetrical division of influence and authority within the relationship. This disparity reflects the significant difference in the missions of the organizations and the strategic motives behind AusAid's provision of international aid.

The mission statement of AusAid is to, "promote Australia's national interests and extend Australia's influence by contributing to sustainable economic growth and poverty reduction."[60] Makuwira echoes this, noting, "According to AusAid, when funds are disbursed to intermediary NGOs, the emphasis is on promoting the Australian identify of the activity in an appropriate manner."[61] This nationalist mission creates a strategic motive for the provision of international aid. In this specific context, Makuwira explains,

> "Australia's overseas aid has strategic implications. While there is a focus on poverty alleviation, there is a strong realization that high levels of poverty can increase the risk of violent conflict. Conflict and instability tend to undermine efforts to reduce poverty and achievable sustainable development. Moreover, instability in Bougainville might ultimately pose a threat to Australia's security."[62]

With attention to this strategic motive, it is clear that tension amongst the partners may arise, as AusAid's primary obligation is to promote Australia's interests. This mission is influential in guiding the relationship between the LNWDA and AusAid. Makuwira asserts that due to the demands of upward accountability, "the partnership between the LNWDA and AusAid is markedly unbalanced in favor of AusAid and IWDA."[63] In practice, this means that AusAid has the authoritative voice on how funding is directed, and programs and resources must be organized within AusAid's own strategic framework.[64] This asymmetric power dynamic has limited the scope of the projects pursued by the LNWDA and has ultimately shifted the long-term outlook of the LNWDA.

AusAid has emphasized short-term, quantifiable results, which has caused the relationship between AusAid and the LNWDA to be a "performance-enhanced partnership," which relies on measurements and outcomes in order to determine the success and strength of the partnership.[65] This is evident in a recent initiative launched by AusAid, "Making Performance Count: Enhancing the Accountability and Effectiveness of Australian Aid," which was created to "ensure that funding is linked to performance at all levels of the aid program."[66] This initiative defines new requirements that mandate that partners of AusAid must meet specific benchmarks and report progress annually. This has forced LNWDA to frame its projects within the constraints of this initiative—which has proven to be problematic as LNWDA attempts to navigate competing demands of accountability in maintaining its accountability to its perceived beneficiaries. For example, as this partnership was "results-orientated," programs related to post-conflict and trauma management were largely

discounted, not appreciated, and not encouraged to continue. This disregard compromises the fundamental mission of the organization, as two of the primary focuses of the LNWDA are counseling and advocacy.[67] An LNWDA staff member, as quoted by Makuwira, explained, ". . . now we are finding it difficult, because AusAid and other donors are dictating. But at the beginning it was us, we dictated where the funds should go."[68]

A final example that exemplifies the influence of international aid on the programming of LNWDA can be found from a public announcement made on its website in 2012. The announcement reads,

> "The majority of the above activities was funded by New Zealand Aid (NZAID). A change in funding focus by NZAid will affect the ongoing implementation of some aspects of the program but we are confident that they will be able to overcome these challenges. The management team and the Board of Executives explore ways to find potential program partners."[69]

This announcement portrays the unfortunate reality that due to excessive upward accountability, international aid does in fact have an asymmetric influence over the programming and projects of NGOs.

By examining the case of the Leitana Nehan Women's Development Agency, the competing demands for accountability are again apparent. The LNWDA is accountable to not only its original mission and intended beneficiaries, but is increasingly accountable to international donors, such as AusAid. This problematic upward accountability demonstrates the contradictory nature of aid, as we see LNWDA struggle to maintain organizational autonomy and the original vision while navigating the demands and requirements of AusAid. Finally, the language of partnership, which is actively present in the relationships between the LNWDA and AusAid and the IWDA, again serves to obscure the reality of the asymmetric relationship and instead presents an ideal that the LNWDA, AusAid and the IWDA are all equal parties in the relationship.

Implications and Conclusions: Reimagining "Partnerships"

As I have established my argument through the example of the Leitana Nehan Women's Development Agency, it is now essential to consider the implications and consequences of excessive and abusive upward accountability. I have demonstrated how numerous and competing actors complicate our understanding of accountability and how donor's strategic motives, to promote national interests, contradicts with the characteristics of authentic partnerships and effective provision of aid.[70] The threat of revocation of funds that is imposed by the upward accountability to donor organizations forces NGOs to alter their programs and visions in order to comply to donor-demands and to ensure the continuation of funding.[71] Ebrahim concludes that, "The current emphasis among NGOs and donors on upward accountability and external dimensions is problematic in that it encourages the formation of relationships

with highly imbalanced accountabilities."[72] These asymmetric relationships are obscured by the notion of "partnership" that mystifies the reality that donor organizations frequently are the authorizing and decisive voice that dictate NGO agendas, which ultimately harms NGO autonomy, credibility and effectiveness. With these points in mind, it is essential that scholars begin and continue to explore alternate strategies to mediate excessive, and harmful upward accountability. The question now is: how can international donors continue to provide aid, without perpetuating asymmetric power relations or shifting the accountability and vision of the NGO? In regards to feminist movements, these complicated relationships and processes of accountability transform even small, local issues into international issues, complicated by transnational, state, and global forces.

In light of this, it is crucial that mechanisms to strengthen downward accountability are explored and implemented. First, generally speaking, Parks argues that donors need to reduce and minimize pressure on "NGO grantees to adopt priorities and program activities that are outside of its core mission."[73] Donors should be extremely careful to not claim credit for accomplishments of the NGO, but rather, stand in solidarity with the NGO.[74] Further strategies that have been proposed include: pursuing multiple donors or "partners," establishing long-term partnerships by establishing clear communication and emphasizing strategic forms of accountability, and involving the participation of the community by strengthening the mechanisms of evaluation used for downward accountability.[75, 76, 77]

Parks develops the idea of encouraging NGOs to seek multiple partnerships, or multiple sources of funding. He cites the example of a Filipino advocacy NGO that implemented an internal rule that a single donor can constitute no more than 20% of the budget. Parks argues that this "diversification" will put NGOs in a less vulnerable position, as they will be less dependent on any one single donor.[78]

Additionally, both Makuwira and Parks argue that it is essential that NGOs and donor organizations begin to communicate more clearly and effectively, in order to develop long-lasting relationships with clear strategies for effective change. A member of the LNWDA staff emphasizes that, "donors need to do greater planning prior to working within countries as to what resources are actually needed and what can be coordinated with other, (domestic) donors."[79] Parks elaborates on this, noting that this communication and commitment to long-term strategies will reduce the threat of shifting and unstable funding.[80] Ebrahim, too, notes that strategic forms of accountability, which targets long-term, structural change are more sustainable and effective.[81] Establishing transparent and long-term relationships will mitigate the pressure on NGOs to conform to suit donor priorities, and will instead create space for authentic partnerships.

Ebrahim proposes a third strategy, in which NGOs strive to incorporate processes of community participation and involvement, in hopes of strengthening downward accountability. The integration of "systematic involvement of communities" in evaluative practices will empower communities to take

part in the decision-making processes and increase the community influence on the NGO's agenda.[82] Likewise, transforming how evaluations are utilized in processes of accountability can aid in mitigating excessive upward accountability and return leverage to the community and beneficiaries. Currently, evaluations are used as a means for evaluating success, justifying the evaluated programs and justifying the continuation of funds. If evaluations are thought of rather as a tool to improve by reflecting on past mistakes, then evaluations have a strong potential to aid in increasing NGO effectiveness. Integrating participation and mechanisms of evaluations will increase downward accountability, as it will create a space where beneficiaries' voices can be heard and the NGO's effectiveness can be evaluated within the local context.[83] I have presented several mechanisms that may be effective in mitigating upward accountability and encouraging downward accountability, but it is essential that going forward scholars continue to explore strategies to further develop downward accountability.

In conclusion, it is essential that these "partnerships" are reimagined and restructured to reflect the characteristics of authentic, effective partnerships. The research has established that effective partnerships grow from foundations of equality and mutuality, and that the most effective aid promotes autonomy of the beneficiary.[84, 85] Yet, due to asymmetric power relations within these "partnerships," NGOs often come to be located in vulnerable spaces in which the NGO must compromise its original vision in order to comply with donor priorities. The existing language of "partnerships" serves to disguise the reality that donors often possess strategic motives behind their provision of international aid, such as promoting and projecting national interests. It is time that the realities of these alleged "partnerships" are revealed, and critically examined. The contradictory nature of international aid and competing demands on NGO accountability must be recognized so that mechanisms of mitigating these asymmetric power relations can be explored. NGOs need to continue exploring mechanisms of downward accountability, in order to ensure that NGOs remain faithful to their original missions and intended beneficiaries. The expansion of strategies for downward accountability will create space for NGOs to truly pursue their original vision and to truly serve their intended beneficiaries. Moreover, international aid can be restored to the pure definition, to help or assist others, without a secret, strategic agenda.

Notes

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5. Makuwira, Jonathan. 2006. "Aid partnership in the Bougainville conflict: The case of a local women's NGO and its donors." *Development in Practice* 16 (3): 322–33.

6. Parks, "The Rise and Fall of Donor Funding," 218.
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Redefining Asian Economic Regionalism Through the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank

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Abstract

China's decision to put forward the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) comes with implications of a new order of economic regionalism in Asia. Since World War II, Asia has become a dynamic economic zone with vast diversity in policies regarding development, trade, and financing. Nonetheless, the persistent efforts by East Asian countries to economically regionalize suggest that the interests in the region are converging. In the late 20th century, Japan attempted to define an autonomous regional economic order in Asia, only to be held back by the dominant power in the region: the United States. Resistance swelled when the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis unearthed a range of issues, proving the need for a stronger and uniquely Asian region, which has contributed to increased financial integration since. We look to the rise of China and the insufficient accommodations multilateral institutions have made in response, as well as China's role redefining the U.S. hub-and-spokes system of hegemony that characterized Asia as a fractured region with the United States in the center maintaining its power through bilateral relationships. We see China challenging this system today, forcing the United States to accept a more integrated Asia without the U.S. at its center. As the People's Republic continues to integrate regionally and globally, the lack of accommodation on behalf of the West, and specifically the United States, has pushed China to the establish the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB). While similar trends have been experienced by Japan during its attempts at economic regionalization, the difference this time is the decline in U.S. regional influence relative to China's rise. This paper will focus on the historical contexts that have formed the foundation for the creation of the AIIB and what they mean for the region, and then finish with future implications of the new bank. Ultimately, it will conclude that the AIIB will create a new economic order in a uniquely Asian region that will challenge declining U.S. influence to accept Asian regionalism under China.

A Dynamic Region and How It Has Shifted

The economic landscape of Asia has seen many attempts at regionalization in the past, and how the region developed indicated who would move into power to set the agenda. Although Asia in the post-World War II era was characterized by a U.S. hub-and-spokes system of bilateral security alliances that kept the region fractured, major challenges posed threats to this system. Since Japan's rise, the Asian region has experienced numerous issues resulting from decentralization, which ultimately threatens the system's collapse today as China confronts U.S. economic hegemony with the AIIB. The high levels of economic growth and diversity exhibited by the region have assisted in the push for regionalization. From 1992–2012, the GDP of Asia as a percentage of global GDP has expanded from 21% to 28%.[1] Since the 1980s, China has maintained a real GDP growth rate of about 10%, now representing 43 percent of the GDP of all of Asia, becoming the second largest economy in the world. Japan, with the third largest economy in the world, experienced similar rates of growth right before China (1950–1973). This growth was a source of earlier attempts at establishing a more autonomous regional economic order. Asian GDP however, mostly consists of the GDP of the top five countries (China, Japan, India, Korea, Indonesia).[2] The high level of stratified economic growth heavily impacts the prospects for institution building, and the counterarguments to regional multilateralism often include the region being too economically diverse. Critics of regionalization support the characterization of the region through the "ASEAN Way" of noninterference in foreign policy: where because there are such large disparities in GDP and development, bilateral solutions accommodate regional diversity without involving ineffective multilateral institutions that trump the sovereignty of individual countries to benefit regional powerhouses like China. This approach, ironically due American support for liberal institution building and multilateralism, heavily weighs in favor of the United States. The U.S. utilizes foreign direct investment (FDI) and foreign aid as a means of strengthening relationships with individual countries to sustain regional hegemony (hub-and-spokes). This bilateralism, however, shifts to supporting multilateral institutions when beneficial to the United States' own interests, exemplified during the Asian Financial Crisis. Historically, this may have worked to keep the U.S. in power and prevent an Asia-dominated economic order from forming, but the current landscape in Asia has shifted to support regionalization under a new power.

A Region Carrying on Its Past

The History of Economic Regionalism in Asia

After World War II, Japan was the country that emerged most dramatically within the region and world. Post-war rebuilding and successful industrialization resulted in an average GDP growth rate of almost 10 percent. Japanese

multinational corporations that knitted the region together through complex production networks popped up across Southeast Asia,[3] and Japan was the only Asian country represented in major global institutions and forums. This gave them the unique opportunity to act as a bridge between Asia and the world.[4] Their membership, however, was characterized heavily by U.S. support. The influence of the United States in the region would remain a huge factor in determining how economic regionalization would occur, and any attempts at a regional order that did not involve a large U.S. presence would be rejected. This suggests that the AIIB under China will inevitably compete against the traditional U.S. system of hegemony.

Japan was frustrated with its lack of international representation, and expressed concerns about international standards such as the Basel Accord (which codified international banking standards) being set by Western countries, the International Monetary Fund conditionality being determined by the U.S., and the operations of international economic organizations (like the G7) being dominated by Western agendas. Consequently, Japan began to pursue regional financial frameworks that emphasized Asian-only membership, which would support institutions that would establish an Asian order with Japan at the head. The politics of membership—the heavy influence that including or excluding a country can have on the efficacy of the institution—was a crucial aspect in attempted institutions, specifically because Japan hoped to sit in the position of the regional leader, thus making it necessary to exclude the powerful United States in order to assume leadership. This is important in terms of economic framework because U.S. inclusion risked the hegemonic domination of the institution, given its material abilities and influence over global affairs. This is particularly the case in financial institutions, where the U.S. dollar holds a dominant status in the international monetary system.[5] Because of this, Japan preferred regional frameworks that excluded the United States or had the United States as a non-regional member, reducing its power within the institution. The United States' response to Japanese proposals tugs at the core of the debate: Asian regionalism being accommodated by the U.S. versus a challenge to U.S. hegemony, an issue that has re-emerged today under the creation of the AIIB. The region began to shift away from the U.S.-dominated multilateral influences after the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997, even as they continued to attempt regional economic dominance, exemplified through the rejection of the Asian Monetary Fund.

The United States' powerful role in economic regionalization is historically demonstrated through the failed Asian Development Fund (ADF), and the later accepted Asian Development Bank (ADB). Japan's attempt at regionalization began as early as 1957, when Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke proposed the establishment of the ADF in hopes of spurring Southeast Asian development with U.S. funding, Japanese technology, and natural/human resources from Southeast Asia. The Prime Minister described the proposal's motive "to build Japan's pace in Asia and impress upon [President] Eisenhower that Japan is at the center of Asia." [6] The donor countries were the United States, the United

Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Taiwan, and Japan. All countries except for Taiwan and Japan were expected to be non-regional members, holding two-thirds of the votes on the Board of Directors, while one-third of the votes were distributed among regional members.[7] This proposal was significant because it defined a uniquely Asian region early on. Heading into the Cold War, the United States pushed for a strong Asian-Pacific alliance, hoping to form alliances in the larger Asia- Pacific region. With the Asian Development Fund excluding Western countries, specifically the United States, as defined regional members, the implication was that Japan was attempting to establish an institution that would regionalize with the help of the U.S. rather than a *including* the U.S. in the region. The idea of tiered membership recognized the need for U.S. support as a financial contributor, but rejected the U.S. as a member within the region. Ultimately, the ADF never took off, and the proposal was rejected for a variety of reasons. Economically, scholars claim it was deemed that a "project-by-project approach" was more effective than establishing a regional multilateral institution[8] (supporting the claim that the U.S. hoped to maintain a bilateral system that reinforced U.S. hub-and-spokes control). Politically, it was risky due to anti-Japanese sentiment in Southeast Asia where some countries considered the ADF as a tool of Japanese economic hegemony, a concern also held by the United States. However, even without U.S. contribution, Japan continued to pursue the ADF, conducting a study in 1957 to assess the possibility of establishing the fund with other Southeast Asian countries. Without the U.S. as a major financial backer, Japan lost the ability for the ADF to make as large of an impact. The project would have had to been scaled down to one-fifth of its original size, which the United States did not even support, a fact that led to the eventual abandonment of the plan. Regardless, Japan's attempt to pursue the ADF without U.S. support implies strong political motives for Asian economic regionalism from early on.

A more successful and important instance of regionalization in Asia was the establishment of the Asian Development Bank. While deemed a success for Japan, U.S. leverage was still a major factor in its formation, suggesting that the ADB still contributed to U.S. influence in the region. Established in 1966, the ADB was planned as a Japanese-centered development bank with the U.S. as a non-regional member. Asian countries were to contribute $600 million and non-regional countries were to contribute $400 million,[9] evidence of the growing economic strength and independence of the region. The United States and the World Bank were not supportive of the bank up until April 1965, when political circumstances changed their stances. The approval came during the Vietnam War, and it was believed that the U.S. changed its position in order to deflect criticism of its wartime conduct.[10] What seemed to be a success for Asia-centric regionalism, however, did not challenge U.S. leadership. The ADB's approval still required U.S. support and the proposed headquarter was changed from Tokyo to Manila, the capital of America's closest ally in the region. This implies that the U.S. succeeded in maintaining its influence, and was still able to push for a more Asian-Pacific identity (where

the United States would have more influence) rather than a uniquely Asian one. Regardless, many scholars and economists today compare the AIIB to the ADB, in hopes of extracting reasons and causes for the push to establish another regional bank. However, with Japan having fallen out of the position as the strongest regional economic power, its influence declines along with the United States'. This supports the idea that the AIIB is establishing a new regional order, passing Japan's role within the region to China, and continuing the push to form an Asian region free from U.S. control.

The Asian Financial Crisis and the Failure to Respond

U.S. Loss of Influence During Economic Crisis

The Asian Financial Crisis of 1997 resulted from the investing of massive sums of foreign capital (funded by rapid economic growth from globalization and market liberalization in the prior decade) in risky high-returns projects and stocks. When signs of instability came from Thailand, funds were quickly withdrawn, and outflow cost $16 billion, or 11 percent of the GDP of affected countries.[11] Currencies were drastically devalued, leading to severe recessions and the push back of 20 million people into poverty. This was a major turning point and test, as rapidly developing Asian countries were forcefully made aware of the disadvantages of globalization, and their vulnerability to externally generated shocks caused by foreign rating agencies.[12] Countries then had to accept conditional IMF bailout packages, which the United States took as an opportunity to force neoliberal reforms (in line with their Washington Consensus agenda) onto destabilized economies, causing widespread resentment of international financial institutions across Asia. The Financial Crisis made it clear that Asia could be isolated and abandoned by the world in times of crisis. While benefiting off of the rapid growth of Asia, the United States showed little interest in bailing out the region during the crisis. This further drove the push for regionalization under an Asia-only regional order where countries would possess more control over markets during periods of instability.

In August 1997, Asian countries, the IMF, World Bank, and ADB met to create a rescue package of $17.2 billion. Contributing countries were Australia, Brunei, China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, the Republic of Korea, Malaysia, and Singapore. The United States participated in the meeting but decided not to contribute due to budget constraints, although both the State Department and National Security Council encouraged Congress to make a contribution in order to maintain regional influence and justify their leadership role in Asia. Japan jumped on the perceived economic weakness of the United States, harnessing the negative sentiment generated by the crisis to garner support for another attempt at regionalization: the Asian Monetary Fund. The rescue package for Thailand created a sense of unity among Asian countries,[13] which was utilized by Japan's Vice Minister of Finance Sakakibara to push for a fund that only included contributors to the Thai rescue package.

Japan would contribute $50 billion of the $100 billion in the fund, clearly signaling their intent to head the regional organization. Arguing to exclude the United States was easy, considering that the U.S. did not contribute to the rescue package, thus showing their lack of involvement in regional economic affairs. Unsurprisingly, both the U.S. and IMF opposed the AMF, and the general consensus was that it was due to fears of rising Japanese power in the region occurring at the expense of American influence. Joseph Stiglitz, Senior Vice President of the World Bank at the time, recalled that the U.S. Treasury did everything it could to defeat the AMF proposal, with the backing of the IMF.[14] This response is crucial to analyzing how the AIIB will inevitably push the United States out of regional economic hegemony. While AIIB funds are intended to supplement the current shortage in infrastructure funding, historic precedence shows that the United States considers Asian regionalization to be a zero-sum game, where rising regional influences go hand-in-hand with a U.S. decline in influence. Even with the United States being more receptive to the AIIB (demonstrated through scaled back criticisms of U.S. allies joining the bank), this is likely due to circumstances having forced their hand (like with the Asian Development Bank), rather than its acceptance of China's economic rise and new role in the region. Ultimately, the AMF proposal failed, as China, another major expected supporter, rejected it. The general consensus was that it was either China's fear of Japanese hegemony, or pressure from the U.S. on China that led to the rejection.[15]

A more successful attempt to consolidate the region was the Chiang Mai Initiative (CMI) in 2000, which implemented currency swap arrangements between participating countries in the region as an insurance mechanism for distressed economies to safeguard against future crises.[16] Originally meant to facilitate bilateral swap agreements, in 2010 it became the Chiang Mai Initiative Multilateralisation, and countries' reserves were pooled into a common fund to further financially integrate the region. Opponents argue that the CMI/CMIM were only a small step to increase cooperation because it only included East Asian countries, and that the nonbinding nature of the initiative removes the initiative's efficacy. During the 2008 Global Financial Crisis, South Korea asked Japan to borrow dollars from the Bank of Japan to defend the weakening South Korean won, but Japan refused.[17] However, the decision to make the initiative multilateral in 2010 was perhaps a response. Regardless, the CMI/CMIM remains an expression of a regional economic identity through financial integration. Even if the actions were not drastic, the mere fact that countries with historic animosity toward one another have begun to participate in a multilateral institution on the regional level extends the possibilities of cooperation in the status quo. The process of negotiating bilateral swap agreements leaves implications of increasing regionalization, which remain crucial as the doors opens for China to take the reins of regional leadership amidst a backdrop of U.S. decline.

China's Rise and U.S. Fall

Failures of Current Institutions in a Changing Landscape

As the world's second largest economy, or perhaps the largest if measured by Purchasing Power Parity, there is little debate that China has risen into a position of global economic dominance. At the same time, China has also developed as a regional power by strategically integrating itself through foreign direct investment, foreign aid, and trade agreements with neighboring countries. Turning the 1997 Financial Crisis into an opportunity, China appealed to the struggling countries of Southeast Asia by pledging to not competitively devalue its own currency to maintain market stability, and contributing $1 billion to the rescue fund.[18] China also currently invests heavily in the region, with Chinese FDI in ASEAN passing $10 billion in 2011, and $50 billion invested in East Asia as of 2012.[19] Poorer countries in South and Central Asia are also recipients of Chinese development aid for improving transportation infrastructure connecting Southeast and Central Asian countries to China.[20] Perhaps most significantly, however, is that China's rising regional importance has gone hand-in-hand with the fall of the relative importance of Japan. Since 1990, shares of Japanese imports from East Asia have increased from 24 percent to almost 40 percent. However, all of that increase resulted from trading with China. Japan's imports from East Asia outside of China were no higher as a share of total imports in 2012 than they were in 1980.[21] Looking at ASEAN, imports from China were only about 5 percent of total imports from 1980 through the early 1990s, but then begun rising rapidly, reaching 18 percent of total imports by 2012. ASEAN imports from Japan fell sharply from 26 percent to 13 percent since 1995.[22] When the question arises of which country would lead a regional economic order today, it is made clear that the roles have shifted. Japan's time to fill that role has come and passed, with little progress at establishing further economic regionalization. Also, as Japan is now more economically dependent on, as well as economically weaker than China, there is less of a chance of successful opposition. As Japan falls from first in the region, there is speculation about Japan becoming a closer ally to the U.S. due to security concerns from China, and how this may threaten Sinocentric regionalization. The increased economic interdependence within Asia dampens these prospects, along with Japan's fears of declining U.S. security commitments. Japan's attempts to build up their military already demonstrate a reduced reliance on U.S. promises, and mixed with the historic experience of failed commitments and support from the U.S., Japan is unlikely to heavily rely on its Western ally when it comes to regional economic issues.

The response of the United States and international financial institutions alike to China's rise has also been an important factor in the push for further regionalization under China with the AIIB. While the Western members of the IMF hold a voting share proportional to their global share of GDP (the U.S. around 17 percent, and the U.K. and France around 4 percent), China holds

a 3.8 percent voting share while accounting for more than 12 percent of world GDP.[23] The lack of voting power significantly reduces Chinese influence in decision-making and agenda setting, similar grievances that Japan made during their rise. Even though the IMF accepted the Chinese yuan into its basket of reserve currencies in late 2015, signaling international recognition of China's progress integrating into the international financial sphere,[24] large-scale changes are not occurring. The United States has failed to implement quota reform to change how voting shares are distributed due to lack of Congressional approval, generating increased frustration. To add to the problem, Asia possesses one of the largest infrastructure funding gaps in the world, an estimated $8 trillion investment gap between 2010 and 2020.[25] Attempts at addressing this have largely gone unmet, with the only change being a 40 percent lending cap increase by the ADB. The ADB and World Bank combined still have less than $400 billion in capital however, and have mandates that require initiatives outside of infrastructure investment, as well as more restrictive lending policies.[26] The lack of ability the international financial sphere possesses to address Asia's issues remains a significant driver in establishing the AIIB. The United States also has not extensively tried to re-assert influence in the region due to its relative decline in economic power. The U.S. economy is not as large in relative terms as it was in 2008, and even less so than in 1998, while China's nominal GDP jumped from $1.2 trillion in 2000, to $10 trillion in 2014. The U.S. response has been a "pivot" to Asia, refocusing foreign policy efforts on the region, with the most notable current development being the Trans-Pacific Partnership (a trade agreement with multiple countries in the Asia-Pacific, notably excluding China due to regulatory concerns). This is deemed at best a weak attempt at re-establishing U.S. regional economic influence, as some scholars claim that China can reform certain policies to make themselves eligible to join the TPP, just like it did for the World Trade Organization (WTO),[27] or form a competing trade agreement like the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership, which would establish an Asian-Pacific free trade agreement that excludes the U.S. The 2008 Global Financial Crisis and U.S. involvement in the Middle East are two other factors contributing to the lack of an ability to truly "pivot" to Asia to reestablish economic influence, further allowing for China's success in creating a new economic order.

The AIIB Solidifying China's Role

The Future of Economic Regionalism in Asia

The AIIB will establish China's leadership role in the region, continue the contraction of U.S. influence in Asia, and change how Asia will be defined in the future. China hopes to focus on providing infrastructure investment to countries specifically within the Asian region, already pledging $50 billion to the cause.[28] As of May 2015, 57 countries have been approved as founding members, including 16 of the world's 20 largest economies.[29] Membership has

been particularly important in addressing issues with global governance and lending standards, as some distinct non-regional members—like the United Kingdom, Germany, and France—are expected to push for more regulatory oversight. Countering U.S./U.S.-influenced international financial institution fears of declining global governance standards, the membership of developed countries will likely result in more safeguard policies and higher credit rating standards.[30] As more U.S. allies sign on to the AIIB, the U.S. will begin to reconcile with the formation of a Sino-centric economic region focused on China's goals.

To China, the issues with current Bretton Woods Institutions and U.S. influence have been enumerated. Assisting China's own strategic economic goals, the bank is linked with China's Silk Road initiatives, which aim to boost prosperity among the country's trading partners largely through infrastructure investment.[31] China continues to expand their regional and global influence through these initiatives that attempt to link the region internally and externally through trade and development of a new Silk Road: pursuing the overland Silk Road Economic Belt, connecting China to Europe, and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road, linking China to Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and Europe.[32] China is rejecting bilateralism and the "ASEAN Way" of noninterference, and is instead accepting their version of regional multilateralism. The U.S. promotion of regional bilateralism to its own benefit is being countered by an Asia-centric multilateral approach that is successfully challenging the traditional system. Establishing China as the head of this multilateral economic institution projects the country's vision of a uniquely Asian regional system with a new dominant power.

For the United States, the AIIB symbolizes the decline of U.S. economic hegemony in Asia. China's present mirrors Japan's past, except the success at establishing the bank signifies China's ability to achieve the goals Japan could not. While Japan tried to exclude the United States from regional organizations, this now may not even be necessary as the risk of the U.S. dominating regional institutions declines with their economic influence relative to China's. This supports the argument that the U.S. will accommodate the new order under China, due to necessity rather than its own willingness. U.S. reaction in the past to Asian economic regionalism suggests a forced cooperation outcome, where the AIIB emerges to solidify an Asian region and the U.S. simply does not have the economic influence to counterbalance its rise. While the U.S. still holds control in many other issue areas, notably security (even though Japan's actions suggest this may also be declining), economically, the U.S. has been made to step aside as China occupies their role as the dominant power in the region. The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank works as a multilateral institution to reinforce relationships between China and regional actors through investment, supplanting U.S. influence through sustained efforts at economic integration under a new order that focuses solely on the region. The U.S. has done little to resist this, and has not demonstrated greater efforts to push back their declining economic influence.

The Asian region now has the opportunity to call itself a discrete, increasingly self-governing economic region. After previous failed attempts, a financial crisis, and the rise of China, Asia now has the ability to further integrate under the AIIB while pursuing China's development agenda for the region. There is little evidence of resistance to the new regional economic order, and resistance would most likely result from objection to China being the leader rather than the process of regionalization itself. Disapproval of China as the regional economic leader is also on the decline, as we see South Korea and Australia (two U.S. alliance strongholds) join the AIIB. While recognizing the threat security issues pose in dividing the region, namely Japan and China's geopolitical conflicts, from an economic standpoint, Asian countries are generally accepting China's role in Asia's new order.

Conclusions

The future of Asia will be defined by a general decline in U.S. influence replaced with China's rise to regional and global power. China's ability to challenge the traditional U.S.-dominated order through the Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank opens up paths to pursue further economic integration, as the U.S. had been a roadblock to regionalization efforts in the past. The lack of the United States' involvement, their reduced ability to control the regional economic order, and their failure to address issues within Asia led to the establishment of a new regional economic system. Headed by China, the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank will help integrate the region through investment initiatives, while further connecting Asia to the world externally with the new Silk Road initiatives. Through the AIIB, Asia looks forward as a more interconnected region as a result of its fractionalized and dynamic past.

Notes

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Unholy Terror:
How Enabling Environments Drive Suicide Attacks While Religion Takes the Backseat

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Abstract

Ever since 9/11, the motivations behind suicide missions have been repeatedly debated in both public and academic circles. Suicide missions are attacks in which the operative deliberately takes his or her own life to kill others in the pursuit of political change. The tactic seeks to psychologically affect a larger audience beyond the target of the physical violence. The seeming irrationality of this act has sparked many discussions over possible motivations behind it. The growing trend linking suicide missions to Islamist militant groups have resulted in people blaming religious fanaticism—especially Islam and its political manifestation, Islamism—for producing suicide violence.[1]

This paper challenges this assumption and argues that enabling environments—which this paper defines as contexts in which highly radicalized communities condone the use of violence—are the primary drivers behind suicide missions. The first section counters the notion that religion is at the root of suicide violence and argues that it is not a direct causal factor, paying particular attention to Islam and Islamism. Many secular groups have carried out suicide missions; in 1981–2003, the LTTE (also known as the Tamil Tigers) alone perpetrated more suicide attacks than did all Middle Eastern jihadist groups combined.[2] In-group cooperation, militant peer learning, the culture of martyrdom and moral justifications for suicide attacks are not dependent upon religious ideology. Accusing Islam and Islamism of being the source of suicide violence fails to appreciate the multifaceted nature of the phenomena. This paper demonstrates that Islam is no more violent or politicized than other faiths, and refutes three myths frequently associated with Islamism—1) that it is monolithic, 2) it is innately violent and 3) there is no separation between religious and political spheres in Islam.

The second section examines possible explanations at both the individual and organizational level for why actors may adopt suicide violence. Since individuals and groups often frame their use of suicide attacks as being on behalf of their community, this paper analyzes their decisions in relation to the influence of an enabling environment—in which there is an inverted norm of violence that results in the community's tolerance of such acts and creates a cult of martyrdom surrounding suicide operatives—and the state's role in setting this stage. Communities are often radicalized by non-religious reasons,

particularly when the state responds with an indiscriminate use of military force. The community's support for suicide missions imbues the tactic with instrumental and expressive (i.e., symbolic) value for its users, who justify their operations as defending the community against government aggression (examples listed in Table 1). This paper concludes that the presence of enabling environments—which can be secular or religious—ultimately determine whether individual operatives and organizations employ the tactic by providing strategic and expressive incentives for the use of suicide violence.

List of Abbreviations

AQAP = Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (Yemen)
ETA = Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (Basque)
GIA = Groupe Islamique Arme (Algeria)
LTTE = Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam/ Tamil Tigers (Sri Lanka)
PIRA = Provisional Irish Republican Army (Northern Ireland)
PKK = Kurdistan Worker's Party (Turkey)
SM = Suicide Mission
SO = Suicide Operative
SV = Suicide Violence

Unholy Terror: How Enabling Environments Drive Suicide Attacks while Religion Takes the Backseat

What makes someone think that blowing themselves and countless others up is a good idea?

Ever since 9/11, when nineteen al-Qaeda members executed the deadliest attack on U.S. soil to date, the motivations behind suicide missions have been actively debated in both public and academic circles. Suicide operatives are especially perplexing because they violate our common expectations of human behavior in numerous ways, including the widely held preference we have for life over death. They also flout the belief that extreme altruism is only carried out for the benefit of close kin because most operatives insist that they are giving up their lives through suicide violence for a greater ideology or community. The frequent distinction between the explanations given by groups' leaders and the individual operatives just adds to the confusion over why they use suicide missions.

Given the growing trend of linking suicide missions with Islamist militants, there is a common perception that individuals volunteer for these operations because of religious fanaticism.[3] This paper challenges this assumption in two parts. First, it refutes the belief that religion, particularly Islam, is the primary driver of suicide violence. Second, it examines possible explanations for its adoption at both the individual and organizational level. This paper analyzes individuals and groups' decisions to employ suicide violence in relation to their contexts because neither exist in a vacuum—particularly the impact of an enabling, supportive environment and the state's role in setting this stage—on an actor's use of suicide attacks. It concludes that enabling

environments, rather than religion, provide the primary strategic and expressive incentives for perpetrating suicide violence.

Definitions

Throughout this essay, I use the value-neutral terms "suicide violence" (SV), "suicide mission" (SM) and "suicide operative" (SO) instead of "suicide terror" and "suicide terrorist" for several reasons. First, there are varying positive or negative valences attached to different terms associated with suicide terrorism; my aim is to emphasize the mode of the attack rather than sway people's attitudes toward these incidents.[4] Second, there is no single existing definition of "terrorism."[5] Third, SMs are compatible with different types of armed groups and have been used by organizations ranging from regular armies to non-state militias to al-Qaeda's constellation of groups.[6]

SMs are attacks that seek to psychologically affect a larger audience beyond the target of the physical violence in pursuit of political change. They differ from high-risk missions because their success necessitates the deliberate death of the perpetrator; psychologist Ariel Merari argues that operatives partaking in missions that demand their death require a different mindset and level of willpower compared to those engaging in high-risk attacks that contain a small chance of survival.[7] It is a tactic employed by the weaker party in asymmetric warfare typically—but not exclusively—against noncombatant targets.[8] Often, operatives perceive themselves as "martyrs" altruistically sacrificing themselves for a larger cause or a wider community through "martyrdom operations"; Palestinian and Tamil SOs insist that they are acting to avenge their communities against stronger government forces.[9] Although suicide tactics have been used time and again throughout history—including militant organizations such as the Jewish Sicarii in the first century AD, Islamic Assassins in the 12th Century, the Narodnaya Voyla in 19th Century Russia, and Vietnamese soldiers against French troops in the 1950s—scholars generally agree that the modern phenomenon of SMs emerged from Hezbollah's use of the tactic during the Lebanese Civil War (1973–1986).[10] These attacks are far from homogenous, varying in their timing, targets and the role of female operatives. Suicide attacks are also part of the systematic and progressive increase in the intensity of political violence within a conflict over time.

When classifying militant groups, it is important to recognize that most organizations fall under several categories; the LTTE was both nationalist and Marxist, while Aryan Nations religious and right-wing.[11] In this essay, religious militant groups refer to organizations that base their political programs and justify their actions primarily upon their interpretation of religion rather than on ethnic ties or class struggle, and include both ethno-religious and fundamentalist groups.[12]

Is It Religion?

There is little doubt that religion has influenced the proliferation of SMs in the past two decades. Religious ideology does not adhere to political boundaries, and thus facilitates learning amongst religious armed groups. There has been a sharp increase in both the number of violent religious organizations and SMs in the past two decades; religious militant groups have grown from comprising 24% to over half of all known non-state armed groups between the mid-1990s and 2004, and the number of SMs grew from 188 in 1980–2001 to 300 in just 2000–2003.[13] Between 9/11 and 2006, these groups conducted 81% of SMs worldwide.[14]

Proponents who argue that religion drives SV point to the history of "holy wars" justified in scripture by religious institutions, such as the Spanish Inquisition, as proof of religion's innate violence. They state that the violence stems not only from religious images of struggle and transformation and concepts of cosmic war being transplanted onto this-worldly social struggle but also from the separation of adherents and non-adherents along the lines of good and evil that create a Manichean worldview enabling SOs to morally justify their acts.[15] They contend that for believers, the desire to attain martyrdom and the promises of paradise eclipse their fear of death, motivating them to engage in extreme "self-sacrifice" on behalf of God and their community. They despair that—for all these reasons—religion must provide the chief impetus for all SMs.

History suggests otherwise. At least half of all SMs analyzed by the Chicago Project between 1980 and 2005 were not associated with Islamic fundamentalism.[16] In fact, in 1981–2003, the majority of SMs were carried out by secular rather than religious groups; in that period the secular LTTE alone conducted more SMs than did all Middle Eastern jihadist groups combined.[17]

The assumption that religion causes SV oversimplifies the problem. While most religious traditions have produced militant groups, religion itself does not ordinarily lead to violence. Mark Juergensmeyer insists that religious violence only occurs when certain political, social, and ideological circumstances converge, tainting religion with vicious expressions of social aspirations, personal pride, and political movements.[18] Most believers condemn violence and embrace their religious traditions' message of peace.

Results from four cross-cultural studies by Jeremy Ginges, Ian Hansen, and Ara Norenzayan examining the relationship between religion and support for SMs found that indexes of religious devotion (such as prayer to God) were independent of support for SV.[19] The studies revealed that when religion does play a role in encouraging SV, it is the collective religious rituals—rather than doctrine—that heighten group cohesion and thus influence SMs; SOs give up their life for the collective as an extreme form of in-group cooperation.[20] Collective religious rituals at temples, churches, mosques and synagogues foster a strong group identity through coordinated movements that can be considered large-scale mimicry and through actions that signal significant in-group commitment to shared counterintuitive beliefs.[21] However, there are many secular

social mechanisms such as sports teams and youth groups that also enhance in-group cooperation, and like Juergensmeyer, the authors of these studies stress that in-group cohesion only translates into support for SMs in very specific contexts.[22]

Religion can act as a networking variable in the diffusion of SMs by connecting militant groups together, thereby facilitating learning and emulation between these organizations.[23] However, it is not the determinative factor in the spread of SV. Not all groups that have mimicked Hezbollah's use of SMs are religious; secular groups ranging from the PKK in Turkey to the LTTE in Sri Lanka to the Socialist Nationalist Party in Lebanon have all used SMs.[24] Even though the 2014 Global Terrorism Index stated that religious militants commit the majority of non-state violence in Sub-Saharan Africa, MENA and South Asia, it also noted that nationalistic and separatist groups drive incidences around the rest of the world.[25] The Index also does not distinguish between the overlapping typology of terrorist groups—many of the groups it identifies as "religious" may be as equally motivated by nationalist concerns. Furthermore, organizations occasionally cooperate with one another across religious lines.[26]

Even though SOs often declare that they are acting altruistically as martyrs on behalf of God and their community, neither the moral justifications nor the culture of martyrdom are dependent upon religious ideology.[27] The LTTE firmly grounded their SMs as gestures on behalf of the entire Tamil race—its principal of martyrdom, cultivated by its leader Velupillai Prabhakaran, was so deeply ingrained in its operandi that today the Tamil word *thatkodai* (to give yourself) is still used to describe the group's operations instead of the term *thatkolai* (suicide).[28] The organization also held an annual "Hero's Day" celebrating its SOs.[29] Ehud Sprinzak argues that the LTTE's operations prove that "under certain extreme political and psychological circumstances, secular volunteers are fully capable of martyrdom."[30] Diego Gambetta also contends, "if special and exalted motivations to self-sacrifice are involved, religious beliefs and preaching are not the only way to induce or to exploit them."[31]

What about Islam?

Some people argue that the problem of SV is particular to Islam, since no militant groups from other religious traditions have perpetrated SMs while Islamist groups have committed 34.6% of all attacks.[32] They point to the Muslim belief in martyrdom and *jihad* as the root cause of SMs. In his New York Times bestseller *The End of Faith*, author Sam Harris goes as far as to argue that "insert these peculiar beliefs [martyrdom and *jihad*], and one can only marvel that suicide bombing is not more widespread."[33]

Blaming Islam for SV is grossly misleading and fails to appreciate the multifaceted nature of both phenomena. Although there is an increasing and disturbing trend toward SMs by Islamist militants, Mia Bloom insists "there is nothing inherently dysfunctional about the Islamic faith per se that predisposes its adherents toward violence" and that the proliferation is due to groups

emulating one another's tactics.[34] The vast majority of Muslims condemn the use of violence.[35] Additionally, Islam is no more politicized than Judaism or Christianity—in fact, wars of religion and persecution of "heretics" were infrequent in Islamic lands compared to Christian Europe in the medieval and early modern period.[36] Islam sanctions *intihar* (suicide) as a sin, and Islamist groups have had to justify SMs as martyrdom operations to contrast the operative's altruism from suicide's egoism.[37] Even then, highly regarded clerks have had to justify SMs by their destructive effectiveness—coupling "martyrdom operations" with instrumental rationality—to overcome the religious norm against suicide.[38]

Others blame Islam's political manifestation, Islamism, for generating SV. Just as those who accuse Islam of breeding violence fail to consider the complexities of the faith, these critics also ignore the nuances and realities of Islamism. Mohammed Ayoob distills the most popular myths associated with political Islam (i.e., Islamism) into three categories: 1) It is monolithic; 2) It is inherently violent; and 3) The fusion of religion and politics is unique to Islam.[39]

Political Islam refers to the instrumentalization of Islam to provide a political response to contemporary societal challenges based on concepts from Islamic tradition.[40] Developed over the half century following the 1940s based on the teachings of Hasan al-Banna (founder of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt) and Abul-Ala Maududi (founder of the Jamaat-I Islam party in the Indian subcontinent), the movement is linked to the larger political context of ailing governments, deteriorating socio-economic conditions, rejecting foreign influences and struggling for identity across the Middle East. Islamists seek to control the state to prevent it from being infiltrated by the West's "corrupting influence" and to appropriate science and technology across society.[41] They differ from Muslim traditionalists; the former regards the state as an instrument of God's (and by extension, their) will whilst the latter advocates minimal state intervention in religion.[42]

Islamism is a product of the modern world; Ayoob refers to it as an ideology rather than a religion or theology because of its distinctly modern agenda.[43] Contemporary Islamists' view of the "golden age" and that today's Muslim polities should reflect Islam's first polity, Medina, is a 20th Century idea that dehistoricizes and decontextualizes Islam and ignores its relationship to the social, economic and political issues that have continued to shape Muslim societies.[44] It is an extension of two pre-existing trends in the region. The first is fundamentalism revolving around *sharia* against the corruption of foreign influence, political opportunisms, moral degradation, and the forgetting of the sacred text by contemporary Muslim. The second is the anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist response to the West's colonization of Muslim polities in the 18th Century; Islam sought to restore the prominence of Muslim polities after the failure of both secular pan-Arab nationalism and Nasserism to do so.[45] Olivier Roy summarizes the phenomenon eloquently when he notes that "Islam has taken up the torch of the Third World, but with slogans that can no longer be shared by Western leftists or by other Third World movements: religious universalism has killed universalism plain and simple."[46]

The notion that Islamism is monolithic is wildly inaccurate. No two Islamisms are identical: although Islamic vocabulary transcends political boundaries because it is rooted in religious texts, most Islamists interpret terms differently to promote separate national agendas rather than an overarching universal goal. Roy identifies three broad geographic and cultural branches of the ideology. The Sunni Arabs in the Middle East draw from the radical ideas of the Muslim Brotherhood's Sayyid Qutb and are organized on a national basis (although they are technically under the overarching leadership of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood), while the Sunnis in the Indian subcontinent base their teachings on the traditions of older, apolitical fundamentalist movements such as the Saudi Wahhabis and Ahl-I Hadith.[47] The third strand, Irano-Arab Shiism, perceives the Iranian Revolution of 1979 to be the only true Islamic revolution and uses Islamism as an instrument to gain regional dominance, although each group within the category has a distinctly local flavor to it.[48]

Nor is Islamism innately violent. Most mainstream Islamist parties reject violence and strive to enact change peacefully and constitutionally within their own polities—militant factions tend to be fringe movements. When mainstream Islamist parties use violence, it is usually as a form of national resistance to foreign occupation. The list of suicide terrorist attacks in Table 1 indicates that between 1980–2001, non-state militants' decisions to use SMs were driven not by religion, but by their will to eject combat forces of democratic states from their prized territories.[49] The Lebanese Hezbollah, which entered mainstream politics in the 1990s, formed as a radical militia in 1982 as a response to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and justified its SMs as defensive acts against the US and Israeli invasions in Lebanon (see Table 1).[50] Prior to the 2003 US invasion, Iraq had never experienced SV; in 2005, it faced a record-high of 304 SMs in a single year.[51] Even al-Qaeda, a transnational terrorist organization that exploits Islamist rhetoric in its propaganda materials, has repeatedly stated that its operations are in retaliation to Western foreign policy in the Middle East, most notably the presence of American troops in Saudi Arabia (see Table 1).[52]

Finally, although Islam has not undergone a Reformation-style movement, the assumption that there is no separation between its religious and political spheres distorts the history of Muslim polities, which not only highlights the gulf between religion and state but also the recurrent subservience of religious establishments to temporal authority.[53] In practice, religion and politics began to untangle soon after the death of the Prophet in 632 CE because in Islamic thought, the revelation ended with Muhammad; none of his four successors could insist that their decrees were divinely ordained.[54] The religious divide between the Sunni and Shia stems from the 680 CE massacre at Karbala, a political struggle for power between the fourth caliph's son Ali and the Prophet's grandson Hussein, both of whom were claimants to the caliphate.[55] When the political and religious arena intersect, temporal supremacy usually overrides religious jurisdiction; even in Saudi Arabia—considered the

most fundamentalist of Muslim societies—when the House of Saud and Wahhabi establishments disagree, the balance tips in favor of the former.[56]

Religion and SV intersect when religious rituals strengthen in-group cohesion and that translates into support for SMs—which happens only under very specific circumstances—or when militant groups manipulate religious rhetoric to frame their attacks in a manner that appeals to their community; thus, although religion does play a role in the adoption of SMs, it is not a direct causal factor. As Gambetta says, "Whatever our creed, most of us still want to succeed by living not by dying."[57] But if not religion, what impels SOs and organizations to commit SMs?

The Role of Enabling Environments

Groups and individuals use SV for the same reason that they use other military tactics—because they believe that *it works*. With a few notable exceptions, SMs occur in contexts that this paper refers to as "enabling environments," where a highly radical constituency condones the use of violence. Their acceptance gives SMs instrumental and expressive value; the acts largely lose their worth without popular support, as evidenced from the rarity of attacks in communities sanctioning violence. Social groups—family, peer, ethnic, religious or national—influence SOs by encouraging them to internalize a collective sense of injustice and humiliation and to take action to redress these grievances.[58] The importance of an enabling environment to an individual's decision to engage in violence is apparent from Jerrold Post, Ehud Sprinzak and Laurita Denny's interviews with incarcerated Middle Eastern terrorists, which showed that both Islamist and secular operatives came from backgrounds with strong community support for their actions; slightly more than 75% of Islamist members and over 80% of secular members reported coming from communities radically involved in "the cause."[59] For these individuals, "joining the terrorist group seemed only natural."[60]

Public opinion is radicalized when the target state's counterinsurgency operations cause significant civilian casualties; the "collateral damage" enhances people's sense of victimization, creates a norm of violence and increases the vulnerability of the populace to being manipulated by militant organizations.[61] The radicalization of opinion increases both the demand and supply for SV. Indiscriminate and devastating attacks against the opposition are more likely to be forgiven when hatred for the other side is very high.[62] For example, a poll of 1179 West Bank and Gaza Palestinians in spring 2002 revealed that 66% cited their increased support for SMs on the Israeli army's operations.[63] The community's approval—which gives the tactic instrumental value—is driven primarily by a thirst for revenge, not religious zeal, though Islamist militant groups take advantage of the collective sense of victimization by rallying people around the familiar language derived from sacred texts to justify SMs as a defensive policy of *jihad* against government aggression.[64]

By feeding into the militant group's narrative of armed resistance, vengeance and humiliation cultivate a cult of martyrdom that celebrates SOs with shrines, processions, and flowers.[65] Although Islamist militant organizations frame these operations in Qu'ranic terms to give them a sense of religious duty and recruit SOs, the LTTE's celebration of its SOs demonstrates that the cult of martyrdom is not contingent upon a sacred text. Shared trauma can also bind communities close together, foster strong in-group cohesion and enhance the culture of martyrdom. Laleh Khalili states that Palestinian narratives of identity are a based on suffering, *sumud*, and heroic martyrdom.[66] These settings enable individuals and organizations to frame their attacks as acts of altruistic heroism on behalf of their aggrieved constituency, imbuing SV with the symbolic, expressive value critical to the production of SMs.[67] Therefore, I consider individual and organizational motivations in relation to the instrumental and expressive value that enabling environments bestow upon SMs.

Individual Motives

In spite of the media's representations, most scholars today generally agree that SOs are rarely psychologically unstable, and tend to be normal people with strong convictions—many operatives feel a deep sense of righteousness and legitimacy of action taken on behalf of their cause.[68] Henry Morgenstern and Ophir Falk warn that "The potential attacker is highly motivated by rationale intent, and he or she should not be underestimated."[69] To date, no study has been able to fully explain why certain highly committed individuals turn to SV while others do not. It is difficult to collect large-scale data on the motives of individual operatives, as most die in their use of SV. However, it is fairly commonly accepted in the literature that individuals are probably motivated by a variety of factors.

There is a common notion that charismatic religious leaders incite desperate or zealous individuals to partake in SV with the promise of heavenly rewards. For example, in 2003 the US Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld, asked, "Are we capturing, killing or deterring and dissuading more terrorists every day than the madrassas and the radical clerics are recruiting, training and deploying against us?"[70] However, although individuals may be inspired into volunteering for SMs, they are not "brainwashed"—a group's exploitation of its members alone cannot explain the spike in numbers of volunteers at certain times or the growing trend of lone wolf attacks. Marc Sageman argues that of the 172 Salafi jihadists whose biographies he examined, only 8% of them were acting out of loyalty to an authority figure.[71]

Some academics like David Bukay allege "perpetrators [of SMs] believe jihad to be synonymous with war and mandate Muslims to strike not only at non-Muslims but also at co-religionists deemed insufficiently loyal to their radical cause. The ideological basis of such an interpretation has deep roots in Islamic theology . . ."[72] It is true that some SOs use religious rhetoric to

cloak their actions—after all, it is easier to convince oneself that one is acting selflessly by conducting *istishad* (martyrdom or self sacrifice in the service of Allah) than to acknowledge committing murder. Some religious militants may truly believe their "martyrdom operations" are serving a divine being. However, Riaz Hassan argues that although religion can influence the recruiting of potential future SOs, the "driving force is not religion but a cocktail of motivations including politics, humiliation, revenge, retaliation and altruism."[73] These motivations arise more from the specific political than religious circumstances that SOs come from.

Furthermore, militants are rarely mullahs. Instead, they are usually youths from urbanized families who were educated on modern secular campuses and learned to fuse concepts from militant Marxism—especially revolution—with Qu'ranic terminology.[74] Though many speculated that Hezbollah's SOs were religious fanatics because of the group's Islamist rhetoric, the Chicago Project's analysis of 38 of these individuals' motives revealed that 71% of attackers were secular and had ties to socialist and communist political parties.[75] When religion does affect an individual's decision to use SMs, its influence usually lies in its practices rather than its doctrine: the ritualistic activities amplify in-group cooperation and can crowd out the SO's cognitive functions to sustain his or her convictions to follow through with the "martyrdom operation" on behalf of his or her group.[76]

Many scholars believe that there is a highly communal element to the seemingly individual decision, and that social bonds can eclipse ideological commitment. According to Post, Sprinzak and Denny's interviews, militants were more likely to join an organization when a family member was already a part of the group, regardless of the group's ideological affiliation.[77] For example, Sageman's work revealed that 75% of jihadists have pre-existing social bonds to members involved in SMs or joined militant groups with friends or relatives.[78] Nichole Argo argues that motivation for *jihad* is often communal rather than religious. She demonstrates that the density of social bonds between people affect whether certain Palestinian cities produced more SOs.[79] Richardson states that perceived humiliation of intimate relations and their community drives SOs to exact revenge upon their opponent through SV.[80] Additionally, Gambetta adds that SOs consider themselves (and are often seen by their group) as altruists defending their community against state oppression.[81] An enabling environment nurtures this perception by accepting violence and glamorizing SOs. In both Tamil and Palestinian communities, it fuels the narrative of militant heroic martyrdom and breeds hatred for the "other."[82]

Even foreign SOs identify with the collective sense of injustice of these aggrieved communities and claim to be acting in their defense. Interviews with failed Palestinian SOs in Israeli prisons reveal that the connection can be a distant one; individuals can be incentivized to use SMs by watching the death of children from other towns or villages.[83] Mohammad Sidique Khan, who was born, raised and educated in the U.K., justified the 7/7 London Bombings by arguing he was " directly responsible for protecting and avenging [his] Muslim

brothers and sisters" against the U.K.'s aggression in the Middle East.[84] Foreign SOs also benefit from the cult of martyrdom in enabling environments. Many militant groups' propaganda sources, such as the Islamic State's *Dabiq* and AQAP's *Inspire* magazines, dedicate pages to lauding these individuals as heroes of the Muslim community and encourage readers to follow their example.[85] While SMs are tactically useful for individuals—even those untrained in combat can exact significant casualties—SOs primarily use them as expressive, symbolic acts to garner attention and reactions from both their community and the target state.

Organizational Motives

Just as individual operatives are motivated by the instrumental and expressive value of SMs, organizations also utilize SMs as part of their political strategy for their instrumental and symbolic significance in enabling environments, whether it be as a "tactic of last resort" or to build the organization's reputation through extreme violence.[86]

As the weaker party in asymmetric warfare, non-state militant groups are strategically driven to adopt SMs as tactical "equalizers." Michael Horowitz contends that non-state armed groups use SMs as a military tactic, a deadly mixture of the innovative use of explosives and different recruiting and training methods to be used as part of a coherent campaign.[87] The timing of the attacks point to groups' strategic use of SV: 301 of 315 SMs Pape studied occurred in clusters in an orchestrated campaign.[88] SOs have several advantages over conventional attackers. They are the "ultimate smart bombs" because they are hard to detect, and are therefore highly flexible in their timing and access to targets. Their necessary death also reduces the complexity of the group's planning, which need not fret that the individual will be caught and leak vital intelligence. SOs are also cost-effective, inflicting severe damage without sacrificing valuable assets for the organization.[89] Furthermore, the media attention SMs receive provides the group with status and acclaim.[90] In contexts where violence is glorified, SV's lethality makes it a "logical" choice; between 1983 and 2001, SMs accounted for almost 48% of casualties of insurgent operations even though they only comprised of about 3% of attacks.[91]

Often, strategic concerns override the group's principles. Militant groups are not only motivated by their stated ideology, but also by organizational longevity. Organizations generally need a threshold of passive and active support to survive.[92] Therefore, they are highly sensitive to the contexts in which they operate and strive to win the community's support. In enabling environments, the instrumental value of SMs often outweighs the organization's purported ideological and moral tenets, and groups that initially promised not to kill civilians later adopt the tactic—often with heavy civilian casualties. For example, Hamas committed itself not to harm civilians in the 1990s, only to break its vow in 1994 and adopt SV to compete for popular support with other Palestinian militant groups using this tactic.[93] The group's dramatic deviation

from its ideological principles in response to their constituents' support demonstrates the weight that it ascribes to the organizational longevity.

The instrumental benefits of SV trump even religious edict for militant organizations when the tactic has community support. Gambetta's argument that "a group of insurgents could simply bypass religious restrictions when popular feelings are strong enough to accept that" is clearly demonstrated by Islamist groups' use of female SOs.[94] The widespread societal assumption of women as not violent in comparison to men gives female SOs several tactical advantages over male operatives. Their being less subject to suspicion and detection means they can hide explosives, messages, and money on their persons more easily. They have greater access to certain targets, and their operations spread more fear within society because they reap more media attention by defying the conventional perception of women as not violent.[95] Many groups have realized the tactical benefits of female SOs—in the LTTE, PKK, Uzbek, Somali and Chechen groups female SOs have equaled or even exceeded the number of male SOs.[96] Some Islamist militant groups have manipulated religious rhetoric to justify using female SOs because of their strategic advantages, even though Islamic religious institutions opposes and actively condemns women's participation in violence. Al Qaeda, which seeks to portray itself as the leader of the global jihadist movement, is only one of many Islamist groups that uses women in SMs around the world.[97] Boko Haram has been increasing its use of female SOs since deploying Nigeria's first female SO in June 2014.[98] The fact that these groups bend their religious principles to use female SOs indicates that in enabling environments, SV's instrumental value eclipses organizations' theological motives.

In enabling environments that are constantly exposed to violence and have internalized it as the norm, the failure of a group to maintain a degree of brutality can result in its irrelevance and eventual disappearance. To prevent this, groups use SMs to signal to their constituency their intense commitment to their cause. When multiple groups claim to represent the same cause in enabling environments, they employ SMs in factional competitions to gain support and recruits. In 1985, the LTTE systematically annihilated its rivals and opponents within the Tamil separatist movement before focusing its operations on the Sri Lankan government.[99] Similarly, rival Palestinian groups use these attacks to increase their market share of public opinion and seize leadership of the Palestinian cause.[100]

Organizations also use SMs to signal their intent and capabilities toward the target government. In attrition campaigns, they use it to express their strength and commitment to their cause: the greater the damage a group can inflict upon state, the more credible its threat to deliver serious future costs, and the more likely the state is to grant it concessions.[101] Thus, for non-state groups engaged in asymmetric warfare with authorities, SV is a particularly useful form of attrition because of its destructiveness. The lethal nature of SMs force the target state to consider the militant organization a threat to national security; however, in taking the group seriously, authorities risk feeding the group's propaganda that its armed resistance is "working."

Militant groups also use SMs to provoke heavy-handed reactions from the target state so that they can draw support from people's subsequent fury.[102] Most citizens are less hostile toward the state than are non-state groups seeking to combat the regime; to convince their audience that their violent "resistance" is necessary, militant organizations strive to paint the government as the aggressor.[103] When the state responds to SV with indiscriminate military force, civilians are rapidly radicalized, nurturing an enabling environment in which militant groups thrive. Hamas manipulates Palestinians' anger at Israel's counterinsurgency policies to frame SMs as defensive acts against state tyranny and to recruit members.[104] Bloom insists that Tamil civilians targeted by government forces had little choice but to support the LTTE.[105] The group's leader, Vellupillai Prabakharan, presented the group's use of SV as inevitable against Sinhalese atrocities. He stated that "if we conduct Black Tiger Operations we can shorten the suffering of the people and achieve Tamil Eelam in a shorter period of time," creating a cult of martyrdom around the group's elite suicide unit, the Black Tigers.[106]

As locals become more radicalized and supportive of armed resistance, SMs become more frequent, and the target state reacts more forcefully, thus fuelling a cycle of escalating violence that reinforces the populace's animosity toward the government. The 2003 US invasion of Iraq is a prime example that demonstrates the resulting security dilemma. Figure 1 indicates that after the initial wave of bloodshed in the first few months of the US invasion, the number of civilian casualties in Iraq steadily increased between 2003 and 2005.[107] A record number of SMs occurred in 2005, and local support for attacks on US-led forces climbed to 61% in early 2006, even though non-state militants caused just as many civilian deaths, if not more.[108] This led to an increase in violence and even more civilian casualties in 2006 (see Figure 1).[109] The influence of enabling environments in the use of SMs is especially evident when considering the *absence* of attacks. The majority of militant organizations do not employ SMs; even those willing to inflict great harm in pursuit of their cause rarely use the tactic. The notoriously violent Basque ETA, Italian Red Brigades and Peruvian Shining Path never used SV, and the Algerian GIA—which massacred numerous civilians—used SMs only once.[110] Groups are ultimately dependent upon their constituency for support, and in societies where the community sanctions the use of indiscriminate violence, organizations have denied their most vicious attacks for fear of losing public support. For example, the PIRA and ETA's supporters in Northern Ireland and the Basque region were more moderate than the organizations and repulsed by their more savage attacks. Thus, it is highly plausible that considerations over public support drove these groups to deny several of their most brutal operations.[111] The PIRA was particularly sensitive to its Catholic constituency and ruled out SV because it deduced that the tactic would not appeal to its supporters.[112]

Public opinion on SMs—and by extension, the presence of enabling environments—is largely tied to government reaction, and support for SV falls when states shift away from indiscriminate punitive measures. When its constituency no longer regards armed struggle as necessary, SMs lose much of

their value and groups stop using the tactic. For instance, the PKK ceased using SV after its constituents rejected their SM in 1996; after the Turkish government shifted away indiscriminately punishing Kurdish civilians in the 1990s, the PKK's constituents lost sympathy for the group's narrative of defensive armed struggle and would no longer tolerate its attacks on civilians.[113] On the other hand, when there is a community that supports SMs as a method of resistance against an oppressive regime, there is an eruption of violence to gain the public's attention and approval, as illustrated by the proliferation of the tactic in the Palestinian territories and Sri Lanka.

Conclusion

Religion can influence the decision of individual SOs and militant organizations to adopt SMs. Rituals associated with religion can strengthen in-group identity, and groups have used religious language based on politicized interpretations of doctrine to justify their use of SV. The number of religious militant organizations has been increasing as a portion of non-state armed groups in the past two decades.[114] Recent trends also indicate that these groups are executing an increasing proportion of SMs.[115]

However, it is not religion itself but the presence of an enabling environment that primarily motivates the use of SV. Individuals and groups perform SMs in the presence of enabling environments where the community's support gives the tactic strategic and expressive value. The ingredients that create these settings—radicalization, in-group cohesion, and the cult of martyrdom—are not dependent upon creed. Instead, they are often generated by perceived injustices committed by the government. Perhaps a genuine attempt at addressing the grievances that create these environments—rather than a ruthless policy of war—will reduce support for SV and thus result in a reduction of SMs in the years ahead.

Appendix

TABLE 1. Suicide Terrorist Campaigns, 1980–2001

	Date	Terrorist Group	Terrorists' Goal	No. of Attacks	No. Killed	Target Behavior
			Completed Campaigns			
1.	Apr–Dec 1983	Hezbollah	U.S./France out of Lebanon	6	384	Complete withdrawal
2.	Nov 1983–Apr 1985	Hezbollah	Israel out of Lebanon	6	96	Partial withdrawal
3.	June 1985–June 1986	Hezbollah	Israel out of Lebanon security zone	16	179	No change
4.	July 1990–Nov 1994	LTTE	Sri Lanka accept Tamil state	14	164	Negotiations
5.	Apr 1995–Oct 2000	LTTE	Sri Lanka accept Tamil state	54	629	No change
6.	Apr 1994	Hamas	Israel out of Palestine	2	15	Partial withdrawal from Gaza
7.	Oct 1994–Aug 1995	Hamas	Israel out of Palestine	7	65	Partial withdrawal from West Bank
8.	Feb–Mar 1996	Hamas	Retaliation for Israeli assassination	4	58	No change
9.	Mar–Sept 1997	Hamas	Israel out of Palestine	3	24	Hamas leader released
10.	June–Oct 1996	PKK	Turkey accept Kurd autonomy	3	17	No change
11.	Mar–Aug 1999	PKK	Turkey release jailed leader	6	0	No change
			Ongoing Campaigns, as of December 2001			
12.	1996–	Al Qaeda	U.S. out of Saudi Peninsula	6	3,329	TBD[a]
13.	2000–	Chechen Rebels	Russia out of Chechnya	4	53	TBD
14.	2000–	Kashmir Rebels	India out of Kashmir	3	45	TBD
15.	2001–	LTTE	Sri Lanka accept Tamil state	6	51	TBD
16.	2000–	Several	Israel out of Palestine	39	177	TBD
Total incidents		188				
No. in campaigns		179				
No. isolated		9				

Source: Pape (2002).
[a]To be determined.

Table 1. Suicide Terrorist Campaigns, 1980–2001

Source: Robert Pape, "Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 3 (2003): 348, Table 1.

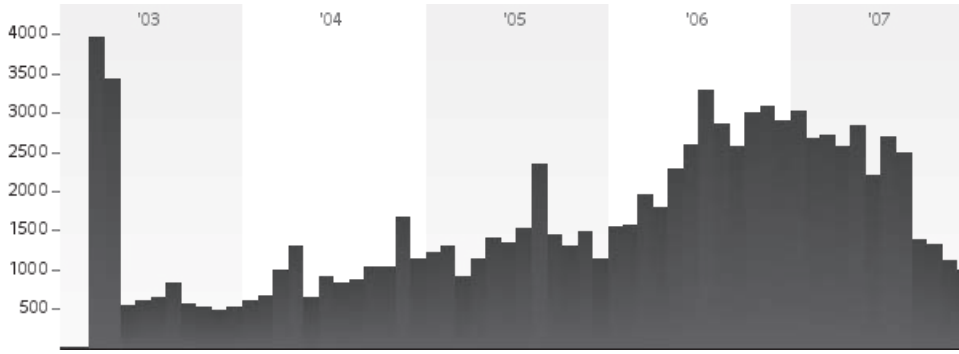

Figure 1. Civilian deaths in Iraq by any perpetrator, 2003–2007

Source: Iraq Body Count Project. "Documented civilian deaths from violence." *Iraq Body Count Project*. 1 Jan 2016. Accessed 2 Jan 2016. https://www.iraqbodycount.org/database/.

Notes

1. In 2000–2013, jihadist groups in the Middle East conducted the majority of SMs worldwide. This trend coincides with the rise in hate crimes against Muslims in the U.S. after 9/11. Mosques in the U.S. also faced a wave of violence and threats after ISIS suicide operatives attacked Paris on November 18, 2015. Institute for Economics & Peace, "Global Terrorism Index 2014" (Report, Online, 2014), 34.; Lindsey Cook,"Data Shows Link Between Fear of Terrorist Attacks, Anti-Muslim Bias," *U.S. News*. 20 Nov 2015. Accessed 21 March 2015. http://www.usnews.com/news/blogs/data-mine/2015/11/20/data-show-links-between-fear-of-terrorist-attacks-anti-muslim-bias.
2. In 1981–2003, the LTTE conducted 191 suicide missions whilst all Middle Eastern groups combined conducted 224 suicide missions. Michael C. Howoritz, "Non-state Actors and the Diffusion of Innovations: The Case of Suicide Terrorism," *International Organization* 64 (Winter 2010): 49.
3. In 2000–2013, jihadist groups in the Middle East conducted the majority of SMs worldwide. Institute for Economics & Peace, "Global Terrorism Index 2014" (Report, Online, 2014), 34.
4. C. Dominik Guss, "Suicide Terrorism: Exploring Western Perceptions of Terms, Context and Causes," *Behavioural Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression,* Vol. 3, No. 2 (Sept 2010).
5. This is a fairly widely accepted statement in contemporary literature, and for the purpose of this essay is accepted without interrogation.
6. Diego Gambetta, "Can We Make Sense of Suicide Missions?" in *Making Sense of Suicide Missions*, ed. Diego Gambetta. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 260.
7. Ariel Merari, "Social, organizational and psychological factors in suicide terrorism," in *Root Causes of Terrorism: Myths, Reality and Ways Forward*, ed. Tore Bjorgo, (New York: Routeledge, 2005), 71.
8. Historically, non-state militants such as the PIRA have targeted both combatant and non-combatants. The blurring of 'legitimate' and 'innocent' targets is not unique to these groups; since WWI, state-sponsored violence has killed more civilians than has non-state violence. Andrew Silke, "Terrorism and the blind men's elephant," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 8 (3), (1996): 12–28. ; Alex P. Schmid, "Root Causes of Terrorism: Some Conceptual Notes, a Set of Indicators and a Model," *Democracy and Security* 1 (2005), 128.
9. R. Ramasubramian, "Suicide Terrorism in Sri Lanka." New Delhi: Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, 2004.; Mia Bloom, *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005); Scott Atran. "Trends in Suicide Terrorism: Sense and Nonsense." *ARTIS Publications* (2004): 2.
10. The Jewish Sicarii and Islamic Assassins both showed complete disregard for their own lives in their missions. The Narodnaya Voyla was an anti-Tsarist revolutionary group in 19th Century Russia that equipped their primitive explosive devices with human triggers. Vietnamese soldiers exploded themselves amid French troops in the 1950s. Ion Aurel Stanciu. "Factors Involved in Suicide Attacks." In *Suicide as a Weapon*, edited by Center for Excellence Defence Against Terrorism, Ankara, Turkey (Washington, D.C.: IOS Press, 2007): 2; Louise Richardson, *What Terrorists Want* (New York: Random House, 2006): 107, 112.
11. These categories are based on the terms the FBI uses to describe different terrorist groups. They include (but are not limited to): religious, social, anarchist,

right-wing, left-wing, and separatist. Dave L. Watson, "The Terrorist Threat Confronting the United States: Before the Senate Selection Committee on Intelligence, Washington, DC.," (Testimony, FBI.gov, 6 February 2002).

12. For example, Hamas is an ethno-religious group and al-Qaeda is a religious fundamentalist group. Peter S Henne, "The Ancient Fire: Religion and Suicide Terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 24, no. 1 (2011), 40.
13. Richardson, *What Terrorists Want*, 61.; Atran, "Trends in Suicide Terrorism: Sense and Nonsense," 2.
14. Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006): 131.
15. Although there is a general consensus amongst the academic community that religion plays a secondary role in today's suicide violence at most, many members of the public blame religion—particularly Islamic fundamentalism—as the chief motivator for SMs. For example, Robert Pape states that the main reason for broad public support of the 2003 Invasion of Iraq was the belief that Muslim societies needed to be completely transformed to avoid another 9/11. Robert Pape, "Dying to Kill Us." *New York Times*, 22 Sept 2003, Retrieved 21 March 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2003/09/22/opinion/dying-to-kill-us.html.
16. Robert Pape, "Dying to Win: the Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *Australian Army Journal* 3 (3) (Summer 2006): 27.
17. In 1981–2003, the LTTE conducted 191 suicide missions whilst all Middle Eastern groups combined conducted 224 suicide missions. Michael C. Howoritz, "Non-state Actors and the Diffusion of Innovations: The Case of Suicide Terrorism," *International Organization* 64 (Winter 2010): 49.
18. Mark Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000): 10.
19. Jeremy Ginges, Ian Hansen and Ara Norenzayan. "Religion and Support for Suicide Attacks," *Psychological Science* 20 (2) (Feb, 2009): 224.
20. Ginges, Hansen and Norenzayan, "Religion and Support for Suicide Attacks," 224.
21. Ginges, Hansen and Norenzayan, "Religion and Support for Suicide Attacks," 224.
22. Ginges, Hansen and Norenzayan, "Religion and Support for Suicide Attacks," 224.
23. Horowitz, "Non-state Actors and the Diffusion of Innovations: The Case of Suicide Terrorism," 61.
24. Richardson, *What Terrorists Want*, 113.
25. Institute for Economics & Peace, "Global Terrorism Index 2014," 32.
26. Horowitz, "Non-state Actors and the Diffusion of Innovations: The Case of Suicide Terrorism," 49.
27. Richardson, *What Terrorists Want*, 41.; Assaf Moghadam, *The Globalization of Martyrdom*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008): 15–16.
28. Ehud Sprinzak, "Rational Fanatics," *Foreign Policy Magazine*. (20 Nov 2009). http://foreignpolicy.com/2009/11/20/rational-fanatics/.
29. Stanciu, "Factors Involved in Suicide Attacks," 5.
30. Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 141.; Sprinzak, "Rational Fanatics," http://foreignpolicy.com/2009/11/20/rational-fanatics/.
31. Diego Gambetta, "Introduction" In *Making Sense of Suicide Missions*, ed. Diego Gambetta. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005): ix.
32. Gambetta, "Can We Make Sense of Suicide Missions?" 261.
33. Sam Harris, *The End of Faith: Religion, Terror and the Future of Reason* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2004): 13.

34. Mia Bloom, *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005): 3.
35. Mohammed Ayoob, "Defining Concepts, Demolishing Myths," The Many Faces of Political Islam. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008): 14.
36. Ayoob, "Defining Concepts, Demolishing Myths," 13.
37. Moghadam, *Globalization,* 106.
38. Gambetta, "Can We Make Sense of Suicide Missions?" 297.
39. Ayoob, "Defining Concepts, Demolishing Myths," 1–22.; Rashmi Singh, *Hamas and Suicide Terrorism: Multi-Causal and Multi-Level Approaches* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 2.; Scott Atran, "The Moral Logic and Growth of Suicide Terrorism," *The Washington Quarterly* 29, no. 2 (2006): 127–147.
40. Ayoob, "Defining Concepts, Demolishing Myths," 1–22.
41. Olivier Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam*. (New York: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2007): 3.
42. Ayoob, "Defining Concepts, Demolishing Myths," 9.
43. Singh, *Hamas and Suicide Terrorism*, 24.
44. The Classical Muslim notion of the "golden age" rules out the recreation of Medina in the present or future by assuming its unattainability in historical time; original Islamists, such as the 19th Century Egyptian jurist and theologian Muhammad Abduh, endorsed reconciling Islam with scientific positivism and rationality until contemporary revivalists seized leadership of the movement and imposed their literal interpretations demanding the creation of an authentic Islamic polity based on Medina. See Ayoob, "Defining Concepts, Demolishing Myths," 3–6.
45. Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam*.
46. Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam*, 5.
47. Ayoob argues that Islamism is so localized that even within the Muslim Brotherhoods, its branches have different political strategies to tackle local issues. See Ayoob, "Defining Concepts, Demolishing Myths," 16.; Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam*, 2.
48. Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam,* 2.
49. Robert Pape, "Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 3 (2003): 348, Table 1.
50. Pape, "Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," 348, Table 1.
51. Chicago Project on Security and Terrorism, "2003–2015 Iraq," *Suicide Attack Database*, 9 Dec 2015, Accessed 9 Jan 2015 http://cpostdata.uchicago.edu/search_results_new.php.; Pape. "Dying to Win: the Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," 27.
52. Richardson, *What Terrorists Want*, 195.; Pape, "Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," 348, Table 1.
53. Ayoob, "Defining Concepts, Demolishing Myths," 11.
54. Ayoob, "Defining Concepts, Demolishing Myths," 11.
55. "Battle of Karbala," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Accessed 29 Dec 2015. http://www.britannica.com/event/Battle-of-Karbala.
56. Ayoob, "Defining Concepts, Demolishing Myths," 12.
57. Gambetta, "Can We Make Sense of Suicide Missions?" 299.
58. Anat Berko and Edna Erez, "Ordinary People" and "Death Work": Palestinian Suicide Bombers as Victimizers and Victims," *Violence and Victims* 20 (6) (Dec 2005): 606.
59. Jerrold Post, Ehud Sprinzak and Laurita Denny. "The terrorists in their own words: Interviews with 35 incarcerated Middle Eastern terrorists ## This research

was conducted with the support of the Smith Richardson Foundation," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 15 (1) (2003): 177.

60. Post, Sprinzak and Denny, "The terrorists in their own words: Interviews with 35 incarcerated Middle Eastern terrorists ## This research was conducted with the support of the Smith Richardson Foundation," 177.
61. Richard English, *Armed Struggle: The History of the IRA*. (London: Pan Macmillan, 2012): 129.
62. Bloom, *Dying to Kill*, 81.
63. Scott Atran, "Genesis of suicide terrorism," *Science*, 299 (2003): 1538.
64. Berko and Erez, "Ordinary People" and "Death Work": Palestinian Suicide Bombers as Victimizers and Victims," 605.
65. Examples include the cult of martyrdom surrounding SOs in Tamil and Palestinian communities. Ramasubramian, "Suicide Terrorism in Sri Lanka."; Bloom, *Dying to Kill*.
66. Khalili refers to the three core features of Palestinian narratives as being : 1) the suffering of refugees and ordinary Palestinians; 2) sumud—which she defines as "steadfastness in the face of ongoing assault in a sort of infra-politics of the powerless" and; 3) the heroism of martyrs. Laleh Khalili. *Heroes and Martyrs of Palestine: The Politics of National Commemoration*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 217.
67. Post, Sprinzak and Denny, "The terrorists in their own words: Interviews with 35 incarcerated Middle Eastern terrorists ## This research was conducted with the support of the Smith Richardson Foundation," 171–184.
68. Post, Sprinzak and Denny, "The terrorists in their own words: Interviews with 35 incarcerated Middle Eastern terrorists ## This research was conducted with the support of the Smith Richardson Foundation," 181.
69. Henry Morgenstern and Ophir Falk. *Suicide Terror: Understanding and Confronting the Threat*. (Hoboken: Wiley, 2009): 13.
70. Donald Rumsfeld, "Global War on Terrorism." (Memo, Globalsecurity.org, 16 October 2003) http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/policy/dod/rumsfeld-d20031016sdmemo.htm.
71. Marc Sageman. *Understanding Terror Networks*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004): 113.
72. David Bukay, "The Religious Foundations of Suicide Bombings," *The Middle East Quarterly* 13 (4) (Fall 2006): 27–36. http://www.meforum.org/1003/the-religious-foundations-of-suicide-bombings.
73. Riaz Hassan, "What Motivates the Suicide Bombers." *Yale Global*. 3 Sept 2009. Accessed 21 March 2016. http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/what-motivates-suicide-bombers-0.
74. Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam*, 3.
75. Pape, "Dying to Win," 35.
76. Ginges, Hansen and Norenzayan, "Religion and Support for Suicide Attacks"; Nichole Argo, "The making of a human bomb: 1 all-round country edition," *The Australian* (2006).
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78. Sageman, *Understanding Terror Networks,* 113.
79. Nichole Argo, Betsy Sussler and Omar Amanat, "Nichole Argo and Omar Amanat: What Motivates Terrorism?" *Bomb* 97, (2006): 46–53.

80. Bloom, *Dying to Kill.*
81. Gambetta. "Can We Make Sense of Suicide Missions?" 269.
82. Singh uses the term "militant heroic martyrdom" to describe the enabling environment of the Palestinian Territories. The LTTE's value in violent and extreme self-sacrifice makes the term applicable to describing the culture amongst its Tamil constituency as well. Ramasubramian, "Suicide Terrorism in Sri Lanka," 1–25; Singh, *Hamas and Suicide Terrorism*, 75–96; Post, Sprinzak and Denny, "The terrorists in their own words: Interviews with 35 incarcerated Middle Eastern terrorists ## This research was conducted with the support of the Smith Richardson Foundation," 177–184.
83. Bloom, *Dying to Kill*, 86.
84. Mohammad Sidique Khan quoted in House of Commons. *Report on the Official Account of the Bombings in London on 7th July 2005.* HC 1087. (London: The Stationary Office. 2006), 19.
85. Islamic State. *Dabiq* 7 (Alhayat Media Center: Feb 2015); AQAP. "May Our Souls be Sacrificed for You." *Inspire* no.1. (al-Malahim, June 2010): 26–28.
86. Mohammad M.Hafez, *Manufacturing Human Bombs: The Making of Palestinian Suicide Bombers.* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2006), 32.; Diego Gambetta. "Can We Make Sense of Suicide Missions?" In *Making Sense of Suicide Missions*, ed. Diego Gambetta. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, 261.
87. Horowitz, "Non-state Actors and the Diffusion of Innovations," 33–64;. Pape, "Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," 347.
88. Pape, "Dying to Win," 28.
89. Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 132.
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91. Robert Pape, *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*. (New York: Random House, 2006), 346.
92. Ariel Merari, "Terrorism as a strategy in insurgency," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 5 (1993).
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94. Gambetta, "Can We Make Sense of Suicide Missions?" 294.
95. Anne Speckhard, "Female Terrorists in Al Qaeda and 21rst Century Terrorism" (Report, Inside the Mind of a Jihadist seminar for TRENDS Research & Advisory, Abu Dhabi, UAE, May 2015.): 5.
96. Anne Speckhard, "The Emergence of Female Suicide Terrorists," *Studies in Conflcit & Terrorism* 31 (11) (2008): 997.
97. Katharina Von Knop, "The Female Jihad: Al Qaeda's Women," *Conflict & Terrorism* 30 (5) (2007): 401–405.
98. Farouk Chothia,"Boko Haram crisis: Nigeria's female bombers strike," *BBC., 6* Aug 2014. Accessed 21 March 2016. http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-28657085; "Boko Haram Widely Deploying Female Suicide Bombers." *The Clarion Project*. 15 Dec 2014. Accessed 21 March 2016. http://www.clarionproject.org/news/boko-haram-widely-deploying-female-suicide-bombers.
99. Bloom, *Dying to Kill*, 59.
100. Mia Bloom. "Palestinian Suicide bombing: Outbidding and Public Support," *Political Science Quarterly* (Spring 2004): 61–88.

101. Andrew H. Kydd and Barbara F. Walter, "The Strategies of Terrorism" *International Security* 31 (Summer 2006): 60.
102. Hafez, *Manufacturing Human Bombs,* 11.
103. Kydd and Walter, "The Strategies of Terrorism," 54.
104. Singh, *Hamas and Suicide Terrorism,* 51–74.
105. Bloom, *Dying to Kill*, 54.
106. Vellupillai Prabakharan in speech delivered on 13 May 1998, the first anniversary of the launch of the Sri Lanka Army's Operation 'Jaya Sikirui' ('Victory Assured' in Sinhala), quoted in Ramasubramian, "Suicide Terrorism in Sri Lanka," 9; Bloom, *Dying to Kill,* 45–75.; Moghadam, *Globalization,* 1–38.
107. Iraq Body Count Project. "Documented civilian deaths from violence," *Iraq Body Count Project*. 1 Jan 2016. Accessed 2 Jan 2016. https://www.iraqbodycount.org/database/.
108. Pape, "Dying to Win," 27.; Program on International Policy Attitudes, "The Iraqi Public on the US Presence and the Future of Iraq," (A WorldPublicOpinion.org Poll, WorldPublicOpinion.org, 27 Sept 2006): 2.; Iraq Body Count Project, "Documented civilian deaths from violence," https://www.iraqbodycount.org/database/.
109. Iraq Body Count Project, "Documented civilian deaths from violence," https://www.iraqbodycount.org/database/.
110. Kalyvas and Sanchez-Cuenca, "Killing Without Dying: The Absence of Suicide Missions," 209.
111. Examples include the PIRA's bombing of a restaurant on 4 March 1972 that killed two women and injured over 100 people and ETA's bombing of a restaurant on 13 September 1974 that killed thirteen people and injured over 70. See Kalyvas and Sanchez-Cuenca, "Killing Without Dying: The Absence of Suicide Missions," 218–223.
112. Kalyvas and Sanchez-Cuenca, "Killing Without Dying: The Absence of Suicide Missions," 218–223.
113. Bloom, *Dying to Kill,* 101–120.
114. Atran, "Trends in Suicide Terrorism: Sense and Nonsense," 2.
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Soft Power in Full Force:
India and the Nuclear Suppliers Group

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Abstract

As a multinational organization that stresses the importance of nuclear nonproliferation, the Nuclear Suppliers Group has encountered countries seeking full membership such as India as recently as 2008. Yet, the Nuclear Suppliers Group was established after India's nuclear test in 1974 and left India largely isolated from the nuclear trade market for four decades. Many pundits look to India's aspiration to join the NSG as desires for financial expansion or becoming a competitor in nuclear trade. However, this paper argues that India is utilizing soft power by asserting itself as an effective player in the international arena and influencing other countries' long-standing positions and preferences on membership criteria for the NSG.

Introduction

The Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) is comprised of 48 current nuclear supplier countries that cooperate on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons through the execution of parameters set forth for nuclear exports and nuclear-related exports. Additionally, the NSG focuses on global nuclear trade and nuclear cooperation among participants for peaceful purposes, particularly through safeguards and controls.[1] As a way to standardize regulations of nuclear trading, the NSG puts forth two forms of non-binding export guidelines: dual use items and nuclear use materials and equipment.[2] However, the NSG guidelines follow several international, lawfully binding documents such as the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), the Treaty on the Southeast Asia Nuclear-Weapon Free Zone, and the Central Asian Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone Treaty among many others.[3] For the past 41 years, the NSG has served as the first and foremost organization on nuclear trading and raising countries' geopolitical clout on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons.

As a multinational organization that stresses the importance of nuclear nonproliferation, the NSG has encountered countries seeking full membership such as India as recently as 2008. However, it is understood that the current participating governments of the NSG are expected *not* to export nuclear technology to other countries that do not support the implementation of rigorous monitoring and verification channels arranged by the group. Some scholars assert that the NSG was established to remedy the loopholes and

inadequacies of the NPT, by restraining nuclear exporters from transferring sensitive technology. Thus, this enforces participating members to support the prevention of transferring civilian nuclear technology to countries such as India, which has not signed the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty. Although the NSG's guidelines are not legally binding, the participating governments have made it a political obligation to follow them and the objectives of the organization.

I. History of Nuclear Supplier Group and India's Role

Since the 1970s, India has been largely left out of the international nuclear trade market. Many pundits point to the origins of the NSG as the catalyst, particularly for its strict guidelines. Despite India's lack of involvement with the NSG at its inception, it did partake in nuclear activities. On May 18, 1974, India conducted a peaceful nuclear explosion in an underground test known as the "Smiling Buddha." After the detonation of the nuclear device, much of the world was in shock. According to the Indian government, the explosion was reasoned as to be peaceful because it was seen as research for mining techniques, stimulation of oil reservoirs, and efforts toward nuclear engineering. In fact, India created the nuclear device with the help of CIRUS or otherwise known as the Canada-India Reactor U.S., which included a 40–megawatt reactor and plutonium from Canada and the United States.[4] However, many countries did not view this explosion as peaceful and began to restrict collaborations with India in the hopes of ceasing further nuclear tests. Thus, in 1974, seven countries collaborated to form the NSG, as they firmly believed that the NPT would not alone prevent the spread of nuclear weaponization. Additionally, the short-term goal in establishing the NSG was to contain India's nuclear arsenal and sever India's access to nuclear material and technology. In 1992, the NSG then decided to officially restrict nuclear trade with countries who did not sign the NPT or agreed to rigorous, in-depth safeguards from the International Atomic Energy Agency.[5] Within thirty years of its genesis, the NSG gained membership four folds, essentially incorporating almost all nuclear supplier states.[6] With the increase of membership, the NSG has faced intricate proliferation dealings, the globalization of the nuclear trade environment, and growth of global nuclear equity issues.

II. Puzzle

It is important to note that the NSG was created in 1974 in reaction to India's first nuclear weapon test blast, which used plutonium produced with nuclear technology from Canada and heavy water from the United States. According to the NSG website, India's nuclear test explosion in 1974 determined that peaceful nuclear technology transported for peaceful purposes could be exploited. However, since 2008, India has pursued membership of the 48-member NSG, particularly after it received a waiver for the termination of nuclear sanctions.

Yet, a primary factor that is taken into account for participation in the NSG is the adherence to one or more of the nuclear non-proliferation treaties such as the NPT. Why does India now (from 2008) seek membership in the NSG despite (not signing onto major treaties/regimes such as the NPT)?[7]

Background

In September 2008, Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh emphasized India's desire to be a member of the NSG stating, "We welcome the decision earlier today of the Nuclear Suppliers Group to adjust its guidelines to enable full civil nuclear cooperation with India . . . It is a recognition of India's impeccable nonproliferation credentials and its status as a state with advance nuclear technology. It will give an impetus to India's pursuit of environmentally sustainable economic growth."[8] Moreover, the Chairperson of the NSG Ambassador Rafael Grossi stated, "There is a growing recognition that given the role and weight of India in global affairs . . . we care about non-proliferation, and India is doing more and more, so the NSG must factor this in."[9] As recently as November 2015, Ambassador Grossi has gone as far as to say that the process of including a member nation into the NSG is a delicate one, but there is "less and less justification for the impasse" in regards to India.[10] Despite backlash from political circles, Foreign Minister Sushma Swaraj and NSG Ambassador Grossi engaged in diplomatic talks to discuss consensus in regards to potentially inducting India into the organization in June 2016.

International Reactions

Some nuclear pundits assert that accepting India as a member of the NSG would weaken the nonproliferation regime, while others claim that the NSG should have a broader solution that is appropriate and applicable to all and thus allow India to be a member. Often thought together, the NSG and NPT are constantly challenged by many individuals about their credibility and process for future membership. It is assumed that the admission of India to the NSG is possible through only two waysways: change the criteria for admission or recognize that the elements should be contemplated by Participating Governments, and are not mandatory conditions that must be met by any proposed candidate for NSG membership. As the world's foremost rulemaking group for nuclear trade, the NSG is at the periphery of whether it should be a group of "like-minded states" committed to global nuclear nonproliferation norms or a group that is committed to trade controls, technology, nuclear expertise, materials, and equipment.[11] For India, the NPT regime is a clear indication between the "nuclear haves" and the "nuclear have-nots." As emphasized by Benjamin Wastler in *Having Its Yellowcake and Eating It Too: How the NSG Waiver for India Threatens to Undermine the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime,* India has not chosen to sign the NP because it rejects "the lack of an ethical rationale for the distinction between nuclear weapons states

and non-nuclear weapons states."[12] If India were to be a member of the NSG, it would be the only member that has not signed the NPT, a nearly worldwide treaty with 189 signatories and thought to be the foundation of the universal nuclear nonproliferation regime. Essentially, the NSG is at a crossroads.

Therefore, the delegations of the NSG have the task of deciding how to handle future memberships and their relations to the NPT for the overall goal of promoting disarmament and peaceful use of nuclear materials.[13] Various diplomats from a number of countries have spoken up and stated that the inclusion of India in the NSG warrants a strict following of the principles of the group, and India should not serve as exception to these. Furthermore, for India to successfully be a member of the NSG, it requires a consensus from all participating governments. In *The Future of the Nuclear Suppliers Group,* Mark Hibbs writes that India, as a country with undeclared nuclear activities outside the NPT, was "barred by the NSG and the NPT from most international nuclear commerce, but the group lifted nuclear trade sanctions against India in 2008 at the request of the United States, supported by other major nuclear exporting governments, including France and Russia."[14] He ultimately asks the question of whether India's desire to join the NSG is the singular exception to the organization due to its decision to not sign the NPT or if it signifies a critical juncture that promotes the contribution of all nuclear supplier states, including those independent the NPT.

Alternative Explanations

There lies a myriad of reasons for India's desire to join the NSG. The two dominant theory explanations, based on neoliberal institutionalism, that I focus on are, financial expansion and India presenting itself as a competitor in international nuclear trade. The NSG now faces a balancing act as summarized by a participant at an outreach seminar:

> The NSG has begun a process to include the non-NPT states, which are nuclear suppliers. The matter must be approached carefully in order not to undermine the objectives of the non-proliferation regime. India's intention to apply for NSG membership will test how the NSG responds to adapting to a new international security environment . . . This is something that is coming, it's in the air, and will have to be dealt with by the future NSG chairs.[15]

Despite raising the desire of wanting to join the NSG over seven years ago, India is steadfast in its goal. However, India has refused to sign the NPT, which insists that all countries renounce nuclear weapons, except for the five countries of Russia, China, France, the United States, and United Kingdom. To emphasize its aspiration to join the NSG, India has agreed to allow the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) more oversight into its civilian nuclear program. Critics of India's potential inclusion to the NSG point out that the IAEA agreement has fewer requirements than those arranged to by

other countries, as well as a lack of verification measures on India's civilian nuclear program.[16] Nonetheless, India continues to seek membership in the NSG, and it seems as though they are carving out a path in the nuclear sphere.

I. Financial Expansion

India's desire to be a member of the NSG may be related to the financial expansion of exporting nuclear technology in becoming a competitive supplier in the global market. This possible explanation stems from the international relations theory of neoliberal institutionalism and absolute gains, which discusses how countries determine their economic interests and prospects for cooperation. In Robert Powell's *Absolute and Relative Gains in International Relations Theory*, he argues, "states are assumed to be trying to maximize their absolute gains. That is, a state's utility depends solely on the absolute level of economic welfare it attains."[17] Some argue that the NSG has isolated India from nuclear trade with the rest of the nuclear supplier states. India's membership to the NSG would not only benefit it economically, but it would also encourage civil nuclear trade globally without compromising world peace. In this manner, India is not concerned with relative gains and increasing its financial expansion of nuclear trade compared to other countries, but rather, maximizing on its absolute gains after being isolated for the past few decades. Because India is not a signatory of the NPT, it was 40 years largely isolated from international trade in nuclear plants or materials, which has hampered its development of civil nuclear energy until 2009. If India were to be accepted into the NSG, it would greatly benefit from the nuclear construction expertise, equipment manufacture, and emerging services sector from the participating governments. India is on the path of growing its nuclear ambitions as evidenced by the numerous power reactors, ranging over 20, in the country. In fact, Mark Hibbs mentions that the Indian "industry aims to increase that capacity to as much as 63 GW by 2032. About two-thirds of this capacity expansion would be contributed by projects with foreign suppliers made possible by the NSG exception for India."[18] It is reasonable to think that India would want to be a member of the NSG to expand its economic growth, promote nuclear power through imported technology, and reap the benefits of global commerce.

However, due to the isolation from international nuclear trade for the past few decades, India has resorted to sustaining its economic growth and nuclear power by focusing on its *indigenous nuclear programs*. India has recognized the enormous potential of nuclear energy for economic development and has addressed the obstacle of energy security by focusing on self-reliance and technological independence.[19] India has been thoroughly developing a nuclear fuel cycle to utilize its investments of thorium due to trade sanctions. The dominant theory explanation of absolute gains and financial expansion from neoliberal institutionalism is not the primary explanation for this puzzle based on India's movement toward nuclear energy self-sufficiency. India's nuclear power program has ensued essentially without fuel or technological

assistance from other countries. For example, "its power reactors to the mid-1990s had some of the world's lowest capacity factors, reflecting the technical difficulties of the country's isolation, but rose impressively from 60% in 1995 to 85% in 2001–02."[20] This has been a result of domestic efforts in uranium exploration, mining through fuel fabrication, heavy water production, reactor design and construction, to reprocessing and waste management. In fact, as of April 2015, India will be pursuing new nuclear plants at ten sites in nine states. In R.K. Sinha and A. Kakodkar's *Design and Development of the AHWR—the Indian Thorium Fuelled Innovative Nuclear Reactor,* the authors highlight India's domestic resource position of uranium and thorium in their nuclear power program. Thus, the explanation of financial expansion in the international nuclear trade is subdued in effect as a result of India's emphasis on its indigenous civilian nuclear program, which has grown rapidly over the past 40 years.

II. Competitor in Nuclear Trade

While some claim that India seeks membership in the NSG for financial expansion, others assert that India desires to be a *competitor in nuclear trade*. Following the neoliberal institutionalism theory, Powell writes, "cooperative outcomes that offer unequal absolute gains cannot be an equilibrium in this [anarchical] system."[21] It is reasonable to analyze India's desire to be a part of the NSG as a method of gaining benefits on par with the other participating governments. Being isolated from international nuclear trade does not foster India's image as a competitor, especially for the number of years when countries could not export nuclear materials or infrastructure to help India. One would expect for India to want to be a member of the NSG, so that it is involved in the massive business of the NSG, trading nuclear materials, and gaining nuclear expertise for peaceful purposes.

However, India has made several strides through successful bilateral nuclear agreements with several countries and invested in its indigenous nuclear program for commercial success, shaping itself to be a competitor in nuclear trade. For example, civil nuclear cooperation agreements have been signed with the United States, Russian Federation, Mongolia, United Kingdom, Japan, Canada, Czech Republic, South Korea, Argentina, Kazakhstan, France, and Namibia, among other countries.[22] These countries have negotiated with India on nuclear cooperation agreements because of India's responsible efforts toward nuclear technology, as well as recognizing a mutually beneficial relationship in regards to nuclear trading. For an extended period of time, India and Russia have had an economically beneficial relationship. While India may not be in the ring of international trade through the NSG, India and Russia have specifically worked with one another to be partners of nuclear cooperation. In 1998, Russia and India confirmed a nuclear reactor export agreement on the condition that it was a grandfathered before the 1992 NSG full scope safeguards standard.[23] In 2008, Russia and India confirmed another contract, itemized at $700 million,

which called for the continual supply of uranium into India's reactors in Tarapur through the Russian nuclear fuel vendor TVEL.[24] Despite not being a current member of the NSG, India has pushed, against all odds, to remain a competitor in international nuclear trading.

Additionally, one of the most prominent bilateral nuclear cooperation agreements between the United States and India is the 123 Agreement or otherwise known as Indo-US Nuclear Deal. This detailed agreement took three years to come to completion. In 2008, the United States and India collaborated on a peaceful nuclear agreement that consisted of exporting nuclear equipment to India. However, for the agreement to go into full effect, it needed to be approved by the NSG as an exception to export nuclear materials and technology to India. The United States first thought of providing criteria that the NSG would approve of for the bilateral agreement. Yet, it pressed the NSG to make an exception for India without specifications of the criteria. Since 2008, NSG allowed for the exception for India via consensus, and as a result, India can import certain items from NSG supplier states.[25] The agreement allows for the United States to import civilian nuclear technology, as well as assist India in its energy requirements. The 123 Agreement also pushed for India to have 14 of its 22 nuclear reactors supervised by the International Atomic Energy Agency's safeguards.[26] This was historical in the fact that India has never separated its military reactors from its civilian reactors until 2008 through the collaboration of the 123 Agreement. As evidenced through the plethora of bilateral nuclear cooperation agreements, India has chosen not to be isolated from global nuclear trade, despite not being part of the NSG.

Theory Building

Though the NSG has been open to admitting new members, it has been stringent in opening its doors only to those that are part of the NPT. In 2004, China, Estonia, Lithuania, and Malta, signatories of the NPT, were accepted into the NSG.[27] The dominant theory explanations of financial explanation and presenting itself as a competitor in international nuclear trade are not the primary reasons as to why India wants to join the NSG. As previously mentioned, India has invested in building up its indigenous nuclear program and bilateral nuclear agreements with numerous countries, despite not being a member of the NSG or signatory to the NPT. However, a more plausible explanation for India's desire to be a member of the NSG since 2008 could be the propelling of soft power on the international stage of politics through the shaping norms.

This explanation stems from the norms literature of international relations, specifically through the theory of constructivism, which looks to analyze the shared values of a society or country and is sustained by the members' approval or disapproval. Highlighting the power of norms, Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink assert in *Taking Stock: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics* that norms have the ability to run counter to or undermine conventional conceptions of strong

state interests.[28] They further this point by writing, "the perceptions that these [international] organizations are merely technical (not political) and that the social models they push are chosen because they are efficient and effective add to the power of these norms."[29] Through its efforts in potentially joining the NSG, India has made a mark in the international community for not only standing by its decision to not be a signatory of the NPT, but also seeking to wield global influence on nuclear non-proliferation through the organization with its values.

I. Soft Power: Adjusting Our Understanding

Typically, the concept of power is seen through superior military capabilities, territorial conquests, and technology. Power can be come in three forms: threats, bribes, or co-options, otherwise known as soft power. In *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power,* Joseph S. Nye Jr. explicates the term, "soft power," which is getting countries to "want what it wants" in contrast with hard power, or "ordering others to do what it wants."[30] Nye further defines soft power that it is the ability to shape the preferences of states through appeal and attraction, or coercion, without the use of force.[31] Nye argues that soft co-optive power is just as important as hard power as it has the ability to set the political agenda, determine the framework of debate in a way that shapes others' performances, and affect what other countries want. Several trends today are making soft power and co-optive behavior relatively more important. In Jan Melissen's *Wielding Soft Power: The New Public Diplomacy,* diplomacy is one of soft power's key instruments. Soft power also includes more coercive economic and diplomatic levers, such as participation in multilateral organizations. As Peter J. Katzenstein asserts, "changes in norms create only permissive conditions for changes in international political behavior."[32] However, another way of thinking about soft power is the ability to be an effective player in international politics and influencing other countries' long-standing positions and preferences on issues.

While Joseph S. Nye, Jr.'s definition of soft power aptly describes how states can interact with one another on an international level without using force, it does not take into consideration the magnitude of shaping norms. Nye explains that soft power can derive from three means: cultural, political values, and its foreign policies. However, he raises the limits of soft power by stating, "it tends to have diffuse effects on the outside world and is not easily wielded to achieve specific outcomes."[33] Yet, Nye's reasoning of soft power falls short in that it does not account for the long-term effects of countries' perspectives on issues on other countries' views. For seven years, India has been adamant about joining the NSG and has gone to great lengths in proving to countries that it is committed to nuclear non-proliferation. It has also gone to great lengths to emphasize what it will not agree to in achieving membership in the NSG such as signing onto the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty of 1995 or NPT. In the case of India, soft power is utilized to persuade other countries of

its aspiration to be a part of the NSG, as well as why it can serve the objectives of the organizations to the highest standard. For the decades that India was isolated from the NSG, it did exceptionally well, in terms of financial success, with its indigenous programs and plethora of bilateral nuclear agreements. However, India strives to make its imprint in the NSG to hone in cooperation on an international level, as well as be an active player in this forum. Essentially, India's push for acceptance in the NSG is one form of soft power in its ability to influence or change other countries' long-standing positions and preferences on global issues.

II. Norm Shaping: India's Tool for the NSG

Although it has not signed the NPT, India has requested participating governments for the evolution of regime membership criteria, consistent with maintaining the core principles of these regimes In Shimla Rashtrapati Niwas's *The Many Forms of Soft Power: India and the World,* she asks a poignant question: "Is there a middle path in terms of India's political commitments globally?" and "what are India's political values that are preeminent in their scheme of things?"[34] For India, being a "norm shaper," through soft power, is convincing the participating governments of the NSG to allow it to be in the organization, as well as recognize the efforts the country has taken to promote nuclear non-proliferation. In fact, New Delhi has also pushed to be incorporated in the international nonproliferation framework through the Nuclear Security Summit's "Global Center for Nuclear Energy Partnership," which studies nuclear safety and security issues.[35] However, it has also made efforts to fully adopt the NSG's export control requirements. For an extended time, India's nuclear industry has been without International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards, as 14 reactors were put under the India Specific Safeguards Agreement by the end of 2014. Yet, India has made more of a concerted effort and established a new and comprehensive safeguards agreement with the IAEA, along with an Additional Protocol.[36] Therefore, as a "norm shaper," India has stayed true to its values of promoting nuclear non-proliferation, so that the international community takes this into account in its request to be a member of the NSG.

By default, if India were to be accepted into the NSG, it would have influenced the attitudes and long-term preferences of the participating governments, as full membership requires consensus. India would also be the first country to enter the organization without signing the NPT. Thus, it would be simultaneously be a "norm-setter," which is leading by example, and "norm shaper." One can assume that other countries that have not signed the NPT would rethink the idea of joining the NSG as a result of India's inclusion. NSG Ambassador Grossi has hinted at opening the circle of the NSG through a broader application for non-NPT states with, "I would say that we need to find a formula that is applicable to all. It would not be sustainable for us to go for a tailor made solution that is India-specific. The group may wish to go for that, but my diplomatic intuition is we need a broader solution that is applicable

to all."[37] Because India has continuously made efforts to show to the NSG that it longs to be a cooperative player in this forum, other representatives of the organization have taken heed to consider India as a full member.

On an abstract level, India has propelled its values or norms through soft power by the force of persuasion. On a more specific level, Indian diplomats are the individuals or agents that carry out the norm shaping in the hopes for the "like minded" states of the NSG to accept its request. Dinshaw Mistry's *Diplomacy, Domestic Politics, and the U.S.-India Nuclear Agreement* emphasizes how Indian diplomats have worked assiduously to promote the goals of India in joining the forum since October 2005. He writes, "India's government discussed the issue with NSG countries such as France, Russia, Australia, and Japan both before and after it announced its separation plan [civilian and nuclear reactors], while U.S. negotiators first explained the nuclear agreement to the NSG in October 2005."[38] Because the NSG works through a consensus vote to induct new members, India must gain the acceptance of all current participating governments of the organization. In an *Economic Times* article, an expert who did not wish to be named stated, "India's nonproliferation track record has been exemplary. But India does not want to apply for the membership until it is certain of support from all NSG members."[39] Chaudhury also writes that senior government officials confirmed with *The Economic Times* that joining the NSG is one of the chief foreign policy responsibilities for the Modi government. Therefore, in the past seven years, Indian officials have reached out to multiple countries through negotiations in the hopes of altering their posture on what signifies a "NSG member."

III. Evidence

Indian strategic analyst, Raja Mohan, asserted that India would utilize this forum to signal its willingness to collaborate with other countries toward global nuclear nonproliferation aspiration.[40] India, a non-signatory to the NPT, would like to be a member of the NSG to influence the organization's deliberations as a "norm shaper." India, with a benign image, has engaged with countries on a bilateral level with nuclear trade, but it seeks to cooperate on an international scale through soft power and shaping norms in the NSG. For an extended period of time, countries such as the United States did not push for India's application to be a part of the NSG. Yet, through lobbying for NSG membership, India has gained support from the United States, France, Germany, Russia, Austria, and the United Kingdom for its inclusion.[41] Many of these countries have backed India's hope to join the NSG due to its commitment of nuclear non- proliferation and rapidly growing civilian nuclear industry. Furthermore, India's movement to join the NSG and shape the norms of the organization led to the 2011 paper titled "Food for Thought," which was given to all 48 NSG-participating governments. India has successfully collaborated with key partners such as the United States to help recruit more NSG participating governments to join its request to be a full member. This paper

was created by the United States on the issue of India's inclusion to the NSG as President Obama declared that the United States would stand by India's membership. Interestingly, the "Food for Thought" paper left out the condition that future members of the NSG have to NPT signatories.[42] Since then, many countries have spoken out in support of India's membership to the NSG, including Russia, the United Kingdom and France.

IV. Legitimacy: Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Regime

One should take into consideration of the questionable legitimacy of both the NSG and NPT when analyzing India's decisions. Some argue that India should be a signatory to the NPT and commit to the principles of the treaty before being considered as a full member of the NSG. However, in Matthew Fuhrmann's *Taking a Walk on the Supply Side: The Determinants of Civilian Nuclear Cooperation*, he finds that being a member of the NSG has a statistically significant, positive effect on the outcome of nuclear cooperation, whereas the NPT has a negative effect.[43] This goes against the grain of conventional wisdom of the normative expectations from the NPT; as written in Article IV of the NPT, those who sign the treaty who are "in a position to do so shall also co-operate in contributing alone or together with other States or international organizations to the further development of the applications of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, especially in the territories of non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty, with due consideration for the needs of the developing world."[44] He also discovers that being a member of the NPT does not mean that states' chances of gaining nuclear technology are increased.[45] Therefore, as India works to be a more interactive player in international politics that emphasizes cooperation, joining the NSG appears as the reasonable path to assert its global influence.

In Saira Bano's *India's NSG Membership and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime,* she asserts, "India has opposed any condition for its membership and claims that it already fulfills the criteria under the November India-US joint statement."[46] Yet, she argues that allowing non-NPT countries into the NSG would discredit the 189 nations that are signatories to the NPT. She also states that it may motivate non-nuclear weapon states that have signed the NPT to contemplate their choice of nuclear weapons.[47] I argue that India views the NSG as legitimate and credible, whereas with the NPT, they view it as an unfair regime. In Arka Biswas' *India's NSG Membership: Examining the Relationship Between NPT and the NSG,* he argues that NPT-membership should not be a significant indicator in the process of India's entry into the organization. He writes, "NPT-membership neither indicates reliably the commitment of a nation to the goal of nuclear non-proliferation—a necessity for the NSG—nor can it restrict NSG's expansion as the Group since its inception was meant to go beyond the NPT."[48] India's traditional opinion of the NPT is that the five countries, India, France, United Kingdom, China, and Russia, should have to denuclearize or conversely, all countries should have equal rights to

have nuclear weapons. Another reason the NPT is lacking in legitimacy in New Delhi's eyes is the slow pace in which nuclear weapon states are handling disarmament, which are underlined in Article VI of the NPT. To further this point, the External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee of India stated, "If India did not sign the NPT, it is not because of its lack of commitment for nonproliferation, but because we consider NPT as a flawed treaty and it did not recognize the need for universal, non-discriminatory verification and treatment."[49] Similar to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Organization, India will not join the NPT because it is essentially a move that is marked by "entry into force," which explains India's rejection of both treaties.[50] Essentially, India has chosen to openly promote its norms and opinion of the lack of legitimacy of the NPT, which has thus far, worked in its favor toward NSG members. Through soft power, India has pushed NSG members to take a notice of its valiant efforts in promoting nuclear nonproliferation and think more closely about India's ability to serve in the organization.

Conclusion

For the Nuclear Supplier Group to retain its credibility and sustain nuclear nonproliferation, it must consider NPT-independent outliers such as India. The dominant theory explanations of financial expansion and presenting itself as a competitor in international nuclear trade are not the primary reasons India aspires to be a member of the NSG. Rather, India is utilizing soft power by asserting itself as an effective player in the international arena and influencing other countries' long-standing positions and preferences on membership criteria for the NSG. For NPT outliers such as India to potentially be accepted into the NSG could serve as an opportunity for the organization because it would reinforce the common goal of nuclear nonproliferation. Since 2008, India, through the agents of Indian diplomats, has been steadfast in upholding its values and ambition to join the organization, while maintaining that it will not sign the NPT. This, in effect, has shaped the norms of the NSG and its current participating governments, as India's application to be on the NSG is now on the special agenda for the next plenary session. Although the road may be long and a successful outcome may not come to fruition, India has successfully wielded international influence by convincing and collaborating with countries such as the United States, Russia, Japan, and the United Kingdom to pledge their support of India's aspiration in joining the NSG. While India does not fit into the mold of what a future member of the NSG appears to be based on the current guidelines of the NSG, it has, nonetheless, influenced the participating governments to consider it as a potential co-operator through the force of soft power.

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Vladimir Putin's Hegemony:
From Passive Revolution to Caesarism

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Abstract

This article presents a theoretical analysis of Vladimir Putin's regime from the perspective of Antonio Gramsci's conception of hegemony. Application of Gramsci's terms "passive revolution" and "Caesarsim" to post-Soviet Russia explain the dynamics of political transition from Mikhail Gorbachev's and Boris Yeltsin's democratizing attempts to the restoration of authoritarian system under Putin. In contrast to the political crisis of the 1990s, which led to imbalance between the state and civil society, Putin's Caesarist leadership has created equilibrium of political forces and "managed" popular consent. Putin's manufacture of public consent is based on two elements of Gramscian hegemony—mediating institutions and ideology—that play an important role in the state-civil society nexus. Such institutional and ideological hegemony legitimize Putin's authority and prevent regime from its collapse.

Introduction

How does Vladimir Putin's political system develop and function? This question has been raised by many scholars in light of Russia's recent redux on the international agenda. The Euromaidan revolution in Kiev in February 2014, as a result of which the pro-Russian government was overthrown, led to Russia's annexation of Crimea and continuing military conflict in Eastern Ukraine. This new "frozen conflict" challenges the European security system. Now Russia also plays an important role in the Middle East, supporting the Assad regime and fighting with terrorists of the Islamic State in Syria. Taking into account that Russia's expansionist foreign policy is accompanied by ideological discourse of anti-Americanism, nationalism, and anti-liberalism, some experts and politicians have been talking about the New Cold War, comparing Putin's Russia with the Soviet Union 2.0. There are many definitions of the Putin regime: "kleptokracy,"[1] "competitive authoritarianism,"[2] "plebiscitarian patrimonialism,"[3] "managed pluralism,"[4] and "patronal presidential system."[5] Some analysts are talking about uniqueness of the modern Russian regime defining it as "Putinism."[6] All of these concepts emphasize that Putin's political system is not a classical form of dictatorship, authoritarianism or totalitarianism, but it is a hybrid regime combining democratic elements with authoritarianism, informal and formal institutions, conservative ideology and

pragmatism, imperial ambitions and the nation-state building, market economy and oligarchy.

Before these theoretical debates have been actualized, in 2000, when Vladimir Putin just became Russian president for his first term, Gleb Pavlovsky, an influential political adviser to Putin from the late 1999 to 2011, described the rising regime not as a dictatorship, but as a type of Gramsci's hegemony. Pavlovsky notes: "This is obviously not a 'dictatorship' of any kind [. . .] but something like 'hegemony' that Gramsci spoke of: the environment of new facts, catchphrases and doubtless advantages that permits everything."[7] At the time, experts did not pay attention to Pavlovsky's description, but today it seems to be the most accurate characteristics of Putinism. This article presents a theoretical analysis of the Putin regime from the perspective of Antonio Gramsci's conception of hegemony that allows us to explain the political transition from Mikhail Gorbachev's and Boris Yeltsin's democratizing attempts to the restoration of authoritarian system under Putin.

In his notebooks, written between 1929 and 1935 in the Italian fascist prison, Antonio Gramsci puts forward the concept of the "integral" or "dual" state, which consists of hegemony (consent) and domination (coercion, force, and violence). He understands hegemony as a state's manufacture of civil society and creation of public consent; domination is interpreted as the state bureaucratic and coercive apparatuses that "legally enforces discipline on those groups who do not 'consent' either actively or passively."[8] In the integral state hegemony carries out not only through ideology but also "works primarily by inserting the subordinate class into the key institutions and structures which support the power and social authority of the dominant order."[9] In Gramsci, the function of ideology is to establish the "intellectual and moral leadership" of the dominant political class, whereas institutions help the ruling class to manage and "educate" civil society and the public consent through an "assemble of private organisms" or "hegemonic apparatuses," including schools, churches, civil organizations, and the media. Hegemony therefore creates the consent of the subordinate groups that is engineered through the exercise of ideological and institutional leadership of the dominant class.

It should be noted that Gramsci distinguishes two different ways of hegemony-consent formation. The first way is via transformism or "passive revolution" when the dominant class secures its hegemony by exclusion of active and antagonistic groups from their participation in political life. This "bastard form of hegemony" obtains "passive" or "tacit" consensus established by 'a system of absorption and neutralization of their [masses'] interests in such a way as to prevent them from opposing those of the hegemonic class."[10] On the contrary, the successful form of hegemony is expansive hegemony based on "active" or "direct" consensus, "resulting from the genuine adaptation of the interests of the popular classes by the hegemonic class, which give rise to the creation of a genuine 'national-popular will.'"[11] Thus, whereas the former type of hegemony is created via authoritarian top-down control over civil society, the latter is formed via democratic process.

This article discusses the origin and development of Putin's top-down hegemony that was formed as the result of the "passive revolution" of the 1990s and the establishment of Caesarist leadership in the 2000s. The first two parts of the article present comparative analysis of passive revolution in Italy and post-Soviet Russia's transition, the failure of possible democratic transformation in both cases, and the restoration of authoritarian "top-down" hegemony—Mussolini's fascism in Italy and Putinism in Russia. The last two parts of the article emphasize two main functions of Gramsci's hegemony—institutional and ideological. In terms of institutional hegemony, the part three analyzes the mechanisms of formation and function of such mediating institutions as the All Russia People's Front (Obscherossiiskii Narodnyi Front), existing in parallel with Putin's "vertical of power." The fourth part of the article shows how Putin's ideological hegemony is brought about through the creation of "passive" or "managed" consent under the discourses of stability, national statehood and situation of emergency. I focus on the mechanisms of ideological hegemony, including the influence of pro-Putin "organic intellectuals," the legislation against independent NGOs, role of mass media propaganda in the formation of public consent. The article concludes that both institutional and ideological hegemonies help Putin to manufacture and manipulate civil society, keeping it out of politics and possible democratic transformation.

Passive Revolution

Post-Risorgimento Italy. In the Prison Notebooks, Gramsci introduces the concept of "passive revolution" for the analysis of the Risorgimento, the process of unification of Italy until 1861, and the Transformismo (between 1861 and 1922), the period of corrupted government coalitions and inter-elite collaboration in united Italy. The result of the passive revolution in Italy, according to Gramsci, was the establishment of the fascist regime of Benito Mussolini in 1922. During and after the Risorgimento, the Moderates (the party of bourgeoisie and rural nobility led by Camillo Cavour) established a hegemony in the Italian political life and limited the influence of the republican Action Party (led by Giuseppe Mazzini and then by Giuseppe Garibaldi) As a result, "individual political figures formed by the democratic opposition parties are incorporated individually into the conservative-moderate political class."[12]

Therefore, as Gramsci argues, by the formation of "spontaneous" consent of the "private" and "molecular" interests of liberal elites, the Moderate Party did not allow the Risorgimento to transform into mass revolution which could form people's "organic" and "active" consent. So, in Gramsci's view, the Moderates limited the revolutionary opportunities of the Risorgimento and transformed it into "a revolution without revolution," a "revolution-restoration," or a "passive revolution." As Gramsci argues, in contrast to the developed Western countries (France, England, the United States): "Italy had never really

experienced a bourgeois, democratic revolution."[13] The Italian bourgeoisie had never represented and protected the national interests and had not developed a modern nation-state akin to the more-progressive West.

By examining Gramsci's description of the Italian passive revolution, one can define its most important features. The main principle of this type of revolution is the exclusion of the people from real participation in political life, the so-called "depoliticisation of politics."[14] The lack of the radical-popular "Jacobin moment" does not completely destroy the ancien régime state, suppressing the development of a politically active bourgeoisie, a strong civil society and a parliamentary tradition. It creates the "crisis of authority," which includes a breakdown in the relation between state and society, a crisis of hegemony, and crisis of the state itself. The legitimacy and hegemony of the new order is based on "passive" civil consent rather than on self-governance and a general will. Due to the weakness of the bourgeois hegemonic project, the state bureaucratic apparatus becomes a legal force of domination-coercion formed by compromise between the new bourgeoisie and the old feudal aristocracy, both desiring to protect their narrow "economic-corporate" interests.[15]

"Passive Revolution" in post-Soviet Russia. The Gramsci's conception of "passive revolution" allows some scholars to apply it to the analysis of the post-Soviet Russia's transition. The authors emphasize Mikhail Gorbachev's partial reforms, which did not achieve compromise for the ruling class and, on the contrary, "initiated a struggle between various fractions of the nomenklatura itself over the spoils of privatization."[16] Despite the proclamations of glasnost and "revolutionary" perestroika, Gorbachev stimulated social engagement in reform without challenging the vanguard role of the Communist Party. During the 1989 elections to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, one-third of the seats were reserved for social organizations which did not compete with the Party.[17] Relying on existing Soviet institutions (the Party leadership, the system of soviets, Politburo), Gorbachev never based his leadership on a popular consent. Thus in the perestroika time, civil society already became an instrument of state manipulation and did not have real political leverages.[18] In contrast to Gorbachev, Yeltsin was a leader of Russian democratic mass mobilization challenging the Party leadership. However, after the Soviet collapse in 1991, the pro-Yeltsin liberal opposition gained control of former Soviet institutions by excluding public participation from them, mirroring the work of Cavour's Moderates after the Risorgimento.[19]

In Russia's passive revolution new "democrats" were formed by old Soviet apparatchiks. According to Olga Kryshtanovskaya's research, 77% of the new political elite and 41% of the business elite came from the Soviet nomenklatura.[20] These elite were interested in the preservation of the status quo. The so-called "democratic" winning coalition formed around Yeltsin at the beginning of the 1990s was produced by a "negative consensus" of anti-Communist liberals and rent-seekers from different business groups. These people were not interested in building open political competition because they did not want to lose power. Anatoly Sobchak, then mayor of St. Petersburg under whom

Putin worked as the head of the Committee for External Relations, noted: "We are in power; that is democracy."[21] Even after the failure of the August 1991 Communist coup, Yeltsin abolished elections in most Russian regions. He also combined the two posts of president and prime minister along with attaining extraordinary power to release presidential decrees. Yeltsin's victory over Parliament in October 1993 additionally proved that the conflict between elite groups was based on the principle "winner takes all." The 1993 Russian Constitution legitimized this victory, maximizing presidential powers and limiting the parliamentary checks and balances.[22]

In Russia of the 1990s, "the centralization of the state has been mirrored by the fragmentation of civil society," [23] similar to Italy during the Transformismo, Yeltsin's "negative" consent allowed elite groups to win from "shock therapy" and "insider privatization," which caused the distribution of energy resources and raw materials among new oligarchs and former Soviet apparatchiks. On the contrary, the vast majority of the Russian people faced a hostile socio-economic environment. As a result of hyperinflation in the first half of the 1990s, GDP contracted by 34%, average wages dropped by more than half (sentence phrasing) and the unemployment rate reached 20%. The state social benefits, including education, housing, health and child-care, were dissolving. Thirty-six percent of Russians found themselves below the poverty line.[24] Moreover, "insider privatization" increased the role of corruption and the high degree of criminalization of the Russian economy. According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, at the beginning of the 2000s, Russia's "shadow economy" exceeded 40% of GDP.[25]

Being actively involved into insider privatization and redistribution of the former Soviet property, the Yeltsin weak state was disconnected with society. Despite the state legal regulations of NGOs (the Law on Public Associations, the Law on Noncommercial Organizations, and the Law on Philanthropic Activities and Organizations), in practice, the federal civil legislation was confused with the regional laws and was not regulated by the Ministry of Justice.[26] On the other hand, Russian people ignored civil activity due to the mistrust of former communist organizations, the persistence of friendship networks, and the disappointment with socio-economic crisis of post-communism.[27] Since the state's "over-withdrawal" from the social sphere, Russian citizens participated in personalized informal networks, including friend and familial relations, which allowed them to survive during ongoing economic hardship.[28] Under such conditions, both "top-down" hegemony with "passive" civil consent and "expansive" hegemony, based on active top-down consent and popular will, were impossible to establish.

Both "passive revolutions" in Italy (1861–1922) and in Russia (1991–1999) led to the breakdown of hegemony, creating imbalance between the state and civil society. In both cases the ruling elite pursued narrow economic interests, hiding behind slogans of democracy and freedom. The state was in the "organic" crisis of authority functioning with weak and fragile popular consent. In such a situation, following Gramsci's logic, the balance between the

state and civil society could be restored only by the emergence of a "third force" form outside—either via social revolution or the appearance of a Caesarist personal power. In both cases, the latter alternative was victorious and led to the appearance of authoritarian regimes—Mussolini's fascism in Italy and Putinism in Russia.[29]

From "Passive Revolution" to Caesarism

Fascism as Reactionary Caesarism. The Gramscian approach allows us to find some parallels between the ascent of Putin's system and the victory of Benito Mussolini's fascism. Regarding the analysis of the Italian fascist political regime, Gramsci uses the term "reactionary Caesarism." In contrast to "progressive Caesarism," which could make produce qualitative changes and complete revolution, "reactionary Caesarism" fills the power vacuum and establishes equilibrium of political forces without reforming weak institutions and reordering social relations. Consequently, the fascist Caesarism continued Italy's passive revolution, "becoming a machine for the preservation of the status quo rather than a mainspring for forward movement."[30]

For Gramsci, Italian fascism represents not only a coercive apparatus, but also the combination of domination (coercion, police) and hegemony (popular consent, intellectual, and moral leadership). Therefore, the fascist organization of civil mediating institutions (via party coalitions, trade unions, sport clubs, veteran, and youth organizations) played an important role in the manufacture of consent, which always existed under the constant threat of force.[31] The fascist hegemony in civil society legitimized the use of force due to the fascist consent that was manipulated by the concept of emergency. As Gramsci points out, there existed in fascist Italy: "physical violence and police persecution are utilized systematically, above all in the countryside, to strike terror and preserve a situation of emergency."[32] He also emphasizes that "fascism ha[d] actually created a permanently revolutionary situation" and had only attenuated, but had never solved the post-war Italian crisis.[33] According to Gramsci, the "preservation" of the situation of emergency gives unlimited personal power to Mussolini, putting him above the law and existing political institutions (the Crown, parliament, political parties), consolidating different political forces. At this point, Gramsci's Caesarist power draws parallels with Carl Schmitt's famous statement that the "sovereign is he who decides on the exception."[34] For Gramsci, Mussolini's regime carried out the management of the "organic" crisis developed by the "passive revolution" rather than the democratic reformation of the collapsing system.

Putinism as a Reactionary Caesarism. From Gramsci's perspective, the appearance of Putin's Caesarist regime can also be documented as the aftermath of Russia's passive revolution of the 1990s, which did not create a transition from a "spontaneous" consensus of elites to an "active" civil consent. By the end of the Yeltsin's second presidential term, the post-Soviet "organic" crisis was not overcome, but instead expanded in terms of greater development

of weak institutions, including state capacity and law practices, fragmentation of the elite, and a low degree of mass support for the government.[35] Putin established "managed" and "imposed" consensus both among the elites and within Russian society via his personal leadership and manual vertical of power, a combination of formal institutions with informal networks. From the Gramscian perspective, Putin installed the balance between hegemony (popular consent) and domination (state coercive apparatus).

In Adam Pszeworski's terms, Putin's "authoritarian equilibrium" keeps the Gramscian balance between consent (civil society) and force (coercion), in which "institutions function under the shadow of violence."[36] According to Przeworski, Putin creates the Gramscian equilibrium not only in order to control civil society existed outside the state apparatus, but also to gain autonomy from the state bureaucracy and repressive forces including the Federal Security Service (the former KGB). Having popular support, Putin, as a KGB delegate in the Kremlin, is free from the influence of security services and bureaucratic apparatus. Thus, playing force and consent against each other, Putin increased his personal power and autonomy with regard to both—state apparatus and civil society.[37]

This equilibrium allows Putin to establish his regime without transforming of the old system of state-society relations. According to Owen Worth, "the top-down enforcement of policy under Putin can only be an indication of the reliance of elements of Caesarism in an effort to consolidate the process of passive revolution."[38] Putin created "imposed consensus" among elites through the selective application of violence vis-à-vis regime's rivals, giving loyal oligarchs and bureaucrats a tremendous rent-seeking opportunity. In this system corruption became a mechanism for both the enrichment of supporters and punishment of the disloyal actors.[39]

As a result, unlike Yeltsin, during whose presidency the struggle for hegemony was possible due to the confrontations between different oligarchic groups, regional leaders, and political opponents—communists, conservatives, and liberals, Putin created what Gramsci calls "equilibrium of forces." He formed the political coalition with a new ruling elite, "siloviki," Putin's friends from St. Petersburg affiliated with the former KGB and other security services. This equilibrium of elites is consolidated by Putin's "vertical of power," which works as a telephone system, transmitting signals from the Kremlin to the regions without accepting bottom-up initiatives.[40]

Institutional Hegemony

Since Putin's power vertical is a manually-operated system exploiting personal networks and loyalty to Putin, it does not have strong institutional mechanisms of governance. Under Putin, all existing political institutions (the State Duma, the Federation Council, governors, elections, etc.) have been weakened, but the presidential power and security services became stronger. However, in order to legitimize his Caesarist leadership, Putin relies on the

connection between the state and society created by the mediating institutions, such as the Public Chamber, the Presidential Council for Civil Society and Human Rights, the All Russia People's Front. These mediators help Putin to increase political hegemony both within the state apparatus and within society. As Alfred B. Evans notes, "Putin seeks a hegemonic rather than a monopolistic centralization of power, so that many groups and institutions retain token independence while remaining formally outside the vertical executive hierarchy of the state, causing their support for the administrative structures headed by Putin."[41]

According to Gramsci, the mediating institutions are "hegemonic apparatuses" or assemble of "private" organizations, including schools, churches, civil and intellectual groups, and the media. Their goal is to organize society in creating support for the political hegemony of the dominant class. In Gramsci's terms, Putin's hegemony is built as a result of passive revolution of the 1990s, and therefore it based on top-down mediating institutions that also can be defined as "para-constitutional practices" and "substitutes" existing inside and outside of the state apparatus.

Partially following the Gramscian concept of the integral state, Richard Sakwa characterizes Putin's system as a dual state which is comprised of the normative state—including formal constitutional order and the institutionalized law-governed system—and the administrative regime formed by para-constitutional political practices, including authoritarian actions and personalized leadership.[42] Here, a normative state can be connected with Gramsci's domination or state apparatus, whereas an administrative state (which Sakwa also defines as "prerogative state") represents the Gramscian hegemony—the state political actions outside governed institutions. The para-constitutional bodies or hegemonic institutions in Putin's vertical of power include, for example, the State Council, which unites the regional governors and operates in parallel with the Federation Council, and the Public Chamber, diminishing the role of the State Duma in terms of law and civil initiatives and imitating the connection between the state and society.

The mediating institutions can also be analyzed as "substitutes" formed by the informal and personal connections, diminishing the role of existing state institutions.[43] According to Nikolai Petrov, the substitutes play an important role in the maintenance of Putin's vertical of power. For example, in parallel with regional governors, Putin appointed presidential representatives (polpredy) in seven federal districts that united provinces and republics of the Russian Federation. Since Putin banned the election of the regional governors and began to appoint them, the function of the Federation Council, the upper chamber of the Russian Parliament, was transformed to a nominal procedure of the approval of the Kremlin's law projects. Putin's Security Council and Presidential Administration is also a substitute of the Russian Government. State oil and gas corporations are playing the roles of some economic ministries. The ruling party, United Russia, represents the club of federal and local bureaucrats; it has not been transformed into the

institutionalized political party, formulating political agenda and developing bottom-up initiatives.

United Russia as well as pro-Putin's Youth movement Nashi did not develop into real political institutions like the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) and the Soviet Komsomol youth organization. In contrast with the CPSU, United Russia never transformed to "fully institutionalized ruling party" because Putin has no mechanism to select people for the key positions except personal connection.[44] According to Gleb Pavlovsky, United Russia "has absolutely no independence and cannot act on its own, in contrast to the old CPSU. It cannot fulfill political directives. It needs full instructions, one, two, three, four and five. If three and four are missing, it stops and waits to be told what to do."[45] So Untied Russia has nothing in common with the CPSU and just imitates the function of ruling party.

Due to the weakness of the popular support for United Russia, in May 2011, right before the Duma and presidential elections, Putin created one more substitute, the All Russia People's Front (Obscherossiiskii Narodnyi Front). The Front has united those who generally agree with the government, but are not members of the ruling party. As a result of the 2011 Duma elections, about 80 deputies from the Front were elected. They consist of the parliamentary faction of United Russia, but not all of them join a party. The Front unites different pro-Kremlin organizations, such as "socially oriented" and "government-organized" NGOs, trade unions, youth movements, sport associations, and regional activists. These Front organizations include the Union of Russian Women, the Federation of Independent Trade Unions, the Russian Union of Afghan Veterans, the Union of Pensioners of Russia, the interregional public organization of motorists "Freedom of Choice" and others.

Therefore, the Front became Putin's "collective representative," carrying out different functions of some federal ministries and the Duma, including the law initiatives and collection of civic initiatives, imitating public control over the state bureaucracy on the regional level, protection from state corruption, control over medical services, housing and utilities problems.[46] According to Alexei Makarkin, while the Front plays the role of safe "opposition" in helping to soften the popular anger under control of the authorities, people do not have enough independent representatives in the state apparatus. For the opposition it is much more difficult to achieve a result, and the Front intercepts its agenda. Contrary to opposition, the representatives of People's Front can act as the controllers of the state power and at the same time can be loyal to it, just like in the Committee of People's Control in the Soviet Union.[47]

In 2013 President Putin became a leader of the Front whereas Prime Minister Dmitri Medvedev became a head of the United Russia. In the upcoming parliamentary elections in fall 2016, the Front activists plan to participate both via party lists and single-mandate constituencies. They will not only be nominated by the ruling United Russia, but also by other pro-Kremlin parties such as Rodina, Just Russia, and Patriots of Russia.[48] Putin, as the leader of this non-party identity associated with the Front, has the opportunity to stay

above the existing political forces and represent not only state bureaucracy, but also society as a whole. Thus, it creates the imitation of party pluralism in the Russian Parliament.

All Front's activity is coordinated by the Kremlin. The Front sends all reports to the President's Control Department, which evaluates the implementation of Putin's decrees. The apparatus of the Front is an administration structure, but it functions outside of the state apparatus as a civil movement or civil organization. The Front's Board is headed by Alexei Anisimov, a former deputy head of the Department of Internal Policy, was one of the closest associates of Volodin. In practice, the Front does not make any decisions on behalf of itself, and all its initiatives are claimed in the office of Volodin. In addition, selection of people for the Front is held under strict control of the Presidential Administration.[49]

The Front's control functions seem to create a conflict of interests inside the state apparatus—on one side ministers and regional governments whom the Front controls, and on the other the Presidential Administration attempting to protect and supervise the Front's activities. For example, in 2014–2015, after the Front's investigations, the governors of Chelyabinsk, Volgograd, Bryansk and Sakhalin regions were suspected in corruption and removed from the office.[50] Internal "purges" within the bureaucracy can split the elite, but in this case Putin's personal power and political capital only grows. The Front creates the image of public control over the state bureaucracy in the central and regional levels so that the Front, as a civil institution, exists in a parallel with the state vertical of power. It allows Putin to maintain his imposed consent both in society and in the state administrative system. According to experts, the Front exploits classical Russian archetype: "we have troubles because the king does not know the truth about the life of the people. We must reach out to the king—and then he will accurately judge with justice and restore order."[51]

Thus, the Front's mission incorporates different mediating function. (1) It imitates democratic activity (bottom-up control over the state bureaucracy, participation in the election), neutralizing the threat from civil society and opposition. (2) As a "para-constitutional political practice" the Front legitimizes Putin's authoritarian actions and personalized leadership. (3) As a "substitute" the Front exists in parallel with weak political institutions including the Duma, United Russia, and federal ministries, implementing part of their functions. (4) Finally, the Front helps Putin to maintain the authoritarian equilibrium" between consent and force, and creates Putin's autonomy from both the state apparatus and civil society.

Ideological Hegemony

Putin's institutional hegemony is based on ideological hegemony. Although in his "millennium" article, published in December 1999, Putin emphasized that he is against the restoration of official ideology in Russia, the core elements of his worldview has formed the public discourse. These ideological elements include national greatness of Russia as a country (derzhavnost'), social, political

and economic stability (stabilnost'), "pride in the Fatherland" (patriotism), and a strong Russian state as "the source and guarantor of order" (statism or gosudarstvennost'). According to Putin, civic agreement or solidarity (grazhdanskoe soglasie) and consolidation of Russian society (konsolidatsia obshestva), undermined in the 1990s, should be reestablished on these ideological principles.[52] Under the discourse of stability, the social consensus concerning Putin's legitimacy was established among "losers" of the 1990s. These social groups include those who suffered under Yeltsin's reign—employees of the state bureaucracy and security services, the regional bureaucracy, some of the intelligentsia (teachers, doctors, and scientists), and armies of the unemployed and impoverished pensioners. This constituency formed the so-called "Putin's majority."

Putin's ideology does not provide an opportunity for democratic bottom-up consent but, on the contrary, legitimize the status quo of "passive revolution" of the 1990s and present Putin's power as its legal successor. As Gramsci's work shows, hegemony is "effectively subordinated to passive revolution, as a mere 'mechanism' of its realization," since hegemony provides "the primacy of stability over instability" rather than real social and political transformation.[53] It is no coincidence that Putin frequently argues against radical transformations and revolutions. For instance, in 2001, Putin claimed to finish the revolutionary period of the 1990s: "The past decade has been tumultuous for Russia, it can be said without any exaggeration it was revolutionary. But it's time to firmly say: this cycle is completed; there will be neither revolutions, nor counter-revolutions. The robust and economically reasonable state stability is a good for Russia and its people."[54] While commentating about the post-Soviet "color revolutions" that happened in 2003–2005 in Georgia, Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan, Putin pointed out that the problems in those countries should be solved not via the "introduction of democracy from outside," but "in the framework of the constitution and stability."[55] In December 2011, when the mass street protests against the Duma fraud elections took place in Moscow and other big cities, Putin did not believe that Russian civil society could organize itself against the state. He compared the demonstrations with "experienced and accumulated scheme" of "color revolutions" whose goal is "to destabilize society" from outside.[56]

According to Putin, "real democracy is not created instantly; it cannot be copied from the external model. It is necessary that society has to be ready to use democratic mechanisms."[57] However, the 2011–2012 street protests demonstrated that modern Russian society has the potential for civic and political mobilization, and no lack of social capital, trust or democratic values. But the state does not create the institutional environment for the civil participation in politics.[58]

Since the goal of Putin's discourse of stability is to maintain the existing order without possible modernization and democratization, one can argue that Putin's hegemony exists in the Gramscian "interregnum," "the fact that the old is dying and the new cannot be born,"[59] an "inert" and "empty" time that prevents "the cathartic moment" or real social and political transformation.[60] It

seems that Putinism protects the interregnum of stability—the time between the collapsed Soviet Union and an unfinished transition to modernity. According to Lilia Shevtsova, Putin's interregnum means "an advanced state of decay," or "a time without a trajectory," that does not admit democratic reforms and modernization in the country, increasingly distancing Russia from the West.[61]

In order to maintain this interregnum, Putin's hegemony can exist only under the condition of permanent crisis, or as referred to the unfinished passive revolution and in situation of emergency. In Gramsci there is a distinction between enemy groups unto whom the state has to apply coercion, and allied groups who put up with state-established hegemony-consent.[62] Putin's regime has the same logic of enemy. It is ideologically legitimized by the image of internal enemies (the so-called "fifth column" or "foreign agents") and external enemies (the United Sates, NATO, the Islamic State). Both the state of emergency and the rhetoric of stability prevented the possibility of democratic transformation by means of the 1990s as the revolutionary time, the "color revolutions" on the post-Soviet space, or the Arab Spring. From this perspective, Putin interprets the 2014 revolutionary crisis in Ukraine as an anti-constitutional coup d'état organized by nationalists, neo-Nazis, Russophobes and anti-Semites.[63] According to this logic, Russia as a guarantor of stability represents itself as a protector of Eurasia, Russkii Mir (Russian World), and Novorossiya (New Russia) from possible revolutions and chaos.

Alexander Dugin, one of the pro-Putin's ideologues and a head of International Eurasian Movement, applies the Gramscian approach to emphasize the potential of Putin's Caesarism as a form of counter-hegemony to the global hegemony of the West (Europe and the United States). According to Dugin, "in 'Caesarism,' the main point is not the authoritarian principle of rule, but specifically a delay in the multidimensional installation of the full values of a capitalist system on the Western model."[64] From Dugin's perspective, in order to save its sovereignty, Russia needs to protect its unfinished passive revolution and Putin's Caesarism as a form of authoritarianism.[65] Hence, since Putin's Caesarist regime is not completely integrated into the core of the liberal hegemony, Russian-Eurasian project of 'counter-hegemony' can fight for a multipolar world against the global hegemony of the West. However, Dugin misinterprets Gramsci. Whereas for Dugin counter-hegemony can be established only from the top by Caesarist leadership, for Gramsci it appears as an alternative to top-down hegemony. The Gramsci's alternative hegemony could be created only within the boundaries of civil society and as a public consensus over several ideological discourses ("war of position"). It is obvious that through such misinterpretation, Dugin omits the Gramscian critics of Caesarist regimes as a crucial obstacle for democratic bottom-up development.

In Gramsci's terminology, Dugin belongs to the group of "organic intellectuals" who legitimize the political system via the creation of ideological discourse by playing a mediating role of "educator" between the state and society. According to Marlene Laruelle, during and after the 2014 crisis in

Ukraine, three nationalist discourses on the Novorossiya project have been developed.[66] One group (Natalia Narochnitskaya, Maxim Kalashnikov, Vitaliy Averianov) calls for ethnonationalism, emphasizing the important role of ethnic Russians (Russkie), Russian speakers and the Orthodox Christians in the protection of Donbass from Kiev's fascist junta; the other group (Alexander Dugin and Mikhail Leontiev) argues the restoration of Russian Empire as a large "Eurasia's Russian World" (Russkiy mir Yevrasii), including Southern and Eastern Ukraine, Crimea, and Transnistria; some are proponents of Soviet great power (Alexander Prokhanov, Mikhail Delyagin, Sergei Graziev). All of these "organic intellectuals" are members of the Izborsk Club, a think-tank offering national consensus based on the conservative ideas of Russian nationalism, anti-liberalism, and anti-Americanism. Even before the 2014 Maidan revolution, these ideological principles began to play important roles in responding to the 2011–2012 mass anti-regime political protests and slowing economic development.[67]

The area of law that lies between hegemony and domination represents the other form Gramsci's ideological hegemony because it simultaneously applies coercion and produces particular moral and behavior standards. As Gramsci argues, the law "exercises a collective pressure and obtains objective results in determining customs, ways of thinking and behaving, morals, and so on."[68] So like the state itself the law, working as an "educator," forms ideological hegemony. In this sense, Russian legislation of 2012–2015 has a moralizing hegemonic purpose to promote Russian "traditional values" in opposition to the Western "moral decline." This "moral" legislation includes the so-called "Dima Yakovlev Law" (a ban on the adoption of Russian children by American citizens), antigay law (a ban on propaganda of nontraditional sexual relations), the law against propaganda of separatism, and the law on "foreign agents" and "undesirable organizations."

In evidence of this, the 2012 law on "foreign agents" gives the right to Russian persecutors for inspection of politically active NGOs. According to Human Rights Watch, after the inspection wave in 2014, at least 55 groups received warnings not to violate the law and at least 20 groups received official notices of violation, requiring them to register as "foreign agents." Also, the prosecutor's office and the Ministry of Justice filed 12 administrative cases against NGOs for failure to follow the law and filed against six administrative cases against NGO leaders.[69] By November 2015, the Ministry of Justice's list had 101 "foreign agent" NGOs, including not only "politically active" organizations, but also ecological, cultural, and scientific associations.[70] In February 2016, two independent NGOs, the election monitoring Golos Association and human rights organization Agora, were closed by the Ministry of Justice decision.[71]

The 2015 law goes further, giving prosecutors the power to define foreign civil organizations as "undesirable" and accordingly shut them down. According to Heather McGill, a researcher on Europe and Central Asia at Amnesty International, "while the "foreign agents law" was intended to discredit and

stigmatize NGOs in the eyes of the general public by using Cold War terminology to brand them as spies, the new law was designed to cut off their funding."[72] The "patriotic stop-list" of such organizations has been provided by the Federal Council of the Russian Federation and includes such organizations as the National Endowment for Democracy, George Soros's Open Society Institute, the MacArthur Foundation and the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation.[73]

Finally, it should be noted that the media propaganda in Putin's Russia represents an important mechanism for the implementation of ideological hegemony regarding the formation of public opinion and popular consent. According to Gramsci, "the state, when it wants to undertake an unpopular action, creates adequate public opinion to protest itself; in other words, it organizes and centralizes certain elements within civil society."[74] In such conditions, the mass "is kept happy by means of moralizing sermons, emotional stimuli, messianic myths of an awaited golden age, in which all present contradictions and miseries will be automatically resolved and made well."[75] Through the creation of the "messianic myths" about restoration of the Soviet Empire or Russian leadership in Eurasia, Putin's propaganda forms the "adequate public opinion" that the Kremlin needs for the legitimation of its authoritarian practices.

Since the majority of Russians get information from official television channels, Gleb Pavlovsky suggests that after the 2014 Ukrainian crisis, Russian television plays the role of repressive media by dictating the behavioral position for audience. The political opposition is controlled by the media in the stead of coercive institutions. The key question for this system is how this mass audience can be used against deviating opposition. Pavlovsky believes that it is going to be the re-export of "Novorossiya" methodology (illegal support of pro-Russian separatists in Eastern Ukraine) to Russia. According to him, the role of informal security groups in Russia will be increased and their crime will have a reaction: "God knows who they are! Just like in the 1990s, found dead, they say: "Probably, it is related to its business activities." Such things, as pointed injections, are stronger than prosecutions and arrests like in Stalin's time. It is concentrated fear in ampoules."[76] Pavlovsky's analysis seems to predict the murder of Boris Netsov, one of the influential leaders of Russian liberal opposition, killed at the end of February 2015 in Moscow, on a bridge by the walls of the Kremlin.

The pro-Putin's mass media allows the Kremlin to marginalize the liberal opposition and create virtual "passive majority" alienated from political life (revitalize). However, according to Tatyana Vorozheikina, after the 2014 Ukrainian crisis and Russia's annexation of Crimea, under influence of state propaganda, this "passive majority" was transformed into the active and mobilized supporters of the state. The majority of Russians expressed their personal connection with the state as a real representative of the national interests for the restoration of the Soviet empire.[77] Kirill Rogov defines this transformation from "passive" to "active" popular consent as "authoritarian mobilization." In fact, the Ukrainian crisis increased both interest of Russians in politics (from

30% in 2013 to around 40% in 2014) and popular Putin's support (from less than 65% in 2013 to more than 80% in 2014).[78]

According to the independent Levada Center's polls conducted in April 2015, 89% of Russians support accession of Crimea and 83% of Russians think that the war in the Eastern Ukraine should be continue. Fifty-six percent of respondents think that "the war in Eastern Ukraine is continuing because the leadership of the US and other Western countries needs this conflict to place blame on Russia and restrain Russia's growth and influence in the world and elevate their own ideals."[79] The "Crimean syndrome" combined official state discourse (conservatism, anti-Western nationalism, and state stability) with the growing post-Soviet revanchist expectations of majority of Russians. In Gramsci's terminology, this means that the "Crimean consensus" allows Putin to balance hegemony (popular and civil consent) with domination or coercive practices against regime's enemies.

Conclusion

The Gramscian theoretical framework opens a new perspective for the analysis of the Putin regime in terms of its origin, dynamics, and institutional and ideological functions. Gramsci's approach allows us to see how Putin's Caesarist leadership plays the role of equilibrium both among elite groups and between the state and society. This "equilibrium of forces" allowed Putin to stabilize and preserve the results of the "passive revolution" of the 1990s—inner privatization, informal networks, lawlessness, and state corruption. Therefore, any attempts for modernization and democratization of the system will cause its collapse. In order to maintain the status quo, Putin exercises both the institutional and ideological hegemonies. As has been shown, Putin's institutional hegemony is based on the creation of mediating institutions or substitutes. The analysis of the All Russia People's Front demonstrates that the mediating institutions carry out some functions of the state apparatus (the State Duma, the Presidential Administration and federal ministries), imitate civil control over the state bureaucracy in terms of investigation of the cases of corruption and implementation of Presidential decrees and social programs in the regions. These substitutes have the goal of further isolating civil society and opposition from politics. They also help Putin to maintain the Gramscian equilibrium between consent and force, providing Putin's autonomy from both the state apparatus and civil society.

In terms of ideological hegemony, Putin manipulates popular consent by maintaining the continuous "situation of emergency" via the creation of public discourse pertaining to internal and external threats to the Russian state stability. According to the Kremlin Propaganda, these threats come from Europe and the United States, which support the "color revolutions" of the post-Soviet space, the NATO proliferation to the East, and pro-Western "foreign agents" inside Russia. The protection of stability leads to stagnation, placing Russia in isolation from the developed world and into the Gramscian "interregnum," an

inert time without trajectory, denying possible modernization and democratization. The "Crimean consensus" has reinforced Putin's hegemony by transforming "passive" consent into "active" authoritarian mobilization. As long as Putin's hegemony will be able to manage and "educate" popular consent, the regime will continue to legitimize and exercise its authoritarian practices.

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The Implications of 3D Printing in the Asia Pacific

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When it comes to forecasting the next big scientific breakthrough, there is perhaps no technology more frequently hyped than 3D printing. Investors, scientists, and economists have all proclaimed that 3D printing technology will unlock the "next industrial revolution" by digitizing manufacturing.[1] In his fifth State of the Union address, President Obama proclaimed that 3D printing had the "potential to revolutionize the way we make almost everything."[2] It appears that in terms of technology life cycles, 3D printing is on the cusp of entering a phase of revolutionary growth. Although it is inappropriate to overblow—as some futurists do—the "civilization-changing" effects of 3D printing technology, complacent states that fail to reposition or to assess 3D printing's unintended consequences will find themselves ill-prepared to face the turmoil of the coming century.

While 3D printing will empower potentially hostile non-state actors, the threat to state security is manageable. I contend that states will benefit most from the technology if they are moving toward knowledge economies supported by robust innovation ecosystems, are able to maintain stable political institutions as well as regulatory regimes, and possess advanced intelligence capabilities. In order to make this argument, I first trace the history of the development of 3D printing as a technology and explain its implications for the production of weapons. I will then make some generalizations about its strategic implications before applying them to the Asia Pacific, surveying both the economic and geopolitical landscape of 3D printing in the region. The last section of this paper will then address the central question of how states can position themselves to benefit from 3D printing technology. It is not my goal to deeply study a single application of 3D printing or to focus on a particular technique as these are unpredictable with the pace of change in the industry, rather it is to offer a general survey of the strategic possibilities 3D printing can offer states and non-state actors in the international system.

Toward a 3D Revolution?

Historical Development

The history of 3D printing began in 1981 when Japanese researcher Hideo Kodama watched a demonstration of a device that used light and liquid resin for newspaper printing. It occurred to Kodama that solid objects could be

created by piling up layers of resin and using the same "light-solidification technology," a technique that he demonstrated and wrote about, but did not patent.[3] Based on this concept, inventor Charles Hull patented stereolithography in 1984, an "enabling technology" that turned "computer-aided design (CAD) data" into "highly accurate parts" by using lasers and a liquid photosensitive polymer.[4] In 1986, Hull would go on to found 3D Systems, one of two trailblazing 3D printing companies, which sold the first commercial 3D printing product in 1988 primarily to companies interested in building prototypes.[5]

In 1992, the founders of what is now Stratasys (the other trailblazer) invented "fused deposition modeling" (FDM) as another technique for 3D printing that uses thermoplastic extruded from a nozzle to create a layered object.[6] Stratasys then introduced the first thermoplastic for 3D printing in 1994 and has been developing various other thermoplastics since, with properties ranging from translucence and conductivity to toughness and flammability.[7] Today, most desktop 3D printers employ a form of FDM to produce objects because of its relative compactness and the relative ease of storing and transporting thermoplastic filament. A modified, simpler version of FDM known as Laminated Object Modelling (LOM) was also developed at the University of Utah that uses solid sheets of material which are cut into cross sections using a laser and are then fused to each other.[8]

At around the same time graduate student Carl Deckard, with funding by DARPA, led a team at the University of Texas-Austin to develop Selective Laser Sintering (SLS), a method that used a laser apparatus to shape powdered material into a solid, one layer at a time.[9] Deckard would go on to co-found Desk Top Manufacturing Corporation which commercialized SLS processing although the company would later be acquired by 3D systems in 1999.[10] Swedish company Arcam also developed a very similar method known as Electron Beam Melting (EBM) that substitutes electron beams for lasers and was significant because it could be used with "highly oxygen-reactive metals."[11] Because SLS is a more complex process and requires high-lasers, it is most commonly used when needing to print a "small quantity of objects . . . in high quality materials" in areas such as aerospace and medical devices.[12]

3D printing is sometimes synonymously referred to by its "industrial version"—additive manufacturing—and is used by companies like General Electric to manufacture higher-quality products while lowering production costs.[13] The term additive is also useful to distinguish it from traditional manufacturing which is subtractive in its reliance on cutting excess material or using molds. Two recent major developments in additive manufacturing are of particular significance: direct metal additive manufacturing, which uses titanium and steel alloys, and the development of desktop-scale 3D printers. While one development expands 3D printing's industrial applications the other will "bring the technology to the masses" with the hope that together they will eventually make 3D printing mainstream.[14] Beyond manufacturing, 3D printing has also transformed the field of biotechnology as printers have been adjusted to use cells and other biological material as filament.

Printing in the Present

While the profits and valuations of individual companies in the additive manufacturing business will change with competition there is a clear trend toward "increasing growth and capital investment" in the industry as a whole.[15] With the percentage of manufacturing companies employing 3D printing technology approaching 20%, a "revolution in additive manufacturing" is underway as the "range of printable materials" continues to expand. For consumers, demand for personalization means that 3D printing will enable a "digital fabrication revolution" where access to the means of production is democratized, launching a "do-it-yourself maker movement" that changes how humans relate to objects.[16]

Economically, 3D printing will eventually disrupt the "economies of scale model" of manufacturing and offer an alternative "economies of one" model that gets its competitive advantage from "end-user customization" rather than from decreasing marginal costs.[17] For now 3D printing will be most pervasive in six types of economic environments where there is low-volume production, demand for customization, localized production, highly complex designs, fast-paced and unpredictable business environment, or in areas dominated by small start-ups/entrepreneurs.[18]

Projecting the Future?

3D printing is an emerging industry and has only recently began to produce real, tangible products. Globally 3D printing is set to grow to US$16.2 billion in market value by 2018, a 45.7% growth rate since 2013.[19] As of today, 3D printers have been primarily a commercial product rather than an everyday commodity for consumers, which is also the area where there is the greatest room for growth.[20] It is important to remember that we should not expect everything to be 3D printed. Even as printing technology gets faster and cheaper, the realities of physical production will still limit the technology's application to "relatively high value, low-run, rare or customized products and component[s]."[21] That said, 3D printing will still disrupt the entire manufacturing sector in a way that changes people's "commercial li[ves]"—this will have serious political ramifications, and call into question basic assumptions about how countries collect revenue and the limits of human liberty.[22]

There is also variety of research being done on other 3D printing techniques aimed at accelerating the process, increasing print quality, and cutting production costs. Unlike "layer-by-layer printing," a new approach to additive manufacturing known as Continuous Liquid Interface Production (CLIP) fabricates objects using a "nonstop process" involving oxygen and UV images, increasing printing speed by multiple orders of magnitude without sacrificing accuracy.[23]

Perhaps predictably, researchers are also now attempting to add a fourth dimension to printing technology: time. Instead of being "static and inanimate" like regular objects, products built using "smart material" with 4D

printing techniques will be able to respond to their environments.[24] If such programmable materials are developed for consumer use it would constitute "profound revision of how we think about and interact with the products we live with every day."[25] Such technology may also have more immediate military applications, most particularly self-assembling objects which have a variety of tactical applications for troops on the battlefront.[26]

Weapons Proliferation Implications

Just as 3D printing has democratized design and production, it presents a challenge as a dual-use technology that can be used for legitimate ends as well as for illicit activity. While 3D printing will allow defense companies to build some of the most technically advanced military equipment yet, it will also make military technology accessible to a wider range of actors and make arms proliferation less detectable. National defense organizations are also keenly interested in 3D printing, as it will play a prominent role in reshaping the defense industry and could also change the nature and execution of military operations.

Small Arms and Light Weapons

The ability to produce objects on demand opens up the possibility for weapons manufacturing by individuals, a concern that has garnered significant media attention. Intricate schematics for semiautomatic guns and a host of other weapons have been disseminated online, making it possible for individuals with almost no technical know-how to fabricate them.[27] Though recognizing its benefits, American military and intelligence officials have expressed concern that 3D printing technology will "supplement the proliferation of small arms and light weapons" especially by "small organizations and individuals."[28] The barriers to entry for individuals and groups seeking to obtain weapons and arms have been significantly lowered. However, in the near future, it is unlikely that we will see a widespread increase in the proliferation of regular unregistered guns as they are already relatively cheap and easy to obtain without 3D printing. It is also important to note that the phenomenon of homemade guns is not a new one and that people have historically fashioned guns out of materials as basic as automobile steering wheels.[29] That said, countries with existing severe restrictions on guns and low rates of gun ownership are likely to face a gun proliferation challenge, especially amongst criminal organizations.

More generally, the rise of 3D printed weapons will seriously challenge the existing international regulatory systems that focus on "transfers of conventional weapons" rather than on production or controlling domestic stocks.[30] 3D printers make it possible for actors to the risks of smuggling and stealing weapons by allowing for the single-step production of complex weapons using readily available raw. Aside from the possible mass proliferation of guns, 3D printers could allow non-state actors with access to design files to easily produce "novel weapons" like landmines and IEDs, possibly leading to higher

levels of small arms violence.[31] Websites operated by open-access groups like Defense Distributed (Defcad) will also make it possible for anyone to download or share the blueprints for 3D printed parts used in these weapons.[32] Unlicensed small arms production is likely to be an incessant problem because of the difficulties associated with detection. Governments will likely be forced to focus on combating the armed groups and criminal organizations that produce arms rather than their means of production.

Advanced Military Technology

By manufacturing them as a single piece, 3D printing can make the components of missiles stronger and more reliable and also enhance their capabilities by shaping them in "specific geometries" that are more destructive.[33] By simplifying the supply chain and streamlining the manufacturing process, 3D printing will both cheapen missile production and enable innovation in new areas of their development such as "thermal improvements and [using] lightweight structures."[34] Additionally 3D printing can also allow manufacturers to create complex missile parts from "functionally graded materials" that can enhance their performance in high-temperatures or at high altitudes.[35]

The 3D printing revolution has converged with a similarly disruptive revolution in the proliferation of unmanned systems as lethal drones of "increasing range and sophistication" can now be printed by civilians using crowd-sourced designs.[36] This will no doubt pose a challenge to states as they must deal with the prospect of drones falling into the hands of criminal syndicates, domestic paramilitary groups and terrorists. Already, criminal organizations are using drones as tools to spy and smuggle while reducing "their risk of arrest and apprehension."[37] It would appear that in this regard 3D printing benefits smaller, less militarily-sophisticated actors. Ukraine, with a Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV) fleet comparatively smaller than that of Russia, has utilized special 3D printers to produce, at a significantly cheaper cost, reconnaissance drones that the Ukrainian army has deployed to the battlefront.[38] 3D printing could also enable the mass production of micro air vehicles (MAVs) which are small scale drones with high degrees of "design variability and can be used for warfare, reconnaissance, or scouting purposes.[39]

Weapons of Mass Destruction

The global nonproliferation regime on weapons of mass destruction has been based on assumptions about our ability to detect, prevent, and punish violations of the regime. These assumptions are being challenged by the technological changes that will come with additive manufacturing. Once design files can be accessed, anyone with access to an expensive but easily available 3D printer can "print perfect components" of nuclear weapons without the need for experimentation or time-consuming research.[40] At the same time, 3D printing technology will also make the task of nuclear proliferation detection significantly more challenging. One characteristic that has made nuclear weapons proliferation activity detectable is that the process of development

requires the dedication of "large areas and resources" over the course of a long period of time—a characteristic that may no longer be valid with the advent of 3D printing.[41] This does not mean however that monitoring will be impossible as there are still "special nuclear materials" on the Nuclear Suppliers' Group trigger list that are subject to international controls and cannot yet be 3D printed, fissile material being the most important.[42]

In the longer term, it appears that other types of weapons of mass destruction will also be "printable." "Chemputer" technology currently under development that uses "chemical inks" to create complex chemistry sets and drugs, could easily be adapted to make crude chemical weapons.[43] This is especially threatening because when the technology to print chemical and biological weapons is fully developed it is likely that the weapons will be printed using very "basic elements" that cannot be easily regulated.[44]

There is perhaps no greater existential threat in international politics than the possibility of a belligerent non-state group gaining access to weapons of mass destruction. For states pursuing illicit WMD programs, the advent of 3D printing technology will inevitably accelerate the development of weapons and also make it easier to "give them to non-state actors."[45] But even without the backing of a state, non-state actors may still be able to take advantage of 3D printing technology to develop dangerous weapons programs. As non-state actors develop cyber-espionage capabilities and possibly gain access to advanced weapons designs, 3D printing technology will further "enhance" their prospects of acquiring a WMD.[46]

Other Military Strategy Implications

3D printing technology and the potential for on-demand production will dramatically change the logistics of war-fighting. The United States Department of Defense is actively experimenting with new ways to integrate 3D printing technology to enhance the combat capabilities of American troops. For example, in 2013 the United States Army's Rapid Equipping Force (REF) in Afghanistan used on-site 3D printing to "solve unique equipment problems" for forward-deployed soldiers.[47] For militaries with global reach, 3D printing will also dramatically reduce logistical costs by allowing for on-site printing of military hardware so that bases can resupply without the need for costly supply route access or other shipping expenses.[48] If options are fully explored, 3D printing has the potential to increase the operational effectiveness of militaries and produce savings in terms of defense spending. Some have even speculated that because 3D printing technology completely transforms the assembly process, militaries could possibly "cut out private defense companies altogether" a development that will have serious political and economic ramifications.[49]

A corollary challenge posed by 3D printing is the reverse engineering problem. Using either a 3D scanner or even a series of quality photographs, users can now conveniently reverse engineer objects given the requisite material, software, and printing technology. Using 3D manipulation and existing 3D models, it is even possible to "plausibly reveal hidden areas" on an image and

reconstruct an object's design based on a single photograph.[50] Reverse engineering done using computer-aided design software can be used by a state for commercial or military advantage, and is already frequently being done with things like "military aircraft parts."[51] When it comes to reverse-engineering, 3D printing related technology will mostly disadvantage countries with advanced military technology by cutting into their profits from arms exports while reducing the R&D or investment costs for less advanced countries.

Adapting to 3D Printing in the Asia Pacific

In order to fully understand what the implications of 3D printing technology might be in East Asia, it is important to first look at what countries are currently doing to adapt to this technological breakthrough. In addition to looking into how countries have adjusted and innovated in response to 3D printing, I will also look at what effects the technology might have on their economic futures. At first glance, it appears that by eventually eliminating the need for assembly, the development of 3D printing technology will primarily hurt countries with cheap manufacturing. Indeed, 3D printing will generally make manufacturing more "widely distributed, small-scale, and customizable," all characteristics that threaten low-end manufacturing.[52] However, it may be more helpful to look at the rise of 3D printing not as an in industrial revolution but as a "consumer revolution."[53] Because this sort of revolution fundamentally changes the types of products that are being demanded, success will be determined by whether countries can restructure and attune their markets to changing demands while developing domestic 3D technical capabilities.

An American Advantage?

As the progenitor of 3D printing and additive manufacturing, the United States no doubt has a leg up in terms of technological innovation in this field and a large skilled labor force to benefit from it. As America's workers pick up on the skills related to additive manufacturing technology, it can be expected that there will be a trend toward the "localization and regionalization of manufacturing."[54] This will no doubt benefit the American economy by bringing jobs back to the country and making American workers more competitive on the global stage. Additionally, 3D printing's most direct applications will be in industries like aerospace, healthcare, and the creative industries—sectors where American businesses already lead the world and thus stand to gain more.

Starting at the top for the United States will also carry its disadvantages. Without an international consensus on intellectual property rights, 3D printing will likely make corporate espionage easier and allow countries to "perfectly replicate" American products using stolen digital designs.[55] When examining historic technology life-cycles, it can be observed that it is least advantageous to be either the first or the last to adopt a technology. For "innovators" and "early adopters" this is primarily because they pay the oftentimes high cost of pure basic research, a sunk cost that other players do not have to pay.[56] A

secondary reason is that early adopters are also more likely to grow complacent or to continue production even when a technology is in the decline phase of its developmental life cycle.

Overall, 3D printing will shift economic power toward "leaders in the design and production of printers and in design of products to be printed," a role that the United States—the world's current torchbearer for R&D and innovation—is well positioned to assume.[57] It is important to note however, that for America to continue to benefit from 3D printing technology it must continue to invest in its workforce while maintaining a business ecosystem that rewards and encourages technological innovation.

Can China Change?

By eventually eliminating the need for assembly, the development of 3D printing technology will primarily hurt the economic power of traditional manufacturers that fail to adapt. As part of its economic resurgence in the last three decades, China surpassed the US as the world's largest manufacturer in 2010 and continues to widen its lead (responsible for 23.2% of world manufacturing activity in 2013).[58] With living costs rising, China will no longer be able to rely on its traditional growth model of relying on labor-intensive manufacturing and low value-added exports. Its economy is slowly moving toward the tertiary sector with growth in services set to outpace manufacturing growth by and "contribute more than half of GDP growth by 2017."[59] China's ability to adapt to the opportunities of 3D printing will depend on whether it can continue to shift toward becoming a more knowledge-based economy while increasing domestic consumer demand for 3D printed products.

Chinese firms and the government recognize that China will have to move toward making "products with higher margins and offer[ing] services to complement them" for the country to remain competitive.[60] The Chinese government's recently announced "Made in China 2025" plan is an attempt to "unlock [. . .] China's creativity" and turn China into a leader in "manufacturing innovative technologies" rather than the "world's factory."[61] It is with this in mind that China has pursued policies to develop its additive manufacturing technology and transition toward more advanced manufacturing. China has displayed an "unprecedented" level of interest in 3D printing technology with the government announcing a seven-year investment of 245 million USD into the additive-manufacturing industry.[62] Already, China's entry into the 3D printing business is having the effect of driving down prices on 3D printing machines.[63] As it attempts to become a global leader in additive-manufacturing, China hopes that the technology will help transition China toward information-intensive manufacturing and a more service-based economy. Two limitations that China will face are its relatively scant research and development on 3D printing materials and, secondly, its internet censorship regime which inhibits open communication, a sine qua non for organic, fast-paced innovation in an emerging industry like additive manufacturing.[64]

Militarily, 3D printing technology is sure to aid in China's pursuit of more advanced weaponry. Already, the Chinese military appears to be using 3D printing for titanium part production on its next generation J-15 Flying Shark aircraft.[65] The Chinese Navy has also deployed 3D printers onto its ships and has used 3D printing technology to fix its transmission gears while at sea.[66] It seems that the Chinese government is intent on developing the military applications of 3D printing technology. Doing so could give China a significant edge in its military modernization by allowing the government to accelerate or even skip multiple generations of research and testing.

Jittery Japan?

With a stagnating economy, Japan hopes to reproduces its post-war economic miracle by turning to investments in 3D printing technology. Because of an increasing demand for consumer products and a favorable digital ecosystem, Japan is currently the largest regional market in Asia for 3D printing and is expected to see significant growth."[67] Owing to prolific applications submitted in the early 1980s Japan also has the world's largest share of patent filings in 3D printing technology, although its new patent applications now lag behind the United States and China.[68] In the hopes that 3D printing may erode China's manufacturing advantage, the Japanese government has created a nationwide subsidy scheme for 3D printing entrepreneurs and has also poured $44 million of investment into high-end 3D printing technologies.[69]

Other Regional Players

Throughout the Asia Pacific region, countries are looking toward investment in 3D printing technology in order to maintain the competitiveness of their economies. However, a survey of other regional players in the global 3D printing market reveals that the defense and military technology implications of the 3D printing industry are still unclear.

Although its economy is service-based Singapore has also looked to 3D printing as way to boost its status as a regional technological hub, with the government investing 500 million in the industry in 2013.[70] In September 2015, Singapore opened Southeast Asia's largest 3D printing facility, with one of its targeted sectors being aerospace.[71] In seeking to become a "significant global player" in bio-printing, Singapore also illustrates that 3D printing's economic impacts are limited not only to modernizing the manufacturing sector but also the research industry.[72]

In the southern hemisphere, Australia and New Zealand have expressed similar interest in 3D printing. Hoping to revitalize manufacturing, Australia's Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization created an Additive Manufacturing Network linking research organizations to manufacturers to explore ways in which 3D printing may "speed up and reduce costs in the manufacturing process."[73] Uniquely in the Asia-Pacific region, Australia, with its sizeable mining industry, stands to gain from an increase in demand—and thus prices—for lightweight materials like titanium dioxide resulting

from the boom in 3D printing.[74] Australian military officials have also privately expressed hope that by 2020 soldiers, with the assistance of logistical units, will utilize 3D printing to quickly adapt to changing battlefield scenarios and "turn the battle."[75] In New Zealand the government awarded $12.7 million to researchers working on additive manufacturing through its Product Accelerator program, demonstrating its commitment to connect companies with 3D printing technology.[76] New Zealand businesses, particularly advanced manufacturing companies like Rocket Lab which develops rocket systems, have responded and employed 3D printing not only to cut costs but to optimize product "performance and part reliability."[77]

The Korean Peninsula presents both great potential as well as a challenge to 3D printing. As part of its economic growth strategy, South Korea has announced a ten-year "government-led blueprint" to promote research in the core technologies of 3D printing, with a goal of having 20% of South Koreans using 3D printers by 2020.[78] To align its industry goals, Seoul has created a 3D Printing Industry Development Council consisting of government officials from various relevant ministries while with an initial investment of $2.3 million for launching 3D printing centers.[79] The South Korean Air Force was also among the first militaries to use the technology for repairs, using a high-power German printer and metal powders to repair the turbine on its F-15s.[80] While South Korea seeks to become a global player in the 3D printing field, the more serious consequences of 3D printing however lie north of its border. Access to 3D printing technology would aid the DPRK in the regime's quest to develop reliable "long-range missiles and acquire a space launch capability," although the technology would be most helpful only if complemented by access to sophisticated weapons blueprints.[81] At the same time 3D printing could also diminish North Korea's role as a "no-strings-attached exporter of weapons and technology," eliminating a key source of funding for the regime and its other heinous weapons programs.[82] A North Korea with advanced 3D printing technology will be more dangerous and less predictable, potentially further destabilizing the region.

Geopolitical Challenges of 3D Printing in the Asia Pacific

With this knowledge of how 3D printing works, how it affects other military technology, and how countries have developed the technology, it is possible to make generalizations about the characteristics of states that will benefit most from 3D printing. In general, countries that value education and creativity, that pair innovation ecosystems with political stability and capable intelligence organizations will best respond to the opportunities and challenges posed by 3D printing. Such countries will also avoid "piecemeal" approaches to 3D printing where a few individual agencies and offices separately explore the technology and adopt "disaggregated strategies" for researching and applying it.

Innovation Systems and Economic Development

3D printing technology will favor economies with dynamic innovation systems. By "democratizing the tools of production," 3D printing technology reduces "innovation friction" and benefits countries that have business and regulatory environments that support innovators.[83] To adapt to this shift, countries should focus on growth in their knowledge economies or the economic sectors based on the "production, distribution and use of knowledge and information."[84] In knowledge economies, the focus is placed on building the intellectual capital of the workforce, facilitating communication between researchers, and improving the knowledge management capacity of organizations.[85]

Innovation systems take the resources and breakthroughs of the knowledge economy and couple them with the resources of the commercial economy to create new products or processes that generate wealth for the economy.[86] Robust innovation systems require investments in research and technology, a system of knowledge flows, and sufficient human capital.[87] When combined with a business community with abundant capital, regulatory systems that rewards entrepreneurs, and a culture of collaboration and risk-taking, these innovation systems create a broader ecosystem that is ready to embrace innovation-based manufacturing. On this point, regulators will also play an important role in taking preventative measures to stop intellectual property theft and pirating from stifling innovation in the 3D printing industry.[88]

According to the 2015 edition of the Global Innovation Index, which holistically scores countries on seven "pillars" of innovation: the US, Singapore, South Korea, New Zealand, Australia, and Japan rank among the top twenty while China checks in at number 29, making it the also the most innovative middle-income country.[89] As it stands, the Asia Pacific region—being a relatively innovative part of the world—seems well equipped to take advantage of the 3D printing revolution. However, because innovation can also be unpredictable it is not guaranteed that the most innovative economies today will continue to be the most dynamic tomorrow. Governments must avoid passing regulations that stifle innovation or that disadvantage users of 3D printing and should continue to make investments in human capital through education reform, particularly in STEM fields, and workforce training programs.

Domestic Politics

Domestic political stability is necessary for three key reasons. The first is that under peaceable political conditions, opposing parties tend away from the use of force to affect political outcomes. Because 3D printing has a democratizing effect on the availability of light weapons that favor smaller actors, groups and individuals in countries with weaker state institutions and more instability will benefit. This will exacerbate the problems of states dealing with separatists or other insurgent political groups. Secondly, true technological progress in the area of 3D printing technology will require robust innovation ecosystems,

which must be supported by free markets that in turn require some sense of predictability. It has been well documented that political instability reduces economic growth and that citizens are most likely to engage in "productive market activities" when there are strong, stable governments.[90] Measuring innovation by patent numbers, political stability has the same positive effects on innovative activity, again reflecting the close relationship between effective "political institutions and technology development."[91] Third, political stability is a necessary condition of establishing reliable regulatory regimes both to protect intellectual property and to discourage the use of 3D printing technology for illicit activities. Regulatory systems are needed to assign responsibility when the technology is used for crime and violence—a responsibility that likely must be shared between printer manufacturers, governments, designers, and those using the printers.[92] When it comes to advanced weapons procurement governments will also need to tightly regulate the sale and distribution of "metal 3D printers, sensitive build files, and specialized metal powders" that can easily serve nefarious purposes.[93]

Of the Asia Pacific countries considered, aside from North Korea, China exhibits the highest political instability. While power transitions and political gatherings are orchestrated to present a "facade of stability," China observers have noticed serious cracks in the regime's political structure and have raised the serious possibility of a coming "endgame for Chinese communism."[94] The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has also expressed serious concerns about the threats that the East Turkestan and Tibetan independence movements pose to its political legitimacy and China's security. Scholars within China too appear to be particularly concerned about the public security threat posed by 3D printing technology and have recommended stringent regulations on 3D printers and their software.[95]

An additional political factor that China will have to consider is its relationship to Hong Kong, a special administrative region that has institutional capabilities and experience with international capitalism that the mainland lacks. The ambiguities surrounding the CCP's "one country, two systems" principle have come into conflict with calls for democratization, and if these tensions are left unmanaged social and political stability in Hong Kong will be threatened.[96] Hong Kong with its entrepreneurial spirit, access to risk capital, and business expertise has created a globally recognized innovation system that continues to attract innovators like MIT's pioneering innovation initiative.[97] It comes as no surprise that Hong Kong is also a regional leader in 3D printing innovation, having opened a 3D printing support center to "promote the understanding and adoption of 3D printing technology."[98] While this would appear to be an advantage for China, it also illustrates how domestic political instability can impede a country's ability to take advantage of emerging technologies.

Any unrest in Hong Kong would have the potential to severely cripple Chinese innovation and technological development including in the 3D printing industry. The city is illustrative of how authoritarian political systems like

China's face a unique set of risks when it comes to social stability, which when triggered, may devastate technological and economic development. Additionally, in 2015, six members of a "local radical group" in Hong Kong with pro-independence sympathies were arrested for attempting to make a bomb with the aid of a 3D printer printing plastic components.[99] If such a bomb were to be successfully detonated in China, it could significantly alter the CCP's approach to regulating 3D printing technology. The ramifications would only be amplified if domestic separatist groups in China's western flank were to use 3D printing technology for their political ends.

Intelligence and Counterintelligence

This raises the point of why advanced intelligence capabilities are key. If 3D printing technology is allowed to freely proliferate, it will be near impossible for governments to track printers or prevent contemptible actors from obtaining them. Therefore, states must rely on intelligence networks to combat threats of violence from non-state actors. Traditional military power is ill-equipped to deal with violent non-state actors that resemble networks rather than armies. States must instead turn to their intelligence communities to understand and forecast the "intent, capabilities, and futures" of these groups.[100]

Defensively, governments must also secure sensitive digital build files for 3D printers and protect them from actors attempting to steal them in order to advance their own military objectives. Counterintelligence has historically been used to stop weapons proliferation and has been particularly helpful in allowing states like the US to detect concealed weapons manufacturing and secret "weapons caches."[101] As designs for 3D printed military equipment or the parts of critical infrastructure are stored on computers susceptible to cyber threats, designs not only can be stolen but also altered to fail upon operationalization.[102]

Recommendations and Concluding Thoughts

The security challenges posed by 3D printing should be primarily addressed through bottom-up approaches while avoiding policies that inhibit innovation or blanket bans on technology. It is important to understand 3D printing as an ecosystem rather than as a device. "Fear-based" bans on the technology itself or even on specific 3D printed objects will be futile and "could push 3D printing 'underground' at the expense of important scientific and medical advances."[103] In terms of bottom up solutions, governments should encourage "self-regulation" especially among key stakeholders and act as a "convener and thought leader" rather than an intervener.[104] This is not only cheaper, it also avoids the potential for regulations that have unintended consequences for the development of 3D print technology, which is also a key goal strategic objective. When governments take on an "educate and empower" approach instead of focusing on regulation and prohibition, people will adapt to new technology and norms about acceptable use will eventually develop and act as soft regulators.[105]

For example when it comes to plastic, "undetectable" 3D printed guns, legislation outlawing plastic weapons and ordering websites to take down blueprints is unlikely to actually stop the proliferation of guns.[106] Instead governments need to be innovative themselves and adopt new technologies such as, in this case, new scanners developed by British scientists that use "low-powered radar signals" to detect concealed weapons of any material.[107] Another possibility might be to focus on the regulations of bullets which require more sophisticated material to print.[108] If 3D printing as a process needs to be regulated, it should be done as non-intrusively as possible. A non-intrusive form of regulation might be encoding the 3D printed objects with barcode-like tags so that they can be tracked and identified using a decoding device.[109]

In a sense the answer to the question of who will benefit most from 3D printing technology is open-ended because it is dependent on how actors will adapt. 3D printing can be counted among the most disruptive of technological innovations for the 21st century and the Asia-Pacific region is well-positioned economically to take advantage of the opportunities it offers. At the same time the technology could also a destabilizing effect on the geopolitics of the region. To avoid obsolescence, countries in the Asia-Pacific should invest in cutting-edge research, allow private industry create marketable products from such research, and avoid policies that inhibit innovation or the growth of the 3D printing industry.

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Interview

Harnessing Corporate Power to Fight Climate Change:
A Conversation with Mindy S. Lubber

Interview by Arman Smigielski

Biography

Mindy S. Lubber is the president and a founding board member of Ceres, a non-profit organization that advocates for sustainability through mobilizing networks of investors, companies, and public interest groups. She directs Ceres' Investor Network on Climate Risk: a group of 110 institutional investors that manage around $13 trillion in assets focusing on both the business risks and opportunities of climate change. She was honored by the United Nations and the Foundation for Social change in 2010 as one of the "Worlds Top Leaders of Change," and has also been named one of "The 100 Most Influential People in Corporate Governance by Directorship Magazine. Before joining Ceres, Mindy served as a Regional Administrator for the EPA's New England Regional Office, was the founder, president, and CEO of Green Century Capital Management, and served as president of the National Environmental Law Center. She received her MBA from SUNY Buffalo and her J.D. from Suffolk University.

1. *Where have you found obstacles or resistance for green investment, and why?*

There are two main issues that are holding back further investment into sustainable markets. The first is that the most recent returns, going back six years, have not been particularly strong. The problem with this is that investors typically use the previous returns as a guide for going forward to make future investments. These green companies need to show that they can generate better returns; that solar and wind companies are price competitive. There is a significant amount of interest in investing in these companies, and these companies must scale up to meet the billion-dollar gap that is needed to allow for future sustainability and ensure that their returns are competitive. The second issue is that a massive amount of the investment, out of the trillions needed to build the green energy economy, needs to be made in the developing world. Where much of that money is needed is in developing nations such as India, China, and Indonesia. These rural communities where there is not any electricity right now are where green investment and infrastructure will have the greatest impact. However, investing in rural India is a bigger leap of faith than investing in Milwaukee from an investor's perspective. We [Ceres]

will show them that there are real, profitable, and safe opportunities that exist for investment in the developing world, and for the green economy.

2. *What can governments do to help the transition to the green economy?*

Governments need to create honest market signals. Only if that is done will investors in the market understand the true cost of what they are investing in. Right now fossil fuels are not priced correctly. There is no price on carbon even though it has huge effects on others—it's a large negative externality that society pays for that needs to be checked. We also need to put limits on energies that have had huge negative effects on societies. Furthermore, the government is impeding progress toward a green economy through its massive fossil fuel subsidies that have lasted for decades. There is a need for public policies because we need more movement toward the green sector that the government can help with. If the government passes the right policies it can help. The Department of Energy should increase research and development, and price carbon correctly.

3. *What is the responsibility of corporations when dealing with climate change?*

Their responsibility is to look at what can do to build a strong economy. Right now, if climate change continues, we are heading into an economy similar to the subprime investment issue. They should act because climate volatility harms them. For example, as an agricultural company, it will become even more difficult to foresee crop yields for the upcoming year, since the climate will continue to become less and less predictable. The economic arguments and implications are so severe that these corporations have a duty to act on climate change and prevent further economic damages. Shareholders also have a responsibility to protect the value of their company; if global warming will harm their value, they should act on it and take measures to protect their companies' value. The financial community is also worried about the implications of climate change and how it will affect them sector by sector; climate change has a fundamental effect on the well-being of the capital market. Corporations are impacted by climate change, and once they see how they are being impacted, it will incentivize them to push for changes.

4. *How have the Paris Agreements impacted green investment?*

The Paris talks will have a significant impact, but they have not done so yet. No connective tissue has developed and there is not the international infrastructure to facilitate this massive change. World leaders have said that we will stop at a two-degree change, but it is still very early in the process. Once countries start enacting policies and legislation to combat climate, we will hopefully see this massive decrease in emissions. Developing a non-fossil fuel economy, even though it will be a very harsh transition, is necessary. We need to phase out fossil fuels and phase in renewable energy. There has been a radical decrease in coal, a great amount of change in the oil sector, and billions of

dollars pulled out of tar sands. We are all working very hard to see through this change toward the new economy.

5. *What key changes do you anticipate in international frameworks regarding climate change in the future?*

The frameworks probably will not change. Now that there is a strong international framework in place after the Paris deals, our job is to go ahead and make sure that it gets done. We need to work with it, integrate ourselves with it, and make it a reality.

Photographic Exploration

China Emerges

Alexa Reilly, *Photo Editor*

From the refugee crisis to economic struggles to terrorist attacks, this past year has been filled with events that have tested the strength and resolve of individuals, states, and organizations around the world. Alongside all of this conflict, we have seen the rise of many actors. With the power to influence ideas and interactions between people evermore concentrated in the hands of a few key players in our globalized society, identifying and coming to understand these actors are both interesting and essential tasks. While the actors take several forms, rising states remain some of the biggest players in the international arena and no modern story of emerging powers would be complete without one nation in particular: China. With ever-growing economic power and political influence, China has long been recognized as a potential superpower of the 21st century. In 2015, China made headlines multiple times, most notably by building islands in the South China Sea and by choosing to devalue its currency. The following photo series, taken by a Western Kentucky University student and Chinese Language Flagship Scholar Paul Francis Wilson, offers a glance at this rising power. Spanning ancient culture and modern education and media, the shots show a country rooted in tradition yet rapidly expanding and shaping today's world. In addition to photos of mainland China, images of Taiwan, whose recognition of sovereignty on a world stage is enduringly controversial, are presented. Looking at these images, we can ponder how China will transform in the coming year and what impact it will have on the world in 2016 and beyond.

Paul Francis Wilson, Western Kentucky University

Wall carving at Yiheyuan, Beijing. Construction of Yiheyuan, or the Summer Palace, was first completed in the 1700s, but parts have been destroyed and rebuilt many times over the years. Beijing, China.

Paul Francis Wilson, Western Kentucky University

Empty classroom at Beijing No.80 High School. A typical Chinese education includes 9 years compulsory school and 3 years high school. Beijing, China.

China's flag waves over the Great Wall in BaDaLing. Beijing, China.

Paul Francis Wilson, Western Kentucky University

Crowds fill the Temple of Earth's pathways during a Spring Festival (Chinese New Year) temple fair in Beijing, China. The Spring Festival starts on the first day of the first lunar month each year. Beijing, China.

Paul Francis Wilson, Western Kentucky University

Houses in the old town of WuZhen rest on the water, a little Venice in China. WuZhen, China.

Paul Francis Wilson, Western Kentucky University

Buddhists pray before a replica of the Buddha. Buddhism is the largest religion in Taiwan. Taipei, Taiwan.

Tsai Ying-Wen, after recently being elected as president of the island state, pays a visit to her supporters in eastern Taiwan. Tsai's term will begin in May 2016. Taipei, Taiwan.

Editorials

The New Nativist Backlash:
Conditions Causing a Rise of Radical Right Wing Political Parties in Europe

Nandita Baloo, *Tufts University Class of 2017*

In the recent past, radical right wing parties have produced astonishingly high polling numbers throughout Europe. The Danish People's Party captured the second largest percentage of Denmark's vote in the national election in June 2015, Austria's Freedom Party (FPÖ), won 30.4% of the vote in Upper Austria in September 2015, and Poland's Law and Justice Party drew 39.1% of the vote in October later that year in October 2015.[123] These parties, characterized by extreme right wing and populist positions, are increasingly creeping into the mainstream European political radar. But what is causing this dramatic rise?

For one, the European continent is more fragile than ever before. The ECB reported miniscule growth numbers for France and Italy, two of Europe's biggest economies, in the fourth quarter of 2015, with growth rates of .3% and .2% respectively. Additionally, the OECD forecasted Germany's projected growth in 2016 to decrease by 1.4%. The aging population contributes to further economic issues within the EU, particularly with the structural market issues of shifting dependency ratios and changing labor demand. The resulting declining tax bases cause governments to overspend on welfare programs, raising deficit ceilings across the board. However, these problems, coupled with the one-size fits all ECB monetary policy, means that only some countries are benefiting from the EU structural fixes, deeming the system largely ineffective.

Furthermore, the European migration crisis is stirring concern regarding EU state borders. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) estimates an influx of 1,046,600 migrants into Europe in 2015. Although the EU has streamlined many measures, such as the Schengen Agreement and the Dublin Regulation, to deal with refugee and immigrant influxes, the magnitude of this crisis is starting to break down these systems. The largest problem of the influx stems from the inherent disproportionate burden implied by the Dublin Regulation, where European countries such as Hungary, which, according to the IOM, had nearly 1,800 refugees seeking asylum per every 100,000 local Hungarians in 2015. Coupled with this is the rising concern of how the influx of non-European immigrants challenges the ethnic makeup of European nations, tarnishing member states' traditionally homogenous "European" image.

As a result many countries, particularly Hungary and other Eastern European EU member states, have taken enforcement measures of these EU

migration systems into their own hands, from issuing quotas to unilaterally closing their border to refugees, creating a disjointed policy coordination that is inducing worry among the people.

Problems faced by the European continent have culminated in an overall disenchantment with the EU as a whole, and has increased future anxiety among member states. The slow failure of the European economic system, coupled with the problems associated with the migration crisis has been quantified into real public fears. The Pew Research Center shows that the migration movement motivates European's unfavorable views towards Muslims, with 56% of both Italians and Poles having an unfavorable view. The disenchantment with the system has reached a point in the UK where it's citizens are even voting on its future in the EU in June of 2016. In response to these fears, many right wing political parties across European states have resurged their political presence in politics by exploiting both the overall disillusionment with the European systems and xenophobic sentiments towards the migrant crisis.

Take the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ) as a case study. The party, under the guidance of Jörg Haider, began gaining political ground in the 1990s with an attainment of 16% of the vote and has continued to rise ever since. Acting as an anti-establishment, neoliberal alternative to the established government, the FPÖ's radical platform capitalizes on discontent with the Austrian government to promote a more hands-off economic system and a less indecisive political body. However, what truly allowed the party to develop in the late 1980s was their hard-line stance against immigration. Their aggressive emphasis on keeping Austria a nation for Austrians, through programs such as the "Contract with Austria" and the "Alien Law Package" which pushes for stricter requirements for Austrian citizenship, is what struck a chord with anxious Austrians and motivated them to support the FPÖ. By appealing to people who felt increasingly marginalized by the influx of migrants, The FPÖ gained significant ground.

Today, in the wake of these migration and economic problems within Europe, the party is able to capitalize on these same fears and increase their political power within Austria. Their success in last year's national elections, with 48 seats obtained in the National Council, 62 seats in the Federal Council and 2 of Austria's MEP seats, is evidence that the success of the party lies in playing up the anxieties of Austrians. Their policy suggestions that promote a 'western' Austria appeal to white, older voters' xenophobic stance, with a study showing that FPÖ voters generally believe that immigrants undermine Austrian life.[4] If current trends continue in this fashion, what will be the future of Western Europe?

When looking back on history, we see similar regional circumstances have caused the rise of some of the world's most ferocious political parties. The reparations imposed on Germany following WWI resulted in a resurfacing of historic prejudices and public anxiety in the nation that was capitalized on by the Hitler and the Nazi Party to rise to power. Although not as extreme as the Nazi party, we see these similar tactics still working in our world today. With

party platforms proclaiming Europeans who 'belong' in Europe and pay taxes should be the only ones reaping the benefits of the government system, we see radical right parties like Austria's Freedom Party, The Netherlands Dutch Party of Freedom, and Italy's Lega Nord gaining serious ground. In the European parliament, these right wing parties, led by Marine Le Pen of France's National Front, have managed to obtain their own bloc, meaning that they now have access to EU funding and have the ability to begin their own initiatives. Despite their ideological hatred of the European system, as a part of the EU parliament, these parties get funding that is used to rile up their national campaigns. It is Le Pen and the bloc's hope that with this funding they are able not only to gain ground in their respective European countries, but also use their position in the EU Parliament to accumulate power in Brussels and rail against EU institutions, eventually breaking the system.

The majority of Western European countries today have right wing parties with a level of parliamentary influence. As both economic and humanitarian crises throughout Europe become more severe, these numbers will only rise. This can impact Europe by: (1) restricting movement of people and trade, (2) further disenfranchising marginalized groups, and (3) decreasing the level of bilateral cooperation. However, at the same time it is important to also realize that although these parties are emerging actors in their respective political systems, the majority of people do not support these narrow-minded extremist views. Active policies that address the root causes of the continental unrest need to be levied to combat the rise of the radical right.

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Iran's Emergence toward Global Integration

Ria Mazumdar, *Tufts University Class of 2019*

Thirteen years after George W. Bush dubbed Iran a member of the "axis of evil," Iran forged the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, more commonly known as the Iran Deal, with the European Union and the P5+1 (China, France, Russia, the UK, the US, and Germany). Between 2002 and 2015, Iran experienced a substantial conservative shift under Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. As a result, the past decade in Iran was rife with political repression, the adamant pursuit of nuclear capabilities, and several rounds of crippling sanctions from Western powers that left the country isolated and controlled by hardliners. The outcomes of the deal, however, have laid the framework for Iran's integration and rise to global prominence politically, economically, and militarily.

While many remain skeptical of Iran's future compliance, the deal's framework is conducive to engagement. For the next ten to fifteen years, all nuclear facilities will remain under strict supervision by the International Atomic Energy Agency, making it impossible for the country to increase its centrifuge count by 20,000 as it did between 2005 and 2013. No other nation in the history of the Non-Proliferation Treaty has voluntarily agreed to this level of scrutiny, indicating a substantial diplomatic victory. Moreover, the "snap back" provision of the deal allows for the reimposition of sanctions in the event of a serious breach. Unilateral penalties may be imposed to deter smaller infractions as well. Following the initial fifteen-year period, Iran will have ratified the Additional Protocol of the NPT, rendering its facilities subject to inspection and oversight in perpetuity. Thus, it is highly unlikely that Iran would rush to create a bomb following the initial period of the deal.

Given that the pragmatics of the deal will indeed prove to be effective, there is already evidence that increased international engagement bolsters moderate politics in Iran. Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei participated in the nuclear negotiations, and has allowed continued contact between Secretary of State John Kerry and Iranian foreign minister Mohammad Javad Zarif. These actions are a far cry from the refusal to engage Western powers that pervaded Iranian politics for decades. The outcomes of the February 2016 election are also revealing. Moderate allies of President Hassan Rouhani won substantial victories, controlling Tehran's entire 30-seat delegation and winning a substantial minority bloc in Parliament. However, perhaps even more significantly, the two most radical clerics were ousted from the Assembly of Experts, the governing body responsible for selecting the next Supreme Leader. There are also measures in place to reform the relationship between

the Supreme Leader and Expediency Council, giving the latter body more of a direct say in policy platforms. This change comes at a pivotal time since the current leader is aging and experiencing health concerns. By 2030, the end of the deal's initial phase, Khamenei will likely no longer be the Supreme Leader, and the majority of radical clerics who led the 1979 Revolution will no longer be politically active. Thus, the increased visibility of moderates is highly significant for Iran's future, indicating a sharp breakaway from the sole grip of radical clerics since 1979. It also indicates progress since the repressive measures of 2009, when the Ahmadinejad administration crushed reformists and moderate voices protesting Ahmadinejad's electoral victory.

In addition to increased political moderation, Iran's emergence entails economic transformation. The lifting of sanctions provides an impetus for increased trade with other countries as well as access to over a hundred billion dollars in previously escrowed oil revenue. With the removal of 2012 EU restrictions on oil sales being lifted, the oil supply is now set to increase dramatically. Thus, oil prices are predicted to decline by 13%, providing substantial benefits to oil-importing countries and improving Iranian per capita welfare by almost 4%. As more countries become incentivized to trade with Iran and take advantage of lowered prices, Iran's sway as a key exporter will be significantly augmented. Moreover, Iran is pursuing energy projects in the region aimed to forge ties of interdependence with its neighbors. Talks between Iran and Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia indicate Iran's interest in participating in the Trans-Anatolian gas pipeline. This strategic move would not only diversify Iran's exports, but would incentivize ties with European markets via the South Caucasus, hence quickly changing Iran's status as an international pariah and providing substantial benefits to Iranian citizens by drastically increasing the overall revenue flowing into the country.

Militarily, Iran is significant to both Western and non-Western powers. Khamenei's Sixth Development Plan entails a five billion dollar increase in Iran's defense budget, outlining the base for sustained military modernization. Increased arms cooperation and economic contacts with Russia are already bringing the two countries closer together. Moreover, Iran is seeking to elevate its status from observer to full-fledged member of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), a security bloc involving China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. This coordination is now possible since Iran is no longer being sanctioned by the UN.

Iran and the US also have a unique opportunity to bolster military ties through cooperation in Iraq against the Islamic State. Iran has geopolitical and religious incentives to aid the US, seeking both regional hegemony and an end to the systematic persecution of Shiites by the radical Sunni group. Iran is also seeking to engage Saudi Arabia in productive economic dialogue. While conservatives staunchly oppose this move, it is receiving increased popularity in light of Saudi Arabia's military campaign in Yemen, where Iran is funding Shia Houthi rebels. Thus, although Iran is increasing its arms imports and testing ballistic missiles due to its increased capacity to trade, it is also

carefully building up alliances to prevent isolation and a resumption of punitive sanctions. Iran is likely to play a key role in global counterterrorism efforts.

Long-standing historical antagonism between Iran and the West, compounded by more recent characterization of Iran as "evil," has fueled a very strained relationship between the country and the rest of the international community. However, the recent nuclear deal has opened the door for constructive political engagement with Iran facilitated by an increased domestic impulse for moderation. Levels of economic integration and military cooperation are also rising as a result of the deal. The roles of radical clerics and moderate leaders are shifting markedly; the country as a whole is responding to increased integration on the global sphere. International actors will be forced to grapple with Iran as a powerfully emerging actor on multiple fronts in the years to come.

Kurdistan:
The Newest Country in the Middle East?

Willy Clements, *Tufts University Class of 2018*

In a territory that spans the boundaries of Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria lives the world's largest stateless ethnic minority: the Kurds.[1] Approximately 30 million Kurds inhabit this area, representing 18% of Turkey's population and 15–20% of the total population of Iraq.[1] And although they have often been granted semi-autonomy within these countries, the Kurds retain a long-standing desire to create an independent Kurdistan.[2] This desire for independence, pitted against the interests of all four of these powerful nations, has long seemed like an impossible dream rather than an obtainable goal. But recently, the rise of Daesh has disrupted the status quo to the extent that an independent Kurdistan within Iraq may be inevitable now rather than just possible.

While there have been serious moves toward an independent Kurdistan since the First World War, the groundwork for today's movement for Kurdish independence was laid in 1991 in the aftermath of the Gulf War. After years of violence and systematic oppression at the hands of the Hussein regime, as well as an armed rebellion against it, the Kurds capitalized on Saddam Hussein's forced retreat from Northern Iraq by establishing an "autonomous zone" in the region.[3] This autonomous zone is now shaping up to become the newest country in the Middle East.

In February of 2016, Massoud Barzani, the President of the Kurdistan Regional Government, brought the issue of Kurdish independence to the forefront of Middle Eastern politics by calling for a referendum of Iraqi Kurds to determine whether or not they wished to secede from Iraq. Of course, this motion was immediately condemned by the Iraqi government in Baghdad and not approved, but Barzani remains adamant that this referendum must take place within the next six months. Strategically, Barzani could not have picked a better time to make the push toward independence. The role of Kurdistan in the fight against Daesh is so crucial that it is possible that Barzani does not fear repercussions for his actions. There is a factual basis for Barzani's belief that the Iraqi Government has lost the power to stop him. At the same time the Iraqi government in Baghdad issued a condemnation of the referendum for Kurdish independence, it showed its dependence on Kurdistan by extending a request for Kurdish assistance in liberating the city of Mosul from Daesh and admitting that it would not be able to provide previously promised financial assistance to the Kurdish Regional Government.[4] Barzani characterized his position in a 2014 interview with the BBC, "Iraq is effectively partitioned now; should we stay in this tragic situation that Iraq is living? Of course, we are all

with our Arab and Sunni brothers together in this crisis, but that doesn't mean that we will abandon our goal. I have said many times that independence is a natural right of the people of Kurdistan. All these developments reaffirm that."[5]

Kurdistan's separation from the Iraqi government in Baghdad cuts across not only political, but economic lines as well. Iraqi Kurdistan sits atop huge oil reserves, which it has been selling around the world for billions of dollars. By agreement with the Iraqi government, Kurdistan is obligated to sell all of its oil through Iraq's Oil Ministry, and in return, the Iraqi government contributes 17% of all of Iraq's oil profits to Kurdistan.[6] However, after the conflict with Daesh began, this deal quickly fell apart.[6] Kurdistan no longer relies upon the Iraqi government to sell its oil, but rather conducts business semi-secretively on the open market.[6] The Iraqi government condemns this practice, but the Kurds justify their actions by claiming that they use the proceeds to fund the offense against Daesh.[6] And because of this, they are met with little resistance by the international community for their sale of oil on the open market.[6] In a sense, Kurdistan has declared economic dependence from Iraq and shown that it can thrive without the assistance of the Iraqi government.

Of course there are huge diplomatic implications of the Kurdish push for independence. The Turkish and Iranian governments are extremely worried about the possibility of an independent Iraqi Kurdistan.[1] Both countries have large Kurdish populations, and fear that an independent Iraqi Kurdistan could light the spark of Kurdish nationalism and separatism at home. Even the United States is cautious in addressing Kurdish independence, and has urged Barzani to wait until after the conflict with Daesh has been settled to push for secession. But arguably, little can be done at this time to stop Barzani and Iraqi Kurds from moving towards independence; their role in defeating Daesh is too important. And the United States could even recognize strategic benefits in the establishment of an independent Kurdistan. After Turkey refused to allow the United States to launch a Northern front against Iraq from their Turkish bases in the 2003 invasion of Iraq, the U.S. turned to the Kurds. With Kurdish assistance, it was able to secure the a Northern front in Iraq as well as the oil fields in and around Kirkuk.[1] Kurdistan could be a critical ally for the United States in the Middle East.

Nothing is ever certain in international relations. And it could very well be that this latest movement becomes one of the many failed attempts at Kurdish independence. But certainly, with the unique circumstances of the present day, Kurdistan possibly has its best shot at independence to date. And its success separating itself both politically and economically from Iraq supports the idea that achieving independence is a real possibility. In a time when the news from the Middle East is defined by conflict and violence, Kurdistan could be the phoenix that rises from the chaos.

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