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# Editorial Policy

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## OVERVIEW

The International Relations Journal at San Francisco State University strives to exhibit the diverse range of undergraduate and graduate research interests that flourish in our department.

Each semester, the Journal is offered as a course in which students participate as writers or editors in a peer review process, or as administrative staff members who assist authors and editors as well as guide the Journal through its production.

The goal of the course is to expose students to the peer review process, focusing on academic standards of argumentation and factual accuracy, citation formatting, and collaborative editing using Microsoft Word's "track changes" feature. More broadly, the Journal's executive editors aim to help students develop writing/editing skills applicable in other courses and promote a deeper understanding of the discipline of International Relations as a whole.

## SUBMISSIONS & PROCESS

The Journal encourages all students pursuing a B.A. or M.A. in International Relations to submit completed works (incomplete papers and abstracts are not accepted) at the beginning of each semester. From these submissions, the Journal's executive editors assign students to positions on the writing and editorial boards as well as a number of administrative-level appointments.

The course curriculum includes a number of informational workshops and at least three rounds of structured editing and revision. All editing is anonymous and each submission is reviewed by three different editors.

The structured peer review is as follows: [1] a submission is first edited by an undergraduate or graduate "peer expert" who has conducted prior research on topics and/or regions relevant to the paper and can thus provide fact checking and citation suggestions; [2] second round editing focuses on clarity and academic tone by pairing the manuscript with an editor unfamiliar with the paper's subject; [3] finally, the paper is edited for proper citation formatting and technical aspects.

At the end of the semester, authors participating in this process are expected to submit a final manuscript for consideration by the Journal's executive editors and the faculty advisor.

## PUBLICATION OF ARTICLES

Only submissions that have gone through the peer review process and meet the content and formatting requirements will be considered for publication. The Journal is published yearly.

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who published their way out of the Covid-19 Pandemic.

# Author Biographies

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## **SARA MORSY**

Sara Safwat Morsy is a senior majoring in International Relations at San Francisco State University. Her focus has been on the cooperation of international government organizations in the North African, Southwest Asian region. She is passionate about working on reform policies that hold corrupt officials and organizations accountable.

## **STEPHANIE PEREZ**

Stephanie Perez is a graduate student majoring in International Relations at San Francisco State University. Her focus has been Latin America and is especially interested in immigration policies. Stephanie loves to volunteer in her community, read and travel.

## **PAOLO PONTONIERE**

Paolo Pontoniere is a San Francisco State University Scholar in International Relations and a master's graduate. A native of Italy with a background in journalism and communications, Pontoniere has served as a foreign correspondent and political analyst for several media outlets and news-wire agencies. His current research focuses on exploring the function of ontology as a constitutive factor in the global system and its role in peace, conflict, and foreign policy.

## **SAMIM SHAIKH**

Samim Shaikh is a senior majoring in International Relations with a minor in Middle Eastern Studies, at San Francisco State University. Her focus has been in the Middle East, however, there are many other issues that interest her, such as the worldwide refugee problem. Samim is passionate about reading, as well as traveling and immersing herself in different cultures.

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# Battle of the IGOs

## Was the Arab League (Always) Doomed to Fail?

SARA MORSY

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### ABSTRACT

This study examines the relationship between international governmental organizations (IGOs) and liberalism with an empirical focus on the internal and external factors that lead to a successful IGO. In contrast to other studies, this research project evaluates whether international institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank are factors in the success or failure of other IGOs. Using data from the World Bank, the UN, IMF and Freedom House to measure its hypotheses, the study finds correlations between the factors tested and the efficacy of an IGO, demonstrating that the internal and external factors have direct correlation with the performance of an IGO.

### INTRODUCTION

Since the loss of 70 million humans in the battles of World War II, it has been crucial in the international sphere to maintain peace and to prevent a repeat of such atrocities. International relations scholars have since focused on how to bring nation-states to cooperate. Global issues, such as refugees, terrorism, civil wars, among others, are rooted in a region's shortcomings to cooperate. Much of the existing literature focuses on international cooperation taking place through formal international organizations (IOs) and international governmental organizations (IGOs). Both IOs and IGOs aim to resolve state, regional, and international conflicts.

It is imperative to understand the factors that make cooperation through both IOs and IGOs successful in promoting peace and stability; with such tools, we can identify how to move forward in creating functional, lasting IGOs. In International Relations (IR) literature, the European Union (EU) is the primary example of a successful IGO.<sup>1</sup>

The EU is the primary example because of its multi-functioning initiatives, the adaptation of the same currency, successful economic policy, and, more importantly, the ability to build up their economy and trade with-in the region, despite the devastation caused by WWII. Thus, this paper will compare the EU with the Arab League, which is deemed to be unsuccessful IGO.<sup>2</sup> Both the internal and external factors of the EU and Arab League will be examined, which attribute to their successes and failures. Internal factors will cover the inter-regional agreements and economic growth, and military tactics to govern the state. External factors will examine how the support of international organizations affect the success or failure of the EU and AL. This paper will focus on the failures and successes of international cooperation within international governmental organizations (IGO).

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1. Jon Pevehouse et al. "Democratic International Governmental Organizations Promote Peace." *International Organization* 60, no. 4, (2006): 969.

2. Ana Paula Tostes. "Regionalism and political representation in comparative perspective: The European Union and MERCOSUL," *Contexto Internacional* 35, n. 2 (2013): 388.



This literature review will be divided into three parts: first, I will list which characteristics are associated with a successful IGO including institutional frameworks, development and integration into the world economy; second, I will analyze if there is an effect between an international organization (IO) and economic success; finally, I will discuss what previous scholars have concluded to be the factors that lead to the success of the EU, which I then will apply to understand the failure of the AL. The driving research question for this literature review asks: what factors contribute to the success of the European Union and the failure of the Arab League in international governmental cooperation?

## LITERATURE REVIEW

A majority of the literature attributes the success of an IGO to internal factors such as institutionalizing democracy. Toste's comparative case study explores the consequences of institutionalization through the process of inter-regional integration of the European Union and South America. The European Union institutionalized democratic political and economic systems, which aided in facilitating trade agreements through cooperation and negotiation, thus limiting inter-state conflicts. Toste found that member representation is granted by the institutional framework adopted from liberal policies that facilitates cooperation within the region.

Similarly, Pevehouse & Russett (2006) concluded that the EU's foundation and commitment to democracy fostered regional peace. Unlike realists, liberals took into account relationships and confirmed, "If states are in the ninetieth percentile on the democracy scale than at the average level, the risk of fatal violence conflict is much lower."<sup>3</sup> The presence of democratic institutionalism which is implementing democratic governance is crucial to decrease the chances of conflict and perpetuates cooperation; once achieved, an IGO is deemed successful.

Although the presence of democracy is essential, many scholars argue the EU has been successful because of the IGO's framework.<sup>4</sup> For example, there is the European Commission, which has a sub-committee known as the Council of Ministers responsible of new legislation. As a result of the clear outline of democracy adopted by the Washington Consensus, such as; what the responsibilities entail, the process of decision making is limited and granted by treaties.<sup>5</sup> Bombers concludes that the key factor to the success of the EU, and an IGO is the strong presence of institutional framework, which guides the success of state cooperation.

Another defining factor of a successful IGO is norms and behaviors mutually accepted among member-states. Similar to liberals, constructivists believe when states adhere and establish the same set of values, the likelihood of conflict decreases. However, scholars such as Finnemore and Sikkink (1998) emphasize the purpose of norms is to channel and regulate behavior, more so, to influence if not define the range of choice, which does not require adopting a liberal policy. Adhering to the constructivist perspective, "International structure is determined by the international distribution of ideas, [which in return promote] shared ideas, expectations, and beliefs

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3. Jon Pevehouse et al. "Democratic International Governmental Organizations Promote Peace." *International Organization* 60, no. 4, (2006): 969-1000. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3877853>

4. Elizabeth Bomberg et al. *The European Union: How Does it Work?* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

5. *Ibid*, 48

about appropriate behavior are what give the world structure, order, and stability.”<sup>6</sup> In congruence, Abbot and Snidal believe, ““Only constructivist-in theory-focusing on norms, beliefs, knowledge, and understandings-can explain formal organization.”<sup>7</sup> It explained why norms and values are essential to establish to operate an IGO successfully. The long-term success of states is dependent upon these similar values.

In the relationship between norms and decision-making power, norms and shared values are only successful when implemented by a regional hegemonic power, also referred to as a critical state. Some states are critical to the norm’s adoption, others are less so. Finnemore & Sikkink (1998) conclude, “What constitutes a critical state will vary from issue to issue, but one criterion is that critical states are those without which the achievement of the substantive norm goal is compromised.”<sup>8</sup> Therefore, norms only perpetuate peace and cooperation, depending on the member state implementing them. For example, France and Britain’s support for the Landmine Treaty in 1997 contributed to the norm cascade that happened in late 1997, soliciting support from other member states.<sup>9</sup> Decisions made by countries referred to as great powers-such as France and UK, have the ultimate pulling power. Their influence derives from the country’s political and economic dominance of the global arena. Due to the economic and political dominance, the notions and organizations they support or denounce influence the rest of the irregion or even globe and also set precedents. France and the UK both supporting the Landmine Treaty in 1997 directly influenced, if not, guaranteed the solicited support from other member states. A robust dominant power must be a member of the IGO to implement norms. Otherwise, any existing mutual beliefs or values cannot sustain peace alone.<sup>10</sup>

In addition, institutionalizing economic integration is substantive to achieve success in economic integrity. After many failed attempts, the European Monetary Union was established in 1999. One clear outcome was the euro increased foreign direct investment between member countries. Using data between 1982–2002, De Sousa and Lochard (2005) estimated the euro had raised flows of foreign direct investment within the EU by 62 percent and of foreign direct investment in terms of stock positions by 17 percent. The impact of the European Monetary Union has increased financial integration, product trade, employment, and lastly, foreign direct investments.<sup>11</sup>

Unlike the scholars that attribute IGO success to internal factors discussed previously, Hogan finds that the presence of great power or hegemonic power is precisely a key factor in the success of an IGO. A successful example of hegemonic power influence can be viewed by how the Marshall Plan was the primary factor in speeding the process for Western Europe to rebuild its economy. Hogan (1987) focuses on the framework that the United States created through the Marshall Plan to institutionalize a new world order at home and globally. The framework was created

6. Martha Finnemore et al. “International Norm Dynamics and Political Change.” *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 887-917. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2601361>

7. Kenneth W. Abbott et al. “Why states act through formal international organizations.” *Journal of conflict resolution* 42.1 (1998): 3-32. 8

8. Martha Finnemore et al. “International Norm Dynamics and Political Change.” *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 887-917. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2601361>

9. Ibid

10. Martha Finnemore et al. “International Norm Dynamics and Political Change.” *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 887-917. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2601361>

11. José De Sousa et al. “Do currency barriers solve the border effect puzzle? Evidence from the CFA Franc Zone.” *Review of World Economics* 141.3 (2005): 422-441.

to build a “cooperative neo-capitalism”.<sup>12</sup> Hogan examined the foundation of the American political economy, which was founded on self-governing economic groups, integrated by institutional coordinators geared to economic growth, that could be shared. Ultimately, the purpose of the Marshall Plan was to implement the classical liberal values that the United States institutionalized into Western Europe. It was urged by the Marshall planners for participating member-states to “fuse free-market forces and institutional coordinators to clear the obstacles to a single market in Western Europe.”<sup>13</sup> Ultimately, the United States’ presence as hegemon power is credited for the internal factors the EU achieved success.

There are internal and external factors. Internal factors being; institutionalizing democracy, shared norms and values, shared norms and values institutionalized by the region’s hegemony power, and lastly, institutionalizing neoliberal economic policies. The external factors being; US support as world hegemon and the IGO establishment among IO’s. In conclusion, the argument made by scholars claiming the League’s failure is attributed to their inability to integrate economically. The next section of the literature review is dedicated to understanding scholars’ reasoning explaining the failure of an IGO.

## THE ARAB LEAGUE

Many scholars attribute the failure of the Arab League to member states’ apathetic attitude to the concept of pan-Arabism. Britain first introduced the idea of a Pan-Arab union in the 1940s. Although, in January 1943, when the Iraqi Prime Minister Nuri al-Said made the same statement in support, “for the creation of a unified Arab state encompassing Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Jordan, was [in fact] not greeted with enthusiasm in the region.”<sup>14</sup> The initial idea of pan-Arabism was not a common goal of Arab leaders, which explains why countries’ cooperation through the years failed.

However, because the Dumbarton Oaks proposal posed a threat to the Arab countries, the Arab’s unification was perceived as a coalition, rather than an IGO that would prosper and establish itself among others. The “Dumbarton Oaks [proposal which] raised fears of a Western-imposed regional order and served as the center of gravity that ultimately allowed them, for the moment, to overcome regional rivalries and join together in the Arab League.”<sup>15</sup> Suggesting that the main motive that unified the region under the League of Arabism further intervention by western order is also the cause of the leagues demise. In reality, the Arab League proposal mainly focused on immediate protection. In agreement, Hovet characterizes the “Arab Caucusing Group” as an organized unit within the Asian-African group, thereby implying its temporary nature.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, Hovet argues the leagues’ failure attributed to the Arab-League charter was because the conception of the AL was to ensure sovereignty from a colonial power. However, the AL charter did not ensure cooperation between member-states nor establish them among the international arena. The AL agreement drafted and

12. Michael J. Hogan. *The Marshall Plan: America, Britain and the Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1947-1952*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987)

13. Michael J. Hogan. *The Marshall Plan: America, Britain and the Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1947-1952*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. 2

14. Marco Pinfari. 2009. *Nothing but failure?: The Arab league and the Gulf Cooperation Council as mediators in middle eastern conflicts*. London: Crisis States Research Centre. 2

15. Stephanie Wichhart(2019). “The Formation of the Arab League and the United Nations, 1944–5,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 54, no. 2 (2019): 328. doi: 10.1177/0022009418799178

16. Robert W. Macdonald. *The League of Arab States: A Study in Dynamics of Regional Organization*. Princeton University Press, 2015.

adopted does not consolidate the ties that bring together the Arab countries, even though the big powers did not contest it.

Another explanation for the reason the League failed to institutionalize any system is explained by the influence of a major regional power. Which further supports, “The traditional realist argument, which interprets this ‘failure’ as a consequence either of the influence of hegemons, mainly Nasser’s Egypt.”<sup>17</sup> While the initial idea of Pan-Arab was contested, Pinfari argues the more compelling factor is the regional hegemonic power, Egypt, could stabilize the region. However, because Nasser, as a leader of hegemonic power, failed to centralize power. Nasser’s predecessor Saddam, signed the Egypt-Israeli treaty in 1979, which led to Egypt being ejected from the league. Because the hegemonic power failed, the entire IGO failed.

In comparison, very few scholars argue that the ultimate cause of the region’s weaknesses is rooted in historic religious conflict. The Arab League is comprised of Muslim majority countries, meaning the countries majority population practices Islam. When analyzing the Arab league, their structural framework may be flawed, however because of whom Mecca was ruled by is, “The cause of this weakness is...King Abd al-Aziz Ibn Saud had seized Mecca and the Kingdom of Arabia from the Hashimite family. The Hashimite family, sharifs, descended from King Husayn in a direct line from the Prophet (PBUH), regarded Abd al-Aziz as a usurper”<sup>18</sup> (Wróblewski, 2016). However, much political necessity might compel them to sit at a table with his representatives. Arguing the weakness of incoherent cooperation is rooted in the religious divide over the belief of who the rightful ruler of the Islamic world should have been. Concluding, Arab countries, which strongly identify with Islamic practices, must resolve this rooted religious issue, thus making cooperation between member-states succeed.<sup>19</sup>

Contrary to previous arguments, Pinfari’s database finds there is a success in the league’s history of conflict resolution between member states. Pinfari’s data contrasted with the comparative works of Joseph Nye and Mark Zacher, finding that overall failure of the League was not as apparent in the league’s patterns of conflict prevention and resolution.<sup>20</sup> Pinfari concludes the League’s interventions, “With the exception of the mediation during the Algeria/Morocco Tindouf war in 1963, have taken place in conflicts in which at least one of the states that attended the 1944 Alexandria conference was involved; 19 of them (79 percent) involved either Lebanon, Yemen or Iraq.”<sup>21</sup> Pinfari suggested throughout the history of the League’s conflict resolution, successfully focused on, “mediating conflicts in a ‘core’ area of Arab countries in the Fertile Crescent and in the Arabian Peninsula.”<sup>22</sup>

17. Marco Pinfari. 2009. *Nothing but failure?: The Arab league and the Gulf Cooperation Council as mediators in middle eastern conflicts*. London: Crisis States Research Centre. 6

18. Bartosz Wróblewski. “The mystery of political stability in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan: Monarchy and the crisis of state governance in the Arab world.” *The Polish Quarterly of International Affairs* 25.4 (2016): 7-29.

19. Fady Abusidu-Al-Ghoul. Why has the Arab League failed as a regional security organization? *An analysis of the Arab League’s conditions of emergence, characteristics and the internal and external challenges that defined and redefined its regional security role*. (Bradford: University of Bradford, 2012). 15.

20. Marco Pinfari. 2009. *Nothing but failure?: the Arab league and the Gulf Cooperation Council as mediators in middle eastern conflicts*. London: Crisis States Research Centre. 12

21. Marco Pinfari. 2009. *Nothing but failure?: the Arab league and the Gulf Cooperation Council as mediators in middle eastern conflicts*. London: Crisis States Research Centre.

22. Ibid

While some scholars attribute the significant factor to AL's failure on internal factors, other scholars disagree and argue Jacques attributes AL failure to the existing idea of two types of Africans that have not been consolidated. "To liberate black Africa is to free it from the yoke of former colonial power, and to avoid Arab imperialism. Expansionist ambitions can already be detected. It is, therefore, necessary to check their progress... Militant Pan-Arabism is bound to favor slavery. It should not appeal to black Africans."<sup>23</sup> Both developing regions of Sub-Saharan Africa and the Arab League are competing to establish stable economies and relationships post-colonial era. The Arab League Summit met in Algeria, where they responded favorably to the Organization of African Unity (OAU) initiative and decided to: strengthen and consolidate economic, financial, and cultural cooperation with the sister African states on the bilateral level and on that of Arab-African regional organization (Arab League Relations).

Despite the exhaustive efforts of multilateral agreements, these efforts failed to prevail as a result of the divide between AL and OAU delegates regional divide on issues influenced and shaped by religious shared traditional values. Cooperation between the League of Arabs and the OAU further deteriorated because there was not a united front presented to the UN in the 1960s. Olusola Ojo claims the conflicting stance of the Arab-Israeli conflict has undermined the league's authority to have a successful multilateral agreement that would establish the League in the international arena.

Unlike Ojo, Yom (2019) explains the Middle Eastern North African (MENA) region's lack of integration to the international financial institutions to be a result of the "painful conditions" that accompanied the states' membership.<sup>24</sup> Expressly, the economic pressures to adopt the Washington Consensus template of neoliberal economics to force countries to change out of the status system tainted the integration. More specifically, Yom (2019) attributes the MENA states' economic failure to the structural adjustment policies states had to comply with to receive financial aid. The policies that member-states had to comply with are; exchange rate liberalization, devaluation of the currency, restrictions on budget deficits, and lower government subsidies negatively impacted their ability to thrive. The MENA states were not able to negotiate these conditions because the IMF and the World Bank wanted to liberalize the country's economy. The problem with forcing change upon the countries' governments was that MENA nations were not allowed to protect their economies from international trade agreements when they first entered the world of globalization and capitalism, which made them vulnerable.<sup>25</sup> Despite the WTO "painful" conditions that the financial aid required, most MENA countries adhered because of their countries' financial state of desperation.

Most MENA countries agreed to the conditions of the WTO, even though the countries' economies continued to face struggles. While previous scholars claimed the key to IGO success was to institutionalize neoliberal policies through economic and political systems, these countries still did not economically cooperate, especially with member-states of the AL being forced to accept neoliberal conditions by the WTO. A possible issue is that the AL was not given the guidance or the funds to incentivize

23. Olusola Ojo. "The Relationship between the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States." *Africa Spectrum* (1981): 131-141.

24. Sean Yom. *The Societies of the Middle East and North Africa: Structures, Vulnerabilities, and Forces* (New York: Routledge, 2019), 25.

25. *Ibid*, 36

economic cooperation. Instead, the WTO focused on each country as an individual. Ultimately, it may have divided the Arab League from cooperating, which is a factor that has yet to be mainly discussed.

The literature above explaining what led to the success of the EU and failure of the AL have overlapping factors. What is the most interesting found in the literature scholars are not arguing what is not a factor that leads to success, instead which factor is the most important, which leads to the other factors of success? Some scholars argue the internal factor of the charter to have a robust institutional framework is what leads to shared values, institutionalizing democracy, and provides the regional hegemon the policies that guide the hegemony influence to stabilizing the region. If there is a world hegemon, as an external factor to institutionalize framework, etc., the internal factors required to formulate success will follow. However, the literature needs to explore the factors a world hegemon power role, not supporting an IGO would affect the success or failure. Also, we must understand what factors would lead to regional hegemonic power and world hegemonic power to be allies, because that also leads to the success of an IGO. Britain, the United States, and France are allies, and Egypt, Saudi are allies.

## METHODOLOGY

This study's dependent variable is the success of international cooperation within an international governmental organization. For purposes of this study, we agree with Volgy's definition that a successful IGO "as entities created with sufficient organizational structure and autonomy to provide formal, ongoing, multilateral processes of decision making between states, along with the capacity to execute the collective will of their members (states)."<sup>26</sup> This definition highlights both the process of interactions within IGOs, inter-regional agreements, and the possibility of collective outcomes from them. The case study is the Arab League, because earlier this year, UN secretary-general Antonio Guterres declared Yemen the largest, fastest, growing humanitarian crisis that the world has yet seen.<sup>27</sup> The perpetuating country in the case of Yemen is Saudi Arabia. However, they are both member-states of the AL and IGO are created to prevent a humanitarian crisis. Thus, this study designed to examine the Arab League because of the ongoing economic and political instability with which member-states and the entire League continue to struggle.

**H1:** If an IGO is not comprised of member-states that have a set of shared values, then the IGO will fail.

**H2:** If member-states do not integrate economically, then the IGO will fail.

**H3:** If the United States does not support an IGO post World War II, then the IGO will fail.

The first hypothesis tests internal factors; (1) institutionalizing a shared set of values, and (2) member-states governing styles. To operationalize our hypothesis, we will test if institutionalizing democracy, as found by previous scholars, is the only way to solicit international cooperation between IGO member-states. We test governing styles to analyze if member-state leaders governing style is the factor of the Arab League's failure to cooperate. The second hypothesis also tests the internal factor of

26. Thomas J. Volgy et al. "Identifying Formal Intergovernmental Organizations," *Journal of Peace Research* 45, no. 6 (2008): 840.

27. "Secretary-General's Remarks to the Pledging Conference for Yemen [as Delivered] Secretary-General." United Nations. 26 Feb. 2019, <https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/statement/2019-02-26/secretary-generals-remarks-the-pledging-conference-for-yemen-delivered-%C2%A0>

economic integration. To test this hypothesis, we will look at member-states trading patterns. The third hypothesis tests external factors, (1) hegemonic stability theory, and (2) foreign direct investment. To operationalize the hegemonic stability as a factor, we tested the US financial support during the formation of an IGO in the correlation to the IGO as a success or failure. We compare the support from the United States to the EU, which is a successful IGO, and the AL, which is a failed IGO.

To measure my independent variable, I use the UN to identify intergovernmental organizations. The freedom house provides data on the measurements of democracy each nation-state practice, which is vital to understand if there is a correlation between shared values and an IGO's success. To test the financial support factor, we will look at US foreign aid to the Arab League and not to the individual states.

## ANALYSIS

### *Case Presentation: The Arab League*

The Arab League (AL) is comprised of 22 states and was formed in 1945 to protect countries post-colonialism. The AL has since failed to better their economic stature exception the Gulf States. The gulf states have a booming economy, came together and founded the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) in 1981. There is a disparity in their economic well-being, even though AL member-states are also rich in natural resources. The outbreak of the Arab Spring resulted in member-states intervention without consent. The AL in the past, as presented by Pinfari, have had success facilitating conflict resolution however in broader scope failed to implement a shared set of values which could have otherwise according to the constructivist and realist argument should have prevented the significant conflict between member-states as seen currently between Yemen and Saudi Arabia, or Syria and several states.

Despite the condemned the AL received from the United States and the Soviet Union during the 1945 Arab-Israeli War, the member-states stuck to their multilateral agreements signed to protect the displaced people of Palestine. However, after Egypt was ejected from the Arab League (AL) in 1979 and signed the Camp David Accords, there was a significant shift in the cooperation of the AL. As a result, Egypt, the hegemonic power of the region, was ejected, however, reinstated in 1989. Further distrust, the League's second betrayal, took place on August 2, 1990, when Iraq unexpectedly invaded Kuwait. Since then, the League's ability to cooperate and member-states economies continue to struggle.

## INTERNAL FACTORS

### *Shared Set of Values*

A set of shared values and beliefs is a primary characteristic identified by scholars across the board as essential to the establishment of an IGOs success. Table 1.1 provides the democratic level practiced by member-states of each intergovernmental organization. The percentages represent the number of states practicing democracy, and the charter explains what the mission statement of each IGO is trying to achieve: economic or political stability, or both. Lastly, the IGO outcome column is about the IGO's ability to achieve its mission statement, as well as the IGO being considered a success in the international arena.

**Table 1.1: Democratic Member-State**

IGO	% Democracy	% Partly	% Not	Charter	IGO Outcome
EU	100%	-	-	Economic Political	✓
AL	-	32%	68%	Economic Political	✗
GCC	-	-	83%	Economic	✓
OPEC	-	-	80%	Economic	✓
EU: European Union, AL: Arab League, GCC: Gulf Countries Cooperation, OPEC: Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries					

Source: adapted from freedom House, UN

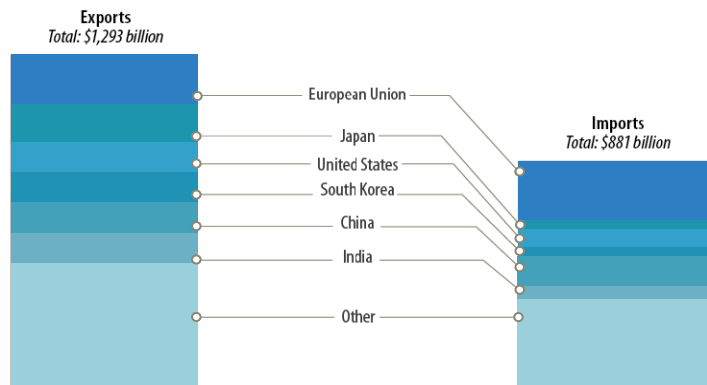
We first measure states’ value by testing the liberal argument; democracy must be shared for member-states successful cooperation. When analyzing the data, we find in the case of the EU, the shared value of democracy is unanimous across member-states, and the outcome of the IGO is a success, supporting the liberal and constructivist claim. On the contrary, when analyzing the AL, we find the IGO is failing because the institutionalization of democracy is absent, which again supports the democracy argument. However, the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) and Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) are non-democratic states, made up of AL member-states, yet cooperate successfully and therefore demonstrate that democracy is not necessary.

To be more specific, the table shows that the GCC and OPEC are thriving, despite the absence of democracy. This is because they all share economic incentives to cooperate. Therefore, based on this data, we can argue that economic incentive constitutes a far more critical factor for a successful cooperation over shared democratic values that liberalism argues, is key to successful cooperation. In addition to that, Pinfari also provided evidence that the Arab League was very successful in terms of conflict resolution. As he presents: “with the exception of the mediation during the Algeria/Morocco Tindouf war in 1963, have taken place in conflicts in which at least one of the states that attended the 1944 Alexandria conference was involved; 19 of them (79 percent) involved either Lebanon, Yemen or Iraq.” Therefore, we can say consensus of authoritarian institutionalization across ALL member-states constitutes the same value that liberals argue about institutionalizing democracy.



*Economic Intergration:*

Figure 2.1 MENA's Major Trading Partners, 2011

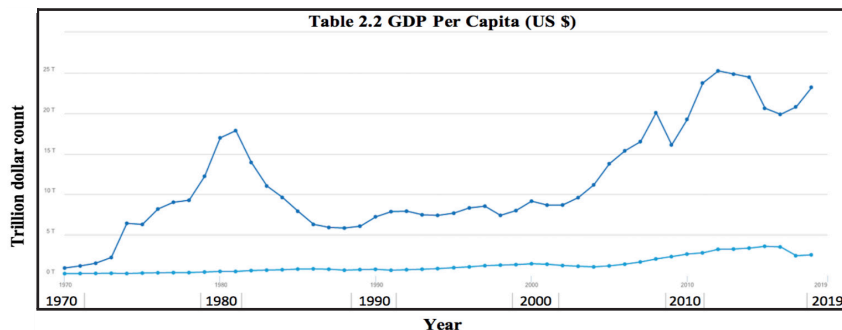


Source: International Monetary Fund (IMF), Direction of Trade Statistics. Notes: Merchandise data only; services data not available.

Due to the challenges of accessing data on the Arab League, we will use the graph above, which is data of the Middle East North African (MENA) region, which is also made up of the Arab League member-states. However, the state of Israel distorts the data because it is not a member-state of the Arab League. We can see that AL member-states trade is heavily reliant with non-state-member. There is a pattern of limited interregional trade in 2011 alone, only 10% of trade was between member-states (this is excluding Israel because there is no data to show that there is trade between Israel and member-states). This is a clear indication of the region's failure to economically integrate because they are heavily reliant on trade with West European and the United States. Despite the large engagement with the world economy the neoliberal promises of economic stability fail many countries within the region.

In addition, we see that neoliberal policy that the League was forced to comply with to receive economic relief from the IMF and World Bank, as found in the literature, the league has not received the outcome promised for development. To further analyze, we focus on Egypt and Saudi Arabia as member-states representatives of the economic circumstances from the region 18 they are located. There is a clear difference when we look at the graph below and see the GDP Per Capita of the member-states of the AL located in the Gulf versus located in North Africa. It is incredibly critical that future research can explain; Why are the Gulf States and North African member-states of the Arab League have a significant outcome of economic growth?

In the 2013 issue, U.S. Trade and Investment in the Middle East and North Africa: Overview and Issues for Congress, there is a high engagement of trade with Arab League states. However, the payoff does not equate the level engagement. The member-states high-levels of engagement in free-trade and globalization were a result of IMF, and World Bank forced conditions to comply with, as explained in the literature review. Thus, we can argue that the Arab League member-states located in North Africa failed to successfully economically integrate within the region and the world as a result of adopting the new liberal policy when member-states were not equipped to protect their economy.



**External Factors: World Hegemonic Support**

*The Arab League: The Absence of the World Hegemon Support*

**Table 3.1: U.S financial support to IGO**

IGO	US Financial Aid	Agreement	Outcome
EU	\$ 12 Billion	Marshall Plan	✓
AL	-	-	✗

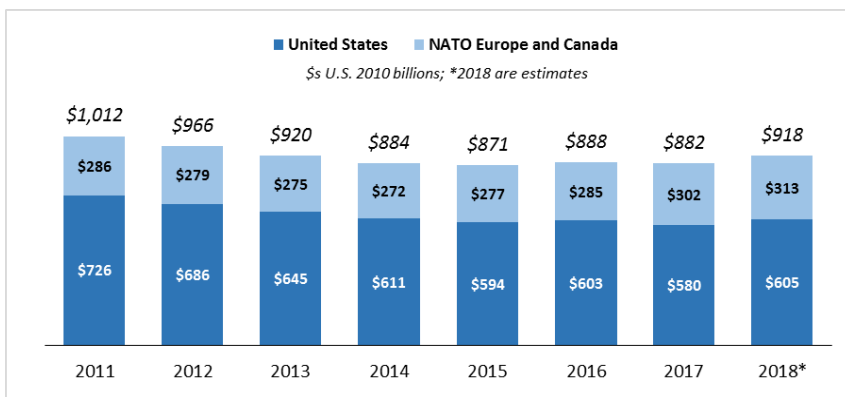
Source: adapted from UN, Marshall Plan

The support of a hegemonic power during the development of an intergovernmental organization is necessary. In table 2.1, above, we test if US financial support to an IGO during developing stages affects the outcome of its success. When we analyze the EU, which is considered successful, we also see that the US had aided the EU with 12 billion dollars through the Marshall Plan to rebuild Western Europe after countries suffered as a result of World War II. However, when the AL, at the Dumbarton Oaks summit, 1945, the big powers had approved of the charter.

However, they did not present or provide any means of financial support to the AL as a whole, which includes the US as a hegemonic power, because they won the cold war. It is essential to acknowledge that certain countries individually received US aid. However, our argument here is that US financial support lacked during the foundation of the organization (as opposed to the EU) and that contributed to its failure. Also seen with NATO in the expenditure report below, the United States significant financial support has an undeniable effect on the success of the IGO.

**Figure 2 Defense Spending by NATO Members, 2011-2018**

The United States and NATO Europe and Canada



Source: NATO, Deference Expenditure of NATO Countries, March 14, 2019.

Lastly, throughout history, there has been unanimous rhetoric from the United States presidency supporting the European Union. The documentation is concrete and is found to

be consistent, excluding the current U.S president the strong narrative of European Union member-states as valued allies. In addition to the Marshall Plan, he provided political guidance as found in the literature.

## CONCLUSION

There is much more research that is required to provide a long-term plan for solutions to the problem areas that are causing the Arab League's failure. The factors that we need to explore further are religious conflict, the effects of a dictatorship on incentivizing international cooperation between member-states. We continue to lose hundreds of thousands of civilian lives as a result of domestic conflicts around the world that international-government organizations created to mediate. Changing foreign policy with the necessary research as guidance will be the guiding force to saving millions of lives, and most importantly, implementing peace and harmony globally. We must also answer the question, if an intergovernmental organization is given financial aid as individual member-states, how would that affect international cooperation?

The research conducted has left us with grave concern. The detrimental effects of the conditions forced on by the IMF and World Bank cannot go unmentioned. International institutions, IMF and World Bank's purposes are to provide non-partisan aid and support to nation-states. However, these conditions are resulting in weakening the AL member-states. More importantly, the IMF and the World Bank do not acknowledge or recognize the Arab League in their databases. Instead, these international organizations (IO), as well as the U.S. Trade and Investment in the Middle East and North Africa Congressional Report they collect data for the "Arab World." Even though the Arab World has a regional IGO, the Arab League. Back to a shared set of values, which we find a strong correlation if member-states have a shared set of values resulting in defining member-state behavior, in the same manner, we can then argue the lack of recognition the AL receives among the international order has had detrimental effects.

Furthermore, the data provided is distorted when looking at the Middle East and North African Region, because, for example, data collected on the region's trade is inaccurate because countries such as Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Israel trade and economy distorts the overall numbers. The AL has been a key player resolving conflict resolution within the region, failing to integrate economically with one another and into the world economy. The disconnect found between the member-states located in North Africa and Persian Gulf dramatically have different development roads polarizing their relationships and incentives to cooperate internally.

The bewildering, increasing gap of wealth the member-states of the Arab League are experiencing, is also increasing the threat of a war outbreak. The Arab Spring, a reference to the protests and uprising of citizens in the League's respective states are just the beginning of citizens' expression of dismay from their governments' inability to adequately provide basic human needs. Protesting oppressive regimes is not unique to member-states of the Arab League. Riots and protests fill the streets of nation-states of South America and around globally. There is urgency in addressing these issues before they become uncontrollable.

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# Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador Keeps Promises to Migrants

STEPHANIE PEREZ

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## ABSTRACT

Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador (AMLO) is the current president of the United Mexican States. He came into office in December of 2018 and is part of the National Regeneration Movement (Movimiento Regeneración Nacional, MORENA) which is a left-wing political party in Mexico. AMLO, a populist leader, has been thought to be revolutionary to Mexico because of his populist campaign. This paper seeks to answer two main questions, first, how has AMLO maintained credibility with his people? And, how has AMLO cooperated with Trump. This paper analyzes speeches and written literature to formulate a narrative for AMLO's relationship with Trump which was found to be consistent with the promises he made to his people.

## INTRODUCTION

Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador (AMLO) made it very clear that one of his priorities would be “fixing” the issue of migrants coming into Mexico from Central America. He claimed he would be very respectful to migrants and would be as helpful as possible. In the first two months of his presidency he spoke of his high hopes to give migrants visas and create job opportunities for them; in which would allow them a safe place to be while they wait get into the United States. This was a very controversial topic during AMLO'S presidential campaign because of the great influx of migrants from Central American countries, mostly Honduras.

However, the former Republican president of the United States, Donald Trump since the beginning of his presidency in 2017 made it clear that he would secure the borders of his country by building a wall to keep immigrants out. AMLO was very aware of Trump's harsh criticism of Mexico and its people and made a promise to stand up to Trump if he was elected president. Consistent with his promises to secure borders, on May 30th, 2019 Trump threatened via twitter that a 5% tariff would be imposed on all products imported from Mexico until Mexico agreed to collaborate with them on securitizing borders.<sup>1</sup> Immediately after the public tweet, AMLO was accused of not keeping his promises to migrants. It is important to note that AMLO before Trump's tweet had already started raiding the border and detaining Central Americans. This situation led to a few questions; first, how has AMLO maintained credibility with his people? And, how has AMLO cooperated with Trump? These questions are framed around the issue of Central American migrants in Mexico. I have chosen to analyze AMLO's narrative to investigate whether AMLO has maintained credibility with his people and also how he has cooperated with Trump on the issue of immigration.

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1. Donald, Trump. Twitter Post. May 30, 2019.

This paper argues that AMLO is keeping migrants in Mexico safe by taking care of them while they are in the country; and also cooperates with Trump by proposing a plan that will benefit Mexico, the United States and Central American countries. As we go through AMLO's narrative of migration it will give us a better understanding of why he has chosen to act the way he has after Trump's threat. AMLO began his presidency with many promises for a country who has had many corrupt presidents in the past and is in desperate need of a president that will not disappoint the people. Highlighting the fact that AMLO is a populist and being true to the people is most important to him.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

First, I will be reviewing the literature that already exists about Trump and AMLO. Since the beginning of Trump's administration, the relationship between Mexico and the United States has changed and has been analyzed by scholars who try and explain what Trump means for Mexico.<sup>2</sup> Looking at Trump's effect on the United States is important to consider in order to form a coherent and complete narrative analysis of AMLO's foreign policy regarding migration. Understanding the relationship between not only Trump and AMLO is essential to this paper, but also understanding the relationship between the two countries.

Mexico and the United States have had strong trade agreements for many years. One of Trump's biggest concerns when he became president was the current trade agreements put in place, NAFTA. Trump has demanded renegotiation of NAFTA and even threatened to terminate the agreement if Mexico would not accept.<sup>3</sup> AMLO's campaign promises were in line with Trump's promises about trade, which was why NAFTA was revised as soon as AMLO took office.<sup>4</sup> Not only was changing how trade was done with Mexico a top priority for Trump but building a wall at the Mexican American border.<sup>5</sup> Trump claims that building a wall will keep immigrants out of the United States. Trump has shown an undeniable aversion for Mexico and its citizens. Throughout his presidential campaign and even now through his term he has disrespected the country of Mexico and immigrants by generalizing them as criminals and drug lords. This has caused an increase of discrimination towards Hispanics.<sup>6</sup> AMLO, very passionately claimed that he would not allow Trump to speak of his country that way any longer but would do it in a respectful manner because that was the way of his country.

In addition to the literature on Trump and AMLO I will also review narrative literature which is very scant in Foreign Policy and International Relations as a whole. Narrative analysis is very useful as it allows the telling of a story that in turn gives meaning to events in both our lives and the political world.<sup>7</sup> There are many approaches

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2. Donald, Klingner. *Trump Against the World: His Policies Toward Mexico, and the Resistance from Inside and Outside the United States*.

3. Laura, Alfaro, Sheldahl-Thomason Haviland, and Sarah Jeong. "Renegotiating NAFTA." Renegotiating NAFTA – Case - Harvard Business School, June 8, 2018.

4. Rebecca, Watts. "NAFTA in the Time of AMLO." *NACLA Report on the Americas* 51, no. 1 (2019): 9–12.

5. Amy N, Heuman, and Alberto González. "Trump's Essentialist Border Rhetoric: Racial Identities and Dangerous Liminalities." *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research* 47, no. 4 (2018): 326–42.

6. Adam Henry, Callister, Quinn Galbraith, and Spencer Galbraith. "Immigration, Deportation, and Discrimination: Hispanic Political Opinion Since the Election of Donald Trump." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 41, no. 2 (2019): 166–84.

7. Amy, Skonieczny. "Narrative Analysis and U.S. Trade Politics," 2019.

and conclusions one can take when using narrative analysis as a methodology. A narrative grammar approach is one that looks at narratives and decodes words in order to connect different parts to make a relationship.<sup>8</sup> Narratives can also lead to “country images” which lead to stereotypes and black-and-white thinking which has pros and cons.<sup>9</sup> Narratives, although very helpful in some instances can lead to narrow answers to questions which is why Krebs (2015) claims that it is very important to, “observe the presence or absence of a dominant narrative in a corpus of elite discourse.” In opposition, a narrative approach can be insightful as it allows for scholars to analyze individuals in first person.<sup>10</sup> One should always look at the full narrative instead of just a small part, which can lead to an incorrect story. The benefits and limits should be evaluated for this approach before deciding which approach is correct to the topic that will be studied.

## METHODOLOGY

I will be using a narrative approach in order to analyze AMLO’s presidency and his reasoning for his sudden change in attitude towards migrants, specifically those from Central America. This paper will add to the work of other narrative scholars who have used this approach to understand the story behind specific issues. After evaluations of approaches in International Relations, I concluded that the best approach to use in this paper would be a narrative analysis. This approach is essential when attempting to answer the two focus questions of this article. I will be using written literature and public speeches as my data in this paper in an attempt to build a successful narrative that answers both questions posed. The narrative analysis was done by hand which included reading discourses and highlighting sentences that included repeated words/phrases to form themes.

I analyzed a letter from AMLO to Trump, a couple days after winning the election, a press conference from April 23rd, 2019 and another letter written from AMLO to former President Trump following Trump’s threat of imposing a tariff on Mexico. Additionally, I was able to find a transcript of AMLO’s press conference from April 23rd, 2019 on his website [www.lopezobrador.org.mx](http://www.lopezobrador.org.mx). The data used for this paper is a timeline of the critical moments during AMLO’s presidency and shows his attitudes towards migrants. The three data pieces used are because of their main focus on the migration issue. I have found themes from the repeated words and phrases in the data which shapes the story of AMLO’s migration policies. It is worth noting that I am only using data which spans roughly a year and a half. The short time frame used goes to show how AMLO’s narrative does not have very much data and caused some limitations.

Through the data, I will look at AMLO’s overall narrative in order to understand his reason for acting the way he did towards Trump and his threat. I will also build a migration narrative (story) for AMLO. Even though, most of my data is about AMLO I also looked at news articles and the tweet from Trump on May 30th, 2019. This additional information was essential for the paper to have a strong foundation.

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8. Carolijn Van, Noort. “Study of Strategic Narratives: The Case of BRICS.” *Politics and Governance* 5, no. 3 (2017): 121–29.

9. Amy, Skonieczny. “Trading with the Enemy: Narrative, Identity and US Trade Politics.” *Review of International Political Economy* 25, no. 4 (2018): 441–62.

10. Ayelet, Harel-Shalev, and Shir Daphna-Tekoah. “Bringing Women’s Voices Back In: Conducting Narrative Analysis in IR.” *International Studies Review* 18, no. 2 (2016): 171–94.

**AMLO'S DISCOURSE**

As stated above, the data that will be used below are two letters from AMLO to Trump at different times and a press conference given by AMLO. This data is easily accessible online and truly carries important information that is beneficial when trying to understand if AMLO is keeping his promise to his voters and the migrants or not. The data is in chronological order to best understand the narrative.

AMLO won the Mexican election on July 1, 2018 and gave his first speech to Mexico, where he gave a positive message to all who had supported him. He wrote a letter to Trump on July 12, 2018, where he stated the kind of relationship he wanted to have with the United States and also all the hopes he had for both countries. Going back to July 1st, Trump tweeted, "congratulations to AMLO" and seemed very enthusiastic about working together. AMLO made sure to thank Trump for the congratulations in his letter. Throughout the letter AMLO spoke of the renegotiating of NAFTA and also border security which Trump has been wanting since his presidential campaign. AMLO proposed an economic plan to help the countries in Central America. This plan consists of countries in Central America contributing resources in order to create jobs for their people and help fight poverty. Also, some of the resources would be used to have more security at the borders of these countries into Mexico. Securing the borders of Mexico would in turn decrease the number of migrants from Central America going into the United States, which is in line with Trump's priorities. AMLO through this plan and this letter, acknowledges his willingness to cooperate with Trump by working on a policy that would help countries in Central America have more opportunities for their citizens, such as higher paying jobs and better education. AMLO claims that the United States would benefit from cooperating with this plan because it would result in less immigrants trying to go to the United States. AMLO also states that he wants to cooperate with Trump and have a good relationship as they are neighboring countries which need each other. He claims his willingness to cooperate with the United States in all the discourses analyzed. AMLO continues to explain that migration is not a choice, but rather a necessity for a lot of people in Central America, which is why he wants to work with these countries to make them self-sufficient. He speaks of the need for more job opportunities in the Central American countries and explains that this is why many immigrants are forced to leave their countries. Trump is known for saying very terrible things about immigrants, which he seems to get no serious consequences for. AMLO uses the word "comprehension" to try to get him to understand that immigrants go to the United States for opportunity, not because they are criminals or drug lords. Although, AMLO through his campaign spoke of Trump and his accusations towards the people of his country, he was very respectful throughout his letter and spoke rationally.<sup>11</sup> This text is very worth analyzing as it is the first letter directly written from AMLO to Trump. Even though, AMLO knows how negatively Trump has spoken of Mexico he still aims to have a respectful and cooperative relationship with him and the United States. He also claims that himself and Trump although have different opinions are actually similar in some ways, both being populists who put their voters at the center of their politics. By acknowledging the similarities between the two can lead to a sense of "us" instead of separate countries that do not have anything in common. Which is not at all how Trump has seen the relationship between the two countries.

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11. Raul. AMLO. Accessed October 25, 2020.



In a press conference on April 23rd AMLO was asked to speak about the raids that were happening at the border. For the Mexican people and migrants, it seemed like AMLO was acting contradictory to the way he had at the beginning of his presidency, which was only about four months before this conference. After two months in office AMLO began to give humanitarian visas to Central American migrants so they could work in Mexico while they waited on their asylum case in the United States. AMLO also promised more job opportunities in Mexico. In his press conference he also states that in addition to providing work visas for the migrants he also wants to take care of them which will be done by allowing them to register in order to have their information on record and be able to find them in case anything happens to them. Throughout the press conference AMLO speaks of his number one priority is to keep migrants in Mexico safe he claims, the policies he has followed is only to keep migrants safe in the country.<sup>12</sup> The text above was a response AMLO gave to an interviewer when asked about a recent raid that happened in the north. AMLO claimed that the reason for the raid was purely for security reasons and had nothing to do with the migrants themselves. He wanted them to be safe and the best way to keep them safe was to move them from where they were. As interviewers asked him different questions about whether these raids were consistent with the promises he had made to migrants at the beginning of his term, he continued to claim that security is the main reason for the stricter security at the borders. Not only does AMLO speak of security, but also refers to his original plan of supporting the countries in Central America in order to get them financially stable so that the people of those countries do not feel the need to leave.

It is important to note that raids were happening before the threat Trump made of imposing tariffs on Mexico. Although, it could be that they were not as publicized as the ones that began after the threat. Many of the Central American migrants and the citizens of Mexico argue, that before the threat, migrants were being welcomed into Mexico and even felt protected by the country. In comparison to after the threat, they were being detained for simply being in the country. AMLO during the press conference states that there is no contradiction to what he promised the migrants at the beginning and how he was acting towards them now, he states,

We have acted with great respect for migrants and we will continue to do so with respect for their human rights.<sup>13</sup>

Not only does AMLO address the security of the migrants in this press conference, but again, addresses the friendly relationship he hopes to have with the United States. He states very clearly,

We do not want to confront the United States government, we want a friendly relationship.<sup>14</sup>

He states that even though he wishes for a friendly relationship with the government of the United States he claims that Trump has not been very cooperative. AMLO again addressed his policy for immigration, which is the same one he proposed

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12. Raul. AMLO. Accessed October 25, 2020.

13. Raul. AMLO. Accessed October 25, 2020.

14. Raul. AMLO. Accessed October 25, 2020.

when he first became president. It seems however that Trump has not agreed to the plan he has proposed which the United States, Mexico and all the countries in Central America could benefit from. The way in which AMLO continues to speak of the importance of not wanting to confront the United States, but in contrast speaks of wanting to have a friendly relationship; this once again is consistent with his initial promises.

Trump's threat via Twitter sent the people of both countries into an automatic state of panic, as Mexico and the United States have a very strong trade relationship (ex: fresh produce, oil). Trump is known for doing things that will cause a big reaction by people, which is exactly what happened when he tweeted this. This tweet is the central part of AMLO's narrative because it tested the promises he made and forced him to make a decision quickly.

The opening sentence of the letter AMLO wrote to Trump on May 30, 2019 in response to the tweet is, "In advance, I express to you that I do not want confrontation" which was a recurring phrase AMLO stated in all three discourses. He goes on to speak about history and past presidents and explains that conflicts should be dealt with "prudence" and "responsibility". AMLO, also explains that he is working diligently to make Mexico a country in which people have opportunities and do not feel forced to leave. He although does it with the utmost respect, stands up to Trump and tells him that the threat was not the correct way for a president to make a foreign policy.

President Trump: social problems are not resolved by taxes or coercive measures...With all due respect, although you have the sovereign right to express it, the slogan "United States First" is a fallacy because until the end of time, even over national borders, universal justice and fraternity will prevail.<sup>15</sup>

AMLO, in the quote above clearly indicates that taxes are not the way to resolve problems. He did not seem very impressed with how Trump when about trying to get what he wanted. AMLO attacks his narcissistic slogan of "United States First" which Trump is very well known for saying. He brings up a very correct statement which is that his slogan is a "fallacy", because no one country is first, it is the universe that is first and all the people in it. Although, pointing to the faults in Trump's arguments, AMLO continues to speak of cooperation on foreign policies. In his letter he again states that he does not want any kind of confrontation, but in contrast wants to work on a immigration policy that both countries will benefit from. He claims that he is not "cowardly" and does not "lack courage" but acts on principles.

#### **THEMES IN AMLO'S DISCOURSES**

This paper analyzed three of AMLO's discourses, which are from three different times in AMLO's presidency. All three were essential parts of the narrative analysis done in order to make my argument regarding the questions posed in this paper. Although, many believe AMLO is a president who is not keeping his promises, this narrative analysis strives to show that AMLO has held on to his promises firmly and continues to do so. To restate the focus questions of this article: how has AMLO maintained credibility with his people? And, how AMLO cooperated with Trump? The best way to compose arguments for the questions was to do a narrative analysis of AMLO's discourses and find common themes. The theme that attempts to answer the first

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15. Raul. AMLO. Accessed October 25, 2020.

question is “Security for Migrants”. AMLO continues to claim that his policy and promises towards migrants have not changed since his campaign. He promised to first and foremost keep the migrants safe and take care of them by providing visas and giving them the opportunity to register. Having migrants register in Mexico will allow for them to be counted in the census and have Personally Identifiable Information (PII) on record in case it is ever needed. It is important to note that two of the discourses were before Trump’s threat and the third was written on the same day in response to the threat. The table below displays the sentences from all three discourses that goes to show that AMLO kept his promise to migrants and that his actions are justified by continuing to keep the migrants of Central America safe.

Although, many believe that Trump has been the reason for the raids and detention of migrants at the border in Mexico, it should be noted that raids and detention begun before Trump’s threat on May 30th. In addition, AMLO claims the raids are in favor of the migrants and is a way to keep them safe from the violence. He also stated multiple times throughout his press conference on April 23rd that it is important to know the context of the raids in order to understand why they are being done. Overall, AMLO’s narrative regarding migration seems to be very static and fulfilling of his initial promises. The theme of “Security for Migrants” shown below allows for AMLO to maintain credibility with his voters as it provides a justification for his actions.

Similarly, in an attempt to answer the second question, the theme of “Cooperation with Trump/US” is used. Trump has been very public about his feelings towards Mexico and his people, but AMLO has continued to keep a friendly relationship with him. In specific after Trump’s threat to impose a tariff on products coming from Mexico to the United States, he was said to have taken a very passive approach. Below, in the table shown are sentences from AMLO’s discourses that show AMLO made a promise to cooperate with the United States and has kept his promise through Trump’s threat by working on the issue of immigration, but also allowing the migrants to benefit from the solution.

Since the beginning of Trump’s campaign his top priority has been stopping illegal immigration into the United States which he believes will be resolved by building a wall. He has demanded that Mexico be the one to pay for the wall. AMLO is aware of Trump’s wishes to build a wall and AMLO proposed a plan in which he believes would resolve the immigration issue. Not only would the plan resolve the immigration issue, but it would resolve the root cause of migration from Central America which is, minimal opportunities for growth. Trump did not seem to be very thrilled with the idea and did not accept to be part of the plan. This could be a reason why Trump decided to threaten Mexico by imposing a tariff on their products if they did not fix the migration issue quickly. This obviously is not the correct way two countries come to an agreement on a foreign policy. Again, AMLO responded in a very respectful manner telling Trump he was willing to cooperate with him but imposing a tariff would not lead to a solution. The theme “Cooperation with Trump/US” is very consistent with what AMLO promised during his campaign and we see that he has been staying true to its throughout his presidency. Although, not acting as upfront as Trump, AMLO has chosen a much more respectful stance, but still holding true to his word.

Security for Migrants	Cooperation with Trump/United States
We do not want them to have free passage, not only for legal reasons, but for security reasons.	I am sure that we will be able to reach agreements to face both the migration phenomenon and the problem of border insecurity.
We have the greatest violence in the northern states, and we prefer to serve the migrant population of Central America in the south-southeast.	I share the following proposal, which purpose is to initiate a new stage in the relationship between Mexico and the United States based on mutual respect and the identification of areas of understanding and common interests.
What we want is for migrants to be taken care of.	We don't want to fight with the United States government.
The second thing is to take care of them and for that they are asked to register, to know where they are from, to have their general data, especially in the case of families, because families come, children come.	We do not want to confront the United States government, we want a friendly relationship.
And the policy we have followed in this case, I repeat, is one of protection and of preventing them from exposing them, harming them and protecting their human rights.	Well, we have to find the balance and the ways to solve.
You also know that we are fulfilling our responsibility to avoid, as far as possible and without violating human rights, the passage through our country.	So, we have to find the solution without confronting each other, without lawsuits, protecting migrants, because life is sought, it is a fundamental human right to live free from misery, so they migrate.
We have acted with great respect for migrants and we will continue to do so with respect for their human rights.	I believe that statesmen, and even more so those of Nation, are obliged to seek peaceful solutions to controversies and to put into practice, forever, the beautiful ideal of non-violence.

**FUTURE RESEARCH**

There is very little work done in both narrative analysis and the effect that Trump has had on AMLO. The latter deficiency is most likely because AMLO has not been in office very long to be able to make the best conclusions. That was one of the challenges I came across when trying to find existing literature on the relationship between the current president of Mexico and the United States. It would be very interesting to see how the issue of immigration unfolds as both countries still have not come to an agreement. Once an agreement is made it would provide more complete narrative analysis. This was relatively short analysis, which is why only three of AMLO's discourses were analyzed but having more data could lead to a stronger conclusion. Another challenge was finding discourses from AMLO's presidential campaign. Initially, I wanted to include a speech from a rally, but I could not find a full video of a speech where AMLO speaks of his plans if he becomes president. I believe it would have been very beneficial to analyze from the very beginning of his campaign which would also provide a longer time frame. With all of this in mind, I reiterate that it would be very beneficial to do another narrative analysis at the end of AMLO's term to see whether he continues to keep his promise to migrants coming into Mexico.

It was also beneficial to do a direct comparison of Trump and AMLO as they both

are populist leaders. Understanding the similarities and differences between the two leaders could lead to a prediction of how the relationship between the two leaders will continue to unfold. Possibly, taking a different theoretical approach to the comparison would be the most beneficial. AMLO and Trump are often compared to one another, but there is very little research done in this area. The results from the comparison could be very helpful for the future of narrative analysis on the topic of immigration. Overall, it would be advantageous to do more research on Trump and AMLO as both countries have strong ties and have two leaders who changed policies of their countries very rapidly.

## **CONCLUSION**

This paper has done a narrative analysis of a fairly new president in Mexico, AMLO. Mexico has had a long history of corrupt leaders who leave citizens feeling hopeless for change. AMLO won the election because the people of Mexico are in need of change in their country and they saw hope in him. Although Mexico was hopeful at the beginning of AMLO's presidency, two years later they are beginning to wonder if he will act on his promises. This paper aims to argue that so far, AMLO is acting on his promises and he continues to work hard to keep all the promises he made during his presidential campaign.

Through this analysis two themes were discovered that are consistent with the promises made by AMLO. The two themes found by doing a narrative analysis on three different discourses were, "Security for Migrants" and "Cooperate with Trump/US". Both of these themes were formed by putting together sentences from all three discourses to show a consistency in AMLO's policy regarding migrants. The main goal of this paper is to argue that AMLO continues to hold his credibility, as he has not gone against his promises and that cooperation with Trump has always been a goal of his. The table made is to show a summary of all data used for this paper to give a sense of how the themes were formed. This paper and argument made should only be taken as a starting foundation to a much bigger study that should be done at the end of AMLO's presidency.

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# Restraint and Aggression in Chinese Foreign Policy: What Drives Beijing's Interests in the International Arena? The Rise of The Socialist Peace Dividend?

PAOLO PONTONIERE

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An ongoing debate in International Relations concerns the intent of China's foreign policy. Is it aggressive or opportunistic? Driven by pacific aims and thus leverages empathy, or signals Beijing's political disengagement from areas outside its region of immediate influence? Moreover, what kind of world do Chinese leaders see from their window? Though they appear to be just of theoretical relevance, these questions bear enormous practical consequences. Not just for the world in general, but for China itself, as the debate between those who see China as a de-facto super-power and those who instead believe that now more than ever, China should follow Deng's advice lay low and keep growing in the economic sphere. Thus, ensuring or discrediting scenarios that range from the birth of regional organizations of multilateral governance emerging across Asia, the likes of the E.U., or visions of a new era in arms races to compare what we witnessed during the Cold War will pale. However, researchers seldom consider the influence that indigenous drivers such as ideology, political culture, and historical elements exert in China's foreign policy despite all their arguments. The scope of this paper is to re-mediate this lacuna and to reconcile both positions with the unfathomable possibility that there exists something like a "Socialist Peace Dividend." Moreover, this dividend is not merely a theoretical contribution of Chinese Socialism to I.R. theory. It is a real force pushing the international relations system to implement a new multilateralism culture and create a more inclusive development model.

## INTRODUCTION

Historical findings relating to the existence of tributary systems of regional interdependence across Asia in the centuries preceding colonial powers' arrival in the 15th century confirm that ordainment of state sovereignty other than the Westphalian order is possible across Asia with the help of China.<sup>1</sup>

Centered around the issue of establishing to whom belongs the monopoly on violence above a specific territory, the Treaties of Westphalia of 1648 ended the Thirty Years War and set an arrangement of sovereign entities in the international system which possessed the monopoly on violence within their mutually recognized borders.<sup>2</sup>

This arrangement which was principally meant to reduce the power of empires recognized

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1. Johnston, Alastair I. (2013). How New and Assertive Is China's New Assertiveness? *International Security*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (Spring), pp. 7–48

2. Shahar Hameiria and Jinghan Zengb State transformation and China's engagement in global governance: the case of nuclear technologies. *The Pacific Review*. 22 May 2019. DOI:10.1080/09512748.2019.1613441

that each state holds sovereignty over its territory based on the principle of non-interference and that the territorial integrity of a state (no matter how large or small) cannot be diminished. Before applied only to the signatory of the Treatise, these principles were eventually enshrined in the U.N. charter.<sup>3</sup>

In such a context, China's current "One Belt One Road" (OBOR) initiative becomes a tool or the creation of a "community of common destiny"<sup>4</sup> and more importantly that the aims of a global socialist revolution are achievable within a multi-polar context. That yes, the Beijing Johnston, Alastair I. (2013). *How New and Assertive Is China's New Assertiveness?* Consensus, that this development derives directly from, as Leninists would say, global financial dynamics inured by the internationalization of capital, and that it represents a natural to the Washington Consensus.

Finally, within the discourse and content analysis, there are indications that China is seeking to develop a form of Socialism of "Periclean nature." Neither mires to build an international anti-imperialistic league in the Marxist-Leninist style to oppose the capitalistic system nor to politically hegemonize the international system. Instead, China is attempting to gain a system-wide influence through anti-colonial economic persuasion and negotiated expansionism. It acts more as a "primus inter pares" in creating a whole new world order than its undiscussed leader, as in the case of preceding global powers.

For China, international development appears to be a negotiated process that, mindful of the imbalances caused by colonialism, must also address uneven and unjust development trajectories within the global system and the countries that decide to partner with Beijing. In this sense, Beijing's action is informed more by Trotsky's theory of imperialism than by the classical Marxist-Leninist critique of liberal economics, which makes little attempt to offer an alternative trajectory for the development of relations within the international system. Though it is undeniable that China pursues its interests in the international system, but rather than merely developing self-serving and point-to-point infrastructures as in the case of classical colonial powers, Beijing's actions are characterized by a holistic vision of regional economic growth.<sup>5</sup> These actions are particularly true of Africa, Central Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East, where Beijing has made significant inroads thanks to its soft power diplomacy, which has translated into the creation of major transcontinental public infrastructures.<sup>6</sup>

Since the U.S. and China engaged in normalizing diplomatic relationships in the 1970s with the launch of the "Ping-Pong Diplomacy" with a series of high-level matches between the Ping-Pong national teams of the two countries, scholars from the three major "ism" of international relation have been debating the issue of China's standing on the international chessboard attempting to discern its intentions in foreign policy.

However, the issue has been approached mainly from the regional security, political, and economic point of view, analyzing which outcome would be more likely to emerge should any of the scenarios forecasted by the different I.R. schools of thought be proven correct.<sup>7</sup> Nonetheless,

3. NYWY6. All Roads lead to Beijing: China as the 21st Century Middle Kingdom. Dissertation submitted in part-fulfillment of the Master of Science Course in International Public Policy. University College London. September 2017.

4. Jakobson, Linda, and Manuel, Ryan. (2016). How are Foreign Policy Decisions Made in China? *Asia & the Pacific Policy Studies*. Vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 101–110 DOI: 10.1002/app 5.121

5. Amitav, Acharya. "Theoretical Perspectives on International Relations in Asia." *International Relations of Asia*. Edited by David Shambaugh and Michael Yahuda. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 2008

6. Randall L. Schweller and Xiaoyu Pu "After Unipolarity. China's Visions of International Order in an Era of U.S. Decline." *International Security*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (Summer 2011), 56

7. Paolo, Pontoniere. Current perspectives in US-China Relations in South East Asia: Powershift or conflictual cooperation? David Shambaugh Vis-a-vi his contemporaries [Power Point Slides]. IR 749. Spring 2019. San Francisco State University; David, Shambaugh. "Coping with a Conflicted China." *The Washington Quarterly*. 2011. 34:1 pp.7-27



while research has focused on the economic and military dance that the U. S. and China are performing across Asia with one another, prospecting developments which range from security dilemma to democratic peace dividend and multi-polar jurisgenerativity, the relevance of China's internal dynamics in the formation of its interest in the international arena remains still relatively unexplored. Particularly when it comes to an understanding of what the world looks like from Beijing's Standing Politburo Office.

Moreover, while generally in agreement about the question of how—and if – I.R. theories apply to China's role in the development of the political and interrelational asset of Asia is paramount, the number of analysts who take into full consideration China's intent to create a harmonious socialist future as a point of departure to develop their theories is worryingly thin.<sup>8</sup> However, mainstream I.R. has begun admitting the existence of a “Chinese Road to Socialism” and I.R. theory, even fewer wonder how China's pursuit of this goal is modifying Marxism's underpinnings.<sup>9</sup>

Besides being spurious, this analytical delay is puzzling. Since, should either prevail the Leninist soul of China —as it appears it may be happening under Xi Jinping's leadership—or the pragmatic Economism of state capitalists, the implications for the region's security and the world economy may be strikingly divergent.<sup>10</sup>

China will not follow Germany's path leading up to World War I or those of Germany and Japan leading up to World War II when these countries violently plundered resources and pursued hegemony. Neither will China follow the path of the great powers vying for global domination during the Cold War. Instead, China will transcend ideological differences to strive for peace, development, and cooperation with world wide countries.<sup>11</sup>

However, while China-US relations' direction has been placed in a territory that is strongly representative of interests residing in the international sphere, the debate about the aggressiveness' or the peacefulness of China's intents comes short of representing the Chinese's point of view on this issue. Both for how the Chinese themselves see their role in international relations and how Chinese analysts read the international community reactions to China's posture in international relations. This tendency is particularly true when applied to the analysis of their connections across the Asian theatre. Here western-prone scheme at a are dominant and lead researchers to the fallacy of “band-wagoning” China's internal affairs attitude with its international affairs praxis.

Some investigators, as Schweller and Xiaoyu, believe that much depends on China's attitude toward the current international order.<sup>12</sup> In their understanding, China cannot be, but three things:

8. Zheng, Bijian. “China's Peaceful Rise to Great-Power Status.” *Foreign Affairs*. 84, No. 5. 2005-22; Shih, C-y. & Yin, J. (2013) “Between Core National Interest and a Harmonious World: Reconciling Self-role Conceptions in Chinese Foreign Policy.” *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Vol. 6 (1).

9. Amitav, Acharya. “Thinking Theoretically About Asian IR.” Chapter 3; E. L. Wheelwright and B. McFarlane. “The Chinese Road to Socialism.” Review by: Dwight H. Perkins. *International Security*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (Summer 2011), pp. 41-72  
*Pacific Affairs*. Vol. 44, No. 4 (Winter, 1971-1972), pp. 607-608

10. David, Shambaugh. *Coping with a Conflicted China*. The Washington Quarterly. 2011.34:1pp.7-27; Kwak, James. “*Economism. Bad Economics and the rise of Inequality*.” Pantheon Books. New York, 2017

11. Zheng, 2005-22

12. Randall L., Schweller and Xiaoyu, Pu. “After Unipolarity China's Visions of International Order in an Era of U.S. Decline.” *International Security*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (Summer 2011), pp. 41-72

- It can be a supporter and thus will assume a managerial role in an otherwise unchanged international order;
- It can be a spoiler intent to erase what is already in place to substitute it with structures other than those which emerged from the Westphalian order;
- Or it can be a loafer ready to ride on the shoulders of others to gain positions within the international system but unwilling to assume any responsibility for the success of global governance. In essence, a shirker who's willing to take advantage of the privileges deriving from its power but is unwilling to pay for them contributes to global governance.<sup>13</sup>

Like Chacko and Jayasuriya, other researchers cite China's urgent necessity to resolve its uneven and combined development problems to explain Beijing's intent to establish—either by economic or military pressure—its dominance internationally and to create a Sinocentric hierarchical system of relations.<sup>14</sup>

Although both camps are partly right, when the discourse is reexamined within a comparative case framework, the reading may impeach both the accuser and the accused.

For example, even though China's repopulation of Tibet and Xinjiang can be classified expressly as an attempt to resolve political, ethnic, and economic imbalances through military pressure, its significance pales when compared to the situation in the American jails. In this direction, western media's reports about the jailing of circa one million ethnic Uyghurs are markedly less significant when contrasted to the 2.2 million people jailed as of 2016 in the United States of America. While unjustifiable from any point of view, seen within its comparative demographic relevance, the Uyghurs represent less than 1/10,000th of the Chinese population. At the same time, the 2.2 million people jailed in the U.S.—of whom over 40% are Afro-Americans—represent almost a seventh of the American population.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, while they do not justify China's treatment of its Buddhist and Islamic minorities, these two data points serve to demonstrate well to what extent states may go to ensure that their safety, their sovereignty, and the application of their national laws are protected against whatever and whomever they perceive to be a threat to their survival.

Considering this comparison, we should conclude that as we do not measure the U.S. intention in the international arena by the number of people that currently reside in its jails, we should equally refrain from reading China's policy toward its ethnic minorities as a mirror of the order that Beijing seeks to establish in interstate relations.

## DISCUSSION

The dual nature of China as a state and China as a political entity confounds analysts. The overlapping of powers between the structure of the state and the Chinese Communist Party—where the latest prevails—limits the applicability of the canons typical of Realism, Liberalism, and Constructivism. Therefore, the analysis of China's intents in the international realm depends on establishing a common departure point. That cannot be other but ascertaining who has the monopoly on violence, alas, where the power to formulate the final policy resides.

Realists have no doubts about this issue. No other actor has agency but the state, which

13. Schweller and Xiaoyu 2011, 41-72

14. Priya, Chacko and Kanishka, Jayasuriya. "A capitalizing foreign policy: Regulatory geographies and transnationalised state projects." *European Journal of International Relations* 2018, Vol. 24(1) 82-105

15 Citation

operates in a system governed by anarchy and pursues its interests attempting to maximize its gains in a zero-sum context. In this view, the state resides in those instances which have dominion over committing violence.<sup>16</sup> For the liberals, it emerges from the collective interests of the state's various distributional coalitions.<sup>17</sup> Together they can create that lifting wave that can overcome political and ideological differences and ultimately—theoretically—distribute the peace dividends of democracy across the world.<sup>18</sup> With their “top-down” and “in-and-out” analyses in the formulation of a country's foreign policy besides security and economic interests, importance of non-material gains in international relations for a country.<sup>19</sup>

In China's case, where the constitution does not address institutional primacy in foreign policy, the subject of who wields the ultimate power is not quickly resolved.<sup>20</sup> As of today, a Maoist-Leninist country, China, from the revolution of 1946, inherited a governing structure where the Party intermingles with and supersedes the state. Though enured with powers in the realm of deployment of international initiatives, the policy formulation here happens not in the state department but at the Politburo Standing Committee level and ultimately in the Party's secretary-general's office, Xi Jinping.<sup>21</sup> This overlapping of powers offers China some advantages and produces some lesser understood outcomes.

On the side of the advantages, this solution allows China to leverage its constitutional principle of collective leadership. This means that the best talents from both organizations are combined and appointed to the management of the task, which means that in essence, the Party's secretaries who have come to power since the “Great Leap” have set a vision of foreign policy which is more in tune with Confucian principles of shared responsibility than Marxist orthodoxy.<sup>22</sup> To describe this process, Deng Xiaoping resurrected the slogan “seek truth from facts,” a quotation from the Book of Han (489 B.C.E.), which was dear to Mao.<sup>23</sup> Jiang Zemin, who was General Secretary from 1989 to 2002, aspiring to achieve accelerated growth, confided into promoting “an economically comfortable society,” a phrase of Confucian origins, while Hu Jintao (2002 to 2012), who attempted to harmonize growth with wealth distribution aspired to a “harmonious society.”<sup>24</sup> Many prominent Chinese scholars, including figures Men Honghua, a member of Central Party School, who is considered the “Dean” of power studies in China, believe that four fundamental Confucian and Mencian values make a unique theoretical contribution to I.R. scholarship. Contributions that imply alternatives to the Westphalian order and where the international system's critical constituents are harmony, morality, spirituality, and benevolence.<sup>25</sup> Deng's taoguang yanghui—maintain a low profile—principle also derives from Confucianism, as are the other three foremost tenets of Chinese foreign policy “hide brightness, do not seek leadership, but do some things,” which even though now with the launch

16 Jennifer, Mitzen. “Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and the Security Dilemma.” *European Journal of International Relations*; (2006) Sep; 12, 3; ProQuestpg.341

17 William, Michael C. “Why Ideas Matter in International Relations: Hans Morgenthau, Classical Realism, and the Moral Construction of Power Politics.” *International Organization* 58. Fall 2004 pp 633-635

18 Williams, 2004-634

19 Williams, 2004-634

20 Jakobson & Manuel 2016-108

21 Jakobson & Manuel, 2016-103

22 Jakobson & Manuel, 2016-108; Dickson, Bruce J. “The Survival Strategy of the Chinese Communist Party.” *The Washington Quarterly*. 2017. 39:4 pg. 37

23 Dickson, 2017-38

24 Dickson, 2017-38

25 Shambaugh 2011-21

of the China Dream and the OBOR project seem to be relegated, are still standing.<sup>26</sup> As also are the nine general paradigms developed by the members of China's International Relation Association:

“Do not confront the United States; do not challenge the international system in general; do not use ideology to guide foreign policy; do not be the chief of the “anti--Western camp”; do not conflict with the majority of countries, even when we are right; learn to make compromises and concessions, and learn the game of reciprocal interests; do not compromise China's core interests concerning the unification of the country; provide public goods in needed areas of international affairs; and change China's international image by taking advantage of critical global events.”<sup>27</sup>

On the side of the complications resides the fact that Chinese interests and actors in international relations have emerged at all party and state structure levels in virtue of the collective leadership principle. Currently, foreign policy interventions come from the most unlikely international portfolios, such as agriculture and fishing, and maritime commerce. Altogether, this burgeoning mass of interests not only causes the flourishing of groups of interest within the Party with coastal regions diverging from those inland and state-owned capital colliding with private but causes China's foreign policy to be inconsistent and exerts enormous political pressure on the Standing Committee. Along with the flourishing of distributional coalitions, these interests reflect a turnover from a generation— that of the old guard who fought in the revolution— to a new one made of bureaucrats and economic entrepreneurs and a shift in China's international relations posture.<sup>28</sup>

“The Princelings,” the emerging leadership, have interests in business across the world and must resolve China's growing problem of uneven and combined development. These new leaders may approve of less constrained policies in confronting the U. S. to dominate the international market and access resources. The most worrisome development in this direction may be China's willingness to engage in military competition with the U. S. at a level not centrally coordinated by the Party's authorities, which may increase accidental and uncontrolled risk military confrontations in contested areas of the Sea of China and the Strait of Malacca.<sup>29</sup>

However, discussing Mao Zedong and how ideology informed his moral understanding of the nature of the state, Zhang demonstrates that the zero-sum view, which is predominant in interstate relationships within the historical materialism paradigm, has seldom been part of Maoism. Since the Bandung Conference of 1955, Maoists have been a strong proponent of multilateralism.<sup>30</sup> Maoism is a form of Marxism-Leninism where farmers lead the revolution, and the farming homestead is the Party's basic constitutive unit.

The Bandung conference produced a ten points agenda. These points promoted a new and inclusive development model and included recognizing grace equality, respect for human rights, and the right of every nation to territorial integrity and state sovereignty. Mao and Zhou Enlai played a defining role in pushing through the ten principles. These principles included states abstention from using arrangements of collective defense to serve the big powers;

26 Shambaugh 2011-21

27 Shambaugh 2011-21

28. Shambaugh 2011; Jackson & Manuel, 2016

29. Shambaugh 2011-20 and Jakobson & Manuel 2016-104

30. David Shambaugh, U.S.-China Rivalry in Southeast Asia: Power Shift or Competitive Coexistence? *International Security*, Volume 42, Number 4, Spring 2018, pp. 85-127.; Zhang Xiaotong and James Keith, “From Wealth to Power: China's New Economic Statecraft,” *The Washington Quarterly*, Spring 2017

refraining from exerting pressures on other countries; desisting from assaulting, or using force against the integrity and the independence of any country; settlement of international disputes by peaceful means; promotion of cooperation, and finally respect for justice and international obligations.<sup>31</sup> Mao and Zhou Enlai were two of the principal organizers of the conference. On that occasion, Mao had coalesced some of the significant diversification of Chinese Socialism from the big tree of international Marxism.<sup>32</sup> He had come to recognize that the anti-colonial nationalist sentiments that were sweeping Africa and Asia were as important as the labor struggle for realizing a socialist future. With that, he came closer to constructivism and critical theory than any other “real socialism country” he had ever done before. Mao started to understand China as the natural leader of these forces as China had just carried out a revolutionary uprising characterized by anti-colonial nationalism.<sup>33</sup>

Although they do not offer any illumination about the topic of “The Chinese Way to Socialism,” Zhang and Keith nevertheless provide some additional elements of clarification about the manners by which China’s Socialism diverges from the Socialism of the so-called ‘Countries of the Real Socialism,’ which all vanished with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the implosion of the Soviet Union. Transposing China’s intentions in the economy to analyze its statecraft and its foreign policy vision, the two researchers conclude that two factors distinguish China from the rest of the “Real Socialism.” The first is China’s determination to escape the gravitational pull of the “Thucydides’ Trap,” as it rises and attempts to prevent any clash with the standing global power while it is gradually enlarging its international circle of influence and its regional predominance.<sup>34</sup> The second reconfirms China’s commitment to the Global South and interdependence.”

“China believes that a collective rise of developing countries and emerging economies more accurately reflect a fundamental change in international politics and better serves the formation of multi-polarity, a consistent goal of its foreign policy that China has been pursuing since Mao Zedong.”<sup>35</sup>

#### CONCLUSION: THE SOCIALIST PEACE DIVIDEND\*

The inner-working of the communist Party remains mostly a mystery to the outer world. In light of the uncertainty that this factor generates in the international system, its superimposition on to the state’s structure, besides weakening China’s diplomatic institutions, does very little to abate the suspicions that western powers harbor toward Beijing’s intentions. Presented with an opaque picture, international observers tend to conclude that China’s Politburo window is mostly a realist view.<sup>36</sup> If conjoined with China’s global posture, which is perceived as an increasingly competitive and military confrontational, this belief may lead to erroneously conclude that China’s Politburo view is aggressive mainly, if not militarily for sure economically.<sup>37</sup>

Contrasting with this view, though, there are the public manifestations of political intentions by China’s government members and China’s political analysts. Instead, then war and conflict they indicate that regardless of the increase in cases of international contestation involving China, the “Middle Kingdom” is still following what could be defined the Confucian way to the realization of Marxism, and thus continues applying Deng’s four principles of China’s pacific convenience with its neighborhood and the rest of the world. (Dickson)

31. Jung Chang and John Halliday, Mao: *The Unknown Story*, pp. 603-604, 2007 edition, Vintage Books

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. Minghao, Zhao/ “Is a New Cold War Inevitable? Chinese Perspectives on US–China Strategic Competition,” *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 2019, 1–24 DOI: 10.1093/cjip/poz010

35. Minghao Zhao, 2019

36. Randall L. Schweller and Xiaoyu Pu. “After Unipolarity. China’s Visions of International Order in an Era of U.S. Decline.” *International Security*, Vol. 36, No. 1. Summer 2011-59

37. Schweller and Pu, 2011

Furthermore, new scholarly research situates China's intentions within the political trends sweeping East South-East Asia, providing credibility to the Chinese assertion of visions of "harmonious," or non-conflictual relations in foreign policy. These trends confirm that new order, not of Westphalian nature, can be created across these regions with China's help. A Sinocentric-based hierarchical order in which OBOR, rather than being a marketing caper by Xi Jinping's expansionistic desires, as it is often characterized, is a product of this peaceful arrangement on the way to create a "community of common destiny."

Finally, we have seen that literature elements are accrediting the belief that China's Socialism, departing from the re-evaluation of China's agrarian traditions, and assuming the household as the state's bedrock structure, may constitute a specific branch of Socialism within the Marxist-Leninist tradition. This Socialism appears to be more constructivist than realist and where zero-sum and cold war is difficult to envision. Within this kind of Socialism, interests in the international system rotate around the right to sovereignty of nations, domestic stability, the development of the economy, and the promotion of multilateralism. In this context, China's parabolic growth of prestige can escape Thucydides' trap, and thus its foreign policy, unconstrained by the confrontation with a previous dominant power, serves to support an overall policy of inclusion. Therefore, rather than promoting a single unavoidable path to emancipation, China's unique form of Socialism allows for the possibility that nations may arrive in freeing themselves from "the yoke capitalism" and exploitation following a logic of non-aggression, of cultural and economic cooperation, and promoting multilateral organism of international governance and jurisgenerativity.<sup>38</sup>

In light of what discussed until now, this researcher can confidently state that three findings have emerged forcefully from the literature review that characterizes China's posture in the international arena:

1. China's assertion of pursuing "harmonious," or non-conflictual, relations in foreign policy, is verified by scholarly research and is situated within the broader political trends that are sweeping East and South-East Asia. These trends confirm that a new non-Westphalian order can be created across these regions with the help of China. In such a context, OBOR, rather than being a marketing caper by Xi Jinping's expansionistic desires, as it is often characterized, becomes a product of this peaceful arrangement on the way to create a "community of common destiny."

2. As Gramsci believed that a nation could not separate from itself a part of what makes it a nation—in his writings about political minority and cultural beliefs—and thus must find a bloodless avenue to emancipation, similarly, China demonstrates that the Leninist dream of a global socialist revolution does not necessarily need to be realized by like-minded nations and bathed in blood.<sup>39</sup> On the contrary, in a multi-polar context, even a country situated on the political spectrum opposite China may contribute to the rise of equality and peace in the international system.<sup>40</sup> In such a context, the Beijing Consensus does not correspond to chaos but rather to a natural alternative to the Washington Consensus.<sup>41</sup>

3. Findings in the literature indicate that China has developed a form of Periclean Socialism. Beijing is counting on its power of persuasion—and the strength of its development model—to become a "primus inter pares" in the creation of a new, more inclusive world order. Similar to the advantages that the liberal order provides to America and its allies, this new order enables China and its partners to reap the benefits deriving from one may define the "Socialist peace dividend."

Acknowledgment: The author wishes to recognize his International Relations colleague Florence Carroll for having inspired the concept of "Socialist Peace Dividend" to this analysis.

38. Injoo Sohn, "After renaissance: China's multilateral offensive in the developing world," *European Journal of International Relations*, 18(1) 77–101, 2011

39. Ibid.

40. Schweller and Pu, 2011-59

41. Ibid.

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# Orientalism as a tool of Colonialism, Affecting the Perception and Assimilation of Muslims in Britain

SAMIM SHAIKH

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## ABSTRACT

A multitude of theories abounds about integration problems of British Muslim immigrants while less is written on the reception of Muslims by the British public. This paper examines Britain's colonial past and its influence on British perceptions of immigrants particularly of Muslims prior to their arrival on British soil. My attention focuses on the concept of Orientalism and how it was used as a tool of colonialism for Britain to exert its authority on its colonies. My emphasis is the infatuation of the British public with Orientalist ideas prior to the arrival of Muslim immigrants to Britain. I scrutinize the work of Helen Rajabi who studies Oriental and Colonial indoctrination of the British public in the inter-war years prior to mass Muslim immigration to Britain. To support my thesis, my case study involves reviewing the movie *East is East*, a comedy/drama that details the trials and tribulations of a Pakistani/English family. My findings conclude that the Orientalist and Colonialist propaganda had perpetuated the mind of the British and impacted their attitudes and reception of Muslim immigrants to Britain during the 1960s and 1970s.

## INTRODUCTION

There are various theories as to why British Muslims do not integrate in Western society, and that they choose to live segregated, in isolation from other communities. I firmly believe that the mindset of the British colonial past in the minds of the British, has had a huge impact in clouding the judgment of the general population of Britain, and that they were prejudiced against the inhabitants of former colonies even before these immigrants came to Britain. Instead of providing a perspective as an outsider, I wanted to give a viewpoint as an individual who has had personal experience. Therefore, my question is, why did British Muslims have a hard time assimilating in British culture? My paper will proceed as follows: In order to understand the perspective and mindset of the British when they invited immigrants from former colonies after World War Two, some contextual information is needed. Firstly, about the Orientalist mindset of the British and how Orientalism has been utilized as a tool of Colonialism as explained by Edward Said.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, I will discuss postwar immigration to Britain. In my literature review, I will examine the work of a scholar Helen Rajabi, on the subject of Orientalist and Colonial indoctrination in the inter-war years in Britain prior to mass immigration. For my case study, I will discuss the comedy/drama *East is East* about a Pakistani/English family. For my analysis, I will conclude my findings and attempt to demonstrate that Orientalist and Colonialist attitudes had an impact on the reception of Muslims and Asians to Britain in the 1960's and 1970s.

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1. Edward W. Said. 1978. *Orientalism*. Vintage Edition. New York City, USA: Pantheon Books, a division of Random House, 5



## LITERATURE REVIEW: ORIENTALISM

Orientalism is a western portrayal of the East that is extremely patronizing in its depiction of the West (Europe), as superior and the East as inferior. The orient is the region East of Europe that encompasses the Middle East through to, and including Asia with a variety of people and cultures. Orientalist scholars grouped together all the numerous different people within this region into a one Orient prototype, one that was backward in nature, with strange, unwavering habits that were exotic and therefore inferior and alien to the superior Western culture. The Oriental scholar presented a powerful visual portrayal that evoked ideas of the supremacy and superiority of the Occidental West in relation to the East, that was effeminate and unintelligent and therefore needed governance and guidance from the powerful Europeans. The scholars and observers then proceeded to carefully construct an image and frame about the colonized people to serve their own purposes. The Europeans believed they were more civilized and cultured than the East and therefore they were duty bound to direct and influence underdeveloped cultures because they had an inability to direct and govern themselves. British Statesman and politician James Balfour states that, in order to conquer and subdue the colonized people effectively and therefore facilitate their trade aspirations, the colonizers had to acquire intimate knowledge of the colonized people's behaviors and habits.<sup>2</sup> He argues that the West has a very intimate knowledge of Egypt and therefore the East as a whole.<sup>3</sup> James Balfour in his House of Commons speech on June 13, 1910 with reference to Egypt occupation claims, "First of all, look at the facts of the case. Western nations as soon as they emerge into history show the beginnings of those capacities for self-government... Having merits of their own... You may look through the whole history of the Orientals in what is called, broadly speaking, the East, and you never find traces of self-government..."<sup>4</sup> He goes on to say, "Is it a good thing for these great nations-I admit their greatness-that this absolute government should be exercised by us?... England exports our very best to these countries."<sup>5</sup> Balfour does not present any evidence that the Egyptians comprehend the positive aspect of colonial occupation as seen by the West. Balfour's argument is that colonization is a positive move toward modernization, a notion introduced by the Europeans thus showcasing their superiority over the East.

## ORIENTALISM AS A TOOL OF COLONIALISM

Colonialism is the term used to describe the strategy of a nation that seeks to extend its authority and sovereignty over other nations with the express purpose of exploitation aimed at benefiting the colonizer. Historically, many past empires were colonial in nature and acquired other nations for potential benefit whether strategic, political, or for trade benefits; however, the very term colonialism is more synonymous with the European colonial period around the world and most specifically the British in particular. Colonialism is the influence and control by a nation that seeks to exert its authority over other territories and its native people with the intention of facilitating trade opportunities. The country that colonizes a country or territory aims to benefit from the country or territory that it has colonized.

During the European colonial period, once trade had been established and the colonizer had cemented its position in that territory, the colonizers in many cases, forced the colonized to adopt many of their practices and missionaries were given free rein to convert them to Christianity. European colonizing countries initially followed mercantilist policies, in order to strengthen the home economy, therefore agreements usually limited the colonies to trading

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2. Said, Edward W. 1978. *Orientalism*. Vintage Edition. New York City, USA: Pantheon Books, a division of Random House, 32-33.

3. *Ibid*, 32.

4. *Ibid*, 32.

5. *Ibid*, 33.

solely with the Colonizing country. However, by the mid-19th century, the British Empire gave up mercantilism and trade restrictions and began adopting free trade principles.

Orientalism helped to reinforce the idea that these strange people with equally strange habits needed to be colonized, in order to modernize them to European civilized standards. Edward Said says that, “the Orient existed for the West,”<sup>6</sup> he wrote that Orientalism was a form of racism towards anyone who was not European and it was entirely composed for the benefit of domination, authority and the restructuring of the Orient to suit the West’s ambitions. Lord Cromer, a British administrator who had lived and worked in India and Egypt referred to Orientals as “subject races” in a long essay that was published in the *Edinburgh Review* in January 1908.<sup>7</sup> He wrote about his observations based on his experiences in India and Egypt and his ideas agreed with Balfour that on the one hand, there are the Westerners and on the other, there are the Orientals. The latter are not fit to rule themselves so they must be dominated by the former and this includes domination of their lands and all aspects of their daily lives to solely benefit and serve their masters.<sup>8</sup>

### POSTWAR IMMIGRATION TO BRITAIN

After the second World War ended, Britain realized that it needed a large number of workers to come to Britain in order to recover and rebuild the economy. Traditionally, workers would come from Europe and Ireland but since Europe was also in recovery mode, the British decided to tell their former colonies to bring in much needed laborers. In many instances the former colonies were themselves in recovery mode from having been colonized and left in poverty or violence. While the British had colonized India, they had plundered much of the resources and completely reorganized the agricultural system, the East India company had engineered the replacement of the textile industry in India to England. Consequently, more and more people were employed in agriculture and traditional sources of food were replaced with cash crops that were sent back to Britain. India’s climate made widespread agriculture unsustainable and when monsoons did not arrive in time, agriculture suffered immensely resulting in widespread famine on many occasions in the subcontinent under British rule.<sup>9</sup>

After World War Two and Indian partition, there was widespread unemployment in the Indian subcontinent, and in some cases, religious persecution and violence. As people from the former colonies, (referred to as the Commonwealth), became aware of the availability of jobs in Britain they took the opportunity to go and work there. The British presented itself as the land of opportunity with promises of economic prospects, better wages and education for the children of the migrants compared to their current status. Many of the available jobs were in the industrial sector, in factories and mills, in the North of Britain.

Muslims from the Indian subcontinent were classified as Indian until the partition of India into India, Pakistan, Kashmir and Bangladesh, after which they were classified according to which country they came from. Prior to the mass immigration after World War Two, the majority of British people had never met a person from the former colonies. Even though laws had been enacted to allow for people from former colonies to emigrate to Britain, it was ultimately the British public that decided on how they were going to receive these new immigrants. The only perception the majority of the British people had of immigrants was based on propaganda from various sources such as media, children’s books such as “*The Secret Garden*,” by Frances Hodgson Burnett, published in 1911, were compiled during British rule

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6. *Ibid*, 204.

7. *Ibid*, 36.

8. *Ibid*, 36.

9. Dinyar Patel. 2016. “Viewpoint: How British Let One Million Indians Die in Famine.” *BBC News*, June 10, 2016. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-36339524>

in India and therefore contained many references to English superiority over the East.<sup>10</sup> One example in the book talks about Ayas or nannies that are servile in comparison to British servants who would not be as compliant with their masters. Children's books such as "The Secret Garden" were being widely read. Adult novels such as those written by Jane Austen were heavily laced with British Imperialism and superiority. Black and White movies such as "The Sheik," (1921) starring Rudolph Valentino conveyed the idea of a highly sexualized masculine Eastern man dominating a compliant white woman leading to the idea of barbaric Oriental men trying to ravish (rape) or abduct all white Western women.<sup>11</sup> Movies such as these were shown over and over so that the depiction of the Orient in general was very likely imprinted in the minds of the British. There were also public places such as schools, churches etc. That attached importance to Imperialism and British identity endorsing the idea of empire and the superiority of the British and their whiteness. Many schools practiced institutionalized racism and erected barriers for children of color thus preventing them from achieving their full potential. The public were very unhappy with the influx of "colored people" and took great pains to discriminate against them where possible or attack, harass, and in some extreme cases kill immigrants.

### MEMORIES OF EMPIRE

According to "The Idea of Race in inter-war Britain: Religion, Entertainment and Childhood Experiences," by Helen Rajabi, the British public had been constantly reminded of the British Empire through various mediums and especially newspapers, in the inter-war period during the 1920's and 1930's. They could only imagine what the racial other looked like based on what they had been exposed to or heard about. Rajabi alludes to Bill Schwarz who, in his book, "Memories of Empire," firmly believes that it is the memories of Britain's colonial past that played an integral role in the British people's attitude towards non-white immigrants after World War Two. He goes on to say that the social construct of racial difference was imprinted in the minds of the British by placing the racial other as inferior in color, race, and religion in comparison to the British who were white, protestant, and therefore superior.<sup>12</sup> According to Rajabi "the racial other was constructed in the British imagination as a source of both fear and desire."<sup>13</sup>

Newspapers were especially predominant sources of imparting distorted information to the public, Rajabi mentions the scholar R.A Scott-James and his work entailing the role of newspapers in society and the question of whether newspapers reflect the opinions of its readers or whether it manipulates readers to think a certain way. Scott-James concluded that newspapers were a huge source of influence in the public sphere and were more than capable of manipulating the minds of the public.<sup>14</sup> Newspapers were a reproduction of the imperial views of those in power so it was to be expected that newspapers would reproduce and strengthen the notions of order and power.<sup>15</sup> Churches during the inter-war period were heavily influential in conveying the message of Imperial obligation and a national identity that was strongly associated with the British Empire. Church leaders engaged in what could be conveyed as double speak in Orwellian terms as they would talk about benevolence, all the while their tone and content of

10. Frances Hodgson Burnett and Tasha Tudor. 2011. *The Secret Garden*. New York: Harper

11. Jack G. Shaheen. 2008. "Review: Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 588 (171): 178. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/000271620358800101>

12. Helen Rajabi. 2013. "The Idea of Race in Interwar Britain: Religion, Entertainment and Childhood Experiences." | Research Explorer | The University of Manchester. *Www.Research.Manchester.Ac.Uk*. UOM administered thesis: PHD, University of Manchester, UK: University of Manchester, UK, 17.

13. Ibid, 11.

14. Ibid, 21.

15. Ibid, 21.

16. Ibid, 41.

speech would be patronizing towards others of different faiths and cultures, thereby relaying the message that they were ethnically inferior and needed to be civilized and saved from eternal damnation.<sup>16</sup> Rajabi also discusses how Orientalism pervaded all facets of society in the inter-war period from books and newspapers to fashion and shop window displays, all of them relaying and constructing exotic images of the Orient. Images of the Orient were usually associated with tyranny, villainy, barbarism or exoticism. I believe that this constant mental conditioning of British Empire and superiority prior to mass immigration from commonwealth countries led the British people to harbor mixed feelings towards immigrants; hindering their ability to welcome and accept immigrants.

### **EAST IS EAST**

East is East is a comedy/drama that is set in 1970's Britain. It is set in a place called Salford, a city that is situated in the North of England. The drama is about a biracial family whose patriarch is a Pakistani Muslim George, who is married to an Englishwoman. The movie, is based on a play that portrays the real-life experiences of the playwright, Ayub Khan-Din.<sup>17</sup> The title is derived from a quote, "Oh East is East, and West is West and never the twain shall meet", from a poem entitled, "The Ballad of East and West," by Rudyard Kipling who himself was born in Colonial India. The reference to the title already conveys to the viewer that the East is a distinctively, remote place that is far removed from the West and the two cannot meet. The movie opens to a Christian procession in which the children of the family are participating in, without their father's knowledge, thus highlighting the religion of "the West," in direct contrast to the religion of the father, "the East." George, whose real name is Genghis Khan, has been living in Britain since 1937 with his second wife Ella, who is a Christian, while his first wife lives in Pakistan. George is standing outside of his house watching the procession alongside his neighbors; however, he is standing alone. The fact that he is the only brown face in the audience, and he is alone, highlights the distance between his cultural identity and the cultural identity of the people around him. He is smiling as his wife joins him and jokes with her, however there is a certain wistfulness about him. From my experiences growing up in the same time frame, I know that many Pakistani Muslim men had come to Britain without their families and had married Englishwomen in order to compensate and integrate in society and English women obliged because they used to find Eastern men very exotic and sensual in contrast to Englishmen; many of whom were rude and patronizing to immigrants. Ella is very compliant and accommodating to George and his Patriarchal behavior and she humors him mostly throughout the movie. However, from my personal experience many of these marriages failed primarily due to issues on how to raise the kids in terms of the Eastern way, versus the Western way. George is very aware that although he has married an English woman, he has not been accepted and integrated fully in the society around him just because he married a white woman. He is tolerated by the English simply by having an English wife and it could be worse if he had not had a bi-racial family and he does not seem to have many links to the Pakistani community at all. George is therefore determined to arrange his kids' marriages' so that they do not have an "outsider status," like himself. The movie goes on to explore the disparities between his thinking, his wife's thinking, and the kid's ideas about their lifestyle and choices.

The movie features incendiary speeches made by a politician named Enoch Powell who in his famous speech entitled, "Rivers of Blood," claimed that mass immigration had led to

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17. Damien O' Donnell, dir. 1999. *East Is East*. Film. London, England: Film 4 productions.

18. The Telegraph. 2007. "Enoch Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' Speech." *The Telegraph*, November 6, 2007. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/3643826/Enoch-Powells-Rivers-of-Blood-speech.html>.

British natives being hounded out of their own towns which now resembled foreign countries.<sup>18</sup> It was as though the native English were being colonized by immigrants! George is seen to be preoccupied with Enoch's rhetoric and the fact that immigrants could be repatriated at a moment's notice. It is important to note that the political class back then was elitist from the best schools and were part of the "Old Boys Network" and had great colonial ties. The movie also makes a reference to the word "Paki" which was a derogatory term used to describe Indian/Pakistani immigrants by the British people. "Paki bashing" or beating up Asians and even killing them in some instances was a preoccupation of the youth affiliated with a right-wing group called the National front. "Pakis go home," was a common refrain used back then. The movie "East is East" perfectly encapsulates the trials and tribulations of the Muslim immigrant at odds with a British society that has already been preconditioned to despise him. The movie highlights the tensions rippling through 1960's and 1970's Britain and the problems George encounters between the traditions, culture, and religion he had grown up with and wants to uphold against the society that does not try to understand him. The movie highlights the rifts between George and the society around him, the differences of opinion between his thinking and his wife Ella's thinking, and the rebelliousness of his children who are conspicuous but want to fit in with society. George is doing what he thinks is best for his family, and his wife encourages the children to do what they want to do. The movie constantly juxtaposes the traditions that George grew up with against the ideas that his wife Ella believes in and therefore a reflection of the society that they live in. Ella is very kind-hearted and loves her husband very much, so she usually does not present opposition to his decisions upfront, however she does undermine his authority by encouraging her children to pursue their happiness behind his back.

## CONCLUSION

When I first decided to write this paper, it was with a heavy heart as I was unsure of how to broach the topic of integration and assimilation of Muslims in Britain. I felt that my personal experience of the overt racism around me in my earlier years induced me to dissect why many, albeit not all British people behaved the way they did towards us. I remember reading about Colonialism at school from the perspective of Western historians and I remember the descriptions of "natives" was always in a patronizing manner. Natives were synonymous with primitive, backward beings lost in time and thus in need of modernization and salvation. I always wondered what the term "Orient" really meant, was it the Chinese? The word Orient was so ambiguous and general that I felt I could not really place it anywhere, the textbooks seemed to have different interpretations of the Orient and I always asked myself where does the Orient start and where does it finish? Colonialism has already been an issue and has very negative connotations for the colonized and Orientalism is one of the justifications for it from the Colonizers perspective. I believe Edward Said did a very good job of defining Orientalism and this helped me understand some of the reasons why the British public were not receptive towards immigrants. Helen Rajabi's research on the British public being constantly reminded of Britain's Colonial past further supported the social construct of racial differentiation that became imprinted in the British public's mind. The movie "East is East" perfectly captures many issues of the time and I hope my paper is able to provide some insight into the problems that Muslim immigrants already faced when they arrived in Britain during 1960's and 1970's.

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