RAFFLES INSTITUTION
YEAR 6 GENERAL PAPER 2018
STUDENTS' INFORMATION PACKAGE

Unit: Politics and Governance I

1. Introduction

Politics and Governance I is meant to introduce students to basic concepts in politics. Specifically, systems of government, with a particular focus on democracy (it being the dominant form of government in the world today), the tension between individual rights and state needs, and between government and the media.

As you work through this package, you should seek to (i) know the classical definitions of the terms *politics*, the *state* and *citizens*, (ii) know what the roles of a government are, and decide for yourself which, in your opinion, are the most important roles, qualifying your opinion with evidence. Crucially too, **aim to have a good grasp of the essential understandings on the next page and the reasons for each**.

This basic package will be continued in Term II with *Politics and Governance II,* which takes an in-depth look into Singapore's politics.

What this package is:

This package is meant to supplement your learning in class by spurring independent thinking and facilitating active discussion on questions and key issues. It is also intended for self-study to gain content knowledge, as well as reflection upon key issues raised. The articles in this package are selected and customised to be of the standard of comprehension expected of an A-level candidate. Related examination questions are highlighted beneath each article—these are meant to guide your thinking and focus your learning. For students interested in going further, links and suggested readings are provided where appropriate. For students requiring background information, particularly with regards to specific countries, additional links are also provided beneath the appropriate articles.

What this package is not:

This package is NOT an exercise in memory and regurgitation, nor is it a "model answer". General Paper is not about thoughtless memorisation of facts and/or essay scaffolds. It is about close reading of sources, critical analysis of issues raised, and the formation and clear expression of your own logically sound opinions, which are substantiated by factual evidence.

2. Enduring Understandings & Essential Questions:

Enduring Understandings: What will students understand as a result of this unit?

Countries' methods of governance are shaped by a range of historical and socio-economic factors.

> **EU1:** Whatever the choice may be in method of governance, there will be pros & cons, effects & consequences on the people, economically and socially.

Governance is about negotiation between tensions. These tensions can happen on multiple levels.

> **EU2:** The tension between individual freedom and social stability always requires compromise.
>
> **EU3:** The tension between individual freedom and the amount of power vested in the state always requires compromise.
>
> **EU4:** The tension between the needs of the majority and that of the minority always requires compromise.
>
> **EU5:** The tension between how resources are managed and allocated over the long term and the short term always requires compromise
>
> **EU6:** The tension between domestic interests and global pressures always require compromise.

The increasing influence of the media on society has an impact on governance.

> EU7: The media can shape the public's perceptions of and behavior towards political actors/institutions, consequentially aiding or hindering governance.

Essential Questions: What are the essential questions of this unit?

- What is the purpose of governance? What does it mean to have a social contract between the citizens and the government?
- Why do societies need the rule of law? How do they enforce the law?
- What is good governance? What do we expect from our leaders?
- Can leaders cater to the interests of all, all the time? Where is the line drawn?
- What are the merits and limitations of democracy? Do we have an alternative?
- Why do some countries thrive with democracy, but others fail?
- Should the media be controlled in a democracy?

3. For Further Reading/Watching:

Recommended reading:

1) Introduction to philosophers on politics (Hobbes: *Leviathan Ch. XIII*, Aristotle: *Politics*, Plato: *The Republic*, Machiavelli: *The Prince*
2) George Orwell: *Politics and the English Language*
3) Margaret Thatcher, *The Downing Street Years* (autobiography of the 'Iron Lady')
4) Margaret Thatcher, *The Path to Power* (another autobiography; an insight into the intellectual and political formation of one of Britain's most famous female leaders)
5) Jung Chang: *Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China* (the true story of three generations of women, including the effects of communism, Mao's government and the Japanese occupation in China)
6) John Kampfer, *Freedom for Sale: How We Made Money and Lost Our Liberty* (examines how capitalism and economic success can create an environment that undermines democracy)

Recommended documentaries/films:

- **Fahrenheit 9/11** (Michael Moore's view on how the Bush administration used the 9/11 event to push its agenda in Afghanistan and Iraq.)
- **Spying on the Home Front** (a PBS online documentary about national security measures vs. privacy: http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/homefront/view/)
- **Good Night, and Good Luck** (on McCarthy's anti-Communist witch hunts in 1950s USA and some journalists' uncompromising response to it.)
- **Syriana** (a geopolitical thriller that focuses on petroleum politics.)
- **Game Change** (movie about the 2008 US Presidential campaign when Sarah Palin ran for Vice President and the problems with the democratic process of elections)
- **Trumping Democracy** (documentary tracing Trump's election win, questioning the process and relevance of the Electoral College and highlighting disturbing factors brought on by the digital age)

4. Related Cambridge and RI Essay Questions

Cambridge Exam Questions:

1) Do events, rather than politicians, shape the future? (Nov 17)

2) 'Countries experiencing conflict should be left to sort out their own problems.' How far do you agree? (Nov 16)
3) Considering the money involved, should developing countries be allowed to host major sporting events? (Nov 16)
4) 'Everyone has an opinion, but not everyone's opinion is of equal value.' What is your view? (Nov 16)
5) When a government's finances for social welfare are limited, should they be directed towards the young or the old? (Nov 15)
6) In times of economic hardship, should a country still be expected to provide financial and material aid to others? (Nov 14)
7) 'The world would be a better place if more political leaders were women.' What is your view? (Nov 13)
8) To what extent is it possible 'to make the punishment fit the crime'? (Nov 13)
9) How far is increased prosperity for all a realistic goal in your society? (Nov 13)
10) How far, in your society, should unpopular views be open to discussion? (Nov 13)
11) 'The key criterion for good government is how well the economy is managed.' Is this a fair assessment? (Nov 12)
12) Consider the view that efficient government is more important than democracy. (Nov 11)
13) How far should religion influence political decisions? (Nov 09)
14) 'Only educated people should have the right to vote in elections.' What is your view? (Nov 09)
15) Many developed countries are paying increasing attention to the needs of the disadvantaged. How far is this true in Singapore? (Nov 08)
16) 'The view of the majority is always right.' Do you agree? (Nov 07)
17) How far should a state have a right to monitor the actions of people within its borders? (Nov 07)
18) Should poorer countries develop their tourist industry when the basic needs of their own people are not met? (Nov 07)
19) To what extent should the State involve itself in the world of business? (Nov 05)
20) "People, not the government, should decide how to organize their lives." Is this a fair comment? (Nov 04)

21) 'A good leader must always look beyond the needs of his or her country.' Do you agree? (Nov 03)
22) How far do you agree that health is the responsibility of the State, not of the individual? (Nov 00)
23) 'A benevolent dictatorship is the most effective form of government.' How far would you agree? (Nov 99)
24) 'Good government requires the courage to take unpopular decisions.' Discuss this statement, with examples to support your answer. (Nov 96)
25) Is personal morality the concern of the State? (Nov 96)

RI Exam Questions:

1. 'Democracy means more than having the right to vote.' Discuss. (RI 2013 Yr 6 CT 2)
2. What priorities would you set for government expenditure in your country and why? (RI 2013 Yr 6 CT 2)
3. Should the state involve itself in matters relating to the family? (RI 2013 Yr 5 Promo)
4. 'An educated people can be easily governed.' Is this a valid statement? (RI 2012 Yr 6 Prelim)
5. 'Women are not suited for politics.' To what extent is this true? (RI 2012 Yr 6 Prelim)
6. Is it ever justified to spend large amounts of public money on national defence? Discuss this with reference to your country. (RI 2011 Yr6 Prelim)
7. 'Governments have a right to censor undesirable elements of their nations' history.' Do you agree? (RI 2011 Yr6 Prelim)
8. Do you agree that the tools of social media have reinvented social activism? (RI 2012 Yr 6 CT2)
9. Do you think that your society will benefit from more freedom? (RI 2012 Yr6 CT1)
10. 'Fine in principle but failure in practice.' How far do you agree with this assessment of democracy? (RI 2012 Yr6 CT1)
11. 'The government always acts in the interest of the people.' Discuss. (RI 2011 Yr6 CT1)
12. 'Democracy is not for everyone.' Comment. (RI 2011 Yr6 CT1)
13. Is it always the responsibility of the state to help the poor? (RI 2011 Yr 5 Promo)
14. 'Restriction of free thought and free speech is the most dangerous of all subversions.' Discuss this with reference to your society. (RI 2010 Yr6 CT2)
15. 'At the end of the day, government is all about teamwork and partnership.' Comment. (RI 2010 Yr6 CT2)
16. Should nation-building be on the media's agenda? Discuss this with reference to your country. (RI 2010 Yr6 CT1)

17. ‘The best argument against democracy is a five-minute conversation with the average voter.’ (Winston Churchill) Do you agree? (RI 2009 JC2 CT2)
18. ‘More government intervention, not less.’ Is this the best way to solve the problems we face in the world today? (RI 2009 JC2 CT1)
19. ‘To lodge all power in one party and keep it there is to ensure bad government.’ (Mark Twain) Do you agree? (RI 2009 JC2 CT1)
20. Consider the view that people in your society have unrealistic expectations of their government. (RI, 2014, Y5, Promo)
21. To what extent is healthy debate encouraged in your society? (RI, 2014, Y5, Promo)
22. Should governments prioritise social welfare above overall economic growth? (RI, 2014, Y6, CT1)
23. How far is the media responsible for promoting democracy in your society? (RI, 2014, Y6, CT1)
24. ‘For the sake of security, a nation has every right to monitor its citizens.’ Discuss. (RI, 2014, Y6, CT1)
25. ‘Censorship is both harmful and futile in today’s society.’ Comment. (RI, 2014, Y6, Prelim)
26. ‘Pragmatism is more important than morality.’ Discuss this with reference to politics. (RI, 2014, Y6, Prelim)
27. To what extent have people given up their freedom for comfort? (RI, 2014, Y6, Prelim)
28. ‘The environment should be the responsibility of the individual, not the government.’ Comment. (RI, 2014, Y6, Prelim)
29. ‘The key to a nation’s success lies in economic growth.’ Discuss. (RI 2015 Y5 Promo)
30. ‘Democracy is essential for a country to become a developed nation.’ Do you agree? (RI 2015 Y6 CT1)
31. ‘Laws are the most effective way to combat prejudice and discrimination.’ How far would you accept this view? (RI 2015 Y6 CT1)
32. ‘Freedom of speech should be a privilege, not an entitlement.’ How far would you agree with this statement? (RI 2015 Y6 CT1)
33. ‘It is better to be an entertainment celebrity than a politician today.’ What is your view? (RI 2015 Y6 CT1)
34. Is it ever justifiable to execute criminals? (RI 2015 Y6 CT2)
35. ‘The State has no place in the private lives of its citizens.’ Do you agree? (RI 2015 Y6 Prelim)
36. ‘Personal privacy and national security cannot co-exist.’ Comment. (RI 2015 Y5 CT1)
37. Should society pay more attention to the needs of criminals? (RI 2015 Y5 CT1)
38. How far do you agree that freedom has been destructive for society? (RI 2016 Y5 Promo)
39. Should your government do less for its people? (RI 2016 Y5 Promo)

40. ‘A good government should always put the interests of the majority first’. Discuss. (RI 2016 Y6 CT1)
41. Is it reasonable to expect politicians to be completely honest? (RI 2016 Y6 CT2)
42. In the world today, a nation’s economic success is nothing more than a case of luck.’ Is this a fair assessment? (RI 2016 Y6 CT2)
43. How far should the State be allowed to restrict individual rights when security is at stake? (RI 2017 Y5 CT1)
44. Is it ever justified to sacrifice human rights for a country’s progress? (RI 2017 Y6 CT2)
45. In times of economic hardship, is it acceptable for a government to spend on weapons and its armed forces? (RI 2017 Y6 CT2)
46. ‘At a time when the world needs capable leadership, many politicians do not seem to be up to the job.’ Do you agree? (RI 2017 Y6 CT2)
47. ‘Business should have no place in politics.’ Do you agree? (RI 2017 Y6 Prelim)

PRIMER:

5. A Glossary of Basic Political Terms

Source: Definitions from *The Oxford Study Dictionary*, compiled by Joyce M. Hawkins, John Weston, Julia C. Swannell (redesigned impression 1994)

- **policy**: the course or general plan of action adopted by a government, party, or person

- **politics**:
  - the science & art of governing a country
  - political principles or affairs or tactics

- **politician**: a person who is engaged in politics, an MP

- **statesman/stateswoman**: a person who is skilled or prominent in the management of State affairs

- **mandate**: *(noun)* authority given to someone to perform a certain task or to apply certain policies

- **government:** (a) governing, the system of method of governing (b) the group or organisation governing a country (c) the State as an agent

- **governance:** governing, control

- **regime**: a method or system of government or administration

- **parliament:** an assembly that makes the laws of a country

- **right wing**: those who support more conservative or traditional policies than others in their group

- **left wing**: those who support a more extreme form of socialism than others in their group

- **centre**: a political party or group holding moderate opinions between two extremes

- **liberal**: tolerant, open-minded, especially in religion and politics

- **democracy**: (a) government by the whole people of a country, especially through representatives whom they elect (b) a country governed in this way [from Greek *demos* = people, + *-cracy*]

- **socialism**:
  - a political and economic theory advocating that land, transport, natural resources, & the chief industries should be owned & managed by the State
  - a policy/practice based on this

- **communism**: a social system in which property is owned by the community and each member works for the common benefit

- **Communism**: a political doctrine or movement seeking to overthrow capitalism and establish a form of communism; such a system established in the former USSR and elsewhere

- **capitalism**: an economic system in which trade & industry are controlled by private owners for profit

- **meritocracy**: (a) government or control by people of high ability, selected by some form of competition (b) these people

- **dictator**: a ruler who has unrestricted authority, especially one who has taken control by force

- **totalitarianism**: a form of government in which no rival parties or loyalties are permitted, usually demanding total submission of the individual to the requirements of the State

- **constitution**: the principles according to which a country is organised *(from the 1992 edition)*

- **republic**: a country in which the supreme power is held by the people or their elected representatives, or by an elected or nominated president

- **monarchy**: *(from the 1992 edition)*
  - a form of government in which a monarch is the supreme ruler
  - a country with this form of government

- **nationalism**: (a) a patriotic feeling or principles or efforts (b) a movement favouring independence for a country that is controlled by or forms part of another

- **nation**: a large community of people of mainly common descent, language, history, etc., usually inhabiting a particular territory and under one government

- **state** (often State): (a) an organised community under one government *(the State of Israel)* or forming part of a federal republic *(States of the USA)* (b) civil government with established boundaries and jurisdiction

- **partisan** (parti-**zan**): (a) a strong and often uncritical supporter of a person, group, or cause (b) a guerrilla

Reading 6a(i): Politics & the State

These readings will help you to:
- Get a definition of "politics" that can serve as the basis of further discussion
- Understand what typically defines a "state"
- Compare 3 classic notions of "citizens", "the state" & "politics", and reflect on their relevance today

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a. "Politics"

The origins and evolution of a word – its etymology – can tell us much about its essential meaning(s). The etymology of the word "politics" is provided by two sources as follows:

- Late Middle English: from Old French *politique* 'political', via Latin from Greek *politikos*, from *politēs* 'citizen', from *polis* 'city' *[from Google search @ "politics meaning"]*
- 1520s, "science of government", from *politic* (adj.), modelled on Aristotle's *ta politika* 'affairs of state', the name of his book on governing and governments *[from Online Etymology Dictionary]*

From this, we can draw a basic meaning of "politics" as *management ("governance") of a group of people ("citizens") who live and function within a specified geographical boundary ("city")*. We can then reasonably extend the meaning to describe ***the governance of a group of people within specific shared geographical, socio-cultural & economic "boundaries" – i.e. running a "state".***

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b. The "State"

[http://www.jcpa.org/dje/articles/risefall-state.htm]

We can define a "state" according to two key criteria suggested by political scientist Daniel J Elazar:

- **Centralized power & authority of some over others/all.** The first recognizable nation-states were monarchies, which advocated the divine right of kings to protect central power and authority. After a series of revolutions, kings were stripped of their exclusive power and this was replaced by a system in which new centers of power formed. The latter were ostensibly based on popular consent of citizens, but often, ***power was still centralized***, now vested in "representative assemblies" and "executive officers" speaking in the name of the state (i.e. a group chosen to make decisions on behalf of everyone else)

- **Striving for homogeneity.** For a nation-state to function optimally, people within the shared geographical boundaries ("nation") need to subscribe to the same set of rules ("state"). This was/is done either *internally* (e.g. exerting pressure on citizens to comply with specific rules and laws; denying minority groups certain rights, to mark them as "non-citizens" who do not "belong" – e.g. denying identification documents to certain ethnic groups) or *externally* (e.g. invading neighbouring territory where people similar to one's citizens live, to exterminate or expel those not of the same nationality – e.g. via conquest & wars).

If we synthesize these two criteria, we can define a "state" as follows: *a geographical, socio-cultural, economic entity whose citizens strive for and accept specific ways of life defined according to parameters set by a smaller group with centralized power & authority (whether*

willingly given by the former or forcefully seized by the latter). ***How this "state" is managed*** *would then be considered the* ***"politics" of that state****.*

Reading 6a(ii). Classic notions of "Citizens", "State" & "Politics"

"What is the best way to manage a state and its citizens?" – this is a central question in politics. The table below provides the views of three prominent philosophers, with each one's notion of *ideal* politics shaped by his belief in what the *essential nature* of human beings is.

ISSUE	**PLATO** *[Greek, 428-348 B.C.E.]*	**THOMAS HOBBES** *[English, 1588-1679]*	**JOHN LOCKE** *[English, 1632-1704]*
Human nature (i.e. what defines a typical citizen")	Man must be "true" to his "natural calling/purpose".	Man is ruled by selfish, aggressive impulses, yet has an element of rationality.	Man is by nature a good & social creature, and can learn from his experiences.
Man in relation to others	People are divided into 3 groups, according to their "natural purpose": workers (who do manual labour for society); soldiers (who look after society); and guardians (who govern society). A "just" state is where each person does what is "natural", contributing in a way consistent with his "natural" talents and inclinations.	Each person is vulnerable to all others; no one is safe. Reason tells us that (1) protecting ourselves from all others improves our chances of a better life; (2) it is in our self-interest to join with others to create a power over all of us that will have the function of deterring each individual's natural aggressiveness.	People mostly keep their promises and honour their obligations, and, though this "state of nature" is insecure, it is mostly peaceful, good, and pleasant. Violent conflicts, if they occur, are often ended by the forcible imposition of a just peace on evil doers, and peace is normal.
How best to co-exist & keep the peace in the "state" (a.k.a. ***the social contract*** - an implicit agreement among the members of a society to cooperate for social benefits)	Plato warns against ambition, upward or downward mobility, and doing something simply because it is popular or simply because you have the power to do it. Each of these actions can lead us away from our "nature" and bring unhappiness to ourselves and "injustice" to the state.	We can only live in peace together by subjection to the absolute power of a common master, who will leave us alone unless we act aggressively toward another. Knowing this, we will be able to live full, active, productive lives unencumbered by any unnecessary intrusions from this power.	We can and do live together in peace by refraining from molesting each other's property and persons. We give up our right to ourselves exact retribution for crimes in return for impartial justice backed by overwhelming force. We retain the right to life and liberty, and gain the right to just, impartial protection of our property.
Where power is centered	The "guardians" are most "naturally" suited to lead. And philosophers are "naturally" suited to comprise the guardian group, as they most fully pursue the life of reason and would therefore be good with policy making.	A powerful non-nonsense "state" watches over us and provides security through deterrence of each person's "natural" aggressiveness, and one which will enact swift and severe punishment.	People can be trusted to govern themselves, able to make the right decisions given the right information. The purpose of a government is to protect individual liberties and rights, and people can revolt against an abusive government.

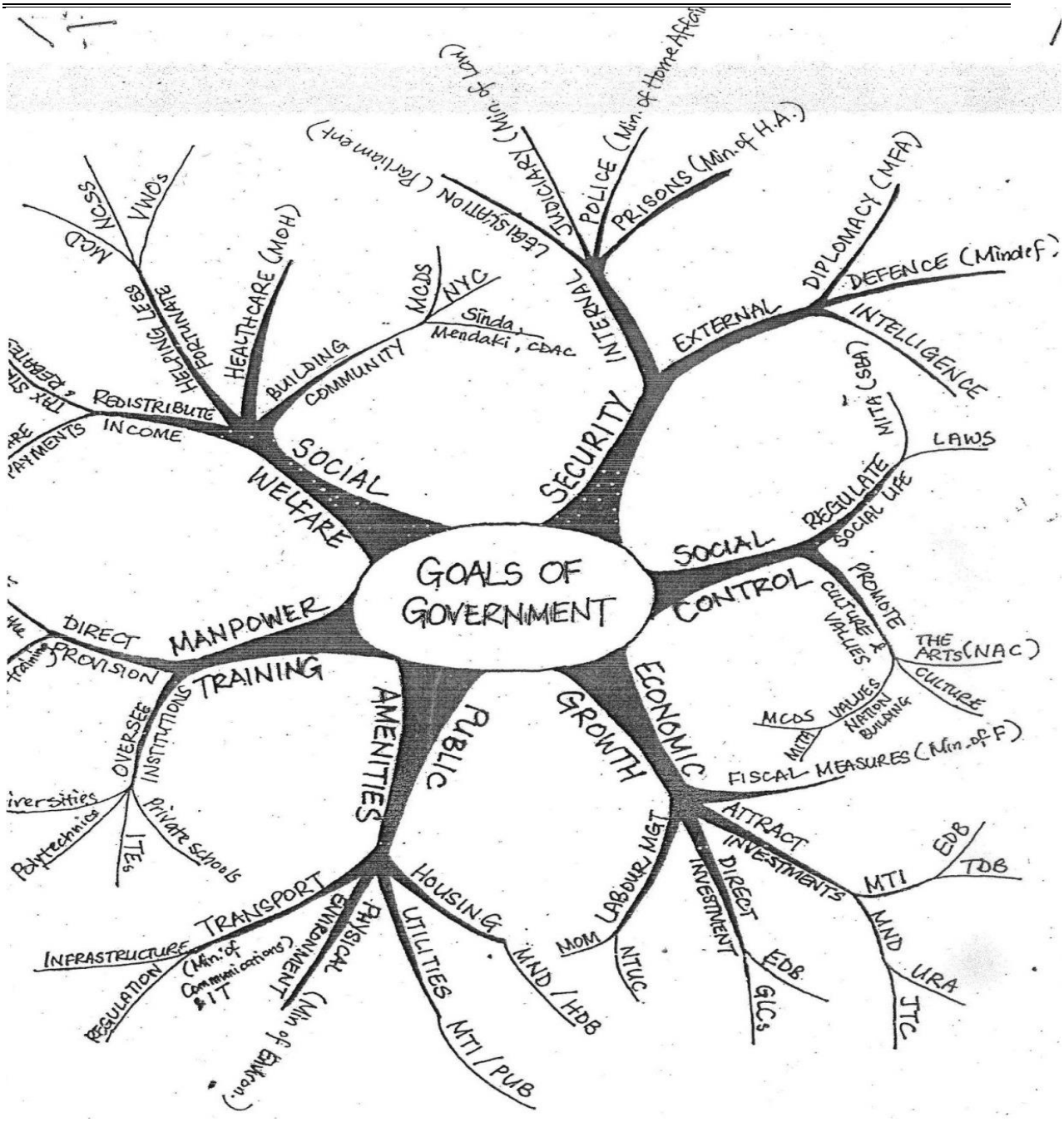
For discussion:

1) Which of the three philosophers do you agree (more) with, and why?
2) Do the people really know best?
3) Do you think that your society will benefit from more freedom? (RI 2012 Yr6 CT1)

Reading 6b: Goals of Government – Mind Map

This Mind Map will help you to:

- Have a better sense of a government's many areas of responsibility
- Recognize that a state has many competing needs & consider how this may affect government policy
- Think about which area(s) may warrant more / less government involvement – and why



Points to Ponder:

- A government has many roles and duties to fulfil. Given the reality of limited financial resources, which of these roles do you think are the most important for a government?
- Identify what, to you, are three top priorities of a good government. Why do these roles outweigh the rest?

- Should different countries prioritise different things? Why so?

Related Cambridge/RI Essay Questions:

1) When a government's finances for social welfare are limited, should they be directed towards the young or the old? (Nov 15)
2) Should the state involve itself in matters relating to the family? (RI 2013 Yr 5 Promo)
3) 'The key criterion for good government is how well the economy is managed.' Is this a fair assessment? (Cambridge Nov 2012)
4) How far do you agree that health is the responsibility of the State, not of the individual? (Nov 00)
5) Should governments prioritise social welfare above overall economic growth? (RI, 2014, Y6, CT1)

Reading 6c: Personal Freedom & the Harm Principle
(Cambridge 2006 P2 Passage) **EU1, EU2, EU3**

This reading will help you to:
- Understand that, for a state to function well, "freedom" cannot mean unfettered liberty
- Recognize the tension between "freedom" and "harm" that underpins governance of a state

Geoffrey Cobley argues that traditional notions of personal freedom need to be re-thought in the twenty-first century.

"Liberty! Equality! Fraternity!" The great rallying call of the French Revolution has rung down the centuries and been echoed in any number of other national declarations and constitutions up to the international Charter of the United Nations. Leaving aside the last two aspirations for the moment, I want you to think about the first – freedom! We all desire freedom to do what we want, to achieve what we are capable of, to think, say and believe whatever we wish. But if my freedom interferes with or prevents yours, then either mine or yours has to go. Obviously, freedom of the powerful to kill or exploit the weak results in no freedom for their victims; my desire to smoke tobacco pollutes the air you wish to keep pure; your belief that all things belong equally to everyone will not allow me to amass wealth for my heirs. There is no such thing as a totally free society.

In all civilized societies – by which I mean groups of people living together comparatively harmoniously – individuals have recognized that personal freedom is only possible if the state is strong enough to guarantee it for everyone. They must therefore surrender some, or all, of their own freedom to the state, the governing power. In societies where the rulers have chosen themselves by force of arms, or have inherited their kingdoms, there is often little or no freedom for the individual. On the other hand, in democracies, where rulers are chosen by and are answerable to those they govern, the members of the society who forego some of their freedom to the state do so willingly in return for the security which the state affords them. By its laws it protects them from dangers within and by its military strength, exercised on their behalf, from dangers without. To obey laws made *by* us, not *for* us, is an increase rather than a diminution of our freedom.

However, many believe that even these acceptable laws must not override certain basic freedoms – or rights – which, they say, all humans are born with: the rights to life, to freedom of expression, to worship, to freedom of assembly, to ownership of property, to ownership of your own body and the products of its labour… The longer the list, the more self-evident are its inherent problems. On what 'rights' can everyone agree, and are they still supreme over law in all circumstances? In the most liberal of democracies, there may be censorship of views which threaten the very existence of those democracies, and the need to maintain order may result in the banning of demonstrations. Even the right to life – especially in times of war – may be denied to those who betray the state. But there is an even more fundamental problem about rights. Where do they come from? Who confers them? Who says you have a 'right'? The religious, of course, can talk of rights as God-given, and there can be no rational argument for or against such a statement of faith. Non-believers may argue that mutual agreement leads to a common acceptance of – say – the right to life, but such agreement will rarely be found to survive in desperate 'you or me' situations.

A widely-held solution to the problem of an acceptable limitation on personal freedom is what might be called the 'harm principle'. We say to the state: "Leave me alone to live my life in private so long as I am not harming anyone else." "We will," says the state, "as long as you know what is good for you." Many people are handicapped in various ways – physically or mentally – and clearly need to be taken care of and live in controlled, supervised conditions. But what of those of us who choose to harm ourselves by consuming too much alcohol, by inhaling nicotine or using drugs, by driving without seat-belts, by guzzling ourselves into obesity, by failing to provide for our old age or ...whatever? The types of inadequacies deemed unacceptable will vary from society to society. We pass laws to make ourselves behave responsibly because our collective wisdom knows what is in our best interest, even if, as individuals, we choose to ignore it. Parents know what is best for their children when they insist on their schooling, and are giving their children what they really need and want despite the transient needs and desires of their immature youngsters. If you see the government as fulfilling the same role as parents, you will understand the basis of what is sometimes sneeringly dismissed as the 'Nanny' or 'Paternalistic' State. And, in any case, judged against the harm principle, these 'deviants' are harming society by using up its medical and support services and failing to make their proper contributions to the common good.

It is time now to look at the other two watchwords of that clarion call of the French Revolution. 'Equality' may seem to contradict 'Liberty' if we allow unrestricted freedom to the clever or the strong to secure unequal gains for themselves. But all human beings have the same needs and desires. It is only the inequalities arising from ill-health, ignorance, poverty and other remediable factors that prevent those desires from being universally met. 'Fraternity' is the third call which, if understood properly, solves the contradiction of the other two. If people have a proper concern for one another – a 'brotherly'(or sisterly!) relationship in fact – the rich and powerful will want to share their gains more equally with the less fortunate and will vote for a government which taxes their wealth to provide more equal opportunities for others.

"So what do I want with freedom?" I ask myself. Believing that a democratically chosen state represents its citizens at their wisest and best, I am willing to surrender all my so-called liberty – which can so often be merely whim or caprice or ill-informed prejudice – to its laws and restrictions. In fact, I think that any division into public and private is fundamentally wrong (apart, of course, from those human intimacies which are no concern of anyone else) for it assumes we wish to do in private what others may not like or that we have to be protected from those others. We should be knocking down partitions, not erecting barriers. The desire to do what we want without needing to account for it to some tribunal such as an employer or government – indeed, to society itself – is a symptom of maladjustment. To ask for freedom from society is to ask for freedom from oneself.

In the twenty-first century we have an unprecedented opportunity to develop this ideal, fraternal society. In John Wyndham's science fiction novel *The Chrysalids*, a new generation of children is born who, as a result of radiation following a nuclear war, have undergone a mutation that gives them extra-sensory perception, the ability to think each other's thoughts. I am reminded of these children when I look at the generation born into the age of the internet, email and mobile phone, giving them the means to interact and blend into a cohesive, whole society to a degree undreamt of in earlier times. Other new technologies – from the protective all-seeing Closed Circuit TV to the birth-to-death records of personal details stored in databases – also further this development of a society which is truly one, in which claims to individual freedom will be seen at best as irrelevant and at worst as anti-social. Of course there will be those who cry out in protest that we are becoming like ants in an anthill, mere cogs in a well-oiled machine, slaves of an all-powerful state from which we can have no secrets. But I believe that by giving up all claims to individual freedom, we will discover the best way to achieve it.

For discussion:

- Is there such a thing as a fundamental human right?
- Which rights, to you, are inalienable, and why?
- The central argument of Colbey is that we achieve freedom only by giving up all claims to rights to the State, for the sake of collective good. What do you think about this?

Related Cambridge/RI Essay Questions:

1) 'The government always acts in the interest of the people.' Discuss. (RI 2011 Yr6 CT1)
2) 'More government intervention, not less.' Is this the best way to solve the problems we face in the world today? (RI 2009 JC2 CT1)
3) How should we balance our need for personal privacy with the greater good of our community? (RJC, 2007 JC2 CT1)

Reading 7a: Central Concepts of Democracy **EU1**

In this section, we examine the central concepts of democracy and how equality is pursued in a democracy through political participation.

This section will prompt you into considering:
What is the good life?
What sort of political order is necessary to enable people to achieve the good life?
What is the common good?
What is the nature of public reason?

- Good government requires that we establish and maintain a system of political authority. Democracy in theory assumes that no person is naturally superior to another, i.e. each person should enjoy equal political rights unless it could be shown that everyone gained from having inequality
- Second, it assumes that the interests of the people are best safeguarded by making them the final repository of political authority – anyone entrusted with special powers must be accountable to the people as a whole.
- No democratic state allows ***all*** those who live within its control to vote: that would include numerous people who would be incapable of understanding what they were doing, such as young children and the severely mentally ill. However, a state which denies a large proportion of its people political participation would not today merit the name democracy.

What role should the people as a whole play in government?
- Should they be directly involved in legislating, as Rousseau argued in his *Social Contract*, and if so how?
- Or should they only be involved at one remove, by choosing representatives who would wield authority on their behalf?

DEMOCRACY I	
What is democracy?	
Democracy is government by the people, which may either be direct, when citizens participate directly in ruling, or representative when citizens delegate power to elect representatives in a congress or parliament.	
Direct Democracy (ancient Athens, Switzerland)	***Representative Democracy***
Early democratic states were direct democracies; that is, those who were eligible to vote discussed and voted on each issue rather than electing representatives.	In a representative democracy elections are held in which voters select their favoured representatives. These representatives then take part in the day-to-day decision-making process, which may itself be organised on some sort of democratic principles.
Direct democracies are only feasible with a small number of participants or when relatively few decisions have to be made.	There are several different ways in which such elections are conducted: some demand a majority decision; others operate a first-past-the-post system which allows representatives to be elected even if a majority of the electorate do not vote for them, provided that no one else receives more votes than them (e.g. Britain).
The practical difficulties of a large number of people voting on a wide variety of issues are immense, though it is possible that electronic communication will eventually permit this.	Representative democracies achieve government by the people in some ways but not in others.

	They achieve government by the people in so far as those elected have been chosen by the people. Once elected, however, the representatives are not usually bound on particular issues by the wishes of the people.
But even if this were achieved, for such a democracy to arrive at reasonable decisions, voters would have to have a good grasp of the issues on which they were voting, something which would require time and a programme of education. It would probably be expecting too much for all citizens to keep abreast of the relevant issues.	Having frequent elections is a safeguard against abuse of office: those representatives who do not respect the wishes of the electorate are unlikely to be re-elected.
	Today's democracies are representative democracies.
DEMOCRACY II	
Justifications for Democracy	**Criticisms of Democracy**
Freedom and equality Democracy is expressive of two values we hold dear: freedom and equality Freedom is a matter of giving people a say in political decision-making, particularly those decisions that affect them. Equality lies in this freedom being given to all	
Political participation Democracy is often celebrated as a method of giving all citizens a share in political decision-making.	***Illusory sense of participation in political decision-making:*** • Voting procedures won't guarantee rule by the people. • Democracies give their citizens only a very limited role in government. They are entitled to vote at periodic elections, they are occasionally consulted through a referendum when some major constitutional question has to be decided, and they are allowed to form groups to lobby their representatives on issues that concern them, but that is the extent of their authority. • Real power to determine the future of democratic societies rests in the hands of a remarkably small number of people – government ministers, civil servants, and to some extent members of parliament or other legislative assembly. • If democracy is the best way to make political decisions, why not make it a reality by letting the people themselves decide major questions directly? • Some voters may not understand where their best interests lie, or may be duped by skilful speech-makers.

Educated into citizenship This then raises the argument for educating citizens for participation in democracy, rather than abandoning democracy altogether.] Democracy, as compared to alternate political models, best encourages civic and political participation, resulting in high forms of engagement. There may be values involved in political decision-making which are different from the value of achieving given objectives; there is something valuable about the democratic process even if it involves voters who are not experts.	***Voters aren't experts - The captain, not the passengers, should steer the ship.*** • Critics of democracy, most notably Plato, have pointed out that sound political decision-making requires a great deal of expertise, expertise which many voters do not have. • Thus *direct democracy* would very likely result in a very poor political system, since the state would be in the hands of people who had little skill or knowledge of what they were doing. • Similarly in a *representative democracy*, many voters aren't in a position to assess the suitability of a particular candidate. • Since they aren't in a position to assess political policy, they choose their representatives on the basis of non-relevant attributes such as how good-looking they are, or whether they have a nice smile. • Or else their voting is determined by unexamined prejudices about political parties. • As a result, many excellent potential representatives remain unelected, and many unsuitable ones get chosen on the basis of inappropriate qualities they happen to have.
Protects minorities • Design a constitution that limits the scope of majority rule in such a way as to protect minorities • For instance, the constitution may contain a list of rights every citizen must enjoy: a proposed law or policy decision that would infringe one of these rights will be thrown out as unconstitutional. Any minority then has the assurance that whatever the majority decides cannot violate one of their basic rights as laid down in the constitution.	***Tyranny of the majority*** • Dominant social and economic groups are at an advantage because they can put forward their preferences and opinions as 'authoritative knowledge' and in the process devalue those with alternative beliefs, preferences and interests.
	Plurality of ultimate values • More participants in the democratic process means more opinions, making agreement harder to achieve. Debate also increases disagreements. • People believe in totally different ideas of "the good life", and are therefore too different. In modern multicultural societies, there are people from very different cultures who are unlikely to reach a consensus.

More resources for the interested:

- A Candidate's looks Count for Far More than Voter Like to Believe
  http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/jun/17/candidate-winning-look-voters-romney-obama
- The Look of a Winner
  http://www.scientificamerican.com/article/the-look-of-a-winner/
- On the Face of it: The Psychology of Electability
  http://www.newyorker.com/tech/elements/on-the-face-of-it-the-psychology-of-electability

Related Cambridge/RI Essay Questions:

1) 'Democracy means more than having the right to vote.' Discuss. (RI 2013 Yr 6 CT 2)
2) 'Fine in principle but failure in practice.' How far do you agree with this assessment of democracy? (RI 2012 Yr6 CT1)
3) 'Democracy isn't perfect, I just don't know a better system.' (Winston Churchill) Do you agree? (RJC 2008 JC2 CT1)

Reading 7b(i): The Problem of Majority Rule

EU1, EU4

(Source: Modified extract from R. Garner, P. Ferdinand & S. Lawson, Introduction to Politics 2nd ed. (Oxford 2012) Ch. 3)

This article will help you to:

- Understand one key problem with democracy, which is the tyranny of the majority.
- Prompt you into thinking about the extent to which the minority should be expected to follow the will of the majority.
- Prompt you into thinking about the protection of minority interests and rights in the context of a democracy.

1 Democracy, as we saw, is regarded as the primary modern ground for political obligation (the duty to obey the laws), because if we participate in making the laws, these laws are likely to be in our interests and in accordance with our choice. However, in practice, democracy will very rarely result in unanimous decisions. As a result, democratic government means, in practice, following the view of the majority.

2 What this implies is that in every decision *some* people will be in a minority. Why should *these* people obey laws or accept policies that they did not support then? The philosopher Rousseau's solution was to say: provided the laws are in accord with the 'general will', everyone unanimously will ('really') want to accept them, because this is the right or moral thing to do; if they apparently do not accept them, then they can legitimately be forced to, as this is merely 'forcing them to be free'. But most of us are not so sure that everyone either would or should always accept the 'general will' – and anyway, what if the majority preference does not actually conduce to the common good, and so does not count as the 'general will' according to Rousseau?

3 Fortunately, minorities are usually shifting or fluid; everyone can be expected to be in a minority from time to time. As a result, the majority in any particular instance is less likely to harm the minority's interests *fundamentally*, because those in a majority know that at some point in future, they may find themselves in the minority. However, the persecution of a minority is much more likely where there is a permanent majority and a permanent minority. The classic case is Northern Ireland where traditionally most issues were decided along ethno-nationalist lines, with Protestants in the majority and Catholics in the minority. The resulting persistent discrimination led to severe inter-ethnic violence, especially in the 1960s.

4 The obvious solution to the problem of minorities is to introduce some device protecting their interests. Many political systems, including the USA, do just this by including a bill of rights protecting individuals against the majority. In the USA, this was included precisely because the Founding Fathers were concerned about the potential dangers of majority rule or 'tyranny of the majority', as they called it. However, it must be questioned how democratic is such a bill of rights. For example, the Supreme Court in the USA is charged with interpreting and upholding constitutional rights. It therefore can and often does strike down laws passed by democratically elected legislatures as unconstitutional. Yet the Justices of the Supreme Court are not elected and it is almost impossible to remove them from office. Again, the protection of some rights is arguably essential for democracy to function. However, as discussed earlier, it is not clear that all rights, such as the rights to free speech are consistent with democracy, particularly if the rights of some endanger the

safety and lives of others. Maybe our conclusion should be that democracy is not as special as we previously thought. Perhaps democracy does not provide us with an adequate theory of political obligation after all, because of the problem of minorities, and maybe we should regard other principles, such as the protection of individual rights, as more important.

Points to ponder:

- Is it right that the minority should accept the will of the majority, and be 'forced to be free'?

26) To what extent can, and should, minority rights be protected in a democracy?

Related Cambridge/RI questions

1) 'The view of the majority is always right.' Do you agree? (Cambridge 07)
2) 'Democracy does not guarantee a good life for all.' Discuss. (RJC 2004, JC2 CT2)
3) 'Good government requires the courage to take unpopular decisions.' Discuss this statement, with examples to support your answer. (Cambridge 96)

Reading 7b(ii): The Ignorant Voter **EU1**

(Source: Bryan Caplan – Millennia Institute, Prelim 2009, Paper 2)

This article will help you to:

- Understand the reasons why voters are ignorant.
- Understand the case for allowing only the elite to vote in a democracy.
- Prompt you to come up with your own arguments against allowing only the elite to vote.

1 In a dictatorship, government policy is often abysmal but rarely baffling. The building of the Berlin Wall, which divided Germany into East and West Germany, each subscribing to different political ideologies, sparked worldwide outcry but few wondered. The Berlin Wall had some drawbacks for the ruling clique. But all things considered, the Wall protected the interests of elite party members. No wonder democracy is such a popular political panacea. This history of dictatorships creates a strong impression that bad policies exist because the interests of rulers and the ruled diverge.

2 This optimistic story is, however, often at odds with the facts. Democracies frequently adopt and maintain policies harmful for most people. Protectionism is a classic example. Economists across the political spectrum have pointed out its folly for centuries, but almost every democracy restricts imports. When free trade agreements are negotiated, the subtext is not, "Trade is mutually beneficial", but "We'll do you a favour of buying your imports if you do us the favour of buying ours." Admittedly, this is less appalling than the Berlin Wall, yet it is more confounding. In theory, democracy is a bulwark against socially harmful policies, but in practice, it gives them a safe harbour. How did this Paradox of Democracy come about?

3 One answer is that the people's 'representatives' have turned the tables on them. Voters are deeply ignorant about politics. They do not know who their representatives are, much less what they do. This beguiles politicians to pursue personal agendas and sell themselves to donors. The real reason why democracy fails is that voters are worse than ignorant; they are, in a word, irrational – and vote accordingly. Economists and cognitive psychologists usually presume that everyone "processes information" to the best of his ability. Yet common sense tells us that emotion and ideology – not just the facts or their "processing" – powerfully sway human judgment. Protectionist thinking is hard to uproot because it feels good. Likewise for other socially divisive issues like abortion and cloning. When people vote under the influence of false beliefs that feel good, and force their elected representatives to enact policies to enforce their false beliefs, democracy persistently delivers bad policies.

4 Across the board, irrationality is not a strike against democracy alone, but all human institutions. Irrationality, like ignorance, is selective. We habitually tune out unwanted information on subjects we do not care about or do not know about. In the same manner, we turn off our rational faculties on subjects where we do not care about the truth. Economists have long argued that voter ignorance is a predictable response to the fact that one vote does not matter as it is not important in the grand scheme of things. Why study the issues if you cannot change the outcome? Similarly, why control your knee-jerk emotional and ideological reactions if you cannot change the outcome?

5 In the naïve public-interest view, democracy works because it does what voters want. In the view of most democracy sceptics, it failed because it does not do what the voters want. In my opinion, democracy fails because it does what the voters want. An irrational voter does not hurt only himself. He also hurts everyone who is, as a result of his irrationality, more likely to

live under misguided policies. Since most of the cost of voter irrationality is paid for by other people, we should indulge in our emotions. If enough voters think this way, socially harmful policies win by popular demand.

6 In our modern time, the logic is chillingly simple. Time is money, and acquiring information to make better decisions takes time. Individuals balance the benefits of learning against its costs. In markets, if individuals know too little, they pay the price in missed opportunities; if they know too much, they pay the price in wasted time. In politics, where one vote is extraordinarily unlikely to change an election's outcome, it is no wonder that an ignorant citizen votes randomly. Except in freak cases where the vote cast is the decisive vote, the probability of the citizen's vote affecting the outcome of the election is next to zero. If time is money, acquiring political information takes time and the expected personal benefit of voting is zero, a rational, selfish individual chooses to be ignorant.

7 What then could societies do? If voters' ignorance is the biggest problem, and since it is highly unlikely that it will change any time soon, perhaps we should return to the true roots of democracy as once practised by the Greeks who gave us democracy in the first place. We should return to the ideals where only the truly responsible members of society should be allowed to vote. In Ancient Greek societies, only elite male members of the society; the scholars, businessmen, soldiers and people of similar stature, are allowed to speak and vote on matters of grave importance. We should revive this practice today where only responsible members of society get the majority of the votes. While this might go against the spirit of equality, the prospect of the eventual destruction of society by ignorant voters necessarily forces us to consider this unpopular option. We have to give those who have the capability to vote responsibly so that greater good for society is achieved. Other members of society will still get their vote. What I propose is that the responsible members' vote gets twice the power over others. This will certainly mitigate the dangers posed by ignorant voters.

8 There is no other reasonable option to democracy as history has proven. Yet, democracy itself is a failing system because of the irrational voter. It is the lesser of the two evils; we have chosen to live under a potentially flawed system of democracy rather than the certain failure of communism. Yet, this flaw is easily overcome, if societies can take the first bold step to eradicate the irrational voter. Some might say that better education helps. However, we already live in a media saturated world where information is readily available. Sheer laziness and irresponsibility are incurable. Only by moving back to the true practices of democracy that Man can save democracy and society itself.

Points to ponder

- Summarise what the author says are the reasons why voters choose to be ignorant. Do you agree with the author?
- What do you think about the author's argument for allowing only the elite to vote?

Related Cambridge/RI essay questions

1) 'Only educated people should have the right to vote in elections.' What is your view? (Cambridge 2009)
2) 'The best argument against democracy is a five-minute conversation with the average voter.' (Winston Churchill) Do you agree? (RI 2009 Yr 6 CT2)
3) "Democracy is the worst form of government as it puts power in the hands of ignorant masses." Do you agree? (RJC, 2007 JC2 CT1)

This reading will introduce you to:

- The necessity for nations to manage resources for long term, sustainable development.
- The tensions between managing resources for the long term and profit generation in the short term.
- The tensions between a free market versus a government-regulated market.

EU1, EU5

Reading 8a

What Norway did with its oil and we didn't

Esther Hsieh, The Globe and Mail (Canada). Published: 16 May 2013, updated 26 Mar 2017

When oil was discovered in the Norwegian continental shelf in 1969, Norway was very aware of the finite nature of petroleum, and didn't waste any time legislating policies to manage the new-found resource in a way that would give Norwegians long-term wealth, benefit their entire society and make them competitive beyond just a commodities exporter.

"Norway got the basics right quite early on," says John Calvert, a political science professor at Simon Fraser University. "They understood what this was about and they put in place public policy that they have benefited so much from."

This is in contrast to Canada's free-market approach, he contends, where our government is discouraged from long-term public planning, in favour of allowing the market to determine the pace and scope of development.

"I would argue quite strongly that the Norwegians have done a much better job of managing their [petroleum] resource," Prof. Calvert says.

While No. 15 on the World Economic Forum's global competitiveness rankings, Norway is ranked third out of all countries on its macroeconomic environment (up from fourth last year), "driven by windfall oil revenues combined with prudent fiscal management," according to the Forum.

Before oil was discovered, the Act of 21 June 1963 was already in place for managing the Norwegian continental shelf. This legislation has since been updated several times, most recently in 1996, now considered Norway's Petroleum Act, which includes protection for fisheries, communities and the environment.

In 1972, the government founded the precursor of Statoil ASA, an integrated petroleum company. (In 2012, Statoil dividends from government shares was $2.4-billion). In the same year, the Norwegian Petroleum Directorate was also established, a government administrative body that has the objective of "creating the greatest possible values for society from the oil and gas activities by means of prudent resource management."

In 1990, the precursor of the Government Pension Fund – Global (GPFG), a sovereign wealth fund, was established for surplus oil revenues. Today the GPFG is worth more than $700-billion.
While there's no question that Norway has done well from its oil and gas, unlike many resource-based nations, Norway has invested its petro dollars in such a way as to create and sustain other industries where it is also globally competitive.

The second largest export of Norway is supplies for the petroleum industry, points out Ole Anders Lindseth, the director general of the Ministry of Petroleum and Energy in Norway.

"So the oil and gas activities have rendered more than just revenue for the benefit of the future generations, but has also rendered employment, workplaces and highly skilled industries," Mr. Lindseth says.

Maximizing the resource is also very important.

Because the government is highly invested, (oil profits are taxed at 78 per cent, and in 2011 tax revenues were $36-billion), it is as interested as oil companies, which want to maximize their profits, in extracting the maximum amount of hydrocarbons from the reservoirs. This has inspired technological advances such as parallel drilling, Mr. Lindseth says.

"The extraction rate in Norway is around 50 per cent, which is extremely high in the world average," he adds.

Norway has also managed to largely avoid so-called Dutch disease (a decline in other exports due to a strong currency) for two reasons, Mr. Lindseth says. The GPFG wealth fund is largely invested outside Norway by legislation, and the annual maximum withdrawal is 4 per cent. Through these two measures, Norway has avoided hyper-inflation, and has been able to sustain its traditional industries.
In Norway, there's no industry more traditional than fishing.

"As far back as the 12th century they were already exporting stock fish to places in Europe," explains Rashid Sumaila, director of the Fisheries Economics Research Unit at the University of British Columbia Fisheries Centre.

Prof. Sumaila spent seven years studying economics in Norway and uses game theory to study fish stocks and ecosystems. Fish don't heed international borders and his research shows how co-operative behaviour is economically beneficial.

"Ninety per cent of the fish stocks that Norway depends on are shared with other countries. It's a country that has more co-operation and collaboration with other countries than any other country I know," Prof. Sumaila says.

"That's [partly] why they still have their cod and we've lost ours," he adds, pointing out that not only are quotas and illegal fishing heavily monitored, policy in Norway is based on scientific evidence and consideration for the sustainability of the ecosystem as a whole.

Prof. Sumaila cites the recent changes to Canada's Fisheries Act, as a counter-example: "To protect the habitat, you have to show a direct link between the habitat, the fish and the economy," he says, adding, "That's the kind of weakening that the Norwegians don't do."

Svein Jentoft is a professor in the faculty of Bioscience, Fisheries and Economics at the University of Tromso. He adds that Norway's co-operative management style, particularly domestically, has been key to the continued success of the fisheries.

"The management system [for fish stock] is an outcome of the positive, constructive and trustful relationship between the industry on the one hand and the government on the other hand," Prof. Jentoft says. "They have been able to agree on issues that you and many other countries haven't been able to, largely because the government has listened to the fishermen."

However, Prof. Jentoft isn't on board with all of his government's policies. He's concerned about how the quota and licensing system is concentrating wealth and the impact that this will have on fishing communities.

He predicts that Norway's wild stocks will remain healthy in the foreseeable future and that the aquaculture industry (fish farms), where Norwegians are world leaders, will continue to grow.
In 2009, Norway's total fish and seafood export was $7.1-billion, $3.8-billion was in aquaculture. By 2011, Norwegian aquaculture exports grew to $4.9-billion. In Canada, total fish and seafood exports in 2011 were $3.6-billion, with approximately one-third from aquaculture.

Norway's forests are another important natural resource, and its pulp-and-paper industry has many parallels to Canada's. Both nations are heavy exporters of newsprint. With much less demand since the wide adoption of the Internet and competition from modern mills from emerging markets, both nations have suffered through down-sizing and mill closures over the past decade. Both have been looking for ways to adapt.

The Borregaard pulp and paper mill in Sarpsborg has become one of the world's most advanced biorefineries. From wood, it creates four main products: specialty cellulose, lignosuphonates, vanillin and ethanol, along with 200 GWh a year of bioenergy.

"You have a diversified portfolio of products," explains Karin Oyaas, research manager at the Paper and Fibre Research Institute in Trondheim. "The Borregaard mill uses all parts of the wood and they have a variety of products, so if one of the products is priced low for a few years, then maybe some of the other products are priced high."

She feels this is a key change in direction for the industry in Norway. She doesn't want to see the industry putting all of its eggs in one basket, as it did with newsprint.

Dr. Oyaas also thinks that rebranding the industry is key to its survival and success in Norway. The forestry industry doesn't get the same kind of attention as the oil industry, nor does it have the high-tech image. But it is just as high-tech, and it has the bonus of being a renewable resource.
"You can make anything from the forest. You can make the same products that you can make from oil," explains Dr. Oyaas.

Reflection Questions
Why should government regulate resources?
When planning resource regulation, what are the considerations a nation needs to have?
What are the conflicting tensions to negotiate between?

Possible Activity: Further thinking
Based on the article as well as your own knowledge, can you identify the pros and cons of a free market as well as a government-regulated one?

For discussion:

1) In your society, how well are the demands of the economy and the environment balanced? (Cambridge, Nov 15)
2) Should there be any controls over the production of energy when the needs for it are so great? (Cambridge, Nov 15)
3) 'The key criterion for good government is how well the economy is managed.' Is this a fair assessment? (Cambridge, Nov 12)
4) To what extent should the State involve itself in the world of business? (Cambridge, Nov 05)
5) 'The environment should be the responsibility of the individual, not the government.' Comment. (RI, 2014, Y6 Prelim)
6) 'A country should be run like a business.' Discuss this with reference to Singapore. (RJC 2008 JC2 CT1)

This reading will introduce you to:

- The necessity for nations to allocate resources to address the needs of different societal groups
- The tensions between allocating resources to address the needs of the elderly and meeting the needs of the young
- The tensions between allocating resources to meet short term goals and ensuring long term sustainability
- The potential societal costs arising from a failure to arrive at compromise in managing these tensions.

EU5

Reading 8b

Pensioners prosper, the young suffer; Britain's social contract is breaking

The decline of poverty in old age is good news, but we need measures to ensure that everybody benefits

Adapted from article by David Willetts, The Guardian
Sat 24 Oct 2015

It's good to see fewer pensioners living in poverty. It marks a dramatic turnaround in the fortunes of different generations. Last week, the Institute for Fiscal Studies estimated that the median income of pensioners (£394 per week) is now higher than the median income of the rest of the population (£385 per week).

In many ways, this is a triumph. Nobody wants to see pensioners struggling in poverty. And we might hope that the forces driving up the incomes of today's pensioners will similarly boost incomes of the generations coming after.

But if we investigate what lies behind the headline figures we see that this is not a simply benign economic and social trend from which we might all expect to benefit. Instead, there are some specific reasons why especially younger pensioners, the boomers who are now retiring, have ended up enjoying spectacular advantages that may not boost incomes of the generations coming after them.

We can get a good idea of how this has come about if we look behind the headline figures. First, they measure incomes left over after deducting housing costs. More and more old people own their homes with the mortgage paid off. They have very low housing costs.

Meanwhile, younger generations struggle to get on the housing ladder, with high rents for poor quality property. We simply are not building anything like the number of houses we need. Through the 1950s and 1960s, we were building 300,000 houses a year but now, despite all the government's efforts, we are only at about half that. Getting more houses built and bringing down the cost of housing is crucial to reducing this gap between the generations.

Pensioners are also doing well because of the triple lock protecting their incomes. This means the state pension is boosted by either inflation or earnings or 2.5% – whichever is highest. This is a ratchet that means whatever the state of the economic cycle the state pension keeps on going up. So even when earnings were not increasing, pensioners kept enjoying increases in their pension because it was linked to prices. Inflation has now dipped below zero but, because earnings are going up by 2.9 %, pensioners are going to do as well as workers next April.

What does this mean for households? Well, a pensioner couple with an income of around £15,000 can expect it to rise by roughly £300 as a result of the triple lock. This contrasts with Resolution Foundation estimates of a loss from tax credit cuts of around £1,500 for a family with one child in which a single earner brings in that same £15,000 (and that's even after accounting for the welcome rise in the minimum wage promised by the chancellor).

The figures for the incomes of older people are rising not just because of their pensions – it is their total income. More and more pensioners work. Again, this is a good thing. But they have a clear bonus over younger counterparts because they pay no national insurance contributions. So, for the same pay rate and the same work they will take home more pay than a younger colleague working beside them.

There is another factor, too. The company pension used to be a pretty basic promise to pay a cash income if you stayed with the firm for a long time. But successive governments have legislated to increase the protection for these pensions, such as adding ever more requirements for price indexation. Sounds good. But such measures have the crucial drawback of making the cost of providing such pensions so high that companies have opted out from providing them for future generations of workers. The company pension has turned into an unrepeatable special offer for one generation.

The promise to them is so expensive that it has created big pension deficits that have to be plugged out of the revenues generated by the company workforce. These pension contributions are recorded as a return to labour but they don't benefit younger employees who are working to generate revenues to plug deficits in pension schemes that they cannot themselves join. These pension contributions are one reason why take-home pay is lagging behind overall performance of the economy. Young people are paying to boost pensions that they are not themselves ever going to benefit from.

The decline of pensioner poverty is good news. But not enough of it is a story of wider prosperity enjoyed by everyone. Too much is a specific generation benefiting in an unrepeatable way. Some is a deliberate decision to help people above a certain age and so younger people might hope one day to gain, but even here we can ask if it really is the best use of limited resources. We are reshaping the state and storing problems for the future by creating a country for older generations. The social contract is a contract between the generations and in Britain it is being broken. So we need to help. A key driver is housing costs. That is why we need to get more housing built. It is outrageous when older owner-occupiers, having benefited from earlier waves of home-building, object to new housing.

We also need to support affordable pension schemes that younger people can join, help them into work through more places at university and better investment in skills.

I do not believe that today's pensioners are greedy geezers. They worry about their own children and grandchildren. In fact, some of these extraordinary benefits are going to be saved up to pass on to their family. But they are in a state of denial about what is happening across the generations as a whole.

Sometimes, this is justified by arguing that somehow the younger generation are feckless or incompetent. But they are not. They are decent and hard working. We have a duty to them just as much as we have to the older generation. And if we do not discharge it to them now then why in the future as they come to hold power and influence should they feel any obligation to older people? As the bumper sticker says: "Be good to your kids – they choose your nursing home." That is not just true for individual families: it is true for our country as well.

David Willetts is a former minister for universities and science, executive chair of the Resolution Foundation and author of The Pinch.

Discussion Questions

1. According to the writer, in what ways has the current pension scheme in Britain come at the expense of the younger generation?
2. Consider some reasons why the British government may have prioritised the needs of pensioners over the needs of the younger generation.
3. In the long term, what dangers may the continuation of the existing pension scheme pose for British society as a whole, and why?

Essay Questions:

7) What priorities would you set for government expenditure in your country and why? (RI 2013 Yr 6 CT2)

8) The government always acts in the interest of the people.' Discuss. (RI 2011 Yr 5 Promo)

9) 'When a government's finances for social welfare are limited, should they be directed towards the young or the old? (Cambridge, Nov 2014)

These two readings will help you:

- Better understand the debate between security and privacy
- Consider why even democratic states struggle with how to protect their citizens
  - the balance between security and freedom is not easy to build in a political way because security is a fact achieved at a cost of freedom, and freedom is a fact achieved at a cost of security.

EU3

Reading 9a

As France and Belgium Strengthen Security, A Classic Debate Arises

Steven Erlanger and Kimiko De-Freytas Tamura, 19 November 2015, The New York Times

PARIS — Shocked by the carnage of the Paris attacks, France and Belgium moved aggressively on Thursday to strengthen the hand of their security forces, pushing Europe more deeply into a debate that has raged in the United States since Sept. 11, 2001: how to balance counterterrorism efforts and civil liberties.

With their populations stunned and nervous and political pressure growing on the right, the French and Belgian governments made it clear that, for now, they would put protecting their citizens ahead of other considerations.

With time, the United States has moved to ease some elements of the U.S.A. Patriot Act, passed in the aftermath of the Sept. 11 attacks. It has also strengthened oversight of intelligence agencies and of mass domestic surveillance in the wake of the revelations by Edward J. Snowden, the former contractor for the National Security Agency who leaked documents about surveillance.

But European nations battered by terrorism are moving in the other direction. Those nations include France, which has suffered multiple attacks this year; Belgium, where many of the Paris attackers lived or grew up; and Britain, which has thwarted a number of plots in recent years. Each is updating and strengthening government power while debating further controls over passport-free travel within continental Europe.

Since Friday's attacks on Paris, France has aggressively used emergency powers, for example, to round up potential terrorism suspects across the country in an effort to disrupt any further plots.

Finding the right balance between individual rights and antiterrorism measures has grown more complex in the 14 years since the United States was struck by Al Qaeda, in part because of the pervasiveness of digital technology and the ensuing questions about personal privacy. But in the days after the Paris attacks, there has been relatively little reflection about the trade-offs as the nations most affected, France and Belgium, rushed to put new security measures in place and alter their legal and constitutional structures to give government more flexibility in dealing with threats.

As Prime Minister Manuel Valls of France warned darkly on Thursday of the possibility of chemical and biological attacks, France's National Assembly voted, 551 to 6 with one

abstention, to extend for three months a national state of emergency imposed after the attacks in Paris by the Islamic State, which killed 129 people and wounded 352.

The recent terrorist attacks have reignited a debate on the balance between civil liberties and national security. We would like to hear from you.

"The state of emergency, it's true, justifies certain temporary restrictions on liberties," Mr. Valls said. "But resorting to this, it's to give us every chance to fully restore these liberties."

In Belgium, Prime Minister Charles Michel said he would rush through legal changes to make it easier to capture, try and punish suspected terrorists operating there. He also said he would seek constitutional changes to extend the length of time suspects can be held by the police without the filing of charges to 72 hours, from 24.

His plan calls for the imprisonment of jihadists returning to Belgium from overseas, and would require anyone deemed a threat to wear an ankle bracelet. The plan would also ban the anonymous sale of telephone SIM cards that allow terrorists to hide their identities; would remove restrictions on what times of day the police are permitted to conduct raids on terrorism suspects; and would allow the authorities to arrest or expel religious figures "who preach hatred."

Mr. Michel also wants to require all passengers traveling on high-speed trains as well as airplanes to register their identities before departure.

Jan Techau, the director of Carnegie Europe, a research organization based in Brussels, said he saw the reactions as perfectly natural.

"The home front is the field of political activity now — it will all be about homeland security," he said. "There is a sense that the authorities are no longer in control, and it's a clear attempt by authorities to regain some trust."

But advocates for civil liberties warned against governments going too far, and suggested that European nations had to be particularly careful that the measures they were taking were not aimed at one class of citizens: Muslims.

Officials at Human Rights Watch in Belgium cautioned on Thursday that the authorities should ensure such measures did not lead to indiscriminate roundups or unnecessary restrictions on freedom of speech, movement and religion.

EU3

Reading 9b

Lessons from Apple vs FBI

John Cassidy, 29 March 2016, The New Yorker

It's welcome news that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has dropped its legal effort to force Apple to help it create a method of accessing data on a locked iPhone 5C used by Syed Rizwan Farook, one of the perpetrators of the massacre that took place in December in San Bernardino. Not that the Bureau, which ultimately found another means of getting into the phone, didn't have a legitimate interest in knowing what was on the phone: only an ardent libertarian would argue otherwise. But the case raised a number of important issues and conflicting interests that judges alone can't be, and shouldn't be, expected to resolve.

Curiously enough, the F.B.I. and Apple agreed on this point, if nothing else. "That tension should not be resolved by corporations that sell stuff for a living," James Comey, the director of the Bureau, said in a post published in February at the national-security blog Lawfare. "It also should not be resolved by the FBI, which investigates for a living. It should be resolved by the American people deciding how we want to govern ourselves in a world we have never seen before." In explaining Apple's decision to appeal a court order that was handed down in February, which required the company to help the F.B.I., Tim Cook told *Time* magazine, "Somebody should pass a law that makes it clear what the boundaries are. This thing shouldn't be done court by court by court by court."

Of course, merely calling for a political solution doesn't help us to decide what one should look like. If there were a simple legal or technological resolution that satisfied the demands of both sides, it would already have been adopted. The reason the San Bernardino case was so contentious was that, at first glance, the two parties appeared to be defending principles that were both compelling and irreconcilable.

Clearly, after Edward Snowden's revelations about the extent of U.S. government surveillance of citizens, Americans have ample reason to be concerned about the surveillance opportunities offered by digital technology, and the possibility that big tech companies are complicit in this spying. Modern smartphones contain all sorts of personal information, from saved e-mails to financial records to intimate pictures. Apple, as a leading purveyor of smartphones, has every reason to respond to the privacy concerns of its customers. That's what it did when it incorporated code in iOS that wipes the hard drive when someone enters an incorrect passcode ten times in a row.

Law-enforcement agencies, in seeking to protect the public, also have a vital job to do. And they have long had the right to violate people's personal space, with a court's approval. For example, in searching for incriminating evidence, they can, given a suitably tailored warrant, break down the front door of a person's home, rip apart walls and floors, and rifle through personal possessions. They can also make landlords assist them in gaining entry.

In the San Bernardino case, the F.B.I. effectively argued (and Sheri Pym, the federal magistrate who handed down the court order, effectively accepted), that a cell phone isn't much different from an apartment, and that Apple isn't much different from a landlord. The company offered up a number of legal arguments to the contrary, arguing that it shouldn't be compelled to write new code that would override the security features it had designed into a product. Six weeks of battling it out in court and the media didn't resolve this central conflict. But it did illuminate some other important aspects of the issues involved in the case.

It now appears as though the F.B.I. seized on the San Bernardino case as an opportunity to pursue a policy agenda that it has had for years, and that it oversold its case. The agency said that it was unable to unlock the iPhone 5C without Apple's assistance. But as Daniel Kahn Gillmor, a technology fellow at the American Civil Liberties Union, pointed out in a blog post published on March 7th, this claim didn't ring entirely true. In his piece, which included pictures of an iPhone 5C's circuit board, Gillmor described how investigators could work around the auto-erase feature by removing the device's *NAND* flash memory and backing it up, then trying every conceivable four-digit passcode combination. "If the FBI doesn't have the equipment or expertise to do this, they can hire any one of dozens of data recovery firms that specialize in information extraction from digital devices," he wrote. It's not known for certain if the F.B.I. used the method that Gillmor recommended to get into Farook's phone. But the post suggested that the Bureau hadn't exhausted all of the technological possibilities for accessing the data. This may damage its credibility if it gets into a similar legal dispute in the future.

There is also reason to question an argument that Comey has been making in conjunction with the case—that strong encryption protocols, which other technology firms are also deploying, are producing a new "dark" zone that terrorists, criminals, and other bad actors can exploit. Undoubtedly, the encryption measures introduced by Apple and other tech firms since the Snowden revelations have made it easier for people to conceal data in locked iPhones, encrypted WhatsApp messages, and other protected spaces. But the authorities still have the capacity to collect enormous amounts of information. In the San Bernardino case, for example, the investigators obtained records from Farook's employer's cellular provider, which would have included details of all of the calls he placed on the device, and perhaps his saved messages. Cook told *Time* that Apple itself gave the F.B.I. "a cloud backup on the phone, and some other metadata." Law-enforcement officials have said that they wanted to look at Farook's list of contacts and any other remaining data. Apparently, they were concerned that some recent data might have been missing—it emerged a few weeks ago that Farook may have changed his password, turning off automated iCloud backups in the process.

Apple, and the companies and organizations that submitted amicus briefs in support of Apple's position, argued that it was impractical and risky to try and create a pass-through on a one-off basis. This sounds like a strong argument, but it needs to be explored further. Were Apple and its allies saying that they can't be trusted to keep their own security protocols safe? Or were they arguing that it is impossible to design an encryption protocol that can be breached by its creator, but no one else? In pledging to fight the court order, Apple used the first argument, saying, "The only way to guarantee that such a powerful tool isn't abused and doesn't fall into the wrong hands is to never create it." Earlier this month, in an open letter to President Obama, the Electronic Frontier Foundation, which is supporting Apple, appeared to be invoking the second argument. "You can't build a backdoor into our digital devices that only good guys can use. Just like you can't put a key under a doormat that only the FBI will ever find," the letter read.

Some experts found Apple's position that it was acting in order to protect privacy rights to be less than convincing. In a post at Lawfare, Susan Hennessey and Benjamin Wittes, two scholars at the Brookings Institution, described the company's self-presentation as "largely self-congratulatory nonsense." Hitherto, Hennessey and Wittes noted, Apple had strongly opposed legislation that might have clarified laws related to encryption. In now arguing that the existing law couldn't compel it to help the government, the firm was adopting a "near-duplicitous posture" and "trying to carve out a zone of impunity for itself that rightly alarms the government and should alarm the very citizens the company (which calls these citizens 'customers') purports to represent."

With the case dropped, what will happen now? One option would be for the President and Congress to take up a suggestion Apple has made to "form a commission or other panel of experts on intelligence, technology, and civil liberties to discuss the implications for law enforcement, national security, privacy, and personal freedoms." Ordinarily, there are good reasons to be skeptical of commissions, which are sometimes used to placate the public while, in fact, serving to delay necessary action and preserve the status quo. In this case, though, a public airing of the issues, some of which are technical and complex, could be productive, especially if the commission's remit was extended to include other companies and their products, and the broader issue of privacy in the electronic age.

Ever since the early nineteen-nineties, when the Internet was just being widely adopted, the F.B.I. and the National Security Agency have been arguing that the communications world is "going dark" and depriving them of access to information they needed to safeguard the public. The revelations from Snowden and others demonstrated that, in reality, we live in what Peter Swire, a professor of law and ethics at the Georgia Institute of Technology, has called "a golden age of surveillance." In a recent report published by Havard's Berkman Center for

Internet and Society, a team of experts pointed out that some powerful trends will continue to "facilitate government access" to personal information. The business models of firms like Facebook and Google depend on their ability to track user data. New cloud services create yet more unencrypted data. And the Internet of Things, which will deploy countless devices, in all sorts of places, "promises a new frontier for networking objects, machines, and environments in ways that we are just beginning to understand."

Even in such a data-rich environment, however, the rise of strong encryption is having an impact and creating some hidden areas. There will certainly be instances when legal authorities want access to encrypted information that they can't get at. Terrorism investigations aren't the only example. Absent methods of accessing systems protected by strong encryption, Obama asked a few weeks ago, "What mechanisms do we have to even do things like tax enforcement? If you can't crack that at all, if government can't get in, then everyone's walking around with a Swiss bank account in their pocket, right?"

At this stage, that specific threat may not be too grave. Tax authorities have sweeping powers to demand bank accounts and other financial records. But as encrypted blockchain technologies develop, and perhaps start to replace regular money, they could create more opportunities for concealment. Regardless, Obama was surely right when he said that the time to confront these issues is now. If we wait until after the next big terrorist attack, we could end up with a second Patriot Act.

Reflection Questions

- Is the dichotomy between security and privacy a misleading one?
- When liberty is lost, is security lost as well?
- How does a country balance collective security with individual liberty in an age of high-tech communications and international terrorism?
- Do tech companies like Apple, have a responsibility from a business ethics point of view, to actually take a position on what is the right thing to do? Or is it about a higher principle?

Essay Questions:

Is regulation of the press desirable? (Cambridge 2017)
'No cause is ever worth dying for.' Discuss. (Cambridge 2015)
Is it ever justified to sacrifice human rights for a country's progress? (RI Yr 6 CT2 2017)

Reading 10a

Are Dictators Worse than Anarchy?

Christiane Hoffmann | Spiegel Online | 08 Oct 2014 | **EU2**

This reading will help you to:

- Understand that successful establishment of a democratic state is contingent on socio-political and cultural conditions
- Recognise that while democracy is desirable, it should not be singularly pursued without due consideration of citizens' pragmatic needs

The last decade has shown that there is something worse than dictatorship, worse than the absence of freedom, worse than oppression: civil war and chaos. The "failing states" that currently stretch from Pakistan to Mali show that the alternative to dictatorship isn't necessarily democracy – all too often, it is anarchy. In the coming years, global politics will not be defined by the polarity between democratic and autocratic states as much as it will by the contrast between functioning and non-functioning states.

The Role of the State

For Thomas Hobbes, the intrinsic function of the state was to impose legal order in order to subdue the "state of nature." In 'Leviathan', which he wrote in the 17th century under the shadow of the English Civil War, he argued that the state's monopoly on violence was legitimate when used to protect the lives and possessions of the state's citizens. When the state was no longer able to guarantee order, the threat of "war of every man against every man" loomed. The latter was the state of nature that the state, symbolised by the Leviathan, was tasked with taming.

Hobbes' argument on the need for a dictatorship contrasts with the current Western perspective, which is shaped during the decades of the Cold War, where the threat to Western Europe did not come from weak states, warlords and terrorist organisations but from Communism. The collapse of the socialist dictatorships in Eastern Europe led not to anarchy but to the installation of a new, democratic order. This created the illusion that one merely had to remove obstacles for democracy to appear, almost automatically.

The Russian Example

But in Russia, the transition from the Soviet system to democracy failed. After the end of socialism, Russians were able to vote in more-or-less democratic elections and the economy was privatised. But the rule of law did not take hold. Instead, capriciousness and corruption gained the upper hand; power was monopolised by the strong. Chechnya began fighting for independence and the state started to disintegrate.

Such was the situation when Boris Yeltsin named Vladimir Putin prime minister in 1999. To Yeltsin, Putin, the head of domestic intelligence, seemed to be the only person capable of keeping the country together. Putin's task when he took over the Russian presidency a short time later was to return a crumbling state to functionality.

He was also asked to lead a vast, sparsely populated country where state control had always been fragile. The spectre of the "Smuta" – a period of chaos and anarchy in the early 17th

century – continues to hang over Russian history. The iron-fisted Brezhnev era, by contrast, is considered by many in the country to be among the happiest periods in recent times.

The Importance of Stability

All of which raises the question: Is stability a value in and of itself? Those who answer in the affirmative are often seen as cynics who place little importance in freedom and human rights. But the uncomfortable truth is that dictatorship is often preferable to anarchy. Were people given a choice between a functioning dictatorship and a failing or failed state, the dictatorship would often be seen as the lesser evil. And most people believe that a more-or-less secure livelihood and a modicum of justice are more important than individual freedoms and unimpeachable democracy.

Political instability triggers the yearning for order, sometimes at any price – and thus often paves the way for extremists. That was true in Germany at the end of the Weimar Republic; in Russia, Stalinism followed the revolution and civil war; in Afghanistan, the period of unrest following the Soviet withdrawal spurred the rise of the Taliban. And now Islamic State has appeared in Iraq and Syria.

That is why the swath of political instability stretching from Pakistan to Mali is so disconcerting. In Iraq, Syria, Yemen and Libya, central governments have lost control over vast portions of their territory and entire countries are becoming ungovernable. Tribes and clans are fighting with each other while warlords are exerting regional control – at least, until they lose it again.

The failed democratisation of Iraq and the unsuccessful “Arab Spring” in Syria have fed the rise of Islamic State. In neither of these countries does democracy currently have realistic prospects for success. The best solution for Syria – and this is not cynicism speaking – would perhaps be a military putsch against Assad. It would rid the country of its dictator while leaving the country’s last centre of power, the Syrian army, intact and able to resist Islamic State.

Unappealing but Right

This kind of argument is an admission of the West’s impotence – of its limited ability to export its values and lifestyle. It feels like a selling out of ideals. The argument is also often used to justify doing business with dictators and, even worse, provides dictators with justification for their own policies of oppression.

But that doesn’t make it wrong. There are an increasing number of failed states in the world. According to the Fragile State Index assembled by the Fund for Peace, the number of states receiving a rating of “very high alert” or “high alert” has increased from nine to 16 since 2006. The spread of democracy and freedom, by contrast, has hardly made any progress. According to Freedom House, following a significant increase in the number of free countries at the beginning of the 1990s, there has been little change since 1998.

Democracy can only function in an environment where there is at least a minimum of stability. And it cannot necessarily establish this stability itself. In Iraq and Egypt, that process has failed, at least for the time being. In Afghanistan, the power of President Hamid Karzai, who made way for his successor at the end of September, never extended much beyond the city limits of the capital, Kabul, despite massive Western support. It is debatable whether the rudimentary rule of law established there after 13 years of Western involvement can survive International Security Assistance Force’s departure at the end of this year.

Free countries, as constitutional law expert Ernst-Wolfgang Bockenforde once wrote, flourish in conditions that they themselves are unable to guarantee. Without a cultural learning process – like the one undergone by Europe over the centuries – the toppling of a dictator and the holding of elections are not sufficient to establish democracy. As such, the West should value functioning states to a greater degree in the future.

Even as it longs to see the departure of autocrats in Russia, China, Central Asia and elsewhere, the alternatives must be seriously examined. And the next time an intervention is considered – whether this means military force, sanctions, or the support of opposition powers – the West must consider what will follow the toppling of the dictator. Indeed, that is exactly the argument US President Barack Obama used recently to justify his reticence to use force: "That's a lesson that I now apply every time I ask the questions, 'Should we intervene militarily? Do we have an answer (for) the day after?'"

For Discussion:

10) What are the author's reasons for arguing that "dictatorship is often preferable to anarchy" (line 35)? State some examples cited by the author to support her stand.

11) "Free countries … flourish in conditions that they themselves are unable to guarantee" (lines 71-72). What do you think are these conditions for democracy to flourish?

Essay Questions:

1) 'Countries experiencing conflict should be left to sort out their own problems.' How far do you agree? (Cambridge 2016)

2) 'Democracy is not for everyone'. Comment (RI 2011 Y6 CT1)

Reading 10b

Singapore's Authoritarian Prosperity is Here to Stay

Jiafeng Chen | *Harvard Political Review* | *03 Oct 2015* | **EU2**

This reading will help you to:

- Recognise that there is no prescribed ideal formula of governance
- Acknowledge that the balance of freedom and social stability is negotiated between the government and its citizens

Francis Fukuyama, in his 1989 essay 'The End of History?' hypothesized that the end of the Cold War marked the "universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government." But what came after the fall of the Berlin Wall was anything but Fukuyama's end of history. Gorbachev's *glasnost* and *perestroika* ended in the 1991 failed Russian coup, eventually plunging the country into its present form of illiberal democracy; Deng Xiaoping's reforms in China launched its spectacular economic growth, yet the Communist Party still holds extensive political control. Still, one might argue that neither Russia nor China is yet affluent enough for democratization to foment and that the end-of-history hypothesis is slowly but surely coming to fruition. But Singapore's People's Action Party, a 50-year-old party with authoritarian control over the prosperous city-state, may prove Fukuyama wrong after all.

Singapore's election on September 11 gave the ruling People's Action Party—the party of Singapore's first prime minister, Lee Kuan Yew—a clear mandate with nearly 70 percent of

the popular vote and 83 out of 89 seats in parliament. The election results dealt a heavy blow to the critics of the party, who expected the PAP to continue its decline after a historically poor electoral performance in 2011. A strong affirmation of the PAP's competence, the recent election is evidence that Singapore's meritocratic authoritarianism will remain and prosper, debunking the end-of-history hypothesis that political liberalization necessarily accompanies economic development.

A Resounding Victory

The election should be interpreted as the public's approval of the authoritarian PAP. Despite accusations of electoral bullying, the PAP succeeds mainly through its superior political capital in a fair process. First and foremost, the elections were unequivocally fair: Freedom House rates the electoral process, despite being dominated by the PAP, as "free from irregularities and vote rigging." Yet the PAP still faces accusations of electoral bullying, with tactics such as defamation suits to bring down key opposing figures, delayed housing upgrade projects in opposition wards, and a tight grip on media. While these accusations are valid, the effect of electoral bullying is minimal compared to the PAP's vast advantages over opposition parties in terms of political and human capital—a highly trained, uncorrupt, united, and educated party leadership. They have such overwhelming superiority that even the main opposition party aims only for a "Parliament with different political voices," rather than a parliamentary majority. The PAP enjoys a strong public mandate.

The PAP's landslide victory demonstrates that Singapore's authoritarian party upholds Lee Kuan Yew's legacy after his passing: a capable, pragmatic, and uncorrupt leadership resulting from an unyielding commitment to meritocracy. Meritocracy lies at the heart of both the political legitimacy of Singaporean authoritarianism and the culture of Singaporean society. It legitimizes authoritarian rule by maintaining an elite based on academic and professional success, rather than on class, gender, or ethnicity. This ensures social mobility, as any person capable enough can become an elite. Moreover, meritocratic authoritarianism appeals to the deep-rooted Confucianism in Singapore's 2.8 million ethnic Chinese, who constitute 74.1 percent of the population. Meritocracy and order are two pillars of Confucian philosophy; blending the two produces a strong and honest leadership that wields its authoritarian power decidedly but prudently—the secret to the success of Lee and his party.

Meritocratic Authoritarianism

Indeed, meritocratic authoritarianism will continue to prosper in Singapore. Critics of the meritocratic system, such as the tycoon and intellectual Ho Kwon Ping, warns that the system may turn into a "static meritocracy" that "creates a self-perpetuating elite class," citing that children of college-educated parents are much more likely to be college-educated. Yet social mobility is a gradual process, and it manifests in the fact that children of uneducated parents are entitled to the same opportunities as their high-born peers. Mr. Ho seems to suggest that a government of unskilled populists is more preferable than one of educated elites. The benefits of the meritocratic system, however, are vast.

Singapore's meritocracy paid off in its performance on the OECD's PISA test: an examination in math, reading, and science that Singaporean students continue to dominate. In addition, the meritocratic system itself is highly mutable, as Daniel Bell of Tsinghua University comments, "[T]o reduce income inequality and enhance social mobility, Singapore's government has increased benefits for the socioeconomically disadvantaged…by investing in education and making healthcare more affordable." Such an approach is dubbed

"compassionate meritocracy," an example of how Singapore's system continues to evolve and respond to public demands.

Authoritarianism, on the other hand, provides Singapore with stability. The stability that can be expected from governmental policies encourages investment, unlike in Greece, where the victory of the leftist Syriza party frightened investors. Furthermore, while authoritarian governments in larger states may neglect the demands of certain interest groups, Singapore's small size makes authoritarianism a highly efficient form of governance. Of course, Singapore's system can be ruthless, as open critics of the government, such as Roy Ngerng Yi Ling, are often targeted with defamation charges. However, the state *legally* challenges political opponents who make uncorroborated claims against party officials. Defamation charges in court are more transparent and less arbitrary than conventional restrictions on freedom of speech, such as those taken by the Chinese. Besides, the lack of free speech in Singapore is mediated by a highly educated and wealthy populace, still enjoying access to the Internet and social media. Singapore rose to prominence through meritocratic authoritarianism. So far it has worked, and it's here to stay.

History Isn't Over Yet

Proponents of western-style liberal democracies believe that political liberalization is a necessary by-product of economic development, citing examples such as South Korea and Taiwan. Some argue that political liberalization provides stability and legitimacy that "lock in" the country's gains during periods of authoritarian rule. Others argue that globalization necessitates the spread of capitalism and liberal democracies, as citizens of illiberal states regard liberal democracy as a rational and ethical form of government. They, like Fukuyama, believe in a metanarrative that liberal democracy is the pinnacle and end-all for human government. Yet much like the metanarrative that communism is the ultimate solution, this end-of-history narrative has proven to be a myth.

While successful political liberalization may secure economic gain, political liberalization often carries huge risks of instability and inefficiency. The successes of Korea and Taiwan fail to generalize, as countries like Libya and Syria are still struggling with the consequences of failed attempts to democratize. Democracies can also be highly inefficient. U.S. congressional gridlock and India's corrupt bureaucracies are tell-tale signs. Singaporean authoritarianism, on the contrary, is highly stable and efficient. In addition, globalization does not lead to political liberalization either. Singapore, as one of the most globalized states in the world, serves decidedly as a counterexample. Furthermore, western governing values may also be losing their universal appeal, Steven Erlanger of *The New York Times* questions in his recent article, as many emerging powers view the west as hypocritical.

The heart of the end-of-world metanarrative is the alleged moral superiority of western values. Yet judgments of normative values, ones that concern how things should be, only comes secondary to judgments of efficiency, ones that concern whether things work well. After all, a good political system is the one that works, and Singapore's authoritarian government works as magnificently for Singaporeans as Sweden's social democracy works for Swedes. Dogmatic inclination towards democracy should not cloud the fact that different forms of government suit different countries. History, like Singapore's meritocratic authoritarianism, may never end.

For Discussion:

12) The Economist Intelligence Unit's 2016 Democracy Index labelled Singapore "a flawed democracy" (i.e. elections are fair and free and basic civil liberties are honoured but significant faults in other democratic aspects exist, including an underdeveloped political culture, low levels of participation in politics, and issues in the functioning of governance). Surface observations made by Jiafeng Chen in the above article that illustrate this.

13) Do you agree with the author's view that Singapore's meritocratic authoritarianism may never end? When supporting your stand, consider the Singapore government's efforts to address challenges such as growing income inequality, rising cost of living, transport woes; the growth of civil society; every seat was contested in the 2015 General Election; etc.

Essay Questions:

1) 'The key criterion for good government is how well the economy is managed.' Is this a fair assessment? (Cambridge Nov 12)
2) Consider the view that efficient government is more important than democracy. (Cambridge Nov 11)
3) 'A benevolent dictatorship is the most effective form of government.' How far would you agree? (Cambridge Nov 99)
4) Is it ever justified to sacrifice human rights for a country's progress? (RI 2017 Y6 CT2)
5) In the world today, a nation's economic success is nothing more than a case of luck.' Is this a fair assessment? (RI 2016 Y6 CT2)
6) 'The key to a nation's success lies in economic growth.' Discuss. (RI 2015 Y5 Promo)
7) Do you think that your society will benefit from more freedom? (RI 2012 Y6 CT1)

These two readings will introduce you to:

- Two instances where domestic interests have clashed with global or regional pressures, and (suggested) ways in which compromise could be arrived at.

Reading 1:

- Qatari domestic interests has resulted in the Qatari government's ties with Islamist groups and Iran.
- However, neighbouring countries' objections to these ties has led to a regional backlash that is causing inconvenience to Qatar.

Reading 2:

- South Korean citizens' antipathy towards Japan's historical actions lingers, exerting pressure on the South Korean government to be harder in its stance towards Japan.
- However, the growing military belligerence of close neighbour North Korea and the failure of China as an ally to reign in this threat is driving the South Korean government to smoothen the relationship with Japan.

EU6, EU7

Reading 11a

The Qatar Crisis
Adapted from The Qatar Crisis: Causes, Implications, Risks, and the Need for Compromise

Philip Gordon, Amos Yadlin, Ari Heistein
June 13, 2017

The recent dispute between Qatar and some of its neighbors is the most serious dispute among them in years, and has the potential to further destabilize an already turbulent region. But the crisis also presents a potential opportunity. If a united front that includes the United States and the leading countries in the Arab world can induce Qatar to contain its support for organizations that promote extremism and threaten regional order, it could help stabilize the region, limit the reach of the Islamic State, and isolate Iran. The United States, which maintains close relations with both sides, should play an active role in trying to bring its quarreling partners together.

The recent dispute between Qatar and some of its neighbors (Saudi Arabia, Egypt, the UAE, and Bahrain) is the most serious dispute among them in years and has the potential to further destabilize an already turbulent region. The ostensible triggers of the crisis were inflammatory remarks allegedly made by the Emir of Qatar and a reported ransom payment by Doha to Iran-backed extremist groups, but the real issues are profound differences between Qatar and the others about how to deal with Iran, political Islam, and issues of regional leadership. With Saudi Arabia and some of its allies in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) closing land and sea routes to Qatar, canceling flights, withdrawing diplomats, expelling Qatari nationals, designating 59 Qatari citizens as terrorist supporters, prohibiting the screening of the *al-Jazeera* TV network, and even (in the case of the UAE) banning the expression of sympathy toward Qatar, the disagreement is significantly more serious than previous clashes, including in 2014, when Saudi Arabia and other countries recalled their ambassadors from Doha.

This dispute among Sunni-majority Arab states is a major cause of concern because it reflects a deep fissure among United States allies in the effort to maintain regional stability by combating the Islamic State and containing Iran. If Saudi Arabia and its allies overplay their hand, they could drive Qatar to openly align itself with Iran and Turkey, further exacerbating tensions in the region, creating an enduring diplomatic and economic stalemate, and jeopardizing the use of the al-Udeid military base in Qatar by the United States and the counter-ISIS coalition. In worst case scenarios, the dispute could even lead to a military conflict in the Gulf.

But the crisis also presents a potential opportunity. If a united front that includes the United States and the leading countries in the Arab world can induce Qatar to contain its support for organizations that promote extremism and threaten regional order, it could help stabilize the region, limit the reach of the Islamic State, and isolate Iran. Qatar could "save face" and maintain its open channels to some Islamist groups and its relatively neutral stance on Iran, but it would respect its partners' redlines about funding and supporting groups that threaten their core interests. The United States, which maintains close relations with both sides, should play an active role in trying to bring its quarreling partners together.

Causes of the Conflict

The primary long term cause of the crisis between the Saudi-led camp and the government of Qatar is Doha's funding of and political support for politically active and sometimes violent Islamist groups, often affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood. Qatar's GCC allies feel threatened by the potential influx of secretive organizations, extreme religious attitudes, and political activism; in terms of the threat these groups pose, the Saudi-led camp believes there is little difference between the Brotherhood and the more overtly violent extremist groups they face. **Despite Saudi, Egyptian, and Emirati objections and the fact that it is the politically and militarily weaker party, Qatar has continued to support its Islamist allies, and for several reasons: genuine ideological affinity; a sense, at least until recently, that political Islam was an ascendant force in the region; a drive to boost its global influence by being able to engage with these groups on behalf of the international community; and a desire to challenge the status quo, including the rule of traditional Saudi allies.** Qatar's independent foreign policy and willingness to challenge Saudi leadership has consistently weakened the notion of a "Sunni Arab camp." In addition, **Qatar's use of the government-owned media outlet *al-Jazeera* to magnify the Muslim Brotherhood's influence throughout the Arab world and criticize leaders in Riyadh, Cairo, and Abu Dhabi has long been a serious thorn in regional relations.** Already in 2002, Qatar's hostile media coverage of the Saudi government led Riyadh to recall its ambassador from Doha for six years. Saudi Arabia did so once again in 2014, along with the UAE and Bahrain, in response to criticism by Qatar-based and Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi of the Egyptian and Emirati governments.

A second source of tension is Doha's accommodating stance toward Iran, which is seen by most of the other Sunni-majority states in the Gulf as a growing threat to their security or even existence. Over the last decade, the Qataris have taken steps such as voting against a UNSC resolution calling on Iran to halt its nuclear enrichment program and signing a bilateral counterterrorism agreement with Iran; **this more conciliatory approach is likely the result of both Qatar's relative military weakness compared to Iran as well as its economic interest in maintaining cooperation with the country with which it shares the world's largest gas field.** More recently, the Emir of Qatar congratulated Iranian President Hassan Rouhani on his reelection (the only Gulf country other than Oman to do so), and according to the *Financial Times*, the government of Qatar irritated many of its Gulf allies in April 2017 by authorizing the payment of $700 million to Iran and Kata'ib al-Hezbollah, the Iranian-backed Shia militia in Iraq, in exchange for the freedom of members of Qatar's royal family taken captive in Iraq. In late May 2017, the Emir was reported (probably falsely) by the Qatar State News Agency to have criticized the hostile rhetoric of the Gulf and the US toward Iran, leading to severe criticism throughout the rest of the Gulf and triggering the current crisis.

Third, President Trump's visit to Saudi Arabia, his first foreign visit to any country, was read in Riyadh, Abu Dhabi, and Cairo as a green light for them to punish Qatar for its support of Islamist groups. Trump expressed an unqualified commitment to Riyadh and its allies in the region, with a focus on containing Iran and fighting against radical Islam, signaling there would be no fallout from the United States if they took steps to push Qatar back into line. Trump even took credit on Twitter for bringing about the regional blockade of Qatar, and denounced Doha's leaders as "high-level funders of terrorism," though his own Secretary of State had appealed for an easing of that blockade. **In this sense, the Saudi-led move was at once an opportunity for the GCC partners and Egypt to punish their adversaries in Doha, please their allies in Washington, and remove attention from their own shortcomings and challenges.**

Scenarios and Recommendations

The diplomatic crisis – involving a number of unpredictable actors with major interests at stake – could play out in a number of different ways. The Saudis and their allies clearly hope for a rapid solution in which Qatar recognizes how serious they are, respects a balance of power in which it is the weaker party, and concedes quickly and unambiguously to their list of demands. These demands include reining in or shutting down *al-Jazeera*, limiting cooperation with Iran to issues related to the shared gas field, expelling the leadership of the Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas, and making iron-clad commitments not to support extremist groups.

However, quick and complete Qatari concessions are highly unlikely. Economically, Qatar's sovereign wealth fund of over $300 billion (for a population that numbers around 300,000 citizens) ensures that the country will not feel serious financial pain in the near future. Also, because all of the GCC economies are so similar in nature (reliant on energy exports), the economic activity between Qatar and the other petro-states in the region is not as significant as one might expect among neighbors. In fact, only the UAE constitutes one of Qatar’s top-5 trading partners. In addition, Doha knows that the US has an interest in ensuring its security so long as the al-Udeid air base is a critical component of its campaigns in the region, including Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, and Yemen; this was evident in the recent US comments directed at Qatar, which praised it for its "enduring commitment to regional security." The US does not have obvious alternatives to al-Udeid, and US military leaders, in the middle of a major military campaign against the Islamic State, will do all they can to maintain it. Finally, Qatar’s proud leaders are deeply averse to concessions, and have vowed not to “surrender” to terms that they see as legitimizing Riyadh’s presumed “guardianship” over Doha that compromises the independence of its foreign policy.

At the same time, the opposite scenario, whereby the Saudis, Emiratis, and Egyptians abandon their demands, seems equally unlikely. While it can be debated how much of this crisis is a competition for leadership of the GCC as opposed to genuine security issues, no one should question how strongly the Gulf allies' leaders feel about both Iran and radical Islamism – and how threatened they feel by Qatar's approach to both. Having staked out such a high profile position insisting that Doha change its ways, Riyadh, Abu Dhabi, and Cairo are unlikely to retreat from that position without something to show for it. And while an ongoing standoff will have some effect on their economies, this will be marginal, meaning they can likely maintain their sanctions for a long time. Like the Saudi military campaign in Yemen, now entering its third year, an initial failure to achieve its strategic goals will not necessarily mean abandoning the objective, and the Yemen conflict is far more costly to Riyadh than any standoff with Qatar is likely to be.

The positions of both sides thus suggest the Gulf dispute could easily continue for some time, which should be of concern to everyone interested in the stability of the region. One possible result of a long term standoff, beyond the mutual economic consequences, is a more permanent split of the Sunni camp, in which Turkey and Qatar, the Muslim Brotherhood's major backers, move closer together and, along with their Islamist clients, gravitate away from traditional allies and closer to Iran. Ankara and Tehran have been forthcoming with food supplies in order to minimize the inconvenience of the embargo on Doha, and Turkey is considering enhancing its

limited military presence in Qatar as a demonstration of solidarity and deterrent. An even more troubling possible outcome of an ongoing standoff is that Qatar's resistance to the demands of its neighbors and its possible rapprochement with Turkey and Iran leads to diplomatic, economic, or even military escalation. Saudi Arabia (and the UAE) have their hands full in Yemen and would be reluctant to take on another regional conflict, but such a development cannot be excluded if they feel Qatar's actions genuinely endanger their vital security interests. Just as Saudi Arabia felt it had no choice but to take the risky step of launching a campaign in Yemen in 2015, if the current Qatari leadership continues to act in ways that Riyadh finds threatening, it might consider a military action to replace it.

Because the perpetuation of this dispute could be so damaging, outside actors with a stake in regional stability have a major interest in helping resolve it. The United States in particular, given its close relations with (and leverage on) both sides, is in a unique position to do so. Indeed, the Gulf tensions underscore why the United States, whatever its frustrations with the Middle East and challenges at home, cannot afford to simply pull out of the region. It needs to use its still-unparalleled power to back its allies' core interests while ensuring they do not overreach in counterproductive ways.

A negotiated solution would not require Qatar to fold completely, cut off all ties to Islamist groups and Iran, and allow Riyadh to dictate its foreign policy – which in any case is an unlikely outcome. The United States might well thus remind its friends in Riyadh, Abu Dhabi, and Cairo that if they push too hard to achieve all their demands, the result could be an outright realignment of Qatar with Turkey and Iran, which is contrary not only to American interests but to those of its closest Arab partners.

Balancing its support for key Gulf allies and their core interests with the need to avoid encouraging them to launch risky diplomatic offensives that can backfire dangerously will not be easy for a U.S. administration that has yet to demonstrate a capacity for nuanced diplomacy. But that is precisely what is required to resolve the current crisis in the Gulf. The necessary message to Qatar that it must curb its support for groups that threaten the security of its most important partners has been sent loud and clear. **Doha should heed that message and demonstrate to its neighbors that it respects their interests and can avoid undermining them without giving up its own right to an independent foreign policy that need not include an aggressive stance toward Iran or an end to its dialogue with Islamist groups**. Since the regional parties to this dispute will not likely find a workable compromise position on their own, the United States should make it a priority to help them do so – before the costs of the dispute continue to mount – or escalate in unpredictable ways.

Reflection Questions

1. In your own words, what are some of the domestic interests which have led Qatar to risk the ire of so many other countries?
2. What role does the news website *Al Jazeera* play in the tension between Qatar and these regional powers? (ln 43-46)
3. What are some obstacles preventing a "workable compromise" on these issues?

Essay Questions:

14) 'Good government requires the courage to make unpopular decisions.' Discuss this statement, with examples to support your answer. (Cambridge 1996)

Reading 11b **EU6**

Japan-South Korea Relations in 2016: A Return to the Old Normal

Scott A. Snyder, Council of Foreign Relations
September 23, 2016

This post was coauthored with Brad Glosserman, executive director at Pacific Forum CSIS.

The first nine months of 2016 have been very good for Japan-South Korea relations. In addition to the conclusion of the comfort women agreement at the end of December 2015, the two countries have reached several other bilateral economic and security agreements. This progress and the routinization of Cabinet-level exchanges since last year make clear that their relationship has bottomed out and that pragmatic considerations are prevailing over ideological or political concerns. Credit for that progress goes to constituencies in each country committed to rebuilding the bilateral relationship. Trends in the geopolitical environment have also underscored the advantages of cooperation—and the very real costs of a failure to do so.

Unfortunately, however, both domestic political factors and that same geopolitical context will constrain additional progress for now. It is therefore incumbent on both governments and supporters of closer Japan-Korea ties to safeguard the gains that have been made while working against possibly growing resistance to moving the relationship forward.

Last year ended on a high note when the governments of Japan and South Korea announced agreement to formally resolve the comfort women issue. Japan would offer an apology and acknowledgement of the imperial government's role in the suffering of the comfort women and offer one billion yen (approximately $9.7 million) to establish a fund that would offer payments to surviving comfort women, their families, and for "projects for recovering the honour and dignity and healing the psychological wounds of all former comfort women." In exchange, Seoul would consider the issue "finally and irreversibly" settled, and both governments pledged to refrain from criticizing each other regarding comfort woman issues in international settings including the United Nations. In addition, Seoul would "strive to resolve" the issue of the comfort woman statue located in front of the permanent site of the embassy of Japan in Seoul by "consulting with related organizations about possible ways of addressing the issue," including the possibility of moving the statue to another location.

Significantly, the agreement has generated a sense of common purpose, however limited, between Seoul and Tokyo. The absence of an agenda for cooperation had hampered cooperation as well as communication between the two governments, especially at the highest levels. As a result of the comfort woman agreement, the Healing and Reconciliation Foundation has been established, over three-quarters of the surviving comfort women have agreed to receive compensation from the fund, and Japan has sent money to enable the foundation to make payments to victims and their families. This cooperation has lessened but not yet overcome scepticism in South Korea and Japan that the agreement would be fully implemented.

That agreement has been adopted alongside a trilateral information sharing arrangement that allows the three governments to share intelligence related to weapons of mass destruction used by North Korea during a crisis. In addition, the United States, Japan, and South Korea held a trilateral missile defense exercise over the summer. The drill was especially important since it demonstrated a commitment to work together to tackle real security problems in the region—and squarely faced the sensitive and contentious issue of hard security cooperation.

Finally, Tokyo and Seoul agreed to resume discussions on bilateral currency swap arrangements that had been suspended since February of 2015 as a result of the ill will that dominated the relationship. The new mood was evident in photos of Japanese Prime Minister Abe Shinzo and South Korean President Park Geun-hye at their bilateral meeting at the G20 summit: the two looked noticeably more relaxed and comfortable than in any previous encounter.

There are several explanations for this progress. **The first driver is North Korea's increasingly belligerent and threatening behaviour. Pyongyang's ugly rhetoric and the series of missile and nuclear tests made clear that the two countries' interest in addressing together (and with the United States) the North Korean threat.**

The second factor is China. Since taking office, President Park has tried to build a relationship with Beijing that would maximize pressure on North Korea to end its provocations, abandon its nuclear weapons program, and conform to international norms and expectations. Park took considerable risks—and considerable criticism—for that effort. At times, there were fears that Seoul was abandoning its alliance with the United States and was drifting into China's orbit.

Ultimately, however, that gambit failed. **Beijing proved an unreliable partner, unwilling to squeeze Pyongyang to Seoul's satisfaction.** The breaking point came when Xi Jinping failed to call Park following North Korea's January 2016 nuclear test and subsequently criticized South Korea for defending itself against the North Korean threat by agreeing to accept the Terminal High Altitude Air Defense (THAAD) system. Seoul's disillusionment with China has smoothed the way for closer relations with Japan.

The third factor is **pressure that the United States applied behind the scenes to push the two countries together.** While the primary responsibility for building a better relationship rests on Japan and South Korea, Washington has been instrumental in creating opportunities for dialogue and reminding the two governments of their shared interests. Deputy Secretary of State Tony Blinken has led a quarterly trilateral vice-ministerial dialogue among the three countries since 2015 and has laid out a rationale for a trilateral relationship that is "strategic in value…complementary in nature…[and] global in scope."

Unfortunately, however, **progress is likely to stall.** The first reason for pessimism is the advent of the South Korean presidential campaign. With the presidential election scheduled for December 2017, domestic politics will dominate decision-making in Seoul. **The comfort women deal may become a political football in the National Assembly in the run-up to the campaign, especially as the opposition Minjoo Party tries to get a foothold by criticizing the Park administration**. Although South Korean public opinion toward the comfort women agreement has softened in recent months, **the Korean public has not yet been won over.**

Moreover, **some South Korean non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that oppose the agreement continue to seek ways of mobilizing opposition to it, heightening the risk that implementation of the deal could run into political obstacles in Seoul.**
The second factor is Japan's geopolitical calculus. It has long appeared that Tokyo considers the bilateral relationship with Seoul vital, but secondary. In practice, this has meant that the Abe cabinet prioritized relations with China over that with Korea; if Japan could overcome historical and territorial disputes with China, then South Korea would be obliged to follow suit. That appears to have been an accurate assessment. Now Prime Minister Abe is focused on Russia, hoping to finally resolve the Northern Territories dispute and come up with a final peace treaty to World War II. If he can square relations with Moscow and Beijing, then Seoul's options diminish, and it will be pressed to normalize relations with Tokyo as well.

The third factor is the United States. While Washington has pushed its two allies to cooperate, discussions with experts and officials indicate that both countries value their bilateral relationship, each also believes that the other should take the first steps to reconcile. Both Tokyo and Seoul also seem to believe that it does not have to do the heavy lifting on relationship tending because Washington will force the other to step up in a crisis. That could change in the event of a Trump victory in November, but even then, the Korean presidential campaign will dominate policy discussions in Seoul.

The final important variable is the belief among Japanese that the problems that bedevil the relationship with South Korea reflect deep-seated beliefs that cannot be remedied by fixing a

particular problem. While a joint Genron NPO Forum/East Asia Institute Poll from July 2016 shows strong improvement in both countries in their attitudes about Japan-South Korea relations, the poll also shows that **South Koreans believe progress on specific issues, such as the continuing territorial dispute over the island of Dokdo/Takeshima, history textbooks, or the comfort women is necessary to improve the relationship**, while **most Japanese believe that the problems reflect anti-Japan education, anti-Japan media, and South Korean "aggressive anti-Japan acts over historical issues." In other words, there are no discrete "problems" to be solved; there are systemic forces at work against the relationship, a logic that obviates the need for Japanese to take action**. Consistent with this outlook is a belief among many Japanese that the best approach is to let the passage of time solve these irritants.

In these circumstances, the most important near-term objective of both governments should be to protect the gains that have been made by continuing to implement existing agreements. There are two remaining issues on the agenda to be dealt with during 2016 and 2017 that will have an impact on prospects for future cooperation. First is the need for a bilateral information sharing agreement between Japan and South Korea. The agreement is primarily symbolic since a trilateral information sharing already exists among the three countries but would provide powerful symbolism of the normalization of the Korea-Japan relationship, particularly since the agreement previously failed to secure Korean domestic approval in the waning days of the Lee Myung-bak administration.

Second, the Park administration will have to make a good faith effort to engage South Korean NGOs in a conversation about the relocation of the comfort woman statue. Ultimately, any effort to relocate the statue would be a test of the intensity of South Korean public opinion as well as a test of the South Korean public's pragmatism as it thinks not only of the past, but of the future relationship with Japan. Relocation of the statue to any alternative site should involve a thoughtful process that perpetuates the memory and dignity of the comfort women while demonstrating South Korean willingness to affirm that both neighbors benefit from mutual future-oriented cooperation.

South Korean and Japanese security interests continue to be inextricably linked together and to those of the United States, as they have been since the Korean War. This linkage will become even more important given the common demographic, geostrategic, and economic challenges that both countries face.

Scott Snyder and Brad Glosserman are co-authors of The Japan-South Korea Identity Clash: East Asian Security and the United States.

Reflection Questions

1. In your own words, what are some of the external pressures that have led South Korea to seek an improved relationship with Japan?
2. Why do you think there remains antipathy among South Koreans towards Japanese actions in the past?
3. Why do you think the writer talks about "near-term objectives" rather than long-term ones? (ln 112)

Essay Questions:

1. 'Good government requires the courage to make unpopular decisions.' Discuss this statement, with examples to support your answer. (Cambridge 1996)
2. 'Everyone has an opinion, but not everyone's opinion is of equal value.' What is your view?
3. 'The past is not dead. It is not even past.' Discuss. (Cambridge 2017)

This reading will help you to:

- Recognise the role of social media in shaping how the public think and behave
- Acknowledge how social media has been used as a tool by governments – and other parties – to manipulate public opinion in order to advance various political agendas
- Consider the need for a timely response from the international community to safeguard against potential harms to governance

EU7

Reading 12a

Social Media's Junkies and Dealers

Roger McNamee, 27 January 2018, The Straits Times

Treat social media like alcohol or tobacco, like a potential addiction to be regulated

We were warned. The venture capitalist and Netscape founder Marc Andreessen wrote a widely read essay in 2011 entitled Why Software Is Eating The World. But we didn't take him seriously; we thought it was only a metaphor. Now we face the challenge of extracting the world from the jaws of Internet platform monopolies.

I used to be a technology optimist. During a 35-year career investing in the best and brightest of Silicon Valley, I was lucky enough to be part of the personal computer, mobile communications, Internet, and social networking industries. Among the highlights of my career were early investments in Google and Amazon, and being a mentor to Facebook founder Mark Zuckerberg from 2006 to 2010.

Each new wave of technology increased productivity and access to knowledge. Each new platform was easier to use and more convenient. Technology powered globalisation and economic growth. For decades, it made the world a better place. We assumed it always would.

Then came 2016, when the Internet revealed two dark sides. One is related to individual users. Smartphones with LTE mobile infrastructure created the first content-delivery platform that was available every waking moment, transforming the technology industry and the lives of two billion users.

With little or no regulatory supervision in most of the world, companies like Facebook, Google, Amazon, Alibaba and Tencent used techniques common in propaganda and casino gambling, such as constant notifications and variable rewards, to foster psychological addiction.

The other dark side is geopolitical. In the United States, Western Europe and Asia, Internet platforms, especially Facebook, enable the powerful to inflict harm on the powerless in politics, foreign policy, and commerce. Elections across Europe and in the US have repeatedly demonstrated that automated social networks can be exploited to undermine democracy. The Brexit referendum and the US presidential election in 2016 also revealed that Facebook provides significant relative advantages to negative messages over positive ones.

Authoritarian governments can use Facebook to promote public support for repressive policies, as may be occurring now in Myanmar, Cambodia, the Philippines and elsewhere. In some cases, Facebook actually provides support to such governments, as it does to all large clients.

I am confident that the founders of Facebook, Google, and other major Internet platforms did not intend to cause harm when they adopted their business models. They were young entrepreneurs, hungry for success. They spent years building huge audiences by reorganising the online world around a set of applications that were more personalised, convenient and easier to use than their predecessors'.

And they made no attempt to monetise their efforts until long after users were hooked. The advertising business models they chose were leveraged by personalisation, which enabled advertisers to target their messages with unprecedented precision.

But then came the smartphone, which transformed all media and effectively put Facebook, Google, and a handful of others in control of the information flow to users. The filters that give users "what they want" had the effect of polarising populations and eroding the legitimacy of

fundamental democratic institutions (most notably, the free press). And the automation that made Internet platforms so profitable left them vulnerable to manipulation by malign actors everywhere - and not just authoritarian governments hostile to democracy.

As Mr Andreessen warned us, these companies, with their global ambition and reach, are eating the world economy. In the process, they are adopting versions of Facebook's corporate philosophy - "move fast and break things" - without regard for the impact on people, institutions and democracy.

A large minority of citizens in the developed world inhabits filter bubbles created by these platforms - digital false realities in which existing beliefs become more rigid and extreme.

In the US, approximately one-third of the adult population has become impervious to new ideas, including demonstrable facts. Such people are easy to manipulate, a concept that former Google design ethicist Tristan Harris calls "brain hacking".Western democracies are unprepared to deal with this threat. The US has no effective regulatory framework for Internet platforms, and lacks the political will to create one.
The challenges posed by Internet platform monopolies require new approaches beyond antitrust enforcement. We must recognise and address these challenges as a threat to public health.The European Union has both a regulatory framework and the necessary political will, but neither is adequate to the challenge. The EU's recent judgment against Google - a record US$2.7 billion (S$3.5 billion) fine for anti-competitive behaviour - was well conceived, but undersized. Google appealed, and its investors shrugged. It may be a good start, but it was clearly insufficient.

We are at a critical juncture.

Awareness of the risks posed by Internet platforms is growing from a small base, but the convenience of the products and psychological addiction to them are such that it may take a generation to effect change from the user side, as it did with anti-smoking campaigns.
Recognition of the corrosive effect of platform monopolies on competition and innovation is greater in Europe than in the US, but no one has found an effective regulatory strategy. Awareness that the platforms can be manipulated to undermine democracy is also growing, but Western governments have yet to devise a defence against it.

The challenges posed by Internet platform monopolies require new approaches beyond antitrust enforcement. We must recognise and address these challenges as a threat to public health.

One possibility is to treat social media in a manner analogous to tobacco and alcohol, combining education and regulation.

With the World Economic Forum meeting in Davos, the threat from Internet platform monopolies should be a top concern for attendees. For the sake of restoring balance to our lives and hope to our politics, it is time to disrupt the disrupters.

Roger McNamee is a co-founder of Elevation Partners and an early investor in Facebook, Google, and Amazon.

Reflection Questions

- *"Elections across Europe and in the US have repeatedly demonstrated that automated social networks can be exploited to undermine democracy."* (ln 24-25) What actions or events might the writer be specifically referring to here?
- How and why might we consider Facebook to be complicit in helping authoritarian governments manipulate citizens' opinions?
- *"The filters that give users "what they want" had the effect of polarising populations and eroding the legitimacy of fundamental democratic institutions (most notably, the free press)".* Explain what the author means by this.

Essay Questions:

1. 'The view of the majority is always right.' Do you agree? (Cambridge 2007)
2. Do you agree that the tools of social media have reinvented social activism? (RI 2012 Y6 CT2)

END